THE EVOLUTION OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND VERB SECOND

IN THE HISTORY OF FRENCH

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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of French and Italian,
Indiana University
August 2014

UMI Number: 3636356

UMI

Dissertation Publishing

UMI 3636356

ProQuest®

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank Barbara Vance for all of her support throughout my graduate career and for sharing her passion for Old French syntax with me. During the time that I have worked with her, she has not only been a wonderful advisor and mentor, but a friend and an unending source of encouragement. I would also like to thank Julie Auger, Laurent Dekydtspotter and Kevin Rottet for their guidance throughout both this dissertation and the whole of my graduate career.

I am also grateful for the support of my dear friends Amandine Lorente-Lapole, Kaitlin Brunick and Varsia Russell, and my family during this long and at times difficult processes.

Finally, I would also like to thank Jordan DeLong, for everything. None of this would have been possible without his love and support.

Brittany Devan Jelm Steiner

THE EVOLUTION OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND VERB SECOND

IN THE HISTORY OF FRENCH

The goal of this dissertation is to address the question of the Verb Second status of Old French as well as its decline by examining the interaction of syntax and Information Structure (IS) in the Left Periphery from the 13th century through the 16th century. Old French (OFr) has long been considered to be a Verb Second (V2) language, due to the overwhelming tendency for the finite verb to occur as the second constituent in matrix clauses, the hallmark of V2. Recently, the V2 analysis OFr has been called into question, due to the relatively high rate of clauses with more than one preverbal constituent (V>2). During this same period, our understanding of what V2 is has evolved in such a way as to place less emphasis on the number of preverbal constituents, and more on the theoretical underpinnings of the clause structure.

The results, obtained using a methodology for the annotation of IS in a corpus created for this project, support the V2 analysis of 13th century French, both in terms of its syntax and its IS. From a descriptively syntactic stance much of decline of V2 occurs between the 13th and 14th centuries (e.g. the rise in V>2 clauses, the decline in postverbal subjects). However, in examining the IS changes, we find that key aspects of the V2 grammar (e.g. V to C movement, EPP) are robust into the 15th century.

Ultimately, we find that examining Old French syntax through the lens of IS provides new insight into the interaction between IS and syntax in language change,

especially with respect to both the manner and the timeline of the decline of V2 in the

history of French.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the end of the nineteenth century, scholars have noted that one of the major syntactic differences between Old and Modern French is the tendency for finite verbs to routinely occur in the second position of matrix clauses in Old French, unlike in Modern French where they may be preceded by more than one constituent (Le Coultre 1875[1]; Thurneysen 1892). This tendency has led scholars to include Old French among Verb Second (V2) languages, such as Modern German, Dutch and Norwegian. Verb Second languages are traditionally defined as those in which the finite verb (Vf) is the second constituent in matrix clauses, preceded by one and only one constituent.[2] Old French has long been claimed to be a Verb Second language with underlying SVO order.[3] From a descriptive stance, V2 appears to decline during the period of medieval prose and appears to be completely gone from declaratives by the 16th century, except in cases of residual V2 expressions. The result is the non-V2 SVO grammar that has survived into Modern French. Examples of these two grammars can be seen in (1 a & b) below:

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[1] « Résulte-t-il de ce que nous venons de dire que le verbe doit nécessairement occuper la seconde place dans la phrase comme en allemand… ? La règle n'est pas absolue, mais elle se réalise environ dans la proportion de 80% » (Le Coultre, 1875 : 17)

[2] Verb Second will discussed in greater detail in §2.1.

[3] It has been argued that Early Old French (9th-12th centuries) was an SOV language (c.f. Zaring 2011, 2010; Labelle 2007). This proposal is beyond the scope of the present study, as Early Old French will not be treated in the data.

(1)   a.   <u>Ensis</u> *emprist*   **deables** a faire   home
                Thus undertook devil   to.make man
                qui eust   sa mémoire   et son sen
                who would.have his memory and his intent
                "Thus the devil undertook to engender a man who would have his
                knowledge and intentions …."
                (*Merlin en prose*, early 13th c. §1.89-90)

        b.   et   <u>lors</u> **icelle Melusigne** *traist*   Melior sa serour
                and now this   *Mélusine*   dragged Melior her sister
                "And now *Mélusine* dragged her sister Melior"
                (*Mélusine*, end 14th c., p 11)

(1a) is typical example of V2, where the Vf is preceded by the adverb *ensis*, and the

subject is necessarily post verbal. On the other hand, (1b) represents the more modern

SVO grammar, in which the Vf is preceded by the DP subject as well as the adverb *lors*.

Since the early 2000s, the V2 nature of Old French has been called into question

(Kaiser 2002, 2009; Ferraresi & Goldback 2002; Rinke & Meisel 2009; Kaiser &

Zimmermann 2010). These authors argue that Old French could not have been a V2

language due primarily to the relatively high frequency of clauses with more than one

constituent to the left of the verb. They attribute apparent V2 structures in Old French to

a variety of other phenomena, such as null subjects, a 'Focus Criterion' or topicalization.

Part of the difficulty in the classification of Old French as V2 lies in the nature of

Verb Second, as well as which V2 language it is being compared against. Traditionally,

Modern German has been considered the canonical V2 language. However, not all

languages that are considered to be V2 behave identically to Modern German, even with

respect to core features of V2. For example, certain dialects of Norwegian, which appear

to otherwise have a V2 grammar, permit V3 in interrogatives (Rice & Svenonious 1998, Westergaard & Vangsnes 2005). This is not the case in Standard Norwegian, or in Modern German. These differences do not have to be quite so extreme. For example, speakers of Swedish tend to prefer preverbal subjects to a greater extent than speakers of German (Bohnacker & Rosén 2007). This preference has been found to transfer into the L2 German of Swedish native speakers, leading to nonnativelike, though grammatical, utterances. Thus, the predominance of Modern German in the V2 literature may have inadvertently skewed our understanding of what V2 is, as it ignores possible variation in the V2 grammar.

During the same period that there has been debate over the V2 nature of Old French, our understanding of what V2 is has evolved. To begin with, the descriptive definition of Verb Second, which relies on the number of preverbal constituents, has been downplayed (see Jouitteau 2010, and references therein). Instead, greater emphasis has been placed on the underlying structural features that result in V2 sentences. Following the original verb movement analysis of V2 proposed by Thiersch (1978) and den Besten (1983), some have argued that the core of V2 is the presence of movement of the finite verb to C^0 (or an equivalent head in the Left Periphery) and the requirement that some constituent occupy the specifier position of the same projection (Benincà 1995, 2004; Jouitteau 2010; Salvesen 2013). The presence of a wide variety of constituents occupying the immediately preverbal position, as well as postverbal subjects occurring immediately to the right of the verb are both considered as evidence of these two features. As will be discussed in the following Chapter, however, it is possible for descriptively V>2 structures to be realized in such a grammar.

Additionally, it has long been assumed that V2 is purely syntactic in nature; that is to say, it is not conditioned by prosodic, semantic or pragmatic factors (Rinke & Meisel 2009; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010; Frey 2010). However, recent work suggests that while these factors may not trigger V2 structures synchronically, they both influence the choice of pre-verbal constituent and appear to influence the rise or decline of V2 diachronically (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010; Speyer 2008). These considerations call into question the arguments against the V2 analysis of OFr, suggesting this topic merits further inquiry.

The goal of the present dissertation is to examine the role of Information Structure (IS) (e.g. how pragmatic features such as givenness, aboutness, importance, etc. are encoded via prosody, morphology and syntax) in the loss of V2 in Medieval French.[4] Despite the fact that, for many years, generative syntacticians paid very little attention to Information Structure in analyzing V2 languages, IS has a natural relationship with Verb Second. This is due, primarily, to the fact that the part of the syntactic structure assumed to be directly related to Information Structure in current cartographic approaches to syntax, the Left Periphery, is also the part of the structure targeted for verb movement in V2 languages, and which would potentially host all preverbal constituents in such languages.

The link between IS and syntax via the Left Periphery is especially relevant for Old French, as the high frequency of V>2 clauses (those with more than one preverbal constituent) in some texts is considered by some to be evidence against a V2 grammar (Kaiser 2002; Rinke & Meisel 2009; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010). While strict V2 languages do not take advantage of these possibilities very often, languages like Old

[4] Information Structure will be presented in greater detail in §2.2

French, which were not standardized in the way that modern languages are, may reveal the kinds of options that exist in UG, even when combined with a basic V2 grammar.

In examining the Information Structure of Old French, including the IS-value of preverbal constituents, it may be possible to gain insight into the use of the Left Periphery, as three of the common projections of the LP may only be targeted by constituents bearing the appropriate IS values (e.g. FrameP, TopP and FocP).[5] From there, we can compare the structure of Old French to modern V2 languages. Looking diachronically, we can also track how the syntactic reflexes of IS change over time, which provides insight into the decline of Verb Second in the history of French. Most significantly, we will see in the course of the discussion in Chapters 4 and 6 that the IS/LP connection indicates that the core reflexes of V2 are robustly present in the grammar into the 14th century, whereas the purely syntactic results appear to indicate that these same features have significantly declined by the 14th century.

In addition to the nature of the preverbal constituents in V>2 clauses, the interaction between subject IS-value and its position relative to the verb, as well as its overt realization, is of particular interest to this study.   One of the arguments against OFr as a V2 language centers on just this. Rinke & Meisel (2009) claim that only subjects that are topics may occur preverbally in Old French. Since Modern German permits subjects of any IS-value in the immediately preverbal position, this is taken to be an indication that Old French was not a V2 language. This claim has been contradicted by Labelle & Hirschbühler (2011), and will be tested here. The results of the present

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[5] Based on the results of the data in this study, I will be employing the cartography for the Left Periphery presented in Benincà (2006), which will be presented in the following Chapter; however, even if the template of the Left Periphery is found to be an epiphenomenon resulting for constraints on movement, as proposed by Abels (2012), the analysis presented here will still be valid.

dissertation indicate that while subjects of different IS values may demonstrate different preferred positions, their IS value does not, for the most part, restrict where they are permitted to occur in the clause.

The idea that Information Structure can trigger syntactic changes in a language follows from the Inertial Theory of language change (Longobardi 2001), which suggests that syntax itself is unable to change unless acted upon by an outside force either in the language (e.g. phonology, semantics, the lexicon, etc.) or outside of the language (e.g. contact, bilingualism, L2 acquisition). It has previously been demonstrated that IS has impacted syntactic change in Old and Middle English, and in West Germanic (Speyer 2008, 2010; Hinterhölzl 2009; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010).

In Old High German (OHG), Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2010) demonstrate that the change from V1 to V2 is linked to changes in the IS. Early on, V1 clauses are predominantly thetic in nature, whereas V2 clauses were essentially Topic initial. Over time, the Topic position in OHG was generalized to all IS-values, leading to the generalization of V2 as the dominant clause structure, and the loss of V1. They contrast this to Old English, which they argue never had a generalized V2 rule, as it never underwent a Topic V X stage.

Finally, it will be important throughout the dissertation to bear in mind the role of the actual speaker/hearer acquiring medieval French. The standard generative understanding of generational change is presented in (3):

(3)   Generation 1: Grammar1   →   Output 1   (modified, from: Andersen 1973)

        Generation 2: Grammar2   →   Output 2
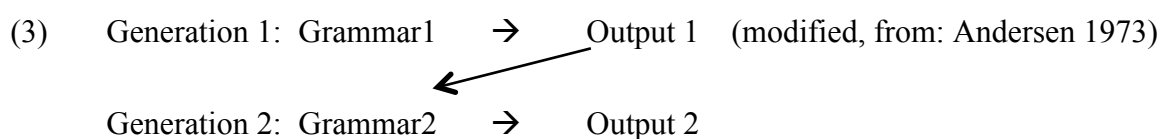
Here, G1 refers to the grammar of the parents of generation 2, and Corpus 1 refers to the corpus of their utterances shaped by their grammar. The material from Corpus 1 becomes the primary linguistic data (PLD) for generation 2 (as represented by the arrow). These children use the input from the PLD to set parameters when creating their own grammar (Grammar 2) (Andersen 1973; Lightfoot 1999, Dresher 1999, Roberts 2007). Any subtle changes to the corpus of one generation may in turn cause changes to the grammar of the next. And, as Roberts (2007: 126) states, "[t]hese subtle changes may be caused by some extrasyntactic, but still intralinguistic, factor". So, if Generation 1 produces a large number of V>2 utterances with preverbal subjects, Generation 2 may end up resetting the V to C parameter in favor of V to T movement.

According to Lightfoot (1999), acquisition is driven by "cues" for parameter setting in the PLD rather than by perfect matching of the input. The child scans the PLD for specific structures, which provide unambiguous evidence for the setting of a parameter, and builds their own grammar from that. In order to be acquired, cues must occur with great enough frequency, or in unique and unambiguous enough contexts, to be salient to the child. A cue may become more robust over time, becoming more and more frequent in the PLD of subsequent generations. Conversely, if a cue falls below a certain frequency the child may not attend to it and the structure may be lost for the next generation.

There are three key aspects of this study that set it apart from the handful of previous papers that have examined the Information Structure of Old French as it pertains to V2 (e.g. Rinke & Meisel 2009; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011; Donaldson 2012; Mathieu 2012; Salvesen 2013). First, a replicable methodology was created for the

coding of IS constituents in the corpus constructed for this study. As a result, the labeling of the IS constituents, which can be confusing due to inconsistencies in the literature, should be transparent. Decision trees, which can be used to follow the coding of IS elements, are presented in Chapter 3, along with example coding of a 10 sentence passage from *Merlin en prose*. Again, this is done so as to make the labeling of IS constituents as transparent as possible, since IS labeling can be confusing.

Secondly, the labeling of IS constituents was conducted separately from the syntactic analysis. One of the goals of this project is to map out the frequency of the different IS elements in various positions in the sentence. This was done without making any predictions about the syntactic preferences of the IS constituents, so as to limit any potential bias in coding.

Thirdly, data from the 13th through the 16th century is analysed in this dissertation. Previous studies that examined Information Structure and Syntax in Old French have only looked as far as the early 14th century (Rinke & Meisel 2009; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011; Donaldson 2012; Mathieu 2012; Salvesen 2013). By extending the time depth to the mid 16th century, we are able to trace most, if not all, of the decline of V2, rather than just when it was at its height.

This dissertation is laid out as follows. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature on Verb Second, Information Structure and the Left Periphery. The methodology created for this study, along with its rationale, is presented in Chapter 3. The results and discussion of the data analyses are presented in Chapters 4 through 6. Chapter 4 addresses the V2 grammar of the eight texts examined in this study, from a purely syntactic stance, in order that direct comparisons can be made with the previous

literature on V2 in Old French. Chapter 5 then presents each IS element and its preferred

locations in the sentence, and how that changes over time. Again, this was done so as to

have a baseline for the IS, without influence from the V2 analysis. Then Chapter 6 brings

both V2 and IS together, and discusses how they interact, and what effect they may have

had on each other over time. Ultimately, I argue that, based on the Information Structure,

French was a V2 language into the 15th century, a full century longer than predicted by

the results of the purely syntactic results presented in Chapter 4. It appears that the

decline of V2 occurred as a series of ordered changes in Information Structure and in the

broader syntax. Finally, the conclusion is presented in Chapter 7, along with plans for

future work.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

2.0   Introduction

The goal of this dissertation is to examine the loss of Verb Second (V2) in the history of

French, as seen through the evolving use of the Left Periphery. The use of the Left

Periphery will be examined via the location of Information Structure constituents (i.e.

Topic, Focus and Frame-Setter), especially with respect to the position of the verb and in

clauses with more than one preverbal constituent. In order to do so, we must present the

relevant literature on V2, Information Structure and the Left Periphery. This discussion

will be structured as follows: §2.1 will present the literature on Verb Second, as well as

the arguments for and against a V2 analysis of Old French; §2.2 will discuss Information

Structure (IS), as well as two recent studies of IS in Old French; §2.3 will discuss the

cartography of the Left Periphery and its connection to both V2 and IS. Finally, in

§2.3.3, the previous literature on the use of the Left Periphery in Old French will be

presented, along with the central hypotheses of this study.

2.1   Verb Second

As noted in the introduction, the term *Verb Second* is traditionally applied to languages in

which the finite verb (Vf) is obligatorily the second constituent in a matrix clause,

following an XP in the preverbal position. All V2 languages permit a wide variety of

XPs that can occur in the preverbal position, or *Vorfeld* (Thiersch 1978; den Besten

1983). The diversity of possible preverbal XPs can be seen in the following examples[6] in German from Kaiser & Zimmermann (2010):

(1)   a.   **<u>Bruno</u>** *isst* gerne   Äpfel.
              Bruno eats with-pleasure apples.
              'Bruno likes eating apples'

        b.   <u>Gerne</u>   *isst* **Bruno** Äpfel
              with-pleasure eats Bruno apples
              'Bruno likes eating apples'

        c.   Äpfel   *isst*   **Bruno** gerne.
              Apples eats Bruno with-pleasure.
              'Bruno likes eating apples'

        d.   <u>Wenn er Hunger hat</u>, *isst* **Bruno** Äpfel
              if   he hunger has, eats Bruno apples
              'When he is hungry, Bruno eats apples'

        e.   *<u>**Bruno**</u> Äpfel   *isst* gerne
               Bruno apples eats with-pleasure
              'Bruno likes eating apples'

        f.   *Äpfel <u>gerne</u>   *isst* **Bruno**.
               Apples with-pleasure eats Bruno
              'Bruno likes eating apples'

        g.   **isst* **Bruno** Äpfel gerne
               eats Bruno apples with-pleasure
              'Bruno likes eating apples'

As (1 a & c) demonstrate, both subject and object DPs may occur in the *Vorfeld,* as can adverbs (1 b), or entire subordinate clauses (1 d). In example (1 e), both the subject DP *Bruno* and the object DP *Apfel* appear in the *Vorfeld,* while in (1 f), the object DP *Apfel*

---

[6] Here, all preverbal constituents are underlined, subjects are bolded and finite verbs are italicized.

and the adverb *gerne* both appear before the Vf *isst*; both of these V>2 structures are ungrammatical.   In the final example (1 g) indicates that V1 clauses are also ungrammatical as the Vf, *isst,* is in the initial position, indicating that the *Vorfeld* is empty.[7]

The most well-known V2 languages belong to the Germanic family; all of the Germanic languages exhibited V2 grammars at some point in their history, with only English having lost its V2 grammar.[8]   This is not to say that only Germanic languages have V2 grammars; certain Romance languages (e.g. Old French: Adams 1987 a & b, Vance 1989, 1995a, 1997, Roberts 1993, Benincà 1995, Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011; Old Spanish: Fontana 1993; Medieval Northern Italian Dialects: Benincà 1995, Ledgeway 2007; and Rhaeto-Romance: Benincà & Poletto 2004), Celtic languages (e.g. Old Irish, Breton: Roberts 2004; and Middle Welsh: Willis 1998) and Kashmiri (Bhatt 1995, 1999) also exhibit V2 structures (Jouitteau 2010); however, many of these claims are not universally accepted, unlike those for Germanic languages (Kaiser 2002; Ferrarisi & Goldbach 2002; Rinke & Meisel 2009; Kaiser & Zimmerman 2010).   Despite any disagreement in labeling, these languages meet the criteria for V2 languages as discussed below.

2.1.1 Defining Verb Second

In the Principles and Parameters framework, the standard Verb Second analysis is that proposed by Thiersch (1978) and den Besten (1983). The key to this analysis is that

---

[7] V1 clauses are permitted in a highly restricted set of contexts in V2 languages, such as Topic-drop and yes/no questions; however, in these clauses, it is assumed that SpecCP is occupied by an operator (Rinke & Meisel 2009; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010).

[8] As discussed in Rice & Svenonius (1998) and Westergaard & Vangsnes (2005), certain dialects of Norwegian permit, and even prefer, V3 orders in wh-questions, while maintaining V2 in declaratives.

Vf obligatorily raises from V^0 to C^0 via I^0[9] in declarative root clauses. Platzack (1995) formalizes this in the following parameter, where [+F] represents the finite verb:

(2)   The Verb Second Parameter[10]

   $\pm([+F]$ is located in $C^0)$

The key to this proposal is that in Verb Second languages, tense affixes and finiteness are realized on different heads: I^0 and C^0, respectively; whereas in SVO languages both of these are realized on the same head, I^0. The division of tense and finiteness forces the Vf to continue moving beyond I^0 to C^0.

In addition to Vf occupying C^0 in V2 languages, SpecCP is obligatorily filled with an XP, either through movement, adjunction, or base-generation. There have been various proposals as to what motivates this filling of SpecCP. For example, Roberts (1993) proposes a condition related to EPP[11] which achieves this when the Vf is raised to C^0:

(3)   A head containing Agr must have a filled specifier

---

[9] In keeping with the previous work on V2 in Old French, I use the classic Government & Binding (GB) terminology here. In later instantiations of the theory, the IP projection was reinterpreted as TP (tense phrase), and in current work on the Left Periphery, the C^0 is often referred to as Fin^0 (the finiteness head). See §2.3.1 for further discussion.

[10] It has been argued that any account of V2 using a single parameter is too rigid, as all V2 languages permit structures that would violate the parameter, as will be discussed below. Whether or not V2 is the result of a single parameter or is a cluster of related (micro)parameters is beyond the scope of this dissertation. All the same, the parameter is a useful way to conceptualize V2 grammar.

[11] Many proposals for the obligatory filling of SpecCP (or other heads in the Left Periphery) involve the use of an EPP feature on the XP of which the Vf is the head (see Poletto 2002, Roberts 2004, Frey 2006, Ledgeway 2008, Holmberg 2011 for more). This account of V2 will be discussed in greater detail in §2.3.2 below.

Given that any head containing Vf will necessarily contain phi features (e.g. person and number features of the verb) SpecCP will need to be filled when Vf is in C^0, but not when other XPs, such as complementizers, occupy C^0. The parameter stating that [+F] must be in C^0 and the above condition are then coupled with a ban on adjunction to or recursion of the CP, to prevent more than one constituent occurring preverbally.

Again, when the initial XP is not the subject, the subject will appear in a postverbal position; however, the subject is permitted to raise to SpecCP if necessary. This structure is demonstrated in the following diagram:

(4)
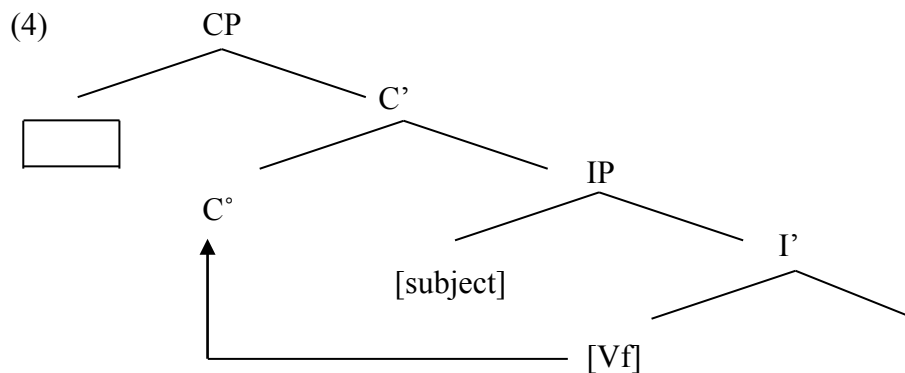
V2 languages typically exhibit asymmetry between matrix and subordinate clauses (Thiersch 1978; Adams 1987; Vance 1989, 1997; Rice & Svenonius 1998; Jouitteau 2010). Declarative matrix clauses permit both SVX and XVS orders. These orders are not possible in subordinate clauses due to the realization of complementizers in C^0, which prevent the verb from raising to this position and forcing it to be realized elsewhere. This asymmetry between matrix and subordinate clauses, which is one of the hallmarks of a V2 grammar, is evidence for V to C in matrix clauses. The blocking of V to C in subordinate clauses can be seen in the following diagram:

(5)

CP

C'

complementizer

IP

[subject]

I'

VP

V'

[Vf]
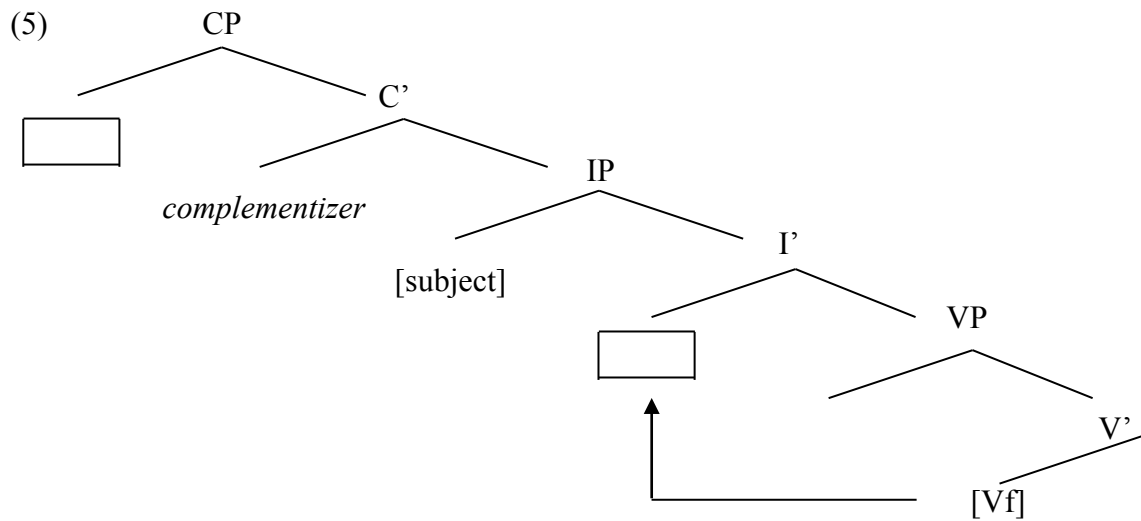
This contrast between matrix and subordinate clauses can be seen in Modern German below:

(6) a.   Gerne   *isst* **Bruno** Äpfel.   (Modern German)
          with-pleasure   eats Bruno apples
          'Bruno likes eating apples'   (Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010)

     b.   Wenn **er** Hunger *hat, isst* **Bruno** Äpfel.   (Modern German)
          if   he hunger has, eats Bruno apples
          'When he is hungry, Bruno eats apples.'   (ibid)

In the above examples, we see that in matrix clauses (6 a), the verb (in italics) is preceded by only one XP, whereas in the subordinate clause of (6 b) the verb is preceded by two XPs as well as the subordinator. Additionally, in (6 b) the finite verb of the matrix clause, *isst*, directly follows the subordinate clause, demonstrating that entire subordinate clauses may count as an initial XP. It should be noted that the exact position of the Vf in

subordinate clauses depends on the underlying word order of the language; Modern German exhibits SOV orders in these clauses, which makes this asymmetry very clear.

We can now say that V2 is the result of adherence to the following three conditions:

a. Movement of the finite verb to C^0

b. The realization of an XP in SpecCP

c. A ban on any other XP occurring to the left of the XP in SpecCP

These three conditions have implications for the rest of the clause structure. There are several accounts for how these conditions are achieved, and how they interact with the Left Periphery, which will be discussed further in §2.3.1 and §6.4-5.

2.1.2 Old French and V2

As was noted in the previous section, the preverbal position can be filled by any single XP. This is true of Old French, just as it is for Modern German. This is demonstrated by the following examples from *Merlin en prose*, a text from 1205:

(7) a. <u>Ansi</u> *diroit* **il** les choses qui seroient fetes…   (§1.75)
         Thus would say he the things that would.be done
         "Thus he said the things that would be done"

     b. **Li ennemis** ne   s'*oublia* mie   (§2.10)
         The enemy   NEG forgot   hardly
         "The enemy did not forget at all"

     c. Et <u>en ce tens</u> *estoit* **costume**   que…   (§3.13)
         and in this time was   the.custom that…
         "And the custom at the time was that…"

d.　　　Grant　merveille *poez*　veoir de　cest prodome…　　　　　　　　　　(§3.20)

　　　　　　　　Great　marvels　can.2.p see　　of　this　good man

　　　　　　　　"You can see the great marvels of this good man"

　　　　e.　　　et　por ce　que　tu　l'　as　　trespassee,　　　　　　　　　　　　　(§7.36)

　　　　　　　　and for　this that　you it　have trespassed,

　　　　　　　　t'　*enchargerai* **je** ta　　penitence

　　　　　　　　you giveFUT.　　I　your penitence

　　　　　　　　"And because you have committed this misdeed, I will charge you with

　　　　　　　　your penance"

Here we see that a wide variety of XPs can occur preverbally in Old French: subject and

object DPs (7 b & d), AdvP (7 a), PP (7 c), and even subordinate clauses (7 e). In each of

these examples, the subject of the clause, when not initial, is either immediately

postverbal (7 a, c & e) or null (7 d).[12]

2.1.2.1 Evidence in support of a V2 analysis of Old French

We find the same asymmetry in the V2 requirement between matrix and subordinate

clauses in Old French as that found in Modern German. In Modern German, subordinate

clauses demonstrate SOV order rather than the V2 order of matrix clauses.　　Unlike

Modern German, however, Old French is an SVO language, and thus the asymmetry is

somewhat less clear. However, the difference between matrix and subordinate clauses in

Old French is most clearly seen in the position of subject pronouns (Sp) and the licensing

of null subjects.

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[12] It is worth noting that coordinating conjunctions such as *et, mais* and *ou* are typically considered to not
count as initial constituents in V2 clauses in Old French.

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2.1.2.1.1 Cliticization to C⁰

Old French possesses two sets of nearly identical subject pronouns: one is tonic and the other atonic (Vance 1995b). In prose matrix clauses, atonic subject pronouns are either immediately pre- or postverbal; in subordinate clauses, subject pronouns are always pre-verbal, but not necessarily immediately so (i.e. SpXV orders are possible) (Roberts 1993; Vance 1993b). However, in subordinate clauses subject pronouns cannot occur postverbally, except under bridge verbs (e.g. verbs which allow long distance extraction out of their complement, such as *to say, to think, to believe,* etc.) or in cases traditionally treated as CP recursion. This asymmetry in Old French can be seen in (8 a & b) from *Merlin en prose*:

(8) a. Par ce les avons nos perduz, se il   sont saige.   (§1.37)
        By this them have   we lost,   if they are wise
        We have lost them because of this, if they're wise.
     b. …que vos ne   porrez   garir   a vostre seur   (§5.62)
        …that you NEG can.FUT to.heal to your   sister
        "…that you will not be able to heal your sister"

In example (8 a), the finite verb *avons* is preceded by the PP *par ce* and the object clitic *les*, and is directly followed by the subject pronoun *nos*, as is expected in a V2 language with V to C movement. In the initial subordinate clause in (8 b), on the other hand, the subject pronoun *vos* is necessarily preverbal since the Vf is prevented from raising to C⁰ by the presence of the complementizer *que*. The exclusion of postverbal subject pronouns from embedded, non-complement clauses in Old French is one of the most strikingly regular features of the hundreds of prose and verse texts in this language (see

Vance 1997:183ff and references there). The apparent exceptions noted by Rinke and Meisel (2009) involve V2 clauses embedded under "bridge verbs"[13], which are well known to provoke root phenomena, even in Germanic V2 languages (see, for example, Vikner 1995; Walkden & Salvesen 2013).

Old French has two types of subject-verb 'inversion': Germanic and Romance (Adams 1987; Vance 1995a, b). It should be noted that the label 'inversion' is descriptive in nature, as postverbal subjects are achieved by the verb moving higher in the structure, past the subject. In Germanic inversion, the subject is located directly after the Vf in SpecIP. In Romance inversion, on the other hand, the subject remains in a lower position, in the VP. This difference in subject location is most obvious when dealing with analytic verb forms. In Germanic inversion, the subject will fall between the auxiliary and the past participle, while under Romance inversion, the subject will occur after the past participle. This is made clear in the following examples from *Merlin en prose*:

(9)   a.   <u>Einsi</u> se   *sont* **li dui frère**   *empris*   ensemble a cel jor   (§37.1-2)
                Thus REFL were the two brothers started   together on that day
                Thus the two brothers began together on that day

        b.   <u>Par ce</u> les   *avons* **nos** *perduz*, s' il   sont saige   (§1.37-38)
                by this them have we lost,   if they are wise
                Because of this, we have lost them, if they are wise

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[13] The term "bridge verb" refers to verbs that select sentential complements and permit longdistance extraction from said complements (e.g. *to think, to say, to believe*).

        c.   Et <u>a ce</u> *est venuz* **li consauz** qu'   il   s'i   acordent,(§40.44-47)

                 And at this is come the council   that   they REFL to.it agreed,

                 si   le dient le roi et   *Merlin* et   les barons

                 thus it said   the king and *Merlin* and the barons

                 "And the council decided to agree to it, so said the King, *Merlin*, and the barons"

In Old French, Romance inversion is only possible with full DP subjects, as seen in (9 c), while either full DP subjects or subject pronouns may make use of Germanic inversion (9 a & b). Roberts (1993) and Vance (1995b) reason that subject cliticization to C^0 leads to the asymmetry between subject pronouns and DP subjects and the use of the two types of inversion found in Old French. This is to say, subject pronouns, because they cannot remain in the VP, can only be postverbal if the finite verb moves as high as C^0, in which case they immediately follow the verb. Full DP subjects, on the other hand, do not have any such restriction, and this may remain in the VP in matrix clauses, where they may follow more than one verb, as in (9 c).

This cliticization of subject pronouns is further supported by the fact that preverbal subject pronouns cannot be separated from the complementizer in subordinate clauses, except when embedded under a bridge verb (Vance 1995b). This produces SpXV orders in subordinate clauses, which is unexpected given the SVO nature of Old French. As complementizers are located in C^o, the subject pronoun must be located no lower than SpecIP.

(10)   a.   Mais tant   faites   pour l' amor de moi [que **vos**

                  But so much do.you for   the love of me   that you

                  <u>de   hui en onze jorz</u> ne   *soiez*   ja   se   devant moi non]

                  from today in eleven days NEG be.you never REFL before me NEG

                  "But do this much for the love of me: for the next eleven days do not stray

                  from my side"

                  (*Merlin* §36.34-36)

    b.   plus que <u>onques</u> **fame**   n'   *ama* home

                  more than ever   woman NEG loved man

                  "more than woman ever loved man"

                  (Vance 1995a; *Queste* 181, 4)

In (10 a) we see that the subject pronoun *vos* (you) is located immediately after the complementizer *que* (that), followed by the PP *de hui en onze jorz* (for the next eleven days), and then the Vf *soiez* (would be). Again, this realization of the subject pronoun immediately following the complementizer is contrasted with example (10 b), in which the DP subject is separated from the complementizer by the adverb *onques* (ever). Just as in the inversion examples above, this asymmetry in the possible location of subjects in subordinate clauses lends further support to the occurrence of V to C movement in Old French.

2.1.2.1.2 Asymmetry of null subjects

       Another argument in support of V to C movement in Old French is the asymmetry between subject pronouns and null subjects in matrix and subordinate clauses, as discussed in Foulet (1924) Adams (1988), Benincà (1995), Vance (1989, 1993a & b), &

Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà (1985), amongst others. The following example from Adams

(1988) demonstrates this asymmetry:

(11)   Quand il se senti a pié, si   ne   sot   que faire,
        When he felt   on foot, thus NEG know.3.s what to.do
        car   si   houme estoient moult loing de   lui et   dou   chierf.[14]
        because his men   were   very far   from him and from-the stag.
        'When he thought he was on the right path, he didn't know what to do because his
        men were far from him and the stag.'

Here, the first two clauses have the same subject, *he*, but it is only fully realized in the

subordinate clause. It cannot be claimed that rich verbal inflection is the only reason null

subjects are permitted in OFr. If that were the case, we would expect null subjects to be

permitted in subordinate clauses (Foulet1924; Adams 1987).

        The asymmetry in the licensing of *pro* lies in the fact that null subjects may only

occur in matrix clauses when an overt subject pronoun would have been postverbal, as

discussed in Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà (1985) for Old French and several neighboring

medieval Romance varieties:

        Si ce sujet, qu'on peut appeler postverbal, est exprimé par un pronom, on
        peut s'attendre à ce qu'il n'apparaisse pas.[15] (166)

        [les pronoms sujets] peuvent être omis parce que le verbe avec sa flexion
        peut correctement identifier le sujet, puisqu'il est dans un nœud supérieur
        de la phrase.[16] (169)

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[14] La suite du Merlin, ~1235-1240
[15] If this subject, which can be called postverbal, is expressed by a pronoun, we can expect that it will not
appear. [translation my own]
[16] Pronominal subjects may be omitted because the verb with its inflection can correctly identify the subject
because it is in a higher node in the phrase. [translation my own]

As discussed above, in matrix clauses the Vf moves into C^0, leaving the postverbal subject pronoun in SpecIP, assuming it does not move to SpecCP. In subordinate clauses, on the other hand, since C^0 is occupied by the complementizer, the verb must remain either in I^0 or V^0. This means that subject pronouns must be realized at least as high as SpecIP. The asymmetry in the realization of *pro*, therefore, lies in the fact that the Vf can only strictly c-command subject pronouns, and thus license *pro*, in matrix clauses.

2.1.2.2 Apparent exceptions to V2 in Old French

It seems as though the biggest obstacles for a V2 analysis, according to this definition of V2, are examples of V>2 orders, as seen in (12), since V1 structures (as in 13) are possible in a highly restricted set of contexts in V2 languages, as in German:

(12)   a.   et <u>devant vostre conseil</u> **nos** vos   *dirons*   ce que nostre seignor

                And before your council we to.you tellFUT what   our   lord

                vos   mandent

                to.you tells

                'And we will tell you before your council what our lord commands you'

                (*Villehardouin* 99, 25-26; from Ferraresi & Goldbach 2002)

        b.   <u>Au   terme   que li dux lor   mist</u> **il**   *reviendrent*

                At the appointment that the duke them.IO gave they returned to

                el palais.

                the palace.

                'They returned to the palace at the time the duke appointed them'

                (*Villehardouin* 100, 6; ibid.)

(13) a. Et <u>sejournerent</u> **li pelerine** en l' isle   de Corfu (…)

And stayed   the pilgrims on the island of Corfu (…)

'And the pilgrims stayed on the the island of Corfu…'

 (*Clari* 37m 43-38, 1; ibid.)

b. <u>Conseillierent</u> soi   et parlerent ensemble cele nuit

discussed3.pl with each other and talked3.pl together that night

'That night, they talked and conferred with each other'

 (*Villehardouin* 100, 32-33; ibid.)

The most significant divergence between the non-V2 analysis of OFr and the V2 analyses of Vance (1989, 1997) or Adams (1987) is the significance afforded to these V1 and V>2 structures. As Kaiser & Zimmermann (2010) state, these structures "stand out due to their overall frequency" in the texts they examined (p 15). Given this, it is self-evident that such constructions cannot be dismissed as errors on the part of scribes or authors, and are thus representative of features in the grammar.

Many of these "illicit" V>2 structures cited by those arguing against OFr as a V2 language include the sentence particle *si*, or another similar adverb (e.g. *donc/dont* "then", *lors* "then") in the *Vorfeld* following another XP (XP *si* V), especially initial subordinate clauses. *Si* is typically considered to either indicate topic[17] continuity between clauses or to be a coordinating conjunction, similar to *et* (Fleishman 1991; Vance, Donaldson, & Steiner 2010). Examples of V>2 clauses with *si* can be found below:

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[17] A definition of *topic* will be provided in §2.2.2

(14) a. <u>Et nos aliens,</u> <u>si</u> les *prenoiens* et les tormentiens

And our prisoners, SI them take.IMP.1.P and them torment.IMP.1.P

plus que les autres

more than the others

"And our prisoners, we took them and tormented them more than the others" (*Merlin en prose*, §1.017)

b. <u>Quant je avrai</u> les dois d'une main ars, <u>si</u> *ardrai*

When I will-have the fingers of-one hand burnt, then will-burn

je les autres

I the others.

"When/if I burn the fingers of one hand, then I will burn the others"

(Vance et al. 2010 ; *Le Roman de Cassidorus,* p. 341)

Modern German, the canonical V2 language, also permits similar V>2 structures in cases of left dislocation.[18] The following examples are from Kaiser & Zimmermann (2010):

(15) a. [Den Bruno]$_i$, den$_i$ *kennt* **sie** nicht.

the-ACC Bruno him knows she not

'She doesn't know BRUNO'

b. [Wenn Bruno Hunger hat]$_i$, dann$_i$ *isst* **er** Apfel.

If Bruno hunger has then eats he apples.

'If Bruno is hungry, then he eats apples.'

In (15 a) is an example of *contrastive left dislocation*; the object *den Bruno* is raised to a position in the Left Periphery and is coindexed with the resumptive demonstrative

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[18] Ott (2014) suggests that these structures are not examples of true V>2, but instead are the result of two sequential clauses, the first of which having undergone ellipsis. The following examples apply this analysis to (15 a):

(15 a') [$_{CP1}$ [den Bruno]$_i$ [kennt sie t$_i$ nicht]] [$_{CP2}$ [den$_k$ kennt sie t$_k$ nicht]

(15 a") [$_{CP1}$ [den Bruno]$_i$ [~~kennt sie t$_i$ nicht~~]] [$_{CP2}$ [den$_k$ kennt sie t$_k$ nicht]

pronoun *den* (Boeckx & Grohmann 2005). Frey (2005) refers to this type of construction as "Left Dislocation of German", as the construction does not necessarily have to be contrastive. In (15 b), we see an example similar to that of (14 b), where *dann* serves to link the two clauses. Thus, this type of V>2 structure should not be considered to be evidence against a V2 definition of Old French for reasons that will be further explored in §2.3.2.[19]

Those who argue against a V2 analysis of Old French explain that the 'alleged' V2 structures present in OFr, which account for the majority of sentences in the language, are the result of some unrelated phenomenon. Rinke & Meisel (2009) argue that the factors that govern subject-verb inversion in Old French are the same that govern inversion in modern Romance null-subject languages. They claim that, as in other null-subject languages, inverted subjects are all either focused or part of thetic[20] sentences. Additionally, they reason that if Old French behaves like a modern Romance null-subject language, then the verb does not move higher than I^0 in matrix clauses. This claim, coupled with the relatively high rate of V>2 structures, leads them to conclude that Old French was not a V2 language.

Jouitteau (2010), in discussing the possibility that the descriptive definition of V2 has been too rigid, highlights evidence that V2 may be related to other syntactic phenomena, such as V1 and second position clitics. According to this view (cf. e.g. Roberts 2004), verb movement to C^0 is the core of V1/V2, which in V2 languages is coupled with the movement of (at least) one XP to a preverbal position: "in both V1/V2 studies, the standard operation for word order rearrangement is verb raising, and verb

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[19] Kaiser & Zimmermann (2010) consider examples of XP si V in Old French to be "licit" V>2 structures, due to the corresponding construction in German, which is a clear V2 language (see endnote 6: 35).
[20] For a definition, see §2.2.2.3.

raising is clearly a prerequisite for both V1 and V2" (Jouitteau 2010: 199). The key departure from the traditional analysis of V2 is the acknowledgement that:

> V2 languages vary with respect to how many elements they allow in the preverbal area. Cross linguistically, V2 patterns are "at least V2" in the sense that the verb never appears as the first element of the clause. However, some V2 languages allow for V3 or even V4 orders. (p 203)

If we assume that certain V2 languages regularly permit V>2 orders, as Jouitteau (2010) and Benincà (1995, 2004, 2006) do, while maintaining V to C movement, we must assume that these languages permit access to positions to the left of the classic CP projection. Benincà (1995, 2004, 2006) does just this. She proposes that "strict" V2 languages, like Modern German, make very limited use of the Left Periphery, which, for simplicity's sake, is left unexpanded. Less strict V2 languages like Old French, may make somewhat greater use of the Left Periphery, which is only slightly less restricted than that of strict V2 languages. Permissive V2 languages, such as Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs) of the 12th to early 14th century, on the other hand, have even greater access to an expanded CP, thus resulting in a high rate of V>2 matrix clauses. These languages are still considered to be V2 since they demonstrate V to C movement.

As we have seen, there is plenty of evidence for V to C movement in Old French, which comes both from the asymmetry of subject pronoun inversion and the asymmetry of pro-drop itself. Furthermore, the occurrence of V>2 and V1 clauses cannot on their own be taken as evidence against a V2 analysis of Old French, especially if it can be demonstrated that these structures are motivated for similar reasons as in other V2 languages. This will be further explored along with an analysis of V2 in an expanded C-domain in §2.3.2.

2.2   Information Structure

The term Information Structure (IS) broadly refers to the organization of information in an utterance, which is situated at the interfaces of syntax, semantics, pragmatics and phonology. The organization of information serves to situate elements with respect to one another within an utterance, and also to situate the content of the utterance within the discourse as a whole. This is achieved by creating a "Common Ground" (Stalnaker 1978; Zubizarreta 1994; Krifka, 2007) of information within a discourse (i.e. referents, events, locations, etc) that the interlocutors continually modify, or add information to. Common Ground (CG) is a model for information management within a discourse. Within CG, presuppositions serve as input and assertions as output. Put another way, CG is made up of information that the speaker presupposes is known to the hearer. The speaker is able to draw from this information to make assertions, modifying what the hearer presupposes about the information in the CG. The way in which information is packaged in an utterance adds another layer to Information Structure, beyond that of new and old information. In the following example, we see how this works:

(16)   Sarah is a nice person. She is a friend of Amy's.

In (16), Sarah and Amy are both part of the Common Ground, as one can reasonably assume that the speaker presupposes the hearer's awareness of these two people. Both of these sentences modify the CG by providing information about Sarah-- first, that she is a nice person, and second that she is Amy's friend. The CG is dynamic,

constantly changing throughout a discourse based upon the presuppositions and assertions of the interlocutors.

Due to the complex and sometimes abstract nature of Information Structure, the ways in which it is discussed and analyzed can tend towards the nebulous. Perhaps the most accessible conceptualization of Information Structure is that of Chafe (1976), who frames it as a method of packaging the information under discussion. This packaging is inherently temporary and shifting, and refers only to elements that are active in the discourse.

There is variation among authors on the number of dimensions involved in Information Structure. Traditional approaches to IS assume a bi-partite division of information, variously labeled topic/comment (e.g. Reinhart 1981; Gundel 1985; etc.), background/ kontrast(focus) (Vallduvi et al. 1993; etc.), or given/new (e.g. Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; etc.). There is often overlap between the definitions of these dimensions, leading authors to call upon more than one (i.e. Topic/Comment and Background/Focus, wherein Topic is part of the Background and Focus is part of the Comment). A single term may be used by different authors to mean several distinct things. For example, a pragmatically focused element (e.g. one that is expressing new information about another constituent) may be a syntactic topic if it is moved to the beginning of an utterance, as in Hanging Topic Left Dislocation. This is not, however, to say that all instances of HTLD are moved pragmatic focus, just that there is a possible disconnect between the syntactic and pragmatic labels.

Furthermore, there is disagreement as to how IS is segmented. Certain groups believe that Information Structural groups are distinguished primarily at the prosodic

level (Büring 2003, 2007; etc.), associated with intonation structure; others associate it primarily with syntax (e.g. Rizzi 1997; Benincà 2004; Benincà & Poletto 2004; etc.), and still others treat it at the semantic/pragmatic level (Chafe 1976; Reinhart 1981; Gundel 1988; Frey 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010; Krifka 2007; Frascarelli 2007; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007; Féry & Krifka 2008; Hinterhölzl 2009; Petrova & Solf 2009; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010; etc.). All of these levels of disagreement have created a fair deal of confusion and even palpable frustration in the literature, leading certain authors to believe that "literally every notion or feature that has been proposed as relevant to Information Structure is subject to debate and exhaustive discussion in the literature" (Petrova & Solf 2009: 132).[21]

As it stands, there exist many ways of categorizing constituents in terms of their IS-value that must be sorted through. In the most recent approach in the literature, these categories (e.g. Topic, Focus, Givenness, Frame) can be thought of as independent layers of analysis, which interact in certain, typical, ways, and may even conflict with each other, as we will see. This has come about as a reaction to the confusion discussed above, as it provides a way to reconcile the sometimes muddy lines between the categories. Now we may more clearly examine the interactions between the categories, and attempt to explain their previously opaque syntactic and prosodic realizations.

For the purposes of this study, I will be using the primarily semantic/pragmatic-centered diagnostic for mapping out the IS of a sentence, rather than the prosody- or syntax-driven approaches. The prosodic approach is avoided here because I am examining texts in a language that no longer has native speakers from whom judgments

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[21] This is not a new problem in the realm of Information Structure. Reinhart (1981) pointed out "[d]espite the intensive attention that linguists of various schools have paid to the notion *topic*, there is no accepted definition of it." The same could be said for focus or frame-setter as well.

may be obtained. Syntactic diagnostics are avoided as well, because I am seeking to determine precisely which syntactic positions each pragmatic role is mapped to. It would be counterproductive, for example, to define a topic as occurring in a particular left peripheral position with possible clitic doubling (e.g. Benincà for Medieval Romance), when our goal is precisely to determine independently whether DPs representing a pragmatically defined topic are consistently mapped to this position. Furthermore, since I am investigating grammatical change, the semantic/pragmatic diagnostic allows us to track changes in the mapping of pragmatic roles to syntactic positions over time.

The elements to be studied are as follows: Topic, Focus, Givenness, and Frame-Setting. Of these elements, only Givenness is non-binary. Each of these elements will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1 Givenness

The first dimension of Information Structure to be discussed is Givenness, which is perhaps the most easily defined. The term Givenness refers broadly to whether an element has been established in the Common Ground (CG) of the discourse. Typically, Givenness is divided into three main categories: Given, Accessible[22] and New. These labels are based upon the assumptions being made by the speaker about the hearer and what is active in their consciousness (Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Reinhart 1981; Gundel 1988; Petrova & Solf 2009; Götze et al. 2009, etc.). The distinction between the various points on the Given-New scale is related to assumptions being made by the interlocutors about what the other knows. These assumptions are necessary in order to communicate

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[22] Accessible, as will be seen, is referred to by a variety of different terms in the literature, and is further subdivided by certain authors (see, for example, Prince 1981; Götze et al. 2009)

effectively. Prince (1981) gives an excellent example of this, comparing a text or discourse to a recipe. Specifically, she compares two recipes for roast suckling pig—one from *The Joy of Cooking*, the other from *Le Répertoire de la cuisine*. The first recipe, intended for American home cooks, provides fairly detailed step-by-step instructions; the second, intended for professional French chefs, is three lines long (Cochon de Lait Anglaise: Farcir farce à l'anglaise. Rôtir[23]). The difference in the level of detail in each recipe is directly related to the knowledge the writer assumes the reader to possess, following the Cooperative Principle (Grice 1989). The same is true in discourse. For example, a speaker is unlikely to use a pronoun such as *he* or *it* without assuming the addressee is aware of who or what the pronoun refers to. Each of the three types of givenness, Given (Old), Accessible (Mediated), and New, reflect different assumptions on the part of the speaker about the addressee's knowledge.

To begin with, New elements are just that, elements that have not previously been introduced to the discourse and, therefore, not activated in the mental awareness of the interlocutors. By presenting new information to the discourse, these elements provide information to be added to what is known about other entities or situations present in the discourse. As such, these elements are essential for the informative continuation of a discourse.

Once a New element is established in the CG, it becomes a Given element, as it has been explicitly stated in the discourse and is therefore activated in the consciousness of the interlocutors. This may be more precisely defined as follows (Féry & Krifka 2008):

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[23] Translation: English Suckling Pig: Stuff with English stuffing. Roast.

A feature X of an expression α is a GIVEN feature iff X indicates whether the denotation of α is present in the CG or not, and/or indicates the degree to which it is present in the immediate CG.

The role of Given elements is to help situate information within a discourse. Interlocutors are able to link utterances in a coherent manner as information about an entity can be built up and modified throughout the discourse.

To be Given, the initially presented lexical item does not have to be repeated. Given elements only need to be coreferential with a previously established referent:

(17)   I talked to your parents today. They say "hi".

Here, *they* is Given in the second sentence, since it is coreferential with *your parents*. This Given/anaphoric relationship, though, is not limited to DP strings. It is possible for a Given entity to refer back to a VP, for instance:

(18)   She completed her dissertation in six months. I don't know how she did it.

The Given element, *it*, in the second sentence does not refer back to another referent; rather, it refers back to the VP in the previous sentence: *completed her dissertation in six months*.

The labels Given and New are not able to cover all information present in a discourse. This last group of elements is Accessible, in that the speaker assumes the addressee can access them from their assumed world knowledge,[24] or can logically infer them from the previous discourse (Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Reinhart 1981; Calhoun et

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[24] Much of what is considered to be "assumed world knowledge" is dependent upon culture of both the speaker and the hearer.

al. 2005; Götze et al. 2007). Prince (1981) describes these elements as being new to the discourse while simultaneously being old to the hearer. Entities such as "the Queen of England" or "France" fall into this category, as it can be assumed that most people include them as part of their world knowledge (Calhoun et al. 2005; Götze et al. 2007). Inferable elements also rely on presupposed contextual knowledge, wherein an Accessible element must be in some sort of relationship with a Given or Accessible element, as seen below:

(19) a. John's family is in town this weekend. I can't wait to see his brother.
      b. The Queen of England addressed her subjects.
      c. Check my desk. There should be a pen in the top drawer.

In (19 a) the Accessible element is in a relationship with a Given entity. The entity *his brother* is Accessible, as it is inferable as being a member of the set *John's family*, previously established in the discourse. In (19 b), on the other hand, the second referent is Accessible, given its relationship to the first Accessible element in the sentence. Here, the first referent, *The Queen of England*,[25] is Accessible via assumed world knowledge. Based on this same assumed world knowledge, it is understood that a queen has subjects, and as such, *her subjects* is Accessible. Finally, in (19 c), the DP *the top drawer* is Accessible as it is in a part-whole relationship with the Given referent *my desk*.

Entities comprised of an aggregation of Given or Accessible elements are also considered to be Accessible, the first time they are used, as in (20):

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[25] As this example demonstrates, definiteness may be an attribute of either a Given or an Accessible constituent, depending on both context and the constituent. Here, *The Queen of England* may not have been accessible from the context previously established in the discourse, but still is definite due to the assumed world knowledge of the hearer.

(20)   John met Sarah at a party. They really hit it off.

Here, the pronoun *they* in the second sentence is Accessible as it is composed of John and Sarah, two entities already present in the discourse. This element itself cannot be Given on its first use, though, as the combination of referents has not already been used in the discourse.

Finally, a referent may be Accessible due to what is assumed to be true about the discourse setting.   Götze et al. (2007) illustrate this type of Accessibility with the following example:

(21)   Could you pass the sugar, please?

In this example, *the sugar* is Accessible if the discourse or dialogue is occurring over breakfast, or in some situation wherein the addressee is not going to be surprised to hear this request.   Once again, the referent is Accessible because of its relationship to something else in the discourse via assumed world knowledge.

Certain researchers have created more nuanced scales of Givenness, each with their own annotation systems. For instance, in her seminal work Prince (1981) establishes that the binary Given-New scale is not sufficient to accurately describe givenness in a discourse.   The complete taxonomy distinguishes among seven different types of what she refers to as "familiarity".   This taxonomy is presented below:

a) Brand-New, Anchored: an entity new to the hearer that is linked to another DP in the discourse

b) Brand-New, Unanchored: an entity new to the hearer that is not linked to another DP in the discourse.

c) Unused: a discourse new element for which it can be assumed the hearer has a model.

d) Textually Evoked: an entity which has already been established in the discourse.

e) Situationally Evoked: discourse participants and "salient features of the extratextual context" (ibid: 236).

f) Inferable: an entity that the speaker assumes the hearer can infer from the discourse entities already Evoked

g) Containing Inferable: an entity inferable from a set-member relationship with an Evoked entity.

This nuanced taxonomy permits greater accuracy in labeling discourse entities; however, it assumes the researcher shares the same level of familiarity with the discourse referents as the interlocutors.

The inventory of Reister & Baumann (2012) is comprised of eight separate categories: Lexical-givenness, Referential-givenness, referential-new, lexical-new, referential-unused, referential-bridging, lexical-accessible and referential-generic. One of the major differences between their inventory and other approaches is that they make a distinction between lexical items and referents, whereby a referent may be discourse given while its corresponding lexical item is discourse new, as in (22 a) below; conversely, a lexical item may be discourse given while its referent is discourse new, as in (22 b) (ibid.: 5):

(22)   a.   [John Smith]ᵢ entered the room. [The tall athletic professor]ᵢ looked worried.

        b.   A man came in. Another man left.

John Smith and *The tall athletic professor* share the same referent, while each of the lexical items or phrase is new to the discourse in (22 a). In the first sentence in (22 b), *A man* is both lexically New and referentially New. In the second sentence, *man* is lexically Given, since the lexical item has already been established in the discourse, but *another man* is referentially New. The two types of Givenness, referential and lexical, are straight-forward, in that they reflect whether a lexical item or referent has been previously established in the discourse. R-unused is similar to R-New in that it refers to referents that have not been established in the discourse; however, these entities are "identifiable, definite, but not necessarily known" (ibid; 5). R-bridging entities are "definite expression[s] whose licensing depends on a previously introduced scenario or frame", while L-accessible entities are "hyponyms or meronyms…of other words in the recent discourse context" (ibid: 6). Finally, R-generic refers to "definite or indefinite expressions [that] refer to a kind" (ibid: 7). These different labels may be applied in conjunction, as seen in (22 a & b) above.

Götze et al. (2007), in their proposed methodology for annotating information structure in a text corpus, subdivide the concepts of Given, Accessible, and New based on the way in which it relates to the CG. They provide two levels of annotation for each category, depending on the needs of those using the methodology. The first level is comprised of Given, Accessible and New, and is used for broad annotation. The second level further subdivides Given and Accessible, allowing for narrower annotation. For

example, Given is divided into two groups: given-active and given-inactive. Elements that are given-active are those that were mentioned in the present or immediately preceding sentence, whereas given-inactive applies to any referent last referred to before the previous sentence. Accessible is subdivided into four types: situationally accessible, accessible via aggregation, inferable and general. Each of these types refers back to the various types of Accessibility discussed above.

2.2.2 Topics

In its most basic understanding, a topic is what the sentence is about and the comment, the other half of the topic/comment dimension, provides information about the topic. This is clearest in copular sentences, as in (23), as the entire predicate provides information specifically about the subject.

(23) a. [John]$_T$ [is nine years old]$_C$
      b. [The professor]$_T$ [is patient]$_C$

In each of the sentences in (7), the goal of the sentence is to provide information about the subject. As such, the subjects *John* and *The professor* are each topics and the rest of their sentences are the comments. However, just as there is more to syntax than copular sentences, there is more to topic than this basic understanding.

Much of the work on Information Structure in the past 40 years has attempted to define Topic in such a way as to be useful in more complex sentences than those in (23) (Chafe 1976, Prince 1981, Reinhart 1981, Gundel 1985, Lambrecht 1994, Jacobs 2001, Frascarelli 2007, Féry & Krifka 2008, Petrova & Solf 2009). While this has led to an

expanded understanding of topicality and IS in general, it has also created a great deal of confusion. Petrova & Solf sum up the current state of Topic research when they state: "a range of competing concepts have been proposed making topic one of the most problematic terms to work with in Information Structure analysis" (2009: 137). The lack of a precise definition of Topic, which is arguably the central feature of Information Structure, is indicative of the state of IS definitions in general. What is more, this has been the case since the 1980's. Gundel (1985) described the state of Topic research at the time, stating "… the definition of [T]opic is far from being a settled issue" adding "most authors seem to agree that its primary function is to establish the relevance of an utterance." Just how a topic establishes the relevance of an utterance, and whether or not it is the only IS constituent that achieves this goal, is still under debate.

2.2.2.1 Definitions of Topichood

There are three main approaches to topic in the literature: syntactic topics (Halliday 1967, Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2004; Speyer 2008), old information, or given, topics (Chafe 1976, Prince 1981, Gundel 1985, Lambrecht 1994), and Aboutness topics (Reinhart 1981, Féry & Krifka 2008, Frascarelli 2007, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010, Petrova & Solf 2009). The existence of multiple approaches to topics, and the fact that they all use the same term to refer to slightly different concepts, is at the root of the confusion in defining topichood. What is more, many authors use a sort of hybrid definition of topichood which draws from more than one approach and which may be unique to their own work. Once each of the main

approaches has been discussed, the definitions used in the present study will be presented.

In the syntax driven approach, topics are elements that tend to have a topic reading pragmatically but stand out in the syntax because they occur in a salient position towards the left edge of the clause—either because they have been moved there from a base position, or because they are linked to another position by a clitic. Furthermore, any non-"focused" element (e.g. bearing a prosodic peak) which has been left-dislocated is called a topic—hence the term "topicalization" for the movement of elements to the Left Periphery.[26,27] This is the approach adopted by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001, 2004/2006) and Speyer (2008), amongst others. It should be stressed that *topicalization* is by no means restricted to topics, as pragmatically defined, and that the two concepts should be considered to be completely separate (Frey 2005, de Cat 2007 a, etc.).

There are two primary types of syntactic topics: Hanging Topics (HT) and (clitic) Left-Dislocated topics (LD). There are four major differences between HT and LD. The first has to do with what exactly is left dislocated: in HT, only a DP is left-dislocated, while in LD, an entire argument is realized in the Left Periphery. This can be seen in the following examples from Benincà (2004/2006):

(24)   a.   Di Mario, non (ne)   parla più   nessuno   LD
                Of Mario, not of.him talks anymore nobody

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[26] A more detailed discussion of the role of the Left Periphery in Information Structure will be provided in §2.3.
[27] Depending on the author, this term may be used to discuss either the leftward movement of a (pragmatically defined) topic or a focus.

b.		Mario, non ne	parla più	nessuno	HT

Mario, not of.him talks anymore nobody

'Mario, nobody talks about him anymore'

In (24 a), we have an example of LD, identifiable by the fact that the PP[28] *di Mario* has been dislocated. Conversely, (24 b) presents an HT, as only the DP *Mario* has been realized at the left edge of the clause.

The second difference between LD and HT has to do with clitic resumption. HT must be resumed by clitic doubling. These clitics match the HT in number and gender, but not necessarily in case. On the other hand, only LD that are direct objects or partitive objects are obligatorily clitic resumed. All other LD may be clitic resumed, where appropriate, but this is optional (Benincà 2004/2006). Resumptive clitics of LD must correspond in number, gender and case with the topicalized constituent. This can be seen both in the examples in (24), and in the following examples from (Benincà 2004/2006):

(25)   a.   Mario, *(lo) vedo domani

             Mario, (him) see.1.s tomorrow

             'Mario, I'll see tomorrow'

        b.   Mario, nessuno parla più de lui/ne parla più

             Mario, nobody talks anymore of him/ of.him talks anymore

             'Mario, nobody talks about him anymore'

In example (24 a), we see that when the LD, *di Mario*, is the object of the preposition *di* the clitic *ne* is optional, while in (25 a) it is obligatory as the LD is a direct object. In (24

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[28] In the pragmatic understanding of Topic, only DPs are permitted to be topics. In (23 a), this would mean that *Mario*, rather than *di Mario*, would be labeled as the topic of the sentence.

b), on the other hand, the resumptive clitic *ne* is obligatory, and in (25 b) the pronoun *lui* is permitted as an alternative to *ne.*

In terms of topics co-occurring in a clause, LD and HT are both permitted in the same clause; however, HT must precede LD. It is also possible for a clause to have multiple LD, but only one HT is permitted per clause. These are the third and fourth differences between HT and LD. The following examples are from Benincà (2004/2006).

(26)   a.   Giorgio, ai nostri amici, non parlo   mai de lui
                   Giorgio, to our   friends, not speak.1.s never of him

         b.   Ai nostri amici, Giorgio, non parlo   mai   de lui
                   to our   friends, Giorgio, not speak.1.s never of him
                   'I never talk about Giorgio to our friends'

(27)   a.   A Gianni, di questo libro, non gliene   hanno   mai   parlato.
                   To Gianni, of this   book, not to.him-of.it have.3.p never talked
                   'They have never talked to Gianni about this book.'

         b.   *[Gianni], questo libro, non ne hanno   parlato a lui
                     Gianni,   this   book, not it have.3.p talked to him.

In addition to the division of syntactic topics into Hanging Topics and (Clitic) Left-Dislocated Topics, the syntactic diagnostic categorizes the left-most constituent as the topic of the sentence (e.g. Petrova & Solf 2009; etc.). This "left-most" criterion breaks down under closer scrutiny, and elements that are *topicalized* may not in fact be topics, according to the pragmatic definition of Topic:

(28)   In 2009, [the house]$_T$[was green]$_C$.

In the above example, the left-most element *in 2009* does not fit any of the criteria for topichood, other than the fact that it is left-most. *In 2009* is not what the sentence is about, nor is it necessarily given information; it is in fact a frame-setting element.[29] The topic of the sentence in (28) is *the house*, according to the basic understanding of topic-comment. Furthermore, there is no evidence for *the house* having been left-dislocated. This definition of Topic is therefore problematic. While it is true that there is a tendency for pragmatically definied topics to occur towards the left edge of the clause, the syntactic approach over-applies the label Topic to elements that do not conform to the pragmatic definition of Topic, and does not acknowledge in-situ elements that do fit the pragmatic definition of Topic.

The second approach to defining Topic assumes that topics can be equated with old or Given information. This approach is based on the fact that elements that are topics are typically established in the discourse before they are used as topics; thus topics often contain old information. We can see this in the following example from Speyer (2010):[30]

(29)   Bupfinger looked sadly at *the young man*. Obviously *he* had been in a hurry to come here, but before *he* reached his victim, someone thrust the knife into *his body*. *He* was clad in a blue jeans and a T-shirt, very unobtrusive.

In (29), the topic of all of the sentences is *the young man/he*. Even without the beginning of the discourse, it is clear that *the young man* has already been mentioned, by the use of

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[29] It is worth noting here that certain researchers have claimed that these frame-setting elements are in fact topics in their own right (Chafe 1976; Jacobs 2001). This will be discussed further in §3.4. For now, though, it suffices to say that I consider topics and frame-setting elements to be two distinct IS categories.
[30] It should be noted that while Speyer (2008) uses a syntax-driven approach to *topicalization*, Speyer (2010) adopts the *Aboutness* pragmatic approach.

the definite article rather than the indefinite. We also see in (29) that while topics are often the subject of the sentence, they can be objects.

Another issue with this definition of topichood is that the potential topic may, in fact, be a new or accessible entity, as in the examples in (30) below:

(30) a.   [Barack Obama]T [visited Chicago last week for the NATO summit]C.
      b.   [A friend of mine]T [is visiting for the weekend]C.

In (30 a), *Barack Obama* is the topic of the sentence, regardless of whether or not he had been previously mentioned in the discourse. It can be assumed that for most Americans Barack Obama is a salient figure, and is therefore Accessible. As such, he does not have to be introduced into the discourse before a sentence in which he is the topic can be easily parsed. In (30 b), *a friend of mine* is New, but may still serve as a topic. This is because it is couched within a Given or Accessible entity--here, *mine*. This suggests that topics cannot be restricted to Given elements, and that Givenness does not fully overlap with Topichood.

The final approach, wherein the topic is "what the sentence is about", seems to be the most promising. It also is the approach that is being converged upon in the literature.[31] According to this approach, the topic is understood in a pragmatic, rather than syntactic manner, as was the case in the previous approach. This is illustrated in the definition of Topic presented in Gundel (1985):

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[31] In the syntax literature, the notion of *Topicalization* (e.g. the movement of IS constituents to the left edge of the clause) is still prevalent (see, amongst others, Benincà 2006; Benincà & Poletto 2006; Speyer 2010; Mathieu 2012; Rizzi 2013), although it appears as though it is slowly losing ground to the pragmatic understanding of topichood (see, amongst others, Frey 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010; Donaldson 2011, 2012).

An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, if in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E (1985: 86).

The difference here is that topichood is not reserved for given information. Rather, the topic is the element that is being modified in the Common Ground by having information added to it. As was discussed in the §2.2.1, both Given and Accessible elements are present in the CG, and as such both may serve as topics. This lends further support to the idea that Topichood is not synonymous with Givenness.[32]

Based on the "aboutness" definition of topichood, Reinhart (1981) developed two tests to determine the topic of a sentence, which have been used in the subsequent literature. The first test for topichood is to form a question that would elicit the given sentence as a response. The element that is repeated in each is likely to be the topic. In this case, the response to the question is providing more information about the repeated element, suggesting that the repeated element is the topic. This strategy can be seen in examples (31).

(31) a.   {What is the professor like?} [he]$_T$ is patient.
      b.   {What did you think about the movie?} I thought [it]$_T$ was good.

Example (31 a) is very straightforward. There is one referent in the question, *the professor*, and that referent is repeated in the subsequent statement. We can therefore confidently label *he* as the topic of the statement. Of course, things are not always as

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[32] The possibility for topics to be either Given or Accessible explains the link between definiteness and topics, since both Accessible and Given referents may be definite (Reinhart 1981; Petrova & Solf 2009). The term definiteness indicates an assumption on the speaker's behalf that the addressee both already knows the definite referent and that they can pick it out from all the referents "that might be categorized in this way" (Chafe 1976: 39). According to Reinhart, indefinite and quantified DPs "are hard, and sometimes impossible to interpret as topics" (1981: 65).

straight forward this. Consider the example in (31 b). Here, there are two referents being

repeated, *you* and *the movie*, which may initially cause confusion as to which is the topic

of the sentence *I thought it was good*. However, keeping in mind the notion of aboutness,

we see that it in the second sentence *it* must be the topic, as the rest of the sentence

provides more information about it.

Another test for topichood is to rephrase the sentence using the phrase "as for X",

"A says of X that X…", or "with regard to X". This is used with the example (32) below:

(32)   a.   Anne said of the professor that [he]$_T$ is patient.

      b.   As for the movie, I thought [it]$_T$ was good.

As we see in (32 a & b), the results of this test are the same as those in (31). The choice

in test depends essentially on which provides the more natural or straightforward

conclusion. For example, the construction used in (32 a) feels forced and awkward as

compared to (31 a), despite their both leading to the same conclusion. On the other hand,

the confusion discussed above with (31 b) is avoided by using the construction in (32 b).

Even with these tests, "what the sentence is about" is somewhat abstract, and a

certain amount of intuition is needed to determine the topic of a sentence, especially in a

text language;[33, 34] however, this intuition is possessed to some extent by all people and

can be further developed with practice (Speyer 2008, Petrova & Solf 2009). Part of this

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[33] In some of the historical linguistics literature, a distinction is made between *text languages* and *dead languages*. The term "text" language refers to languages which exist now only in text form but are not technically dead as they have evolved into languages that are currently spoken. Thus Old and Middle French are text languages, while Dalmatian or Phoenician would be considered dead languages.
[34] This difficulty arises from the fact that regardless of experience with a text language, one's intuitions can never be as accurate as those of a native speaker. Furthermore, we have to contend with the simple problem that there are no native speakers that could be consulted.

intuition involves incorporating aspects of the other two approaches mentioned. Each of the approaches mentioned hit upon different aspects of topichood. For example, topics do typically occur at the left edge of a sentence and they are often Given—and often are pronouns, for that matter. Thus, when determining the topichood of an element, consideration must be given to givenness and syntactic structure, in addition to its aboutness status. That is, the position of the element in the sentence and the newness or givenness of its information may add support to the topichood of an element, but neither can necessarily rule out (or in) an element as a topic.

2.2.2.2 Types of Topics

From here, we can further subdivide topics into three categories: Aboutness(-shift) topics, Familiar topics, and Contrastive topics, as defined in Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007). Each of these types of topic still conforms in some respect to the general definition of topichood, as expressed in Reinhart (1981).

To begin with, Aboutness, or Aboutness-Shift, topics are not the same as the previously defined "aboutness" topics. Recall that the "aboutness" definition of Topic, discussed in §2.2.2.1, defines Topic as being what the sentence is about, or which element in the Common Ground is actively being modified. This definition applies in some respect to each of the three subcategories of topic. The term *Aboutness topic,* on the other hand, refers specifically to topics that are either newly established as such in the discourse, or that have already been established and are being returned to as a topic after another element has served as the discourse topic. Generally speaking, the first time a referent is used as a topic in the discourse, it is an Aboutness topic. Familiar topics, on

the other hand, are co-referential with the most recent, preceding, Aboutness topic. These topics serve to maintain topic continuity across utterances. The interaction between these two types of topics can be seen in (33) below:

(33)   [My daughter's friend$_i$]$_{AbT}$ is coming over tomorrow for a sleep-over. [She$_i$]$_{FamT}$ can be a bit shy, but [my daughter$_j$]$_{AbT}$ loves spending time with [her$_i$]$_{FamT}$. In fact, [she$_j$]$_{FamT}$ has been asking me for weeks to invite [her$_i$]$_{AbT}$ over.

In (33), we see that the referent of *my daughter's friend* is repeated as a topic in each clause. In the first sentence, the Aboutness topic is established with the full DP *my daughter's friend*. This referent continues to be used as a Familiar topic in the following two clauses. In the last clause, we see that these two types of topic may co-occur in the same clause, as we have both *my daughter* and *her* serving as topics. When this occurs, the Familiar topic, here: *her*, refers back to the Aboutness topic established prior to the current utterance rather than the new Aboutness topic, here: *my daughter*. Furthermore, we see that the roles reverse once more in the last sentence, when *her* (coreferential with *my daughter's friend*) becomes the Aboutness topic and *she* (coreferential with *my daughter*) is the Familiar topic.

Considering that Old French is a (limited) null subject (NS) language,[35] it is worth noting that NSs are typically associated with a Familiar topic, and as such may receive a topic reading as well (Frascarelli 2007). Once a topic is established, there is no need to keep reasserting it with a full DP. In non-prodrop languages, this is naturally achieved through the use of pronouns. In prodrop languages, like Italian, *pro* serves this same

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[35] The realization of Null Subjects in Old French, especially of the 13th century, is asymmetric in that they are only permitted in matrix clauses (see, amongst others, Vance 1989, 1993; Rinke & Meisel 2009).

purpose. In Old French, both *pro* and pronouns may be used for topic continuity; the choice between the two depending on syntactic requirements, rather than purely IS requirements.

The final type of topic, Contrastive topics, serves to create opposition between two topics. We can think of these topics as answers to a "subquestion" of the Question Under Discussion (Büring 2007). This is illustrated in the examples in (34) below:

(34) a. {What do your sisters do?}
      [My older sister]$_{CT}$ is a doctor and [my younger sister]$_{CT}$ is a teacher.
   b. {What did the children eat for lunch?}
      Well, [Bryan]$_{CT}$ ate pizza.

In each of the examples above, the individual answers provide partial answers to the original question, the Question Under Discussion. For example, the answers in (34 a) individually correspond to the questions *what does your older sister do* and *what does your younger sister do*. As the name suggests, Contrastive topics are set in contrast to another topic. This occurs when a constituent, which would otherwise be identified as a familiar or aboutness topic, is set in opposition to another topic, which may or may not be overt. In (34 a) this contrast is overtly made between *my older sister* and *my younger sister*, whereas in (34 b), the contrast between *Bryan* and the other children referred to in the question is implicitly made. In (34 a) we also see that Contrastive topics tend to occur in parallel structures; we can assume the same would be true of any follow up to (34 b) which provides information about the other children.

The availability of topics in a given sentence appears to be limited. While there is evidence of all three types of topic co-occurring in the same clause (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007), it does not appear to be possible for each type of topic to occur more than once in a clause. This is to say, while a sentence may not have two Familiar topics, it may have a Familiar, a Contrastive and an Aboutness topic. The frequency of the multiple realizations of topics appears to be language specific, but it does appear to be a cross-linguistic phenomenon (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007).

2.2.2.3 Theticity

One final comment about topic: most, but not all, sentences contain a topic. Topic-less, or thetic, sentences serve to express the existence of an event or entity. Thetic sentences typically fall within one of the following domains: existential statements (presence, appearance, continuation, etc.); explanations (with or without preceding questions such as 'what happened?', 'why did it happen?', etc.); surprising or unexpected events; general statements (aphorisms, etc.); background descriptions (local, temporal, etc.); weather expressions; statements relating to body parts (Sasse 1987:566-567).

These sentences are said to be topic-less because information conveyed in the sentence does not modify the entry of a Given or Accessible referent in the Common Ground, nor is any particular constituent being highlighted. This is in contrast to topic-full sentences. This difference can be seen in (35), below:

(35)　a.　It's already June.
　　　b.　I am thirsty.

In (35 a), we have a thetic clause. Here we have a statement conveying the fact that it is June—the event of it being June exists. No referent in the Common Ground is being modified, even though new information is being added to the discourse. In (34 b), on the other hand, we have a topic-full sentence. Here, the topic is *I* and we are adding the information "being thirsty" to its entry in the Common Ground.

Thetic sentences can be divided into two broad types: event-centric and entity-centric[36] (Sasse 1987; Cook & Bildhauer 2011). The basic distinction between these two types of thetic expression revolves, perhaps obviously, around whether an event or an entity is being established as existing. Examples of these two types of sentences can be seen in (36), below:

(36)   a.   There was a man in the hallway.
       b.   It is raining cats and dogs.

In (36 a), we have an example of an entity-centric thetic expression. The communicative purpose of this statement is to establish the existence of *a man*. The only information provided about the referent is that he is in the hallway, but since he has not already been previously established in the discourse, nor is he accessible, *a man* cannot serve as a topic. (36 b) is a straight-forward example of an event-centric thetic expression. Here, the event of *raining* is established as occurring, without any further commentary.

The fact that thetic expressions are employed to present either an entity or an event to the discourse does not mean that these sentences necessarily contain only New

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[36] Sasse (1987) uses –central instead of –centric here; -centric comes from Cook & Bildhauer (2011).

information. Given or Accessible information may occur in thetic sentences; they simply cannot be topics. An example of this follows in (37):

(37)   Aujourd'hui, maman est morte.[37]
        Today, my mother died.

In (37), we have the famous opening line of Camus' *L'Etranger*.   We are presented with *maman*, a referent that is Accessible since everyone has a mother. We are also given information about this referent: that she died today (or perhaps it was yesterday). The key to this sentence being thetic is that it is uttered out of the blue—there is no Common Ground to be modified. Whether this is an event- or entity-centric expression, however, depends on the speaker's intent. The sentence in (37) could be seen as entity-centric, in that it establishes the existence of an entity to which the property of being dead is attributed.   On the other hand, (37) could be event-centric, in that it establishes the existence of the event of dying and attributes it to an entity.

The intentions of the speaker, or rather the speaker's assumptions about what the hearer expects, also plays a role in distinguishing between thetic sentences, especially entity-centric, and topic-full sentences.

(38)   a.   {What's wrong} My boyfriend broke up with me.
        b.   {What happened with your boyfriend?} [He]$_{TOP}$ broke up with me.

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[37] Camus, A (1942) *L'Etranger*.

Each of the examples in (38) contain the sentence *my boyfriend/ he broke up with me.* In (38 a), this sentence is thetic, while in (38 b) it contains a topic. The difference between the two interpretations lies in the discourse context, and with the hearer's expectations. In (38a) the speaker is responding to the open-ended question *what's wrong.* Here, no referent has been established as being the subject of the Question Under Discussion (Büring 2007). This is to say, the person posing the question is not asking for specific information about any one referent. As a result, no topic is possible in this realization of the sentence.

This same sentence, *he broke up with me*, has a topic in (38 b). Here, the speaker is asked a more direct question: *what happened with your boyfriend.* The person asking the question is expressing a desire to know more about the speaker's boyfriend. As a result, *the boyfriend,* or *he* in this instance, is the topic of the answer for the same reasons previously discussed in §2.2.2.2. The difference between the readings of this sentence highlights why the analysis of IS ought to be done across a discourse, or text, rather than on individual sentences. Without the appropriate context, there would be no way to know whether the sentences (38) were thetic or not.

2.2.3   Focus

Another dimension of Information Structure of interest here is that of focus-background. Generally speaking, focus refers to an element that is somehow prominent in the sentence or that has more "informational relevance" (Petrova & Solf 2009). Unsurprisingly, the term *focus* is only slightly less controversial or debated than *topic* in the IS literature. Like topics, focused elements may be moved into the Left Periphery. Whereas *topic* is

often associated with Given information, *focus* is often equated with New information (Chafe 1976; Rooth 1985; Rizzi 1997). The key distinction between these two notions, however, is the fact that focused information *must*[38] be explicitly marked, either by a focus particle (e.g. Japanese), a specific position in the sentence (e.g. Hungarian), a prominent prosodic peak (e.g. English), or by a combination of these feature (e.g. German) (Speyer 2008).

All focused elements are inherently contrastive in nature—every focus is drawn from a set of possible entities and is prominent in order to highlight that this entity X, rather than any other possible entity, has been selected. Rooth (1985) summarizes this as follows: "it is X, and not other members of the salient set containing X, although they would have been equally eligible." This is illustrated in example (39) below:

(39)   {What book did you read?} [I]$_T$ read [THE GREAT GATSBY[39]]$_F$

In (39), THE GREAT GATSBY is the focus of its sentence, as it has been selected out of the set of all books. Often, the focused entity in a sentence will correspond to the wh-element in the question that would elicit the sentence as a response, as in (39) above (Neeleman et al. 2009). Several types of focus have been identified in the literature, among them *new-information-* or *presentational-focus*, *contrastive-focus*, and *verum-focus*.

New-information-focus (NIF) or *presentational-focus* refers to examples such as (38) wherein the focused element (but not necessarily the referent) is providing new

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[38] The same is not necessarily true of Topics, which may be explicitly marked, as in Japanese and Italian.
[39] It is standard in the literature to represent focused elements in CAPS, to indicate their prominence.

information. This information does not necessarily have to be new to the discourse; rather, it needs to be new to the entry in the Common Ground about the Topic[40] (Vallduvì 1992; Büring 2007; Petrova & Solf 2009). As such, this type of focus has led to the generalization of focus as the informative part of the sentence (Vallduvì & Engdahl 1996; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011).

(40) a.   {Who did Felix praise?} [Felix]$_T$ praised [HIMSELF]$_F$.
      b.   {What did Felix do?} [Felix]$_T$ [PRAISED]$_F$ himself

In examples (40 a & b), we can see that, unlike topic, focus is not restricted to DPs, and that different elements in the same sentence can be focused depending on the informational needs of the speaker.

Contrastive focus (CF), like NIF, expresses newly relevant information; however, this information is contrasted with another element, either explicitly (Chafe 1976; Götze et al 2007; Cruschina 2006; Reister & Baumann 2012; Repp 2010) or implicitly (Chafe 1976; Petrova & Solf 2009). This may be done for corrective purposes, as in (41 a) or for additive purposes (41 b) (Krifka 2007):

(41) a.   {What vegetables does Jenny like?}
              PEAS [Jenny]$_T$ likes, CARROTS [she]$_T$ doesn't

      b.   {Did Mary order pizza?}
              MARY and SARAH ordered the pizza.

---

[40] In thetic clauses, wherein there is no topic, the focus must present information that is new w.r.t. the event or the entity being presented in the clause.

In (41 a) we have two focused elements: PEAS and CARROTS. Each of these has been drawn from the set of all vegetables, and receives prominence to reinforce the fact that they have been selected rather than any other possible vegetable. These two vegetables are also explicitly contrasted with one another in such a way as to put them in opposition. In (41 b), on the other hand, the focused elements—MARY and SARAH—are not in opposition with one another. Rather, these are both CF since SARAH is being explicitly added to the list of people who are ordering pizza. (41 b) can also be seen as corrective, as the addition of SARAH is correcting the presupposition of the questionner.

Finally, *verum-focus* is a specialized type of focus that only falls on the verb and serves to reinforce the truth of the predicate. This can be seen in the following examples:

(42)   a. {did Peter run?} Oh, Peter RAN alright.
        b. I WAS home before curfew!

Comparing (42 a&b) to (40 b), it is clear that not all cases of focused verbs are *verum-focus*. In (40 b), the focus on the verb does not serve to reinforce the truthfulness of the statement, rather it provides the new information elicited in the Question Under Discussion. In (42), on the other hand, there is a clear sense that the focus is used to refute any statement to contrary. It should be noted that this type of focus is not restricted to new information—if anything, it can only be applied to given lexical verbs or auxiliary verbs.

As has been discussed in §2.2.2, it is possible for the different IS dimensions to overlap or interact. This has already been demonstrated with the given-new information dimension and topic-comment, whereby topics are often given information, but may be

new as well.   It has been suggested that the overlap of topic and focus is at the root of Contrastive topic. This can be seen in (34 a) repeated below, modified to indicate focus:

(34)   a.   {What do your sisters do?}

My [[OLDER]$_F$ sister]$_T$ is a DOCTOR and my [[YOUNGER]$_F$ sister]$_T$ is a TEACHER.

Here, *sister* is the topic of each proposition, and the contrast between the two is conveyed by focusing the adjectives OLDER and YOUNGER. Thus, the DPs *older sister* and *younger sister* are still topics, they just happen to include focused elements as well.[41] This use of focus is in contrast to the *contrastive-focus* also used in (34 a), on DOCTOR and TEACHER.

The example in (34 a) highlights two other important facts about focus. First, focus is not restricted to New information—it can be presumed by the use of the plural in the question that both parties in (34 a) are aware of the older and younger sister, meaning that the referents are either Given or Accessible, as discussed above with new information focus. While focus typically falls on New information, the key aspect of focus here is that it indicates the presence of contrast.   Second, like topics, more than one type of focus may occur in a given utterance; however, unlike topics, each type of focus may occur more than once, as demonstrated by the presence of two CF in each matrix clause (Petrova & Solf 2007; Götze et al. 2009).

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[41] We could also analyze the contrastive topics in (34 a) as answers to sub-questions under discussion, as proposed by Buring (2005) and discussed in §2.2.2.2.

2.2.4 Frame-Setting

The final IS dimension to be considered here is *frame-setting*. Frame-setting elements have long been grouped into the realm of topics as they may pattern like topics. For example, topics and frame-setters (FS) are often marked in the same way (e.g. by the postposition *nun* in Korean and with distinct prosodic phrases in Italian, English, and German amongst others (Féry & Krifka 2008)). Like topics, these elements tend to be old-information and are not typically focused. However, frame-setters and topics employ different sets of XPs.   While topics tend to be DPs, FS are typically adverbs, prepositional phrases, or subordinate clauses, which serve to create "discourse cohesion" by linking the sentence to previous discourse (Reinhart 1981). Additionally, topics and FS serve distinct communicative purposes; topics establish what the proposition is about, whereas FS restrict the context in which the proposition is true by establishing the time-frame or location of the action or by creating a contingency with a previous action (Chafe 1976; Reinhart 1981; Jacobs 2001; Benincà 2004; Götze et al. 2007; Speyer 2010). This distinction of FS from *topic* and *focus* can be seen in the following examples:[42]

(43)   a. *That same day,* HER HUSBAND made [her]$_T$ leave that town.
         b. *When she left the house that morning,* [Sarah]$_T$ had no idea it would rain.

In (43 a), the Topic of the sentence is *her* as it is what the sentence is about, the focus, *her husband,* specifies what is causing the action, and the FS, *that same day* restricts the truth-value of the sentence by establishing when the action occurs.   Example (43 b)

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[42] Frame-setting elements in these examples are presented in *italics*. It should be noted that Frame-Setters are treated as a discrete unit, and any DP that occurs within a FS will not be individually coded for givenness, aboutness, etc. as the internal make-up of FS is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

demonstrates how an entire embedded clause can act as a Frame-Setting element. Here, *when she left the house that morning*, like the FS in (43 a) limits the time when the following clause is true.

As we can see in (43) above, FS elements "specify the situation under which the truth value of the proposition has to be evaluated" (Speyer 2008). In this way, FS serve to either limit or describe the context of the proposition. Jacobs (2001) defines FS as follows:

(44)   Frame-setting:

In (X, Y), X is the *frame* for Y iif X specifies a domain of (possible) reality to which the proposition expressed by Y is restricted.

Looking back at the examples in (43) the above definition becomes clear. In (43 a & b) the respective FS, *that same day* and *when she left the house that morning*, both provide clear contexts for the following propositions.

It should be noted that while FS are often adverbs, prepositional phrases, non-finite verb phrases and subordinate clauses, not all XPs that fall into these categories are FS elements. For example, adverbs such as *very, quickly,* and *energetically* are not FS elements; while they do modify elements in the clause in which they occur, they do not limit the truth-value of the clause. FS elements act to situate the action in relation to the discourse as whole, to provide a context for the statement, unlike non-FS adverbs etc. Depnding on the discourse needs of the sentence, these adverbs may be focused or may have no IS-value whatsoever.

2.3 The Left Periphery

Broadly speaking, the Left Periphery refers to the expanded form of the Complementizer Phrase (CP) and serves as the bridge between discourse and sentence structure. Originally the CP was considered to be a single position to the left of the IP that was "headed by a free functional morpheme and [hosted] topics and various operator-like elements such as interrogative and relative pronouns, focalized elements, etc." (Rizzi 1997, 281). Any material to the left of the finite verb but not in SpecCP was assumed to be evidence of either CP recursion or adjunction to IP.

However, the elements to the left of SpecCP are strictly ordered. If any element located to the left of the CP were simply adjoined or the result of CP recursion, strict ordering of these elements would not be assumed. This ordering provides evidence for more structure at the left edge of the clause, resulting in the articulation of the Left Periphery, along the lines of the expanded IP (Pollock 1989). The Left Periphery serves as the location of interaction between the sentence and the discourse. As such, it can host operators that select clause type (i.e. interrogative, imperative, declarative, etc.), complementizers, and dislocated material. The original structure of the Left Periphery (LP), as proposed in Rizzi (1997), consists of 5 heads: Force, Finiteness, Focus and two Topic positions (45 a). This has since been modified by Benincà (2004) as seen in (45 b).

(45)   a.   Force   Top(ic)   Foc(us)   Top(ic)   Fin(ite)

         b.   Force   Frame   Top   Foc   Fin

This second schema of the Left Periphery is the one that will be used here, for reasons that will be discussed below.

2.3.1 General outline of the Left Periphery

We begin the discussion of the role of each XP in the LP with the leftmost position: Force. Force serves to look outside of the clause, connecting a sentence with the preceding discourse. This is to say, material hosted in Force identifies the type of clause or sentence at hand. This may be achieved via operators, overt morphology, or a combination thereof (Rizzi 1997, 2013).

At the other end of the LP, Fin serves to connect the CP with the IP. If Force looks outside of the clause, Fin looks inside the clause. According to Rizzi (1997) "we should think of finiteness as the core IP-related characteristics that the complementizer system expresses" (284). However, this is not to say that FinP necessarily encodes verbal morphology. Rather, it may select complementizers that are conditioned by the finiteness of the verb (i.e. *for* vs. *that* in English). Typically, material in Fin "replicates" features such as mood or subject agreement; however, it may also "express genuine tense distinctions" (284). In languages which employ V to C movement, Fin^0 is the landing site for the verb within the Left Periphery, replacing C^0 from the previous framework, as will be discussed below.

Force and Fin work together in such a way that in many languages the set of available complementizers is divided between the two projections. For example, in Romance and Germanic the complementizers *che, que, that, dass, dat, at*, etc., are hosted in ForceP, while complementizers such as *for, di, de*, etc. are hosted in FinP (Rizzi 2013). The same is true in Welsh, with *mai* in ForceP and *a* in Fin P (Roberts 2004). The distinction between these two projections is illustrated in the following examples in Italian (46) and Welsh (47) from Rizzi (2013) and Roberts (2004):

(46)   a.   ho deciso *che*, a Gianni, gli parlerò domani

               (I) have decided that to Gianni (I) to-him will-speak tomorrow

               'I decided that, to Gianni, I will speak tomorrow'

       b.   ho deciso, a Gianni, *di* parlargli domani

               (I) have decided, to Gianni, *di* to speak-to-him tomorrow

(47)   dywedais i *mai* 'r dynion fel arfer *a* werthith y ci

          said I *mai* the men as usual *a* will-sell the dog

The Left Periphery also serves as host to left dislocated elements. Each type of IS element—Topic, Focus and Frame-setter—has its own position in the Left Periphery, strictly ordered between ForceP and FinP .[43] These positions are reserved for elements bearing the appropriate IS features (i.e. only an IS topic may be hosted in TopP).[44] This is not to say that all constituents bearing IS features must be realized in their corresponding LP position—there is plenty of evidence of topics and foci occurring in situ. Rather, this serves to restrict the targeting of these projections by any constituent that does not bear the appropriate IS feature. It should be noted that in laying out the cartography of the Left Periphery, Rizzi (1997) utilizes definitions of Topic and Focus that have been discarded here, as it is based primarily on the syntactic approach to Topic, rather than a pragmatics-driven approach. That is to say, Rizzi considers Topic to refer to

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[43] See § 2.2.2 and §2.2.3 for more on Topic and Focus.

[44] As previously discussed in §2.1, the definitions of topic, focus and frame-setters do not exactly align in the syntactic and information structure literature. Typically, semantic/pragmatic definitions are avoided in the syntactic literature, where they concentrate on the ordering of constituents and the syntactic reflexes of these constituents (i.e. resumptive clitics for topics). This is especially true in the diachronic syntax literature (Beninca 2004, 2006; Beninca and Poletto 2004; Poletto 2002; Rinke and Misel 2009). Beninca (2004) explains this, stating "to reach a clear characterization of these projections on the basis of semantics and pragmatics is a difficult task, as the same traditional labels are ambiguous and judgments are elusive and slippery (not only when we deal with languages without any native speaker to consult)" (249). All the same, I will assume that arguments in SpecTop, SpecFrame and SpecFoc conform to the definitions of these elements discussed in §2.2 as I have clearly defined the notions *topic*, *focus* and *frame-setter* and will be employing a replicable methodology in this study.

given information that is located at the left edge of the clause, often due to topicalization or dislocation. Focus, on the other hand, refers to new information, and must receive some sort of intonational prominence, called "focal stress" (285-286).

When looking cross-linguistically at languages that allow more than one element in the Left Periphery topics consistently precede focus, indicating that TopicP is located above FocP (Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Paoli 2007 for Italian; Benincà 2004, 2006, Poletto 2002 for Medieval Northern Italian dialects; Cruschina 2006 for Sicilian; Poletto 2002 for Rhaeto-Romance; E. Kiss 1995 for Hungarian; Salvesen 2013 for Old French; Erteschik-Shir 2007 for Hebrew; Aboh 2004 for Gungbe). The evidence for this strict ordering is simple—when a topic and a focus are permitted to co-occur in the Left Periphery, the focused constituent must occur to the right of the topic.

Italian makes extensive use of the Left Periphery with its ability to front multiple elements in a single sentence. As a result, it has been a key source of data for determining the cartography of the Left Periphery. The following examples from Benincà & Poletto (2004) demonstrate the order of TopicP and FocP in Italian:

(48) a. Regalerete   un libro di poesie A GIANNI[45]
          you will give a   book of poems to Gianni
          "You will give a book of poems to Gianni"
    b. Un libro di poesie, A   GIANNI, lo regalerete
          a   book of poems TO GIANNI, it you will give

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[45] This example is my own, verified by the judgments of multiple speakers of Italian, to demonstrate that dislocation is not grammatically necessary for information structural purposes, unlike the Hungarian examples in (47).

c. *A GIANNI, un libro di poesie, lo regalerete

TO GIANNI a   book of poems it   you will give

The same sentence in Italian is presented three times in (48), first without any dislocation (48 a), then with both the topic and focus left dislocated in Topic-Focus order (48 b) and finally with Focus-Topic order. The Topic-Focus order is grammatical while the Focus-Topic order is not, supporting the proposed cartography of TopicP above FocP.

Similarly, Hungarian also requires Topic-Focus order at the left-edge of the sentence. Unlike in Italian, this order is necessary in all sentences, as seen in the examples below from E. Kiss (1995):

(49)   a.   János IMRET mutatta be Zsuszának

John   Imre.ACC introduced prev Susan.DAT

"John introduced to Susan to IMRE"

b.   Zsuszának JANOS   muttata be   Imrét

Susan.DAT John introduced prev Imre.ACC

"Susan was introduced to Imre by JOHN"

c.   Imrét   ZSUZANAK mutatta   be   János

Imre.ACC Susan.DAT   introduced prev John

Imre was introduced by John to SUSAN

d.   *ZUSANAK János mutatta be Imrét

Hungarian requires the focus to be immediately preverbal and the topic to be in the initial position. In examples (49 a-c), the initial element serves as the Aboutness topic[46] while the immediately preverbal constituent may be either a New Information Focus or

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[46] See §2.2.2.2 for more on the different types of Topic.

Contrastive Focus,[47] depending on context. (49 d), on the other hand, is ungrammatical because the focused element, *ZUSANAK*, is ordered before the topic, Imrét.

Given that each of the initial elements in (49 a-c) perform different syntactic functions (i.e. subject, indirect object and direct object, as does each of the immediately preverbal elements (i.e. direct object, subject and indirect objet), it is clear that, in this respect, word order in Hungarian is determined by Information Structure.   If this were not the case, we would not be able to explain why (49 b) is grammatical while (49 d) is not, as they have the same word order.

It should be noted that in the original cartography of the Left Periphery proposed by Rizzi (1997), presented in (45 a), two recursive topic positions are posited: one above FocP and one below FocP. As evidence for these two possible Topic positions and of their recursive nature, Rizzi provides the examples below, in which the presumed focus, *questo*, is able to occur before, between, and after the presumed topics: *a Gianni* and *domani.*

(50) a.   QUESTO a Gianni, domani,   gli   dovremmo dire!
             This   to Gianni   tomorrow to-him should.1.pl tell
             'Tomorrow we should tell this to Gianni'
      b.   A Gianni, QUESTO, domani   gli   dovremmo dire!
             To Gianni, this,   tomorrow to-him should.1.pl tell
      c.   A Gianni, domani,   QUESTO, gli   dovremmo dire!
             To Gianni, tomorrow, this,   to-him should.1.pl tell

---

[47] See §2.2.3 for more on the different types of Focus.

First, it should be noted that Rizzi (1997) considers temporal adverbs, like *domani* (tomorrow), to be topics. As discussed in §2.2.4, these elements are generally considered to be frame-setters in the pragmatic information structure literature. Furthermore, Benincà & Poletto (2004) state that temporal adverbs can "occupy a lower position occurring at the IP edge" and as such should not necessarily be considered indicative of a lower Topic projection (55). Therefore, (50 b) does not provide evidence of a Topic projection below FocP. However, there is still the issue of how to account for the presence of the topic *a Gianni* to the right of the focus *questo* in (50 a).

Rizzi (1997) considers *a Gianni* in (48) to be a topic, due to the presence of the resumptive clitic *gli*. However, Benincà & Poletto (2004) state that dative clitics, such as *gli,* are not necessarily evidence of topichood. As evidence, they provide the following example, wherein the dative clitic *gli* (in its elided form in *Gliel'ho*) is coreferential with *a Gianni*, which does not receive a topic reading:

(51)   Gliel'ho   detto   a Gianni
        To-him-it have told.1.s to Gianni
        'I told this to Gianni'

Rather than consider *a Gianni* in (51) a topic, Benincà & Poletto (2004) consider it to be a focus. The reason for this analysis stems from the fact that elements like *a Gianni* are subject to weak crossover effects, a hallmark of Focus but not Topic (Rizzi 1997; Benincà & Poletto 2004; Roberts 2004; de Cat 2007 b). This can be seen in similarly structured sentences, such as the following from Benincà & Poletto (2004):[48]

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[48] Note: the authors do not provide a grammatical sentence for the intended interpretation.

(52) a. *A MARIA, Giorgio$_i$, sua$_i$ madre presentera

  To Maria   Giorgio his mother will introduce

  'His mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria'

  b. *A MARIA$_i$, Giorgio, sua$_i$ madre presentera

  To Maria   Giorgio her mother will introduce

  'Her mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria'

  c. *A MARIA, Giorgio, sua madre lo   presentera

  To Maria   Giorgio his mother him will introduce

In (52 a & b) we see that Maria and Giorgio cannot be coreferential with the possessive pronoun *sua*. This necessary referential distinction indicates that they both must be focus rather than topics. (52 c) reinforces the claim that Giorgio is a focus rather than a topic, as it cannot be clitic resumed, as would be expected of a topic in this context. Therefore, *Giorgio* in (52) and *a Gianni* in (50) provide evidence that multiple foci can co-occur in the Left Periphery, even if only one can be stressed, and not, as Rizzi (1997) proposed, that there is a second TopP below FocP.

Moving to the left of our single TopP, the Frame projection hosts frame-setting elements that are adjoined towards the left edge of the clause (Haegeman 2012[49]). It should be noted that not all cartographies of the Left Periphery include a specific projection for frame-setting elements (Rizzi 1997, 2013; Poletto 2000; Poletto & Pollock 2004). This does not mean, however, that this position is unmotivated, as we will see below; rather, this is most likely due to the fact a) frame-setters are under studied, in comparison to Topic and Focus and b) frame-setters tend to be lumped in with Topic.

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[49] Haegeman (2012) refers to this position as ModP, for modifier. In this formation, ModP may host any modifier, and "the restriction to a subset of modifiers ('scene-setters') must follow from other principles" (p 89).

However, there is evidence which indicates that a projection reserved for frame-setters is motivated (Poletto 2002; Benincà 2004, 2006; Benincà & Poletto 2004)

As discussed in §2.2, while adverbs and prepositional phrases are the most common frame-setters, they may also receive a focal reading, or receive no IS reading at all, depending on the IS needs of the clause. Adverbs are particularly interesting in this respect, as certain classes appear to only occur in the Left Periphery if they are focused, while others do not have to be focused to be in the Left Periphery (Poletto 2002). This is demonstrated in the following examples from Rhaeto-Romance (Poletto 2002: 222):

(53)   a.   Duman n vagn-l pa nia
                Tomorrow not goes-he not not
                'Tomorrow he is not coming'
    b.   DUMAN n vagn-l pa nia
                tomorrow not goes-he not not   (interpret. "not-tomorrow")

(54)   a.   *Trees l feje-l
                Always it does-he
                'he always does it'
    b.   TREES l feje-l

From (53 b) and (54 b), we can conclude that both classes of adverbs may be focused, and therefore realized in SpecFoc; however, the ungrammaticality of (54 a) suggests that only circumstantial adverbs, like that in (53) may occur in a left-peripheral position other than SpecFoc. Given that these adverbs are possible frame-setters, we can reasonably assume that they may occupy SpecFrame. Furthermore, in comparing the two examples in (53), we find that their presuppositions are completely different. In (53 b), there is a

clear contrastive reading on *duman*, tomorrow, suggesting that he is coming at some point, just not tomorrow. In (53 a), on the other hand, *duman*, tomorrow, is simply indicating that he will not be coming tomorrow, without presupposing that he will come another day. This contrast in presuppositions of two sentences that appear identical on the surface suggests the presence of a projection other than SpecFoc that can host circumstantial adverbs: FrameP.

Constituents located in SpecFrame have scope over the entire sentence, which is not necessarily the case when the same constituent is located lower in the phrase:

(55)   a.   Today John said that he was leaving.
        b.   John said that he was leaving today.

In (55 a) the adverb *today* modifies the action of the matrix clause, while the adverb in (55 b) may modify either the embedded clause or the matrix clause. This is not necessarily to say that *today* is not a frame-setting element in both examples in (53), but rather that there may be a difference in interpretation dependent upon the location of the frame-setter.

Frame-setting elements typically occur to the left of topics and foci[50].   We can see this order in the following examples from Italian (Benincà & Poletto 2004) (56) and Old French (Donaldson 2012) (57):

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[50] Examples of Topic >Frame-Setter and Focus > Frame-Setter structures in Old French will be discussed in §6.4.

(56)   [SpecFrameDomani] [SpecTopGianni] lo   vedo

            Tomorrow,   Gianni   him will-meet.1.s

        'Tomorrow I will see Gianni'

(57)   [SpecFrame Quant elles orent assez   chanté] [SpecTop l'une]

            When they had   enough sung   the.one

        si   s'est   partie de   la   quarole.

        thus herself.is left   from the dance

        'When they had sung a great deal, one of them left the dance'

        (*Roman de Cassidorus*, §116)

In each of the above examples, we find that the frame-setter, be it an adverb or an

adverbial clause, is located to the left of the topic. This evidence, in conjunction with the

discussion above, indicates the presence of a left-peripheral projection above TopicP

reserved to frame-setters.

2.3.2   Left Periphery and Verb Second

        As was discussed in §2.1, Verb Second is characterized in standard GB terms by

the movement of the finite verb to C^0 accompanied by the realization of a constituent in

SpecCP. When working with an expanded CP, on the other hand, we must determine

which head hosts the verb in a Verb Second language.

        There are two probable choices for the head that hosts the finite verb: $Force^0$ and

Fin^0.[51] The argument in favor of V to Force is centered on the definition of V2 as the

verb moving to the highest head in the sentence, preventing more than one constituent

from occurring to its left. The difference between a V2 language and a non-V2 language

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[51] Benincà (1995, 2004) proposes Foc^o as the landing site for finite verbs in the Left Periphery. Given the
EPP argument presented in this section, I believe that this argument is untenable. The reasons for this will
be more fully explored in §6.5

which also demonstrates V to C movement, such as Italian, would be the presence of a feature such as [+Force] which would trigger movement of the verb to the highest head in the structure, rather than a head lower in the Left Periphery (Poletto 2002). As a result, V2 would fall out from the lack of possible projections to the left of SpecForce.

The other possible host for the finite verb is Fin^0. Given that FinP is the projection in the Left Periphery that is related to the IP, it is a logical host for the finite verb. Despite the fact that V2 languages are characterized by the restriction to only one preverbal element, as has been previously discussed, it is possible for more than one constituent to occur to the left of the verb, in very restricted contexts. As such, it potentially advantageous to have the verb realized lower in the structure, with IS related positions available above the verb.

If the verb raises to Fin^o instead of $Force^o$, then a mechanism must be put in place to limit the number of preverbal elements to one. The most widely accepted proposal is an EPP feature on FinP (Haegeman 1997, 2012; Poletto 2002; Roberts 2004). The EPP serves to both fill SpecFin with an XP and limit the number of preverbal elements. It does this by creating a "bottle neck", thus preventing movement beyond SpecFin (Roberts 2004, Poletto 2002). In this way, SpecFin can be filled by any constituent that can satisfy EPP, and is not restricted by IS features, like the specifiers of FrameP, TopP and FocP (Roberts 2004). This is supported by the fact that the immediately preverbal position (Vorfeld) is not limited to specific IS constituents, even if there may be language specific preferences (Bohnacker & Rosen 2006; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010). Importantly, only movement is prevented to the left of SpecFin; constituents may still be merged in the Left Periphery. This is in line with the proposal from Holmberg (2011)

that only constituents that have been moved to the immediately preverbal position

"count" as the first constituent:

> while categories which are externally merged (first-merged, base-generated) in the Left Periphery, including conjunctions and question particles, do not count as first constituents for V2... likewise, clearly left-dislocated phrases, which are also plausibly analysed as externally merged in the Left Periphery of the clause, do not count for V2 (Homberg 2011, p 6).

This distinction becomes crucial when we look at which IS elements are permitted in V>2 structures.

As previously mentioned, topics, focuses, and frame-setters all occupy specifier positions. SpecFrame and SpecTop are filled via merge, whereas SpecFoc is filled via move (Benincà 2004, 2006).[52] Therefore, if V2 is the result of verb movement to Fin^0 along with the realization of an XP in SpecFin, triggered by an EPP[53] feature on FinP, we expect all V>2 structures to have either a topic or a frame-setter in the initial, leftmost, position. Another way of putting this is that topics and frame-setters "escape" the EPP bottleneck at SpecFin. Furthermore, we should never find a focus initial V>2 clause in a V2 language, as they cannot escape the EPP bottleneck. According to Poletto (2002) and

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[52] Benincà (2004) includes all topics in this generalization—both hanging topics and clitic left dislocated topics, stating: "I propose that the Focus field hosts elements that are moved with operator-like properties; Topics of various kinds are, on the contrary, base generated and hosted in Fields all located above the Focus field" (249). Benincà (2004) proposes an LP consisting of "fields" rather than specific XPs, as a wide variety of elements with overlapping IS purposes can potentially be hosted in the Left Periphery. For the purposes of the current work, the standard format of the LP, consisting of 5 different heads, is sufficient.

[53] While EPP may be viewed as an ad hoc explanation for a wide range of syntactic phenomena, I hope to demonstrate below and in Chapter five that it is able to predict the V>2 orders found in V2 languages.

Roberts (2004), this prediction is borne out in Rhaeto-Romance and German (Poletto 2002, Roberts 2004).[54]

In her study of V3 orders in Rhaeto-Romance, Poletto (2002) finds that they are only possible in a limited number of contexts, depending on the IS-value of the initial constituent. First of all, V>2 is not permitted if the initial element is a focus; however, V>2 is permitted when the initial element is a hanging topic.[55] These results, amongst other facts, support both the claim that Rhaeto-Romance is a V2 language, and that an EPP feature on FinP is a factor in V2.

Roberts (2004), provides similar evidence in German. He suggests that the EPP analysis of V2 can account for the V>2 constructions with a "D-pronoun", such as those in (15), repeated below:

(15)   a.   [Den   Bruno]$_i$, den$_i$ *kennt* **sie** nicht.   [German]
                the-ACC Bruno   him knows she not
                'She doesn't know BRUNO'
       b.   [Wenn Bruno Hunger hat]$_i$, dann$_i$ *isst* **er** Apfel.   [German]
                 If   Bruno hunger has   then eats he apples.
                'If Bruno is hungry, then he eats apples.'

In (15 a) it appears that the dislocated constituent *Den Bruno* is a topic, with the rest of the clause providing more information about it. Similarly, (15 b) has an initial frame-setting element, the subordinate clause *Wenn Bruno Hunger hat*, which serves to contextualize the information in the rest of the sentence. Given their IS-values, the initial

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[54] Roberts (2004) is a later version of Roberts (1999), which Poletto (2002) cites as the originator of this EPP analysis of V2, along with all of the implications of EPP.
[55] The distinction between a hanging topic and a (clitic) left dislocated (LD) topic appears to be purely syntactic. Any finer IS distinction between hanging topics and LD topics is beyond the scope of this work.

constituents in (15 a & b) should be located in SpecTop and SpecFrame, respectively. Again, as SpecTop and SpecFrame are not filled via move these V>2 constructions are not problematic for this EPP based analysis of V2.

Holmberg (2011) similarly discusses these two types of apparent left-dislocation, stating that they occur in all Germanic V2 languages, and presenting the following two examples from Dutch and Swedish:

(58) a. [Die man] $_i$, die$_i$ *ken* **ik** niet   [Dutch]
          that man him know I not
          "That man, I don't know"[56]
      b. För två vecktor sen, då *köpte* **Johan** sin första bil.   [Swedish]
          for two weeks ago, then bought Johan his first car
          "Two weeks ago, Johan bought his new car"

Holmberg (2011) agrees with Roberts (2004) that these apparent violations of V2 are the result of arguments, or adverbials, merging to the left of the immediately preverbal position. Rather than accounting for this using a sort of EPP loophole, Holmberg (2011) calls upon the idea that externally merged constituents do not count, so to speak, as externally merged or base-generated constituents cannot serve as "first constituents" as a rule. The distinction between these two proposals is a theoretical one, and the validity of one over the other will not be discussed here.

Since V>2 structures can be accounted for in V2 languages in this way, it seems reasonable to assume that any language that appears to have V2 properties yet demonstrates a (relatively) high frequency of V>2 clauses should not be immediately

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[56] This gloss is my own

dismissed as being non-V2 if it also demonstrates this same IS-asymmetry in its V>2 clauses.

2.3.3 Old French, V2 and the Left Periphery

As discussed in §2.1.2.1, the primary argument against a V2 analysis of Old French centers upon the relatively high frequency of V>2 clauses in Old French as compared to Modern German, the canonical V2 language. For example, Rinke & Meisel (2009) argue that the Information Structure of Old French patterns much more similarly to that of null-subject Romance languages such as Portuguese and Italian than that of Modern German. Modern German permits a wide variety of IS elements in the *Vorfeld*, such as topics, focus and frame-setting adverbs (Frey 2002, 2010; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007; Rinke & Meisel 2009). Additionally, Modern German has two different subject positions in the *Mittelfeld*, one for topic subjects and the other for focus subjects. Rinke & Meisel (2009) argue that Old French behaves much differently from the IS system of Modern German. To begin with, they found a clear distinction between pre- and postverbal subjects—only focused subjects may occur postverbally meaning that topic subjects must occur preverbally. Additionally, they claim that the initial, preverbal, position is reserved for Topicalization, which they equate with topichood. As they find that frame-setting adverbs are only permitted to occur in the preverbal position, they are assumed to have a "topic-like" nature. Because of this strict division of labor between the pre- and postverbal positions, unlike what is found Modern German, and the fact that this division is similar to what is found in modern pro-drop Romance languages, they claim that Old French cannot be a V2 language.

Kaiser & Zimmermann (2010) also argue against a V2 analysis of Old French on the basis of Information Structure and the Left Periphery. Specifically, they argue that Old French could not have been a V2 language with a split CP (e.g. Medieval Northern Italian Dialects) due to the presence of preverbal expletive subjects. They claim that preverbal subjects in a V2 grammar with a split CP would have to be either "topicalized" or "focalized", as they would necessarily occupy specifier positions in the Left Periphery. In such a grammar, expletive subjects would be expected to be postverbal, as there would be no motivation for raising them above the verb. This, however, can be accounted for if we assume that SpecFin is available to host constituents of any IS-value and that V2 and the placement of IS constituents are not governed by the exact same properties.

Labelle & Hirschbühler (2011), in their response to Rinke & Meisel (2009), examined this presumed IS distinction between the pre- and postverbal positions in 19 Old and Middle French texts. In contrast to Rinke & Meisel (2009), they found that Medieval French permits the same types of IS elements in the *Vorfeld* as Modern German. Additionally, they found that in V1 and V2 clauses, topics made up a significant, though not majority, portion of the postverbal subjects. They also found that both preverbal subjects and objects could be focused. What is more, they found that before 1220, there was a strong preference for preverbal objects to be focused rather than topics.

Therefore, if Old French is a V2 language, we should expect that its use of the Left Periphery conforms to the V2 features of German, etc. with respect to the presence of EPP on SpecFin. That is to say, focused elements should not be occurring to the left of SpecFin. Given that FocP is directly above FinP, evidence of V>2 structures where the

focused constituent is immediately preverbal, after either a topic or a frame-setter will not be informative, as it would be ambiguous as to whether the focus occupies either SpecFoc or SpecFin. However, the presence of V>2 structures that have a focused element to the left of the immediately preverbal constituent would be evidence against a V2 grammar. Furthermore, if Old French was a V2 language, we expect to find a variety of IS elements permitted preverbally, not just topics, and both focus-subjects and topic-subjects permitted postverbally, contra Rinke & Meisel (2009).

From a diachronic perspective, we expect that in the 13th century, when it is argued that Old French was a V2 language, Focus X Verb orders should not be present in the data. As V2 is lost over the subsequent centuries, we expect to find a rise in Focus X Verb orders, which are grammatical in a non-V2 SVO language, like Modern French.

It is unclear at this point whether these differing results from Rinke & Meisel (2009) and Labelle & Hirschbühler (2011) are due to differences amongst the texts (i.e. dialectal, stylistic or genre related) selected by each set of authors or whether it is due to different understandings of each IS element. The latter possibility is a valid concern when comparing IS studies. It is for this reason that a clear, reproducible methodology is necessary for the field if this line of research is to continue. With this in mind, I have chosen to base my methodology on one proposed by Petrova & Solf (2009), which was created specifically for IS studies of text languages. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, certain modifications had to be made to accommodate the needs of this study, but their methodology provided a solid foundation for the study presented here.

To test the claims made by Rinke & Meisel (2009), Kaiser & Zimmermann (2010), and Labelle & Hirschbühler (2011), it must be established which IS elements are

permitted to occur in the Vorfeld and which other positions each IS element may occupy. From there it will be possible to determine if there is a diachronic change in where the IS elements are permitted to occur. Only after these facts have been established will it be possible to determine whether or not there is a correlation between IS and a reduction in subject-verb inversion, and possibly V2.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0   Introduction

The current Chapter presents the methodology for the present study. We begin by

discussing the selection of texts. This includes both which texts were chosen as well as

the rationale for their inclusion in the study. Next we present the methodology employed

for annotating a corpus for Information Structure. This is done in two parts. First, the

existing methodologies for coding Information Structure in a corpus, upon which the

present methodology is based, are discussed, including the rationale behind the

modifications made for this study.   Then the Information Structure annotation

methodology created for this study is presented. Once this is presented, the way in which

the data was coded will be presented. Then a selection from *Merlin en prose* will be

coded to illustrate the application of the methodology created for ths study. Finally the

statistical tests employed for analyzing the data will be discussed.

3.1 The Corpus

For the present study, data was collected from eight texts: *Merlin en prose* (circa 1205[57]),

Le roman de Cassidorus (circa 1267), *Perceforest* (1330-1344), *Mélusine* (1382-1394),

Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage (early 15th century), *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (mid-

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[57] Before the 13th century, nearly all the available texts are in verse (there is e.g. the IV Livres des Rois, a Bible translation from Latin into Old French, which cannot be used in this study for various reasons) and it is as yet unclear the extent to which the stylistic constraints of verse influence the syntax employed in a text. Thus, I assume for the present that Old French grammar can best be described by starting with 13th century prose. It is worth noting, however, that some recent work has included both prose and verse texts in part to examine whether or not verse texts behave significantly different from prose texts. This includes work using modern parsed corpora, such as the MCVF (Martineau et al. 2010). All the same, for the specific needs of the present study I have decided to work only with prose. The references for the editions employed here can be found in §8.1.

15th century), *L'Heptaméron* (begun 1513) and *Les Angoisses douloureuses qui procèdent d'amours* (1538). These texts span three distinct periods of French: Old French, Middle French and Early Modern French, and should demonstrate the trajectory of the loss of V2. None of these texts are translations of earlier works in Latin, or prose transcriptions of previous verse texts, so as to reduce the risk of structural or stylistic influence from outside sources. Additionally, the editions chosen were those in which one primary manuscript was used (either the oldest or the most complete), and any additions or modifications from other manuscripts were noted in the margins. As a result, the syntax of these texts should be representative of the literary French, if not the spoken French, of their time, and not influenced by other, outside factors.

From the selected texts, 300 declarative matrix clauses were collected, in groups of 100 clauses from different parts of the text, for a total of 2400 clauses in the corpus. Each selection began and ended at natural breaks in the text (i.e. the beginning or end of a Chapter). This was done so as to examine complete narrative arcs, which could influence the realization of Information Structure across the discourse. These selections were in part chosen to provide a balance between narration and dialogue in the data. It has been suggested that dialogue represents a grammar that is closer to the spoken language of the time, whereas narration may represent a more archaic or literary grammar.[58] By collecting a large sample of clauses from each, the respective grammars can be examined separately and compared. However, given the desire to preserve narrative arcs in the

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[58] See Donaldson (2013) for a detailed study of this question and a more complete discussion of this literature.

collected data, there is not an equal number of clauses from narration and dialogue in the data.[59]

Interrogative and imperative clauses were excluded for syntactic reasons—both clause types are subject to different syntactic and Information Structure constraints than declarative matrix clauses, and thus might lead to confounds in the data.[60] Subordinate clauses were collected along with the matrix clauses to which they attach, but their internal structure was not coded or otherwise analyzed—they were thus treated as whole XPs.

3.2   Information Structure Annotation

The first stage of data collection, once texts had been selected, was to annotate each text for Information Structure. The technique for annotation was based upon those proposed by Götze et al. (2007), for use in parsed corpora, and Petrova & Solf (2009) for conducting an "information-structural analysis in historical texts". While it was necessary to modify aspects of the methodology, the basic structural concept employed in each of the above papers was used here. The decision to base the annotation of this corpus on two existing methodologies was made so as to maintain a degree of consistency with the previous literature, as well as to have a clear, structured framework for the current study. The frameworks upon which the present methodology is based are discussed in §3.2.1, while the methodology used for collecting and annotating the data for

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[59] Separate statistics will be provided for narration and dialogue for some of the research questions discussed in Chapter 4, and in principle, all of the research questions could be revisited for the two types of prose separately.
[60] While it is true that most interrogatives are still V2, I have decided not to include them in my data for control purposes.

this study is presented in §3.2.2. Examples of sentences coded using the present methodology can be found in §3.3.1.

3.2.1   Existing IS Methodologies

The methodologies presented in Götze et al. (2007) and Petrova & Solf (2009) are based on the same general principle: that each Information Structure value is considered to be on its own plane and is the amalgamation of multiple attributes. Since each value (i.e. *topic, focus, frame-setting*) is on its own plane, the attributes that make up each IS-value may be shared by more than one value. For example, topics, foci and frame-setters may be new, given or accessible. All three may be definite. Both topics and foci may be contrastive. This means that for every constituent of interest, every attribute must be identified; only then can the labels *topic, focus* and *frame-setting* be applied. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the definitions of IS-features such as *topic*, *focus*, and the like vary from author to author. Breaking down each Information Structure value into its component features is an attempt to avoid the confusion from these inadequate and incomplete definitions, as well as accounting for the nuances of each possible label.

In addition to annotating the various attributes of each IS element, distinctions were made between the three types of topic and two types of focus discussed in the previous Chapter. This was done as yet another way of addressing the nuanced nature of Information Structure.

3.2.1.1 Götze et al. (2007)

Götze et al. (2007) presents a detailed methodology for annotating a transcribed corpus for Information Structure features. Their goal is to create a replicable methodology for others to use in the creation of their own parsed corpora. In this approach, Information Structure features are divided into three distinct categories: information status, topic and focus. Each of these categories is further subdivided into narrower labels[61] for "extended annotation". The authors then provide example annotations of each label with explanations for the decisions made. Each potential XP in the corpus must be evaluated for its IS-value in each of the following categories.

All potential discourse referents (i.e. DPs, PPs) are first annotated for their information status. All referents that have been explicitly established in the discourse are considered *given*. Those that can be inferred either from "world knowledge" or previously established referents are *accessible*. Finally, those that are completely new to the discourse are labeled *new*.

Topics are divided into aboutness topics and frame-setting topics. According to the approach presented in Götze et al. (2007), referential DPs, indefinite DPs with specific and generic interpretations, bare plurals with generic interpretations, indefinite DPs and bare plurals in adverbially quantified sentences that show Quantificational Variability Effects, and finite clauses denoting concrete facts about which the subsequent clause predicates are all possible aboutness topics[62] (Götze et al. 2007: 163). Frame-setting topics, on the other hand, are defined as constituents that establish "the frame

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[61] Since this extended annotation was not conducted in the present study, I will not be discussing their definitions here. For more information, see Goetze et al. (2007).
[62] The nature of topichood presented in Götze et al. (2007) does not correspond to that discussed in the previous Chapter or the definition employed in this study, as will be discussed in §3.2.2. This is true for both aboutness topics and frame-setting topics.

within the main predication of the respective sentence has to be interpreted" (167). These constituents may be any spatial, temporal or locative expression. According to Götze et al. (2007), in order to be considered frame-setting topics, these expressions should be fronted and their referents previously established in the discourse. Broadly speaking, this corresponds to the notion of frame-setting presented in §2.2.4, however, it does not include expressions which serve to link the sentence to the rest of the discourse or create a sense of contingency.

Finally, foci are broadly divided in to new-information focus and contrastive focus; the difference between the two being whether the element is contrasted with a "semantically and/or syntactically parallel constituent in the particular discourse" (172). The authors also state that unlike the previous categories, these two labels are not mutually exclusive.

3.2.1.2 Petrova & Solf (2009)

The methodology presented in Petrova & Solf (2009) is designed specifically for the annotation of historical corpora, rather than modern transcribed corpora like that of Götze et al (2007). Because of the nature of historical data (e.g. the lack of native speaker intuition or prosody), certain adjustments must be made for successful IS annotation. The general framework of this methodology is similar to that of Götze et al (2007); however, there are a few key differences.

Whereas Götze et al. (2007) employ a wide variety of labels to account for the wide variety of IS features, Petrova & Solf (2009) code for specific attributes associated with the different IS elements, but apply the categories "topic", "new information focus"

and "contrastive focus" to the constituents with IS-values. For example, Petrova & Solf (2009) code for "aboutness", "definiteness" and "syntactic realization" (e.g. whether or not the XP is in the left-most clausal position[63]), in addition to coding for topic, focus, and information status. These attributes are included to aid in the distinction between focus and topic, as native speaker intuition and prosody are unavailable in this type of corpus. As you will recall from Chapter 2, for a constituent to be labeled as *topic,* it must be [+definite], whereas foci may be [± definite]. Also, since they limit topics to aboutness topics, and only one per clause at that, [+ about] is an obligatory attribute for any potential topic. Focused XPs, on the other hand, must be [-about] to distinguish them from topics. Once these attributes are determined, the labels *topic* and *focus* are applied. Furthermore, they do not recognize frame-setters at all, as Götze et al. (2007) do.

3.2.2   Current IS Methodology

In many ways the methodology employed here resembles those described above. Here, each IS-value is considered to be independent of the others; thus all values have been coded independently of each other. I have also maintained the distinctions within information status (e.g. given, accessible and new) and focus (e.g. new information focus and contrastive focus), as they permit a more refined IS analysis than would be otherwise possible. From Petrova & Solf (2009), I have retained the "aboutness" and "definiteness" attributes since Medieval and Renaissance French are also text languages. Finally, from Götze et al. (2007), I have retained the description of frame-setting elements, even though

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[63] This attribute is included in Petrova & Solf (2009) as there is a strong correlation between topichood and realization in the left-most clausal position in Old High German.

I do not consider them to be topics, as well as the fact that there may be more than one topic per sentence (though not more than one of the same type).

One of the main differences between this study and previous work lies in the definitions of the different IS elements. To begin with, Götze et al. (2007) divide topics into aboutness topics and frame-setting topics. What they call aboutness topics include what are considered aboutness topics and familiar topics in the present study, according to the definitions provided in §2.2.2. What Götze et al. (2007) refer to as frame-setting topics, by their definition, fall into the category of frame-setters in the present study. The key difference between my definition and that of Götze et al. (2007) is that I do not consider frame-setters to be topics, as they not only serve a completely different discourse function than true topics, but syntactically (and morphologically, in certain languages) they behave completely differently as well. Similarly, I do not consider any non-DPs to be possible topics, unlike Götze et al. (2007).

Another distinction between the present methodology and that of previous work is that I do not include the "syntactic realization" category employed by Petrova & Solf (2009). This feature essentially boils down to whether or not a constituent is in the clause initial position, and is associated with topichood. As this study is concerned, at least in part, with the nature of initial XPs, it was decided that the presence of this factor could confound the data—leading to a potential over-application of the *topic* label. Broadly speaking, this assumption from Petrova & Solf (2009) is potentially problematic, as there is a great deal of evidence that demonstrates that topics are not restricted to the initial position cross-linguistically. Additionally, there is evidence that in Old French initial focus was not rare, as it may have been in Old High German, the language examined in

Petrova & Solf (2009) (see e.g. Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011). As a result, this category is considered to be uninformative in the present study.

I have also included the attribute [contrastive] in my coding. Here, contrastive refers to whether or not an element is set in opposition to another element explicitly stated in the discourse. There were two main reasons for separating the attribute [contrastive] from the notion of focus. First, this permits us to distinguish between contrastive focus and new information focus. The second has to do with the notion of contrastive topic. As was stated in Chapter 2, some researchers consider contrastive topics to be elements that are both topic and focus. This opinion, that there may be this sort of overlap between topic and focus, is somewhat controversial. In treating [contrastive] as an independent attribute, this controversy may be avoided and the identification of contrastive topics is more straightforward than it might have been otherwise.

Additionally, I specifically code certain constituents as bearing no IS value. These are predominately expletive subjects, but also include some adverbs and sentence particles such as *si*. The reason for this is that these constituents, by their very nature, cannot bear an IS value. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

The final two modifications I have made here were done in order to avoid some of the problems others have had in using the methodology proposed in Götze et al. (2007). Cook & Bildhauer (2011), in their study of topics in Modern German, found that they had a low rate of inter-rater agreement in their annotation of topics. Using Cohen's κ as a measure of inter-rater reliability, they found that across the four texts examined, they never did better than $\kappa=.57$, suggesting a relatively low rate of agreement. Given that

they were working with a methodology that provided clear, step-by-step instructions for annotation, this low rate of reliability is surprising[64]. Looking closely at the individual examples, they found that the areas of disagreement had to do with identifying which element was the topic (since there was only one labeled in each clause) and potential thetic sentences (e.g. whether or not there was a topic).

To avoid the first problem, I distinguish among three types of topics: aboutness (or shifting), familiar (or continuing) and contrastive. The distinctions between these topics are based on those from Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), and correspond to the definitions provided in §2.2.2. Topics are considered aboutness topics the first time they are established as topics or if they are returned to as a topic. Typically these are full DPs, but they can be pronouns as well. Familiar topics are simply topics that are coreferential with the most recent aboutness topic, hence the alternative label: continuing topic. Finally, contrastive topics occur when an XP that would otherwise be a familiar topic or an aboutness topic are set in opposition with another established topic. This distinction between topic types permits a more nuanced analysis than is possible if all topics are grouped together. Also, by having multiple types of topics and recognizing more than one topic per clause, it is easier to decide which elements are topics. In all likelihood, much of the time when different constituents were identified as the topic of a sentence in Cook & Bildhauer (2011), the constituents were different types of topic.

To combat the second pitfall (e.g. being forced to select a topic when no constituent appears to be appropriate), I have included thetic clauses in my data. Thetic clauses are those in which no topic is present. However, frame-setters and foci regularly

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[64] Subsequent work done by those included in Götze et al. (2007) has had higher rates of inter-rater reliability (see, Ritz et al. (2008). This, however, is to be expected considering they were the ones who developed the methodology in the first place.

appear in these clauses, and as a result thetic clauses must be included in any study of Information Structure not limited to topics.

The greatest advantage in using an approach such as the one described above over previous methods of IS identification is that there is greater consistency in labeling both within and across projects, especially as far as *topic* is concerned, even considering the aforementioned issues with inter-rater reliability. Also, it should clarify to the reader how the terms *topic, focus* and *frame-setting* are being used. Finally, it eliminates the need for prosody in the identification of focus. For examples of this coding technique applied to Old French, consult §3.3.1.

3.3   *Coding the corpus*

Coding of the data was conducted in three phases. Before coding could take place, each sentence from the 100 sentence selections of each text were entered into excel spreadsheet, with each word in its own cell. Tableaux, of sorts, were created so as to accommodate coding. Examples of these can be seen in §3.3.1 below. Once the spreadsheets were properly formatted, each line was coded for the syntactic features relevant to the present study. These features included the position of the verb relative to the left edge of the sentence (e.g. V1, V2, etc.), the position of the subject (e.g. preverbal, postverbal, or null), the type of subject (e.g. pronominal, "full" DP, "heavy" DP,[65] demonstrative pronouns, and null subjects), and the syntactic category of the initial constituent (e.g. DP, PP, AdvP, subordinate clause, etc.).

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[65] "Heavy" DP subjects included subjects modified by adjectives (e.g. "the large and formidable army") or those that were modified by a clause (e.g. "The man who had lost everything").

Once a sentence was coded syntactically, the Information Structure values for the various components of each clause were determined. This was done using the methodology presented above, and using the decision trees presented in (2-5) below. Each sentence was exhaustively parsed for Information Structure; however, IS constituents were not necessarily maximized. Take (42 a) from Chapter 2 repeated below, for example.

(42)   a. HER HUSBAND made [her]$_T$ leave that town *that same day.*

Here, we have coded *her husband* as new information focus, *her* as a familiar topic, and *that same day* as a frame-setter. The decisions on how to code these three constituents follow the decision trees presented in (2-5) below. Note that not every word or constituent is provided with an IS-value. This is a result of the pragmatic or IS function of the constituent in the discourse as a whole. Looking at this sentence in isolation, one may label *leave* or *that town* as focus as well, or *her husband* as a topic rather than a focus. Given the labels identified in (42 a), presumably *leave that town* is not the most salient or relevant information with respect to the topic—if it were, it would be focused as well.

The third phase of coding transformed the data in such a way as to permit it to be run through the statistical program R. In this stage of coding, more information about each relevant constituent was included. Each clause was coded for the following features: dialogue vs. narration; subject type (subject pronoun, full DP, heavy DP, demonstrative pronoun, or null subject) and position relative to the finite verb; IS-value

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of the subject and the initial XP; IS-value of the final XP; verb position (i.e. first,[66] second, third); the presence of the sentence particle *si*; whether the clause was thetic; IS-value of the XP in one of four preverbal positions, beginning with the immediately preverbal position; the presence of an aboutness, familiar or contrastive topic;[67] the number of new information and contrastive foci[68]; the number of frame-setting elements; the position of each type of IS element in the clause (with respect to the verb); the syntactic or grammatical role of each IS element (e.g. object clitic, null subject, adverb, etc.); and the information status of each topic and focus (i.e. given, accessible). The IS-values were determined using the following decision trees. For each decision tree, the questions must be answered in order, and individual questions may not be used in isolation for correct identification.

(2)   *Information Status*—for every referring DP in the discourse
a.   Has the referent (not necessarily the lexical item) been explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse?
      i.   Yes: label expression as GIVEN
      ii. No: go to B.
b.   Is the referent known to be or assumed based on world knowledge to be part of the utterance situation (e.g. physical object, location, person)?
      i.   Yes: label expression as ACCESS
      ii. No: go to C

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[66] Clauses in which the verb was either immediately initial or preceded by "et" were coded as V1. This includes some coordinated clause, depending on the Information Structure of the sentence. For example, a sentence such as "John received and read the letter" or "Mary saw John and approached him" would be treated as a single sentence. An example such as "Mary saw John across the street and decided to approach him after looking both ways" would be treated as two separate sentences. The difference in the two types of coordinated sentences has to do with whether or not the IS of the second conjunct can be subsumed in that of the first. If it can be, then both conjuncts are treated as a single sentence.

[67] A maximum of one of each topic was identified in each clause.

[68] There was a maximum of three of each type of focus in each clause.

c. Is the referent assumed to be generally inferable from assumed world knowledge?

    i. Yes: label expression as ACCESS

    ii. No: go to D

d. Is the referent inferable from a referent in the previous discourse by a relation such as part-whole, set, or entity-attribute?

    i. Yes: label expression as ACCESS

    ii. No: go to E

e. Does the referring expression denote a group consisting of accessible or given discourse referents?

    i. Yes: label element as ACCESS

    ii. No: go to F

f. Does the licensing of the referring expression depend on a previously introduced scenario or frame?

    i. Yes: label element as ACCESS

    ii. No: go to G

g. Is the referent new to the discourse and uninferredable by the hearer either from previously mentioned entities or assumed world knowledge?

    i. Yes: label element as NEW

    ii. No: return to question A. Every discourse referent must have an Information Status label.

(3)   *Topic*—for every discourse referent that is a verbal argument; There may be as many as 3 topics in a clause or as few as zero. Each type of topic may only occur once per clause.

a. Is the purpose of the entire sentence to present a new event or entity to the discourse (i.e. *then it happened that…* or *a man entered the room)*?

    i.   Yes: this sentence is thetic and has no topic; continue directly to Focus decisions

    ii.   No: go to B

b. Is the referent New to the discourse (as determined in the Information Status tree)?

    i.   Yes: go to C

    ii.   No: go to D

c. Is the referent grounded in some entity that is identifiable and familiar (i.e. an X of mine)?

    i.   Yes: go to D

    ii.   No: this element is not a topic; continue to the Focus decision tree.

d. Is the referent indefinite or quantified in an indefinite manner (i.e. *Some of the men…*)?

    i.   Yes: this element is not a topic; continue to the Focus decision tree.

    ii.   No: go to E

e. Does the rest of the sentence provide information about the given referent (i.e. would the sentence be a natural continuation of '*Let me tell you about X*' or '*As for X*')?

    i.   Yes: go to F

    ii.   No: this element is not a topic; continue to the Focus decision tree.

f. Is the referent contrasted to an explicitly stated constituent that is a) in a syntactically or semantically parallel construction and b) also a topic?

    i.   Yes: label as CONTRASTIVE

    ii.   No: go to G

g. Is the referent an incremental answer to the question under discussion (e.g. *Bryan* and *Thomas* in the following: {what did the children do?} *Bryan played soccer and Thomas read.*)

    i.   Yes: label as CONTRASTIVE

    ii.   No: go to H

h. Is the referent either newly established or reintroduced as what an utterance in the discourse is about?

    i.   Yes: label as ABOUTNESS

    ii.   No: go to I

i. Is this referent co-referential with the most recent Aboutness Topic (as described in F)?

  i. Yes: label as FAMILIAR

  ii. No: label as ABOUTNESS

If the referent does not fit any of the above labels, it is not a Topic

(4) *Focus*—for every non-Topic, non-Frame-setting constituent (including subordinate clauses). Focus may occur in thetic clauses. There may be multiple Foci per clause. Note, not all *new* information will be focused. Always keep the discourse in mind as you code.

a. Would the element in question correspond to the wh-element in a question that would elicit the statement as a response? (e.g. {*What* did the children eat?} They ate *apples*.)

  i. Yes: go to B

  ii. No: this element is not a Focus

b. Is the referent contrasted to an explicitly stated constituent that is a) in a syntactically or semantically parallel construction and b) also a focus?

  i. Yes: label as CF

  ii. No: go to C

c. Does the element modify existing information (e.g. {Were you driving fast?}I was driving *VERY* fast or {Which car did you hit} I hit the *blue* car)?

  i. Yes: label as NIF

  ii. No: go to D

d. Is the information provided new to the discourse, especially new information with respect to the topic?

  i. Yes: label as NIF

  ii. No: return to A; this element may not be a focus

(5)   *Frame-Setting*—for all AdvP, PP, and subordinate clauses. May occur in thetic clauses.

a. Does the element specify the time or location of the discourse actions?

     i.   Yes: label as FS

    ii.   No: go to B

b. Is the element in a causal relationship with the utterance?

     i.   Yes: label as FS

    ii.   No: go to C

c. Does the element serve to restrict the utterance in a way that is not already present in the context or discourse?

     i.   Yes: label as FS

    ii.   No: go to D

d. Does the truth-value of the utterance hinge upon the truth-value of the element?

     i.   Yes: label as FS

    ii.   No: go to E

e. Does the element cause the truth-value of the utterance to be contingent on the previous discourse?

     i.   Yes: label as FS

    ii.   No: return to A; this element may not be a Frame-Setter

At the end of this process, there will most likely words that are not labelled with an IS-value. These left over elements are considered to be without IS-value. This can be seen in the example coding tableaux in §3.3.1below.

For ease in data analysis, separate "combined" variables were created for the first two preverbal positions and subject IS-value which grouped together the three types of topic and two types of focus, as well as frame-setting and no-value, such that there were four possible values instead of seven. Another combined variable was created which grouped together all V>3 clauses. Each line of data was also cross-referenced with its

location in the spread-sheet in which the first round of coding was done, as well as the page from the original text, so as to be immediately identifiable with the actual clause it represents. The specific coding values used can be found in appendix A.

3.3.1   *Examples of Annotation*

For the sake of clarity and replication, examples of annotation have been provided below. In order to provide as much context as possible for IS decision making, I have provided a relatively long selection of *Merlin en prose* as well as the corresponding annotation tables for each sentence. This information, along with the discussion of each figure, should make the annotative decisions clear to the reader.

(6)　　 « Et [cil$_{FamT}$][69] s'en torne <u>por le roi aler querre</u> et comende a <u>cels qui furent dehors</u> <u>que il gardassent que nus n'entrast leanz</u>. Et [*Merlin*s$_{ConT}$], *si tost com il fu hors*, prist <u>la samblance dou garçon qui ot aportees les letres</u>. *Et quant il vindrent arrieres et il trouverent le garçon*, si fu [Utiers$_{AbT}$] <u>molt esbaïz</u> et dist <u>au roi</u> : « Sire, [je$_{FamT}$] voi <u>merveilles</u>, car [je$_{FamT}$] laissai *ores ci* <u>le prodome que je vos avoie dit</u> : or n'i truis que cest vallet, et tenez vos et je demenderai a mes genz ça hors se il le virent issir ne cest vallet entrer ». §38 *Einsis* s'en issi [Uitiers$_{ConT}$] et [li rois$_{ConT}$] comença a <u>rire</u> molt durement, et [Uitiers$_{AbT}$] demande a <u>cels dehors</u> : « Veistes vos nelui ceanz entrer ne oissir, puis que je alai querre mon frère ? » Et il dient « sire, *puis que vos en issistes*, n'en <u>issi</u> <u>nus</u> ne <u>entra</u> que vos et le roi. » Lors vint [Uitiers$_{AbT}$] <u>au roi</u>, si li dist… » (§37 l. 54-§38 l. 6)

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[69] In the declarative matrix clauses in this passage, all topics are bracketed, with subscript A, F or C for *aboutness, familiar* or *contrastive*; all foci are underlined and all frame-setters are in italics.

"And he [Utiers] left to find the king and commanded those who were outside to keep watch that no one went in there. And *Merlin*, as soon as he [Utiers] was outside, took the form of the boy who brought the letters. And when they [Utiers & the king] came back and saw the boy, Utiers was very shocked and said to the king "Sire, I am seeing wonders, because I just left here the man who I told you about: so now I find this valet and hold on and I will ask my men who are outside if they saw him exit or this valet enter. **§38** Thus Utiers left there and the king began to laugh heartily. And Utiers asked those who were outside: 'Did you see anyone enter or leave there, since I went to seek my brother?' And they said 'sire, since you entered there, no one has left or entered except you and the king.' Then Utiers went to the king and he said…"

In this first sentence, *cil* (here, *Uiters*) is [given], [+about], [-contrast] and [+definite], meaning that it is a topic, in one form or another. Given that it is coreferential with the most recent aboutness topic, *cil* must be a familiar topic. Following that there are two new information foci, the PP *por le roi aller querre* 'to go find the king' and the DP *cels qui furent dehors* 'those who were outside'. Each of the NIF are [-about], [-contrast] and [+definite]. As each XP is providing new information as to the actions of *cil*, they must be labeled as foci. It should be noted that the verbs in this tableau are not coded, as they are without IS-value. This is because there is no special emphasis or contrast placed on the verbs. This coding can be seen in Figure (1) below:

Figure 3.1: Coding of "Et [cil$_{FamT}$][70] s'en torne <u>por le roi aler querre</u> et comende a <u>cels qui furent dehors</u> <u>que il gardassent que nus entrast leanz</u>"[71]

OFr	et	cil	s'en	torne	por le roi aller querre	et	comende	a	cels qui furent dehors	que il gardassent que nus n'entrast leanz
Info Stat		given			new				access	new
about		yes			no				no	no
contrast		no			no				no	no
TCS		fam								
definite		yes			yes				yes	
Thetic										
FS										
nif					NIF				NIF	NIF
cf										

---

[70] In this passage, all topics are bracketed, with subscript A, F or C for *aboutness, familiar* or *contrastive*; all foci are underlined and all frame-setters are in italics.

[71] Note on abbreviations: Info Stat = Information status (given, new, accessible); TCS = topic comment (about, familiar, contrast); FS = frame-setter; NIF = new information focus; CF = contrastive focus

Figure 3.2: Coding of "Et [*Merlins*ConT], *si tost com il fu hors*, prist <u>la samblance dou garçon qui ot aportees les letres</u>"

OFr	Et	*Merlins*	si tost coment il fut hors	prist	la samblance dou garcon qui ot aportees les letres
Info Stat		given	access		new
About		yes			no
Contrast		yes			no
TCS		contrast			
Definite		yes			yes
Thetic					
FS			frame		
NIF					NIF
CF					

In the next sentence, Figure (2), *Merlins* serves as a contrastive topic, being [given], [+about], [+contrast] and [+definite]. Here, the actions of *Merlins* are being contrasted to those of *Utiers*. Furthermore, the actions of *Merlins* hinge upon those of *Utiers*, as established by the frame-setting AdvP *si tost coment il fu hors* 'as soon as he was outside'. Finally, the DP *la samblance dou garcon qui ot aportees les letres* acts as the NIF since it serves to provide new information to the discourse.

Figure 3.3: Coding of "*Et quant [il_{AbT}] vindrent arrieres et il trouverent le garçon*, si fu [Utiers_{AbT}] <u>molt esbaïz</u>"

OFr	Et	quant il vindrent arriers et il trouverent le garçon	si	fu	Uitiers	molt	esbaiz
Info Stat		new			given	new	
About					yes	no	
Contrast					no	no	
TCS					Aboutness		
Definite					yes		
Thetic							
FS		frame					
NIF							NIF
CF							

In Figure (3), Utiers is [given], [+about], [-contrast] and [+definite] and is thus considered a topic. Given that it is not coreferential with the previous established topics *Merlin* and *cil*, nor is it contrastive, it must be an aboutness topic in its own right. This is further supported by the fact that the full DP version, *Uitiers*, is used here rather than the subject pronoun *il*. As in the previous sentence, the context for the matrix clause is given in the initial subordinate clause *quant il vindrent arriers et il trouverent le garçon* 'when they came back and they found the boy'. The fact that Utiers is only shocked once they've returned indicates that the initial subordinate clause is acting as a frame-setter. Finally, *molt esbaïz* 'very shocked' acts as a NIF here, being [new], [-about] and [-contrast].

Figure 3.4: Coding of "[je_FamT] voi <u>merveilles</u>"

OFr	je	voi	merveilles
Info Stat	given		new
About	yes		no
Contrast	no		no
TCS	familiar		
Definite	yes		no
Thetic			
FS			
NIF			NIF
CF			

In Figure (4) above, the subject pronoun *je* 'I' is [given], [+about], [-contrast], [+definite] and is coreferential with the preceding aboutness topic, *Uitiers*. As such, it is labeled as a familiar topic. *Merveilles* 'wonders' acts as an NIF as it is [new], [-about], [-contrast], [-definite] and is providing new information about the topic.

Figure 3.5 : "car [je~FamT~] laissai *ores ci* le prodome que je vos avoie dit"

OFr	car	je	laissai	ores	ci	le	prodom	que	je	vos	avoie	dit
Info Stat		given		access		access						
About		yes				no						
Contrast		no				no						
TCS		familiar										
Definite						definite						
Thetic												
FS				frame								
NIF						NIF						
CF												

Again, *je* continues to be a familiar topic, for the same reasons discussed above for Figure (5). The temporal adverbial expression *ores ci* is labeled as a frame-setter as it is restricting the truth value of the sentence in time. The DP *le prodom que je vos avoie dit* 'the man I told you about' is the NIF as it is [access], [-about], [-contrast], [+definite] and provides information important to the proposition.

Figure 3.6: "et je demenderai a mes genz ça hors se il le virent issir ne cest vallet entrer"

OFr	et	je	demenderai	a	mes genz ça hors	se il le virent issir ne cest vallet entrer
Info Stat		given			access	new
About		yes			no	no
Contrast		no			no	no
TCS		familiar				
Definite		yes			yes	no
Thetic						
FS						
NIF					NIF	NIF
CF						

In Figure (6), *je* continues to be a familiar topic, as in the previous three examples. In these sentences, the need for the familiar topic is apparent; all of these sentences are directly related to the one in which the aboutness topic is established as

Uitiers explains why he is *molt esbaïz* 'very shocked'. Here, both the DP *mes genz ça*

hors and the subordinate clause *se il le virent issir ne cest vallet entrer* serve as NIFs.

Each element here serves to provide new and important information to the proposition.

Figure 3.7: Coding of "*Einsis* s'en issi [Uitiers~ConT~]"

OFr	Einsis	s'en	issi	Uitiers
Info Stat	access		new	given
About				yes
Contrast			yes	yes
TCS				contrast
Definite				yes
Thetic				
FS	frame			
NIF				
CF			CF	

Figure 3.8: Coding of "et [li rois~ConT~] commença a rire molt durement"

OFr	et	li	rois	comenca	a	rire	molt	durement
Info Stat			given			new		
About			yes			no		
Contrast			yes			yes		
TCS			contrast					
Definite			yes					
Thetic								
FS								
NIF								
CF						CF		

In Figures (7 & 8), *Uitiers* 'Utiers' and *li rois* 'the king', are identified as

contrastive as are set in opposition to each other. The author shows that Uitiers and the

king have two different reactions to the same event established in a previous section of

the text, and it appears as though these actions occurred simultaneously. Because of this

opposition, these topics are [+contrast] and cannot be aboutness topics, even though they

are each what their clause is about, so to speak. These contrastive topics are paired with

contrastive foci. Much as the subjects are set in opposition to each other, so are the verbs

issi 'left' and *rire* 'to laugh' and as a result, both are annotated as [+contrast]. Since they

cannot be topics, being VPs, they must be foci.

Figure 3.9: Coding of "et [Uitiers$_{AbT}$] demande a cels dehors "

OFr	et	Uitiers	demande	a	cels	dehors
Info Stat		given				given
About		yes				no
Contrast		no				no
TCS		aboutness				
Definite						yes
Thetic						
FS						
NIF						NIF
CF						

Figure (9) presents a return to the previous aboutness topic: *Uitiers*. This choice

was made since this action, and thus this topic, is not being contrasted with the previous

two actions, but instead establishes what happened next. Despite the fact that *Uitiers* is

coreferential with a preceding topic, it must be an aboutness topic rather than a familiar

topic, as an aboutness topic has yet to be established. Furthermore, *Uitiers* cannot be a

familiar topic due to the presence of an intervening topic, *li rois* 'the king', which could

have established a topic switch. The next aboutness topic, *vos* 'you', happens to be

coreferential with the preceding new information focus[72]: *cels dehors* 'those outside'.

Again, since there is no previously established coreferential aboutness topic, *vos* 'you'

cannot be a familiar topic, despite being coreferential with a preceding IS element.

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[72] It is common in the data for an NIF to be coreferential with either a preceding or subsequent topic. The distinction between the two is based upon their role in the discourse rather than their information status (givenness).

Figure 3.10: Coding of "*puis que vos en issistes*, n'en issi nus ne entra que vos et le roi"

OFr	Puis que vos en issistes					n'en	issi	nus	ne	entra	que	vos	et	le	roi
Info Stat							new	new		new	given				
About								no							
Contrast							yes	yes		yes	yes				
TCS															
Definite								no							
Thetic	event-centic														
FS	frame														
NIF															
CF							CF1	CF2		CF1	CF2				

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The following sentence, presented in Figure (10), provides the response from 'those outside' and is an event-centric thetic sentence. The only definite constituents in the matrix clause *vos et li roi,*'you and the king', are being explicitly contrasted with the indefinite *nus*, 'no one'. As a result, both *que vos et li roi* and *nus* are contrastive focus. The verbs *issi* 'left' and *entra* 'entered' are contrastive foci as they are presented in a *neither nor* situation. This sentence simply presents the state of affairs outside of the tent. Finally, the initial subordinate *puis que vos en issistes* 'since you left there' acts as a frame-setter as it restricts the truth value of the statement.

Figure 3.11: Coding of "Lors vin [Uitiers$_{AbT}$] au roi"

OFr	Lors	vint	Uitiers	au	roi
Info Stat			given		given
About			yes		no
Contrast			no		no
TCS			About		
Definite			yes		yes
Thetic					
FS	frame				
NIF					NIF
CF					

In Figure (11) *lors* 'now', is identified as a frame-setter, as it situates the action of the clause with respect to the previous sentence. Next, *Uitiers* is annotated as [given], [+about], [-contrast], and [+definite], which results in its identification as an Aboutness topic. Finally, *au roi* 'to the king' is annotated as [given], [-about], [-contrast] and [+definite]. Since it is neither what the sentence is about nor coreferential with the preceding aboutness topic, it cannot be a familiar or aboutness topic. Furthermore, it is not contrastive and thus cannot be either a contrastive topic or focus. Rather, it provides new information about the action of the topic, and is thus a new information focus.

3.4   Statistical Tests[73]

In analyzing the data collected from the eight texts from the 13th to the 16th century

selected for this study in the statistical program R, four types of statistical measurement

were used. First, the frequency of each item, be it clause type, IS element, part of speech,

etc., was determined. Second, chi-square tests were conducted on pairs of variables, such

as century and subject position. The purpose of the chi-square is to determine if the null

hypothesis is true. In this study, the null hypothesis of every test is that one variable does

not have an effect on another. That is to say, the null hypothesis is that the distribution of

the population is random. An example of this would be an effect of time on subject

position. If the chi-square test is not significant, the null-hypothesis is supported,

meaning that there is no significant change in subject position over time. The Fisher's

Exact Test was also used to determine whether there was an interaction between two

variables, but only when the n of the table was too low for a chi-square to be conducted,

or in the case that one of the columns or rows in the table did not have any tokens[74]. The

purpose of this test is essentially the same as the chi-square test in that it determines

whether or not the interaction between two variables is random. Finally z-tests were

conducted to determine whether the difference in frequency between two groups was

statistically significant. Statistical significance of z-scores was determined using two-

tailed hypothesis testing, and p-values above 0.05 were not considered to be statistically

significant.[75]

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[73] Thank you to Stephanie Dickinson and Zhili Xu with the Indiana Statistical Consulting Center (ISCC) for all of their advice and guidance.
[74] This test has been criticized for being too conservative, in that the rate of rejection (p-values greater than 0.05) may be higher than those of other similar tests. However, given the categorical nature of the data and the low n found in some of the interactions, it was considered to be the most appropriate test to run.
[75] These scores were the only ones not calculated in R. Rather, the following z-test calculator was employed http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/ztest/Default2.aspx

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion: Basic Verb Second Analysis

4.0   Introduction

In this Chapter, the Verb Second status of 13th through 16th century French, as reflected

in the syntax, will be examined through the results of the statistical analysis of the data

and discussing representative examples of relevant structures. Here, we are only

interested in certain of the syntactic features of V2: the frequency of V2 vs. V>2 clauses,

the position of the subject, and the nature of postverbal subjects. The following two

Chapters will present the results and discuss the Information Structural preferences and

template during these centuries (Chapter 5), and the interaction between Information

Structure, the Left Periphery and Verb Second (Chapter 6). In this way, it is possible for

baselines to be established for the synchronic status of both the syntax and the

Information Structure, as well as how their status changes, before examining how they

interact.

　　　We begin by examining the status of Verb Second of this period by looking first

at the descriptive verb position (e.g. the number of constituents before the finite verb) in

all sentences across the four centuries. In a V2 grammar, we expect to find a

significantly higher frequency of descriptively V2 clauses than descriptively non-V2

clauses. Recall, however, that non-V2 clauses are permitted in V2 grammars, but only in

specific, limited contexts. In a non-V2 SVO language, such as Modern French, both

descriptively V2 and non-V2 clauses are permitted. As a result, we expect to find a

higher frequency of V>2 clauses in such a grammar than we would in a V2 grammar.

As we hypothesize that French was a V2 language in the 13th century, and that V2 is ultimately lost from the language, we expect to find a lower rate of V>2 and a higher rate of V2 clauses in the 13th century than in the centuries during which V2 is declining. At the same time, we expect to find a fair number of V>2 clauses in the 13th century. The reason for this is that if V2 is declining, there must be cues in the PLD (*primary linguistic data*) which trigger the acquisition of V>2 structures in subsequent generations.

Next, the descriptive subject position (e.g. preverbal, postverbal, and null subject) will be examined diachronically. In a non-V2 SVO grammar, we expect to find preverbal subjects occurring at a significantly higher rate than either null or postverbal subjects. In a V2 grammar, on the other hand, which does not place such strict conditions on the location of the subject, we expect to find a significantly higher frequency of postverbal subjects than in a non-V2 SVO grammar. Looking more closely at postverbal subjects, we expect to find a high rate of postverbal subjects that can be analyzed as being the result of V to C movement (e.g. postverbal pronominal subjects and Germanic Inversion) in a V2 language, whereas those which can be analyzed as being the result of V to T movement (e.g. Romance Inversion) may be indicative of a non-V2 grammar. Germanic Inversion is especially important in terms of cues in the PLD, as they are a salient indication of V to C movement for the learner.

Again, given the hypothesis about the status of V2 grammar during the period under investigation, we expect to find significantly higher frequencies of postverbal subjects, especially postverbal subject pronouns and Germanic Inversion, in the 13th century, than in the following centuries. We also expect to find higher rates of preverbal subjects as V2 declines.

The interaction between the subject position and the verb position will be presented for each century, as well. For the purposes of comparison with a clear non-V2 SVO language, data from *Madame Bovary* (19th century) will be provided in §4.3. The purpose of looking at this interaction is that it should help tease apart the differences between a V2-SVO grammar, which is hypothesized for the 13th century, and a non-V2-SVO grammar, which is what we hypothesize French is moving towards.

Finally, the frequency of V2 and postverbal subjects in narration and dialogue will be compared. It has been argued that dialogue represents a grammar closer to that of the spoken language than narration. As such, we expect the narration data to behave more like a V2 grammar than dialogue throughout the period being studied, as V2 is in decline.

Recall, a distinction is sometimes made between strict-V2 (also referred to as "descriptive V2") and less-strict-V2 (or "structural V2") languages (Benincà 1995, 2006; Jouitteau 2010). Despite the alternative labels (e.g. descriptive and structural), both approaches to V2 are generative. The distinction, rather, has to do with how many preverbal constituents are permitted. Modern German, therefore, is a strict-, or descriptive-V2 language, while Medieval Northern Italian Dialects are less-strict-, or structural-V2 languages, as they permit far more V>2 clauses (Benincà 1995, 2006; Ledgeway 2007). The uniting feature for both types of V2 language is the obligatory raising of V to C accompanied by the obligatory filling of SpecCP (assuming an un-expanded CP framework). In the present Chapter, the V2 status of 13th to 16th century French will be determined in comparison to strict-V2 languages. Chapter 6 will address

whether French was a descriptive- or structural-V2 language, to the extent possible given the limited nature of the data.

4.1 Descriptive verb position

The first thing that must be examined in the data is the rate of descriptively Verb Second clauses in the data. "Descriptively V2" simply means that clauses will be grouped according to the number of preverbal constituents, without taking account of evidence for or against V to C movement. We begin with these descriptive clauses in order to directly compare the present data to that presented in the literature (Rinke & Meisel 2009; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011; Kaiser 2002; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010; Vance et al. 2010; Donaldson 2012). Furthermore, this information provides a foundation for further analysis of the presence of a V2 grammar. The following examples are representative of each category of clause:

(1)   a.   et *donne* plus assouffrir a son amant

            And gave.3.sg. more to satisfy to her lover

            "And she gave more to satisfy her love."

            (*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267 §34)

    b.   et n'*est* serment que vous ne m'ayez fait au contraire

            And NEG is oath that you NEG to.me have made to.the contrary

            And you did not make me a promise to the contrary

            (*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, mid-15th, 33[eme] Nouvelle)

(2) a.   quar mieus vault clarez que vins, <u>encore</u> *soit* **il** coulez

For more is-worth claret than wine more was it spilled

quar seur vin est clarez prevos et sires

because over wine is claret magistrate and lord

"for claret is worth more than wine, even when it is spilled, for claret is

lord and master over wine"

(*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267 §34)

b.   <u>de ce</u> *veul* **je** aller a l'encontre

Of this want I to go to the battle

"Because of this I want to go into battle"

(*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267 §34)

c.   **Je** ne *cuidoie* pas que vos me mentissoiz

I NEG believed not that you to.me lie

 "I didn't believe that you lied to me."

(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §38.15)

(3) a.   <u>Et quant venra l'andemain si</u> m'*acointerai* d'aus dous ensemble

And when come.FUT.3.sg. the next day SI meet.FUT.1.sg of.them two

together

"And the next day, I will meet both of them together"

(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §37.16-17)

b.   Et ***Merlin*s**, <u>si tost coment il fut hors</u>, *prist* la samblance

And *Merlin*, as soon as he was outside, took the appearance

dou garcon qui ot aportees les letres

of the boy who brought the letters.

"And as soon as he was outside, *Merlin* took on the appearance of the boy

who had brought the letters"

(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §37.56-58)

c.   <u>Quant vint sur le soir</u>, **la posterne** *fut* desserree

When came on the night, the door was open

"When the night came, the door was open"

(*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, mid-15th, 1ere Nouvelle)

In (1), we have examples of descriptively V1 clauses. Typically, the subject of these clauses is co-referential with that of the previous sentence; however, clear examples of coordinated sentences were treated as single sentences[76]. Clauses with any single constituent other than a conjunction before the finite verb were coded as V2. Examples of this type of clause are given in (2). If more than one constituent occurred to the left of the finite verb, as in (3), the clause was coded as V3, V4, etc., depending on the number of preverbal constituents. Given the overall low number of V3, V4 and higher clauses, they have been combined into a single column in the following tables (e.g. V>2).

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[76] See fn 66 in §3.3 for more on the coding of V1 clauses.

Table 4.1: *Descriptive verb position, by century*[77]

	V1		V2		V>2		Total
13th	57	9.5%	433	72.2%	110	18.3%	600
14th	101	16.8%	330	55%	169	28.2%	600
15th	88	14.7%	323	53.8%	189	31.5%	600
16th	68	11.3%	326	54.3%	206	34.3%	600
total	314	13.1%	1412	58.8%	674	28.1%	2400

Looking first synchronically at the data presented in Table (4.1), we find that V2 clauses are more frequent than either V1 or V>2 clauses in each century. What is more, V2 clauses are more frequent than both V1 and V>2 clauses combined. The higher frequency of V2 clauses as compared to non-V2 clauses (V1 and V>2) is syntactically significant in all four centuries (13th: 72.2% of clauses, $z=15.3575, p<.001$; 14th: 55% of clauses, $z=3.4641, p<.01$; 15th: 53.8% of clauses, $z=2.6558, p<.01$; 16th: 54.3% of clauses, $z=3.0022, p<.01$). Broadly speaking, the preference for V2 clauses over non-V2 clauses is to be expected in both V2 and non-V2 SVO languages. As a result, this preference does not necessarily provide evidence for (or against) a V2 grammar.

Rinke & Meisel (2009) also present data on the frequency of these types of clauses in the 13th century. It is worth noting that the frequencies found here differ significantly from those found in Rinke & Meisel (2009) First, the frequencies of V1 and V2 clauses in the data presented here is significantly lower than in Rinke & Meisel (2009) (9.5% vs. 13.7%, $z=2.7179, p=0.00652$; 72.2% vs. 81.2%, $z=4.8415, p<0.001$,

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[77] Wherever possible, data will be presented grouped into centuries, rather than by individual text, so as to highlight clear trends from century to century. In certain cases this is not possible as texts from the same century may not pattern together. In such cases, the results will be presented by text rather than by century.

respectively). Conversely, the rate of V>2 clauses is significantly higher here than in Rinke & Meisel (2009) (18.3% vs 5.1%, *z=10.6265, p<0.001*). It is possible that these differences may be an artifact of text selection (e.g. genre, dialect, edition, etc.) or the way in which sentences were precisely coded. All the same, we can say that the same general trends are found in both sets of data for the 13th century: V2 clauses are significantly more frequent than either V1 or V>2 clauses.

Turning to the diachronic data in Table (4.1), and seen in Figure (4.1) below, we find that there is a significant interaction between century and verb position ($X^2=70.28668, d.f.=6, p<0.001$), meaning that the change in frequency of these clause types is significant.

Figure 4.1: *Rates of V1, V2 and V>2, by text*
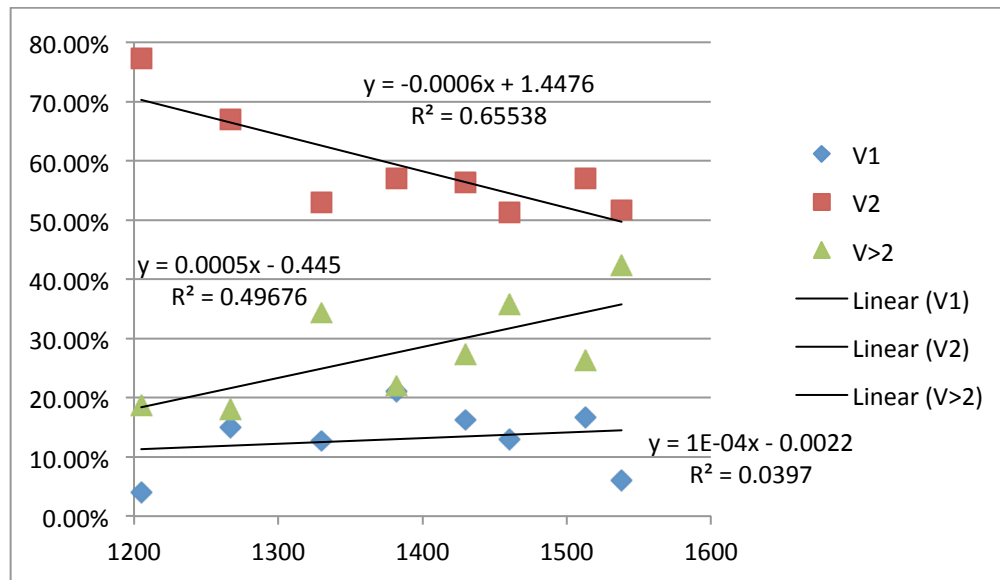
From the 13th to the 14th century, we find a significant decrease in the frequency of descriptively V2 clauses (72.2% to 55%, *z=6.1791, p<.001*), along with a significant

increase in the frequency of descriptively V>2 clauses (17.5% to 25.2%, *z=4.0319,*

p<.001). From the 14th to the 15th and from the 15th to the 16th centuries, we do not see a

significant change in the frequency of V2 clauses (*z=0.4057, p=0.6818,* and *z=0.1738,*

p=0.86502 respectively). At the same time, we do not find a significant increase in the

overall frequency of V>2 clauses from the 14th to the 15th century (*z=1.2619, p=0.20766*)

or from the 15th to the 16th century (*z=1.0443, p=0.29834*).

The combination of the statistically significant changes in V2 and V>2 clauses

from the 13th to the 14th century indicates a grammatical change with respect to the

position of the verb in declarative clauses; specifically, this is what would be expected in

an V2-SVO language that was losing its V2 grammar. As previously stated, an SVO

grammar would show a preference for descriptively V2 orders as the subject must be

preverbal. At the same time, we would expect a non-V2-SVO language to permit a

higher frequency of V>2 clauses than a V2 language, as there is nothing in the grammar

acting to restrict the number of preverbal constituents, at least not to the same degree.

Furthermore, the lack of any statistically significant change from the 14th to 16th century

in either descriptively V2 or V>2 clauses suggests that, at least descriptively speaking,

there is no other major change to this aspect of the grammar past the 14th century. We

therefore have preliminary evidence in support of the hypothesis that 13th century French

was a V2 language, and that this V2 status declined from the 14th century on. All the

same, more evidence is needed to draw a firmer conclusion on this subject.

4.2   *Descriptive subject position*

As both V2 and non-V2 SVO grammars show a preference for V2 orders, it is important

to also examine the frequency of clauses in which the subject occurs postverbally. In a

V2 grammar, we expect a relatively high proportion of postverbal subjects as any XP

may occupy the preverbal position. In (2 a & b) we see examples of just this type of

clause structure. In a non-V2 SVO grammar, such as Modern French, on the other hand,

we would expect to find a low rate of postverbal subjects. Instead, we expect to find a

high frequency of clauses with preverbal subjects, and perhaps another constituent to the

left of the subject. Both of these possibilities can be seen in (2 c) and (3 a).

Recall from §2.1.2.1.2 that Old French was a null-subject language. As such, we

expect to find a relatively high frequency of clauses without an overt subject, like those in

(1 a & b). Because these subjects are null, and because the grammar of subject positions

is changing during this period, as we will see, their presence is not informative about the

V2 status of the language. For this reason, authors such as Kaiser (2002) have elected to

ignore these subjects. However, since one of the goals of this dissertation is to form as

complete a picture as possible of the Information Structure and syntax related to V2 in

13th-16th century French, I have elected to leave these subjects in the data.

Table 4.2: *Subject position, by century*

	SV		VS		Null Subject		Total
13th	259	43%	113	18.8%	228	38.2%	600
14th	332	55.3%	76	12.7%	192	32%	600
15th	365	60.8%	50	8.3%	185	30.8%	600
16th	374	62.3%	29	4.8%	197	32.8%	600
total	1330	55.4%	268	11.2%	802	33.4%	2400

First, there is a significant interaction between century and subject position ($X^2=88.65275$, d.f.=6, $p<0.001$) indicating that the differences in subject position between each century are significant.

As expected, we find that clauses in which the subject is preverbal are the most frequent in each century. In the 13th century, there is a statistically significant difference between SV and VS clauses ($z=9.1129$, $p<0.001$), but not between SV and null subject (NS) clauses ($z=1.8224$, $p=0.06876$). In the 14th century, the difference between SV and VS clauses is significant ($z=15.6005$, $p<0.001$), as is the difference between SV and NS clauses ($z=8.1485$, $p<0.001$). Similarly, in the 15th century, there are significantly more SV than VS clauses ($z=19.118$, $p<0.001$), and the difference between SV and NS is also significant ($z=10.4286$, $p<0.001$). Finally, the difference between VS and SV is statistically significant in the 16th century ($z=21.0876$, $p<0.001$), as is the difference between SV and NS ($z=10.2311$, $p<0.001$).

The fact that SV clauses are statistically more frequent than both VS and NS clauses in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries is indicative of the presence of an SVO grammar, which we know to be true of French during this period. The fact that the 13th century also shows a preference for SV clauses over VS clauses suggests the presence of

an SVO grammar. At this point, we cannot necessarily determine the presence of V2 in any of the centuries.

If we compare the frequency of SV clauses to non-SV clauses, combining the number of VS and NS clauses, we find that in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries there are significantly more SV clauses than non-SV clauses ($z=3.695, p<0.001; z=7.5056, p<0.001; z=8.5448, p<0.001$, respectively). This, too, is as expected in an SVO language. However, in the 13th century there are significantly more non-SV clauses than SV clauses ($z=4.7343, p<0.001$). This suggests that there is something in the grammar, such as V2, influencing the frequency of non-SV clauses.

Furthermore, if we look at the z-scores, which indicate the degree of difference in frequency between two populations, we find that they increase from century to century with respect to the difference between SV and VS clauses and SV and NS clauses[78]. This means that there is an increasing distance between the frequencies of SV and VS or NS clauses. Put another way, the preference for SV clauses over VS or NS clauses increases over time. This further reinforces the idea that 13th century French was a V2-SVO language and that V2 declined over the subsequent centuries, resulting in the non-V2 SVO grammar. The rates of each subject position are presented in figure (4.2) below:

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[78] *z-scores for SV vs. VS and SV vs. NS across centuries*

	13th	14th	15th	16th
SV vs. VS	9.1129	15.3727	19.118	21.0876
SV vs. NS	1.8224	8.5053	10.4286	10.2311

Figure 4.2: *Rates of preverbal, postverbal and null subjects, by text*
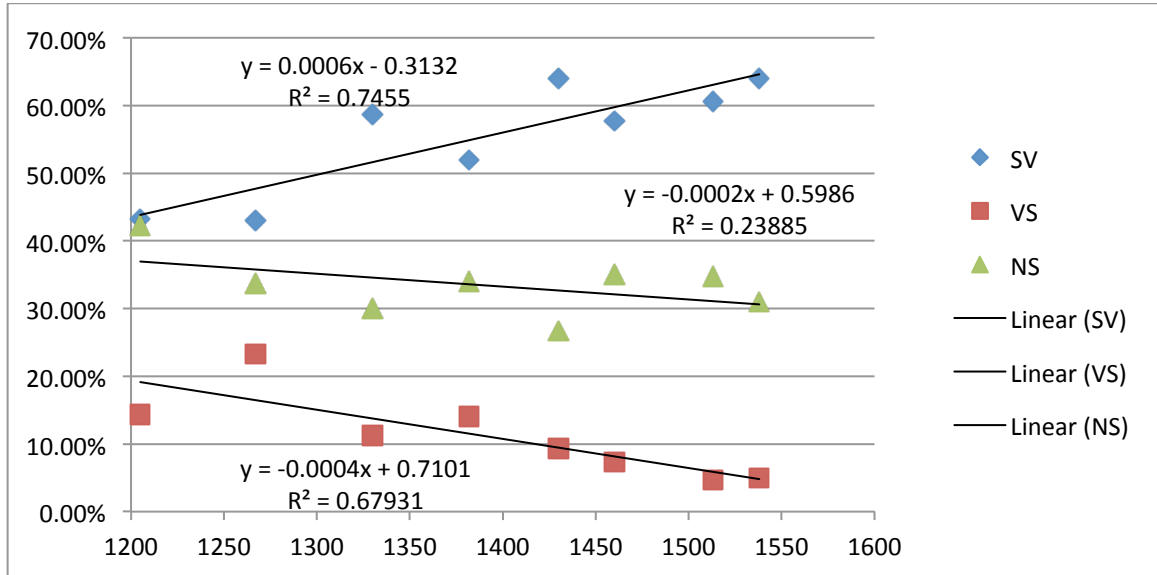
Looking diachronically at the changes in each subject position, we find that the increase in frequency of SV clauses from the 13th century to the 14th century is statistically significant ($z=4.2728, p<0.001$), as is the decrease in postverbal subjects ($z=2.5931, p=0.0096$) and null subjects, though not at the 0.01 level ($z=2.4884, p=0.01278$). This indicates a major change occurring in this aspect of the grammar between these two centuries. From the 14th to the 15th, the rise in preverbal subjects is not significant ($z=1.8727, p=0.06148$), nor is the decrease in null subjects ($z=0.1248, p=0.90448$); however, the decrease in postverbal subjects continues to be statistically significant ($z=2.7864, p=0.00528$). So, while the changes to preverbal subjects and null subjects are slowing down, postverbal subjects continue to see significant changes. This is also true from the 15th to 16th century. The decline of postverbal subjects continues to be significant ($z=2.445, p=0.01468$), while the rise in neither preverbal subjects nor null subjects is significant ($z=0.5341, p=0.5341; z=0.7436, p=0.4593$).

It is worth noting that, while the rise in preverbal subjects is not significant from century to century from the 14th to the 16th, the difference between the 14th and 16th century is statistically significant ($z=2.4057, p=0.01596$), meaning that we are still seeing a gradual change in progress in this position.

The same is not true, though, for null subjects, which do not show any significant change between the 14th and 16th centuries ($z=0.6188, p=0.53526$). This suggests that after the 13th century, the parameter permitting null subject is not changing.[79]

Thus far we have found that in the 13th century there are significantly fewer V>2 clauses and SV clauses, as well as significantly more VS clauses than in the subsequent centuries. We have also seen that the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries by and large look very similar, statistically speaking, other than the continually significant decrease in VS clauses. The combination of these results is suggestive not only of a fairly robust V2 grammar in the 13th century, but especially of the decline of V2 from the 14th to 16th centuries. At this point, we need to look more carefully at what is occurring in each century individually, and then to compare the centuries to each other.

4.2.1   *Types of postverbal subjects in each century*

If we look more carefully at the postverbal subjects, which steadily decline throughout the period examined, we find that they further reinforce the V2 analysis of French at this time. Recall from §2.1.2.1.1 that the position of postverbal subjects can be indicative of the position of the verb in a way that preverbal subjects and null subjects cannot, and as such are important acquisitional cue.

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[79] Null subjects will be discussed in further detail in §4.4.

There are two different types of postverbal full DP subjects in Medieval and Renaissance French, referred to as Germanic Inversion and Romance Inversion, which differ in the position of the subject in the structure.[80] In Germanic Inversion, the subject is situated in SpecIP/TP, while the verb raises to C^0/Fin^0, whereas in Romance Inversion, the subject remains in a lower position, likely in the VP. The distinction between the two types is most clear in sentences with full DP subjects and compound verb forms, wherein the subject either occurs between the auxiliary and the past participle (e.g. Germanic Inversion) or after the past participle (e.g. Romance Inversion). In the majority of sentences with postverbal non-pronominal subjects, the position of the subject is ambiguous, due to the lack of structural "landmarks" such as past participles, and certain adverbs and adjectives (e.g. *molt* 'very', *pas* 'not', *iriez* ‘angry› etc.). Pronominal subjects, however, are presumed to always be in the higher of the two postverbal positions as they only are able to occur in matrix clauses (Adams 1987; Roberts 1993; Vance 1989, 1995).[81] Examples of these different types of postverbal subjects can be seen in (4).

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[80] Note: while these two types of postverbal subjects are referred to as inversions, this is simply a descriptive term. These postverbal subjects are presumed to be the result of the verb raising past the subject.

[81] It can be argued that postverbal subject pronouns in Modern French are not evidence for V to C movement, but V to I. The cues provided by specific structures, such as VSp, are dependant not only on the structure in question but also other cues present in the PLD. As was discussed in §2.1.2.1.1, there is evidence for cliticization of the subject pronoun on to C in Old French; however, this is not the case for Modern French. As such, we must treat VSp as evidence for Germanic style Inversion during the period under investigation here, even if similar structures are achieved via V to T movement in the modern language.

(4)   a.   <u>a cestui mot</u> *s'est* **la pucele** *partie* de *Cassidorus*

                At this word REFL.is the maiden left from *Cassidorus*

                "At this word, the maiden left *Cassidorus*"

                (*Le Roman de Cassidorus* ca. 1267 §105)

    b.   <u>Mout</u> *fu iriez* **li annemis** quant Nostre Sire ot esté en enfer

                Much was angry the enemy when our Lord had been in Hell

                "The devil was very angry when our Lord was in hell."

                (*Merlin en prose* §1.1-2)

    c.   et <u>le jor devant que elle acoucha</u> *vint* **Merlin**s a cort priveement

                the day before that she gave birth came *Merlin* to court privately

                "The day before she gave birth, *Merlin* came privately to court."

                (*Merlin en prose* §75.2-3)

    d.   <u>Or</u> *a* **il** *esté* cause de sa honte

                Now has he been the cause of his shame

                "Now he was the cause of his shame"

                (*Les Quinze Joyes du mariage* p.16 l.80)

In (4 a) we have a case of Germanic Inversion, as the subject *la pucele*, 'the maiden', is located between the auxiliary *est* and the past participle *partie*. The same is true of the pronominal subject in (4 d), located between the auxiliary *a* and the past participle *esté*. In (4 b), on the other hand, we have a case of Romance Inversion. Note that the subject is not coming after a past participle. Rather, it is preceded by the adjective *iriez,* 'angry'.

The location of the subject in (4 c) is considered ambiguous, as there is no clear landmark such as a past participle.

As V to C movement is a central feature of Germanic Inversion, unambiguous examples of this type of postverbal full DP subjects can be seen as presenting robust cues for this aspect of V2 grammar to the learner. By the same token, the decline of this type of postverbal subject is considered evidence for the decline of V2 (Vance 1995). The same is not true of Romance Inversion, as it does not require the verb to raise as high as C^0. So-called ambiguous cases, therefore, can also be analyzed as having the finite verb in the TP rather than the CP. This analysis perhaps makes the most economical sense in the 14th through 16th centuries, as the grammar as a whole is changing away from V to C movement.

Looking at the data, we find that there is a significant interaction of time and postverbal subject type ($X^2=19.6578$, $d.f.=9$, $p=0.02015$), indicating an overall significant effect of time on the type of postverbal subject. This can be seen in Table (4.3), below.

Table 4.3: *Rates of types postverbal subjects as proportion of all VS*

	V Sp		VS (Germanic)		VS (Romance)		VS (Ambiguous)		Total
13th	56	49.6%	8	7.1%	8	7.1%	41	36.3%	113
14th	24	31.6%	5	6.6%	5	6.6%	42	55.3%	76
15th	20	40%	0	0%	8	16%	22	44%	50
16th	7	24.1%	1	3.4%	2	6.9%	19	65.5%	29
Total	107	39.9%	14	5.2%	23	5.6%	124	46.3%	268

We find the overall number of each of these types of postverbal subject declines steadily over time. We already know this must be the case, given the results in Table (4.2), since postverbal subjects as a whole are declining significantly throughout the period under examination here. Looking instead at the frequencies of each type of postverbal subject, rather than the overall count, we find that both postverbal subject pronouns and Germanic Inversion of full DP subjects make up a declining proportion of all postverbal subjects during this period. For postverbal subject pronouns, the decline is significant from the 13th to the 14th century ($z=2.4529$, $p=0.01428$), but the changes from the 14th to the 15th and from the 15th to the 16th century are not significant ($z=0.9701$, $p=0.33204$; $z=1.4328$, $p=0.15272$). As for Germanic Inversion, none of the changes between each century are statistically significant.

The overall decline in each type of postverbal subject, with respect to all subjects, is seen in Figure (4.3). First, we clearly see the significant decline in postverbal subject pronouns from the 13th to the 14th century. We also see the shift in most common type of postverbal subject clause from postverbal subject pronouns to ambiguous postverbal full-DP subjects. The unexpected similarity between unambiguous Germanic and Romance Inversion is also made clear in this graph. We might assume that these two types of postverbal subjects would occur at different frequencies, depending on the robustness of V to C movement in the grammar. Presumably, the distinction between these two types of postverbal subjects is masked in the data by the ambiguous clauses, which are significantly more frequent than either type of unambiguous clause (13th: $z=4.8136$, $p<0.001$; 14th: $z=5.5059$, $p<0.001$; 15th: Germanic: $z=4.734$, $p<0.001$, Romance:

z=2.5886, p=0.0096; 16th: Germanic: *z=4.0589, p<0.001*, Romance: *z=3.7426, p<0.001*).

Figure 4.3: *Frequency of each type of postverbal subject, as proportion of all subjects*
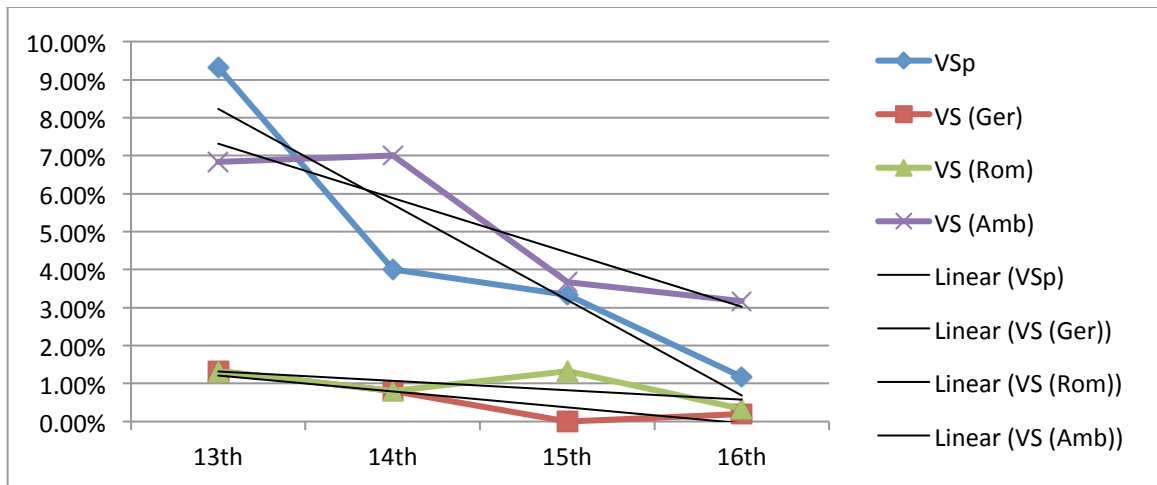
In Figure (4.4), the frequency of each type of postverbal subject is presented as a proportion of all postverbal subjects. We find that clauses that can be analyzed as being the result of V to T movement rather than V to C movement (e.g. Romance Inversion and Ambiguous) make up an increasing proportion of the VS sentences in the data.

Figure 4.4: *Frequency of each type of postverbal subject, as proportion of VS*
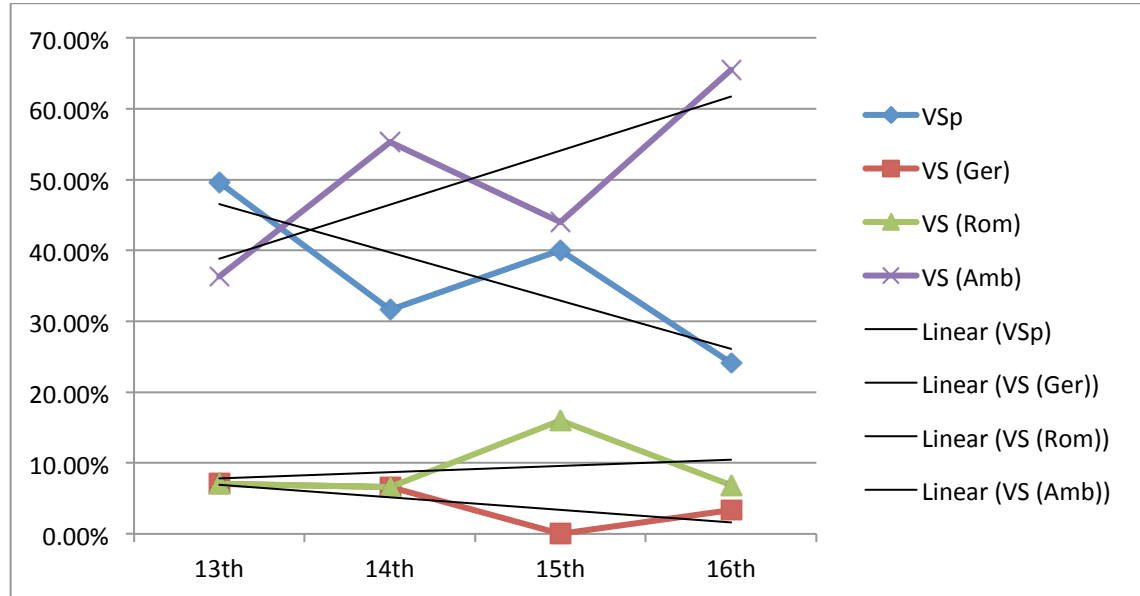
In the 13th century, examples providing unambiguous cues to the learner of V to C movement (e.g. the combination of pronominal and Germanic Inversion) are significantly more frequent than those that can be analyzed as being the result of V to T movement (e.g. the combination of Romance Inversion and Ambiguous clauses) (*z=1.9956, p=0.0455*). From the 14th century on, the opposite is true (14th: *z=2.92, p=0.0035*; 15th: *z=2, p=0.0455*; 16th: *z=3.414, p=0.00064*). This corresponds to what has been seen so far with the decline of V2. As was found with V2 and V>2 clauses, as well as SV and VS clauses, the significant change is occurring between the 13th and 14th centuries.

Crucially, while unambiguous examples of Germanic Inversion, which provide a robust cue for V to C movement to the learner, are on the decline, they are still present in the 14th century. What is more, the decline that occurs in Germanic Inversion with full DP subjects from the 13th to the 14th century is not statistically significant (*z=0.8366, p=0.4009*). This is potentially unexpected, as most of the changes we have seen thus far

appear to have occurred between the 13th and 14th centuries. Rather, this suggests that there is still V to C movement in the 14th century, and that 1.3% is a robust enough cue for acquisition of the structure in the 13th century. This will be explored in much greater detail in Chapter 6.

Comparing postverbal subject pronouns and Germanic Inversion, which are both indicative of V to C movement, we find that they do not decline at the same rate. It is possible that this is due in part to the same issues of ambiguity discussed above with the difference between Germanic and Romance inversion. All the same, it appears as though the cues provided by these two clause types are strong enough for acquisition between the 13th and the 14th centuries. However, from the 15th century on, the cue does not appear strong enough for sustained acquisition. This is especially true, given that these constructions only seem to occur in the data with a limited distribution of verbs and preverbal constituents. This will be discussed in greater detail in §6.5.1.

4.3   Subject and Verb position in each century

Looking more closely at the data, we can examine the interaction between subject position (i.e. preverbal, postverbal or null) and descriptive verb position within each century. As has already been stated in the previous two sections, looking at descriptive verb and subject position alone is not necessarily enough to distinguish between a V2- and a non-V2 SVO grammar, especially if that V2 grammar is in decline. By looking at the interaction of these two features, we can get a better idea what the grammar looked like in each century, and how the change progressed.

Beginning in the 13th century, we find that there is a statistically significant interaction between subject position and descriptive verb position ($X^2=96.87509$, $d.f.=4$, $p<0.001$). This means there is an interaction between subject position and verb position in 13th century French.

Table 4.4: *Subject position with respect to descriptive verb position, by century*

		V1		V2		V>2		Total
13th	SV	0	0%	204	78.8%	55	21.2%	259
	VS	3	2.7%	99	87.6%	11	9.7%	113
	NS	54	23.7%	130	57%	44	19.3%	228
	Total	57	9.5%	433	72.2%	110	18.3%	600
14th	SV	0	0%	187	56.2%	146	43.8%	333
	VS	10	12.5%	67	83.8%	3	3.7%	80
	NS	91	48.7%	76	40.6%	20	10.7%	187
	Total	101	16.8%	330	55%	169	28.2%	600
15th	SV	0	0%	208	57%	157	43%	365
	VS	8	16%	32	64%	10	20%	50
	NS	80	43.2%	83	44.9%	22	11.9%	185
	Total	88	14.7%	323	53.8%	189	31.5%	600
16th	SV	0	0%	205	54.8%	169	45.2%	374
	VS	0	0%	21	72.4%	8	27.6%	29
	NS	68	34.5%	100	50.8%	29	14.7%	197
	Total	68	11.3%	326	54.3%	206	34.3%	600

First, in the 13th century, all three subject positions demonstrate a preference for V2 orders over V>2 orders (SV: $z=13.0934$, $p<0.001$; VS: $z=11.7115$, $p<0.001$; NS: $z=8.2905$, $p<0.001$). We also find a statistically significant preference for V2 over V1

orders in null subject clauses ($z=7.2544$, $p<0.001$), while there is no statistically significant difference between V1 and V>2 in these clauses ($z=1.1401$, $p=0.25428$).

Focusing on the verb position in the 13th century, we find that V1 orders demonstrate a significant preference for null subjects over postverbal subjects ($z=9.5552$, $p<0.001$). Examples of each type of clause are as follows; (5 a) is a V1 clause with a postverbal subject, while (5 b) has a null subject:

(5) a. et *disoit* **on** pour voir que *Cassidorus* estoit navrez a mort

    And said they for truth that *Cassidorus* was wounded to death

    et qu'il ne pooit en cheval monter ne lui aider pour riens

    and that he NEG could on horse mount NEG to.him to.help for nothing

    "And they said truly that *Cassidorus* was mortally wounded and that he

    couldn't mount a horse and to not help himself for anything"

    (*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267 §36)

  b. et *est venuz* a Edipum et li dist…

    and is.3.sg come to Edipum and to.him said

    "And he came to Edipum and told him"

    (*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267 §36)

V2 clauses, on the other hand, demonstrate a preference for preverbal subjects over postverbal subjects ($z=7.4812$, $p<0.001$) or null subjects ($z=5.1661$, $p<0.001$); however, there is no statistically significant difference between SV and non-SV orders in

V2 clauses (*z=1.6991, p=0.08914*).   In (6 a) we have an example of an SV-V2 clause, while in (6 b) we see a VS-V2 clause and in (6 c) there is an NS-V2 clause.

(6)　　a.　　**Ce** *est* uns vallez qui hui m'aporta mes lestres devant vos

　　　　　　This is a valet who today to.me brought my letters before you

　　　　　　"This is a valet who brought me my letters before you today"

　　　　　　(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §38.18-19)

　　　　b.　　Lors *vint* **Uitiers** au roi

　　　　　　Now came Uitiers to.the king

　　　　　　"Now Uitiers came to the king"

　　　　　　(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §38.6)

　　　　c.　　Mais <u>molt</u> *me mervoil* coment il sot ce que vos m'avez dit

　　　　　　But much me amazes.3.sg how he knew that what you to.me had said

　　　　　　"I am amazed that he knows what you said to me"

　　　　　　(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §37.50-51)

Finally, V>2 clauses demonstrate a statistical preference for preverbal subjects and null subjects over postverbal subjects (*z=6.4734, p<0.001; z=5.1381, p<0.001*); however, there is no statistically significant preference for preverbal subjects over null subjects (*z=1.4907, p=.13622*) or over non-SV clauses in general (*z=0, p=1*). Examples of the different types of V>2 clauses can be seen in (7) below. It is worth noting that the majority of V>2 clauses with null subjects follow the same structure seen in (7 c); that is, an initial subordinate clause followed by "si".

(7) a. et <u>lors</u> <u>quant il le verront sor le cheval monte,</u>

And now when they him will see on the horse mounted,

il *seront* tuit esbahy

they will be all shocked

Now, when they see him mounted on the horse, they will be completely

shocked

(*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267, §36)

b. <u>quant la pucele ot ceste parole dite</u>, <u>adont</u> *fu* **la mere** aussi

when the girl had this word said, thus was the mother also

comme toute prise et fu un poi esbahie

like all taken and was a bit shocked

"When the girl had said this, her mother was also taken aback and was a

bit shocked"

(*Le Roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267 §35)

c. <u>Et quant Uitiers l'oi</u>, <u>si</u> en *ot* molt grant merveille

And when Uitiers it heard, SI of.it. had.3.sg much great surprise

And when Uitiers heard this, he was very surprised

(*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207 §38.29-30)

The preference for V2 orders over all other possibilities may be indicative of a V2

grammar; however, it is just as plausible that would also be true of an SVO grammar.

What is potentially indicative of a V2 grammar, or rather the lack of a "pure" SVO

grammar (i.e. an SVO grammar without V2), is the fact that there is neither a statistically

significant difference between SV and non-SV orders in V2 clauses, nor a significant preference for preverbal subjects over non-SV in V>2 clauses. If the 13th century had an SVO grammar without V2, we would expect SV orders to be significantly more frequent than non-SV orders in both V2 and V>2 clauses. Therefore, the coupling of the general V2 preference and the lack of a preference for SV orders over non-SV orders is suggestive of a V2 grammar in 13th century French.

In the 14th 15th, and 16th centuries we also find a significant interaction between subject position and descriptive verb position ($X^2=254.8639$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$; $X^2=201.0381$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$; $X^2= 176.6179$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$, respectively). As before, we find that there is a statistically significant preference for V2 clauses over V>2 clauses when subjects are preverbal ($z=3.1774$, $p<0.01$; $z=3.7752$, $p<0.001$; $z=2.6326$, $p<0.01$), postverbal ($z=10.1993$, $p<0.001$; $z=4.4574$, $p<0.001$; $z=3.414$, $p<0.001$) and null (6.6293, $p<0.001$; $z=7.0342$, $p<0.001$; $z=7.6223$, $p<0.001$).

Looking at V2 clauses in these later centuries, we find that there is a statistically significant preference for preverbal subjects over postverbal subjects ($z=9.6$, $p<0.001$; $z=14.3305$, $p<0.001$; $z=15.142$, $p<0.001$), and over null subjects ($z=8.8251$, $p<0.001$; $z=9.8847$, $p<0.001$; $z=8.2414$, $p<0.001$). What is more, there is a significant preference for preverbal subjects over non-preverbal subjects in V2 clauses ($z=3.4254$, $p<0.001$; $z=7.3181$, $p<0.001$; $z=6.5794$, $p<0.001$).

V>2 clauses also demonstrate a statistically significant preference for preverbal subjects over postverbal subjects ($z=15.3324$, $p<0.001$; $z=15.2252$, $p<0.001$; $z=16.0234$, $p<0.001$) and over null subjects ($z=13.3539$, $p<.001$; $z=13.9068$, $p<0.001$; $z=13.805$, $p<0.001$). In these clauses, there is also a significant preference for preverbal subjects

over non-preverbal subjects ($z=13.0218$, $p<0.001$; $z=12.8586$, $p<0.001$; $z=16.0234$, $p<0.001$).

Once again, the significant preference for V2 clauses over V>2 clauses is not necessarily indicative of a non-V2 SVO grammar. However, the fact that there is a preference for preverbal subjects over non-preverbal subjects in both V2 and V>2 clauses suggests that French is losing its V2 grammar during the 14th through 16th centuries, especially in comparison to the 13th century. Furthermore, the frequency of preverbal subjects in both V2 and V>2 clauses provides a better indication of the V2-SVO status of the language. This is because an SVO language will strongly prefer preverbal subjects in both types of clause, while the same is not necessarily true of a V2 language, be it SVO or otherwise. Comparing SV to non-SV (i.e. VS and NS) clauses in the 14th century, we find that SV is significantly more frequent than non-SV ($z=3.4254$, $p<0.001$). The same is also true of V>2 clauses ($z=13.3806$, $p<0.001$). In this respect, French during these centuries looks more and more like a non-V2 SVO language, further supporting the claim that V2 is declining.

Comparing the results of these tables across the centuries, we find the same trend indicating a decline in V2 grammar. Looking first at the changes in subject position in descriptively V2 clauses, we find that from the 13th to the 14th century there is a statistically significant increase in the frequency of preverbal subjects ($z=2.6156$, $p<0.01$), and in the decrease in null subjects ($z=2.1555$, $p=0.03078$). This is similar to what was already demonstrated in Table (4.1) and Table (4.2). At the same time, there is no significant change in the frequency of postverbal subjects ($z=0.8493$, $p=0.39532$). We also find that the rate of non-SV clauses declines at a statistically significant level

($z=2.6156, p<0.01$). Looking at V>2 clauses, there is a statistically significant increase in preverbal subjects ($z=6.6189, p<0.001$), and significant decreases in both postverbal subjects ($z=3.0753, p<0.01$) and null subjects ($z=5.4683, p<0.001$). Furthermore, in the 13th century, there is no statistically significant preference for preverbal subjects over non-preverbal subjects in either V2 or V>2 clauses, while in the 14th century preverbal subjects are preferred in both clause types. This change is a clear indication of the decline of the V2 grammar between these two centuries.

The significant increase in preverbal subjects in V2 clauses continues from the 14th to the 15th century, but to a lesser extent than during the previous century ($z=2.0201, p<0.05$). Unlike the change between the 13th to the 14th century, the difference in frequency of null subjects in V2 clauses is not statistically significant ($z=0.7937, p=0.42952$). As for V>2 clauses, there are no significant changes with respect to subject position (SV: $z=1.023; p=0.20772$; VS: $z=1.7848, p=0.07508$; NS: $z=.1159, p=0.90448$). Both centuries also show a significant preference for SV over non-SV in both V2 and V>2 clauses. At the same time, there is a significant decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects ($z=3.7034, p<0.001$). This significant decline in postverbal subjects is indicative of the further decline of Verb Second through the 15th century.

From the 15th to the 16th century, on the other hand, we find that there are no statistically significant changes occurring in V2 clauses with respect to subject position (SV: $z=0.4006, p=0.68916$; VS: $z=1.6119, p=0.1074$; NS: $z=1.4093, p=0.15854$). The same is true for V>2 clauses (SV: $z=0.2079, p=0.83366$; VS: $z=0.6922, p=0.4902$; NS: $z=0.6578, p=0.50926$). It appears as though, at this point, the changes in subject position

have more or less leveled off. That is to say, while the frequency of V2 clauses is increasing as a whole, the changes in the position of the subject in these clauses are not statistically significant. Similarly, the change in V>2 appears to be leveling off, at least statistically speaking, even though the overall frequency of this structure is increasing during this period.

Finally, for comparison, we have the following data from *Madame Bovary*, a 19th century French novel being used as a model of the modern declarative SVO grammar. Here we find a significant effect of subject position on verb placement ($X^2=50.4802$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$).

Table 4.5: *Subject and Verb position in Madame Bovary*[82] *(19th century)*

	V1		V2		V>2		Total
SV	0	0%	65	66.3%	33	33.7%	98
VS	1	50%	0	0%	1	50%	2
Total	1	1%	65	65%	34	34%	100

Looking first at the verb position, we find that V2 clauses are significantly more frequent than V>2 clauses ($z=4.2843$, $p<0.001$). The frequency of V2 clauses is not statistically significantly higher than that of the 16th century ($z=1.9584$, $p=0.05$). Furthermore, there is no statistically significant difference in the frequency of V>2 clauses in the 16th and 19th century ($z=0.0974$, $p=0.92034$).

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[82] Madame Bovary was selected as the base-line for Modern French SVO grammar as the style and subject matter is consistent with those of the texts in this study. Furthermore, recall that V1, V2 and V>2 are descriptive terms; I am in no way suggesting that the V2 constraint was active in 19th century French.

In terms of subject position, preverbal subjects occur at a significantly higher

frequency than postverbal subjects ($z=13.5765, p<0.001$). This near complete preference

for preverbal subjects is significantly greater than that of the 16th century ($z=7.0212,$

$p<0.001$). However, the frequency of postverbal subjects is not statistically less frequent

in Madame Bovary than in the 16th century ($z=1.2751, p=0.20054$). The difference in

preverbal subjects might be attributed to the loss of null subjects. This question,

however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation. All the same, it seems clear that the

grammar of the 16th century, with respect to descriptive verb and subject placement, is

similar to that of the 19th century, in that there is no significant difference in either the

frequency of V2 clauses over V>2, nor in the frequency of postverbal subjects.[83]

Taking the comparison one step further, if we look at how the 19th century differs

from the 13th, we find that there are statistically more V>2 clauses in the 19th century

($z=3.541, p=0.00044$) and statistically more postverbal subjects in the 13th century

($z=4.206, p<0.001$).

4.4   Subject and Verb position in Narration vs. Dialogue

One of the obvious limitations of any study of a text language is the lack of access to

spoken data. Any conclusions that can be drawn are inherently based upon the grammar

of the written language, and only inferences may be made about the spoken language. It

has been suggested that dialogue or reported speech in texts may provide a closer

representation of the spoken language (Romaine 1982; Fleischman 1990; Marchello-

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[83] When all null-subject clauses are removed from the 16th century data, there are no significant differences
between the 16th and the 19th century.

Nizia 2010; Donaldson 2013). For this reason, it may be worthwhile to compare

descriptive subject and descriptive verb position in narration and dialogue in our data.

Donaldson (2013) demonstrates that the frequency of V2 clauses vs. V>2 clauses

differs between narration and represented speech, or dialogue, in 13th century French.

Looking at structures in which the initial element is a subordinate clause, he finds that

there is a greater frequency of V2 structures, in which the verb immediately follows the

subordinate clause, in narration than in represented speech, as compared to V>2

structures with an immediately preverbal subject. Presumably, this is a result of a

difference in register between the two, wherein narrative is more formal than dialogue.

Unlike Donaldson (2013), the data in this study are not restricted to sentences

with initial subordinate clauses in 13th century texts. Instead, we are looking at all

declarative sentences across four centuries. Looking first at the number of preverbal

constituents, we find that there is a significant interaction between text and verb position

in both narration and dialogue (X^2=113.1239, d.f.=14, p<0.001; X^2=66.6636, d.f.=14,

p<0.001, respectively).

Table 4.6: *Verb position in narration and dialogue, by text*

	Narration				Dialogue			
	V1	**V2**	**V>2**	**Total**	**V1**	**V2**	**V>2**	**Total**
Merlin	11	126	38	175	1	106	18	125
	6.3%	72%	21.7%		0.8%	84.8%	14.4%	
Cass	39	116	27	182	6	85	27	118
	21.4%	63.7%	14.8%		5.1%	72%	22.9%	
Perce	33	90	72	195	5	69	31	105
	16.9%	46.2%	36.9%		4.8%	65.7%	29.5%	
Mel	33	78	23	134	30	93	43	166
	24.6%	58.2%	17.2%		18.1%	56%	25.9%	
XV	44	110	72	226	5	59	10	74
	19.5%	48.7%	31.8%		6.8%	79.7%	13.5%	
CNN	35	93	92	220	4	61	15	80
	15.9%	42.3%	41.8%		5%	76.3%	18.8%	
Ang	17	113	102	232	1	42	25	68
	7.3%	48.7%	44%		1.5%	61.8%	36.7%	
Hep	41	101	52	194	9	70	27	106
	21.1%	52.1%	26.8%		8.5%	66%	25.5%	
Total	253	827	478	1558	61	585	196	842

In the first view of the data, it appears as though dialogue, in these texts, represents a more conservative grammar, with respect to descriptive verb position. In *Merlin*, *Perceforest*, Les *Quinze Joyes* du marriage, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, and *L'Heptaméron*, the rate of V2 clauses in dialogue is significantly higher than in narration (*Merlin: 2.6106, p=0.00906; Perceforest: z=3.2377, p=0.0012; Quinze: z=4.6753, p<0.001; Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles: z=5.2068, p<0.001; L'Heptaméron: z=2.3372, p=0.01928*). For the remaining texts, there is no significant difference between the

frequency of V2 clauses in narration versus dialogue (*Cassidorus: z=1.4931, p=0.13622; Mélusine: z=0.38, p=0.70394; Angoisses: z=1.8949, p=0.05876*). Furthermore, we find that in all but two texts there is no significant difference between the frequency of V>2 clauses in narration and dialogue (*Quinze: z=3.0108; Les CNN: z=5.2068, p<0.001*). Based on this data, we cannot claim that dialogue represents a more innovative register than narration.

However, as part of his measure of innovativeness, Donaldson (2013) looks at the rate of SV clauses after initial subordinate clauses. As Donaldson looks specifically at sentences with initial subordinate clauses, this is the most straightforward way of addressing V2 vs. non-V2, as looking at the data from the stance of the number of preverbal constituents would group preverbal subjects and sentence particles like *si* together, and null subjects and postverbal subjects together. For this reason, we will also examine the data in terms of subject position. As before, we find a significant interaction between text and subject position relation to the verb in both narration and dialogue ($X^2=88.8125, df=14, p<0.001$; $X^2=99.2258, df=14, p<0.001$).

Table 4.7: *Subject position, relative to the verb, in narration and dialogue, by text*

	Narration				Dialogue			
	SV	VS	NS	Total	SV	VS	NS	Total
Merlin	56 32.2%	25 14.4%	93 53.4%	174	73 57.9%	18 14.3%	35 27.8%	126
Cass	70 38.5%	31 17%	81 44.5%	182	59 50%	39 33.1%	20 16.9%	118
Perce	102 52.3%	32 16.4%	61 31.3%	195	73 69.5%	7 6.7%	25 23.8%	105
Mel	51 38.1%	20 14.9%	63 47%	134	107 64.5%	20 12%	39 23.5%	166
XV	126 55.8%	25 11%	75 33.2%	226	65 87.8%	3 4.1%	6 8.1%	74
CNN	107 48.6%	21 9.4%	92 42%	220	66 82.5%	2 2.5%	12 15%	80
Ang	151 65.1%	9 3.9%	72 31%	232	41 60.3%	6 8.8%	21 30.9%	68
Hep	95 49%	9 4.6%	90 46.4%	194	87 82.1%	5 4.7%	14 13.2%	106
Total	758	172	627	1557	571	100	172	843

The data presented in table (4.7) is more in line with what is predicted in Donaldson (2013).In every text except *Angoisses* ($z=0.724, p=0.47152$), there is a significantly higher frequency of SV clauses in dialogue than in narration (*Merlin*:z=4.4469, p<0.001; *Cassidorus*: z=1.9719, p=0.04884; *Perceforest*: z=2.8849, p=0.00398; *Mélusine*: z=4.5527, p<.001; *Quinze*: z=4.9809, p<0.001; *Les CNN*: z=5.2496, p<0.001; *L'Heptaméron*: z=5.6111, p<0.001). Interestingly, there is also a significantly lower frequency of null subject clauses in dialogue than in narration, except in *Perceforest* and

Angoisses (*Merlin*: z=4.9337, p<.001; *Cassidorus*: z=4.9337, p<0.001; *Perceforest*: z=1.3652, p=0.17068; *Mélusine*: z=4.2755, p<0.001; *Quinze*: z=4.2175, p<0.001; *Les CNN*: z=4.2175, p<0.001; *Angoisses*: z=0.0239, p=0.98404; *L'Heptaméron*: z=5.773, p<0.001). The division in subject placement with respect to the verb between narration and dialogue is similar to what Donaldson (2013) found in 13th century French.

Given that there is a greater frequency of SV in dialogue, and that French is moving towards a non-V2, non-null subject grammar, it appears as though dialogue represents a more innovative[84] grammar than that of narration. However, as shown in table (4.6), this does not hold true when looking only at descriptive verb position. As discussed above, in most texts there is a significantly higher rate of V2 in dialogue than in narration, and there is no significant difference in the frequency of V>2 between the two written registers. Again, we would expect a higher frequency of V>2 clauses in the more innovative of the two registers, reflecting a loss of V2 grammar. However, along with the higher rate of V2 in dialogue, we find a higher rate of V1 in narration than in dialogue in all of the texts except *Mélusine* and *Angoisses* (*Merlin*: z=2.7064, p<0.01; *Cassidorus*: z=3.7774, p<0.001; *Perceforest*: z=2.7535, p<0.01; *Quinze*: z=2.5675, p=0.0102; *Les CNN*: z=2.4846, p=0.01314; *L'Heptaméron*: z=2.6335, p<0.01). This, coupled with the higher frequency of null-subject structures in narration, suggests that the "innovativeness" seen in the dialogue grammar may have more to do with the loss of null-subjects, rather than the loss of V2. This difference between narration and dialogue will have to be explored in a future study, as the loss of null-subjects is not the primary focus of this dissertation.

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[84] Here, I am using the term used in Vance et al. (2010) and Donaldson (2013) to describe this type of grammar.

To conclude this section, the data demonstrates a clear, and significant, change in both the position of the finite verb and in subject position in matrix clauses occurring from the 13th to the 14th century that continued through the 16th century. With respect to descriptive verb position, the data from the 13th is similar to what would be expected in a V2 language, with its relatively low frequency of V>2 and V1 clauses. This is further supported by the relatively high frequency of postverbal subjects in V2 clauses[85]. In the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, in comparison, the frequency of V>2 clauses and preverbal subjects is significantly higher than in the 13th century, indicating the presence of a non-V2 SVO grammar. Furthermore, the data from the 16th century is not significantly different from that of the 19th century with respect to the frequency of V2 clauses, V>2 clauses and postverbal subjects, which also supports the non-V2 SVO grammar of 16th century French.

4.5   Conclusion

From the results presented in this Chapter, it is clear that there is a change in the positions of subjects and verbs from the 13th to the 14th century, and slight adjustments in this from the 14th to the 16th century. It appears that the 13th century represents a stage of the language with a robust V2 grammar, and that this V2 grammar undergoes a sharp decline beginning in the 14th century. The reason for this claim is twofold. First, with respect to descriptive verb position, we find that in the 13th century, there is a significant preference for V2 clauses over non-V2 clauses, while the same is not true in the 14th through

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[85] It bears repeating that the high frequency of null-subject clauses in the 13th century may be masking the strength of the possibility for postverbal subjects, as only postverbal subjects may be realized as null at this point. As a result, the high frequency of null subjects should not necessarily be taken as evidence against a V2 analysis of Old French.

16th centuries. This is coupled with a significant increase in V>2 clauses from the 13th to 14th century. The combination of these two changes indicates a clear distinction between the grammars of the two centuries. What is more, the grammar of the 14th century more closely resembles that of the 19th century than that of the 13th century, excluding the relatively high rate of V1 clauses. The frequency of V>2 clauses is important in determining the V2 status of the language as there should be a clear divide between V2 and non-V2 SVO languages, and this is exactly what is found.

Secondly, the position of the subject with respect to the verb also plays a significant role in determining the V2 status of a language. To begin with, we know that during the period under investigation French was an SVO language. As such, we should expect to find a high rate of preverbal subjects in every century. All the same, if there is a robust V2 grammar, we should also expect to find a high frequency of postverbal subjects in instances where a non-subject constituent is occurring preverbally. This is, generally, what is found in the data. From the 14th century through the 16th century, the frequency of postverbal subjects declines significantly, while the frequency of preverbal subjects remains stable. Furthermore, preverbal subjects are significantly more frequent than non-preverbal subjects (e.g. postverbal and null subjects) in all of these centuries. This is exactly what is expected of a language that is progressing towards a non-V2 SVO grammar. In the 13th century, however, the distribution of subject positions is significantly different. First, there is no significant preference for SV clauses over non-SV clauses, though preverbal subjects are significantly more frequent than either postverbal or null-subjects alone. Secondly, we find that there are significantly fewer preverbal subjects and significantly more postverbal subjects in the 13th century than in

the 14th century. Both of these facts support the claim that 13th century French was a V2 language.

At this point we can conclude that in the 13th century, V2 was an active part of the grammar of French, and that from the 14th century on it appears as though this was being lost from the language. However, we have not yet articulated the exact course of the change. For example it is unclear, as of yet, whether the core reflexes of V2, which are present in the 13th century, are still present in the following centuries. This will be discussed in Chapter 6, with the addition of the Information Structure to the analysis.

As discussed previously, there is more than one type of V2 language, with varying degrees of "strictness" and with different loci of movement (e.g. CP or IP). In Chapter 6, we will revisit the question of the V2 status of Old and Middle French. There, we will discuss the location of the verb in the structure (e.g. Fin^0), the evidence for V to C movement, and the dating of the decline of V2. I argue there that the two key features of V2 grammar—V to C movement and EPP on FinP—are present in the grammar until the 15th century, based on evidence from the location of IS elements in the Left Periphery.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion: Information Structure & Clausal Template

5.0   Introduction

Let us now turn to the results of the Information Structure (IS) portion of this study.

Since we are ultimately interested in the interaction of Information Structure and syntax,

we will focus on the structural realization of IS elements. This is to say, we are interested

in what the possible positions of these elements are and where they occur most

frequently. This will allow us to create a clausal template, of sorts, for each century

based upon the preferred location of the IS elements. From there, we can examine how

the template changes over time. This information will also be informative as we examine

the interaction between IS and Verb Second, and the role of IS in the decline of V2 in the

following Chapter.

Looking at German and Italian, Frascarelli (2007) and Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl

(2007) demonstrate that each of the three types of topic (e.g. aboutness, contrastive and

familiar) have different prosodic contours and appear to target different structural

positions, and that these preferences differ between the two languages. Consequently, I

hypothesize that each of the three types of topic will demonstrate distinct preferences in

Old French. I also hypothesize that Frame-Setters will demonstrate significantly different

preferences than topics, motivating them to be treated as distinct from Topic. Similarly, I

hypothesize that the two types of focus will have different preferences than either topics

or frame-setters, and that the two types of focus (e.g. contrastive and new information)

will behave distinctly from one another.

To begin with, we will look at the preferred position of each individual IS element, and where they occur with respect to similar IS elements (e.g. aboutness topics and familiar topics), both synchronically and diachronically. Then, we will sketch out a general template of Information Structure elements in declarative matrix clauses in each century. From there we can see how it changed over time. It should be noted that for certain of these IS constituents, the token number in each position and in text will be low. It is possible that with a larger corpus or larger sample size the results may change; however, this would most likely not change the primary preference of each IS constituent, as the differences between the primary and secondary, or secondary and tertiary preferences tend to be robust.

Determining the preferred position of each type of IS constituent, and formulating an IS clausal template will allow us to begin mapping IS onto syntax. From there, we can examine the interaction of Information Structure and Verb Second in this period in Chapter 6.

5.1   *Topics*

The first Information Structure elements to be examined are topics. Recall from §2.2.2 that the term *topic* refers broadly to "what the sentence is about". These elements are DPs that typically present previously established, or given, information. There are three types of topic discussed here: aboutness topics, familiar topics, and contrastive topics. An aboutness topic, or aboutness-shift topic, refers to a DP that is being used as a topic for the first time, or that is being re-established as the topic after another DP has been used as an aboutness topic. Aboutness topics then become familiar topics if they

continue to be used as topics in the immediately subsequent discourse. Like aboutness or familiar topics, contrastive topics may either be newly established topics or a continuing topic. What makes these topics distinct from the previous two types is that they are set in direct contrast to another established topic. With this in mind, let us examine the location of topics in the data.

5.1.1   Aboutness Topics

Aboutness topics may occur in any of the positions examined in this study. In the following, we see examples of aboutness topics in each of the possible positions. In (1 a, b, and c) we have examples of aboutness topics separated from the verb by at least one other constituent. These examples are coded as a variation on XXV, depending on the number of intervening constituents. In (1 d) the aboutness topic is immediately preverbal, which is coded as XV. In (1 e) the aboutness topic is an object clitic, while in (1 f) it is a null subject. Both of these examples are coded as "V" (for "Verbal"), as both null-subjects and object clitics are in some respect attached to the verb. Finally, in (1 g) the aboutness topic is postverbal (VX).

(1) a. [**Le bon compaignon** _{AbT}] jà soit ce qu'il fust fort courroucé

The good compagnon although he was very angry

et mal meu par avant toutesfois pour ce qu'il voit son toit

and badly positioned by front however because he saw his fortress

a l' œil et le rebours de sa pensee *refraint* son ire

by the eye and the heresy of his thoughts restrains his anger

"The good companion, although he was very angry, and poorly positioned

in the front, however because he saw his fortress and the heresy of his

thoughts he reigned in his anger."

(*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* ; 2eme nouvelle p. 7)

 b. [**La Duchesse** _{AbT}], rougissant, pensant qu' il ne tenoit plus a rien

The Duchesse, blushing, thinking that he NEG grasp no longer to nothing

qu' il ne fust vaincu luy *jura* que s' il voulloit elle scavoit

that he NEG was conquered to.him swore that if he wanted she knew

la plus belle dame…

the most beautiful woman…

"The Duchesse, blushing, thinking that he no longer understood at all that

he had not been conquered, swore to him that, if he wanted, she knew the

most beautiful woman"

 (*L'Heptaméron*; *Nouvelle LXX* p. 291)

 c. Erranment [**les Gregoiz** _{AbT}] moult esbahiz s'en *fuirent* de toutes pars

Quickly the Greeks very afraid fled from all parts

"The Greeks, who were very afraid, quickly fled from all the parts."

(*Perceforest*, §9.15-16)

 d. et a l'aventure [**le bon home** _{AbT}] n' *a* pas trop de chevance

 by chance the good man NEG has not much of goods

"It just so happened that the man doesn't have many goods."

(*Les Quinze Joyes du mariage* §8.132)

e.   **il** ne [vous $_{AbT}$] *peut* eschapper

         he NEG you   can escape

         "he cannot escape you."

         (*Mélusine* p. 244)

f.   Lors *sont* [*pro* $_{AbT}$] venu au Sarrazin

         now are.3.pl   come to Sarrazin

         "Thus they came to the Sarrazin."

         (*Le Roman de Cassidorus* §59)

g.   lui *baille* [**sa femme** $_{AbT}$] sa sainture et ses patenoustres pour les toucher

         to.him gave his wife his belt and his rosary for them to.touch

         aux   reliques et   au   saint ymages de Nostre Dame

         to.the relics   and to.the holy images of Our   Lady

         "His wife gave her belt and her rosary to him to touch them to the relics

         and the holy image of Our Lady."

         (*Les Quinze Joyes du mariage* §8.123-125)

We will be examining the preferences of aboutness topics in each text individually rather than grouping the texts into centuries. This is done as it is not clear that both texts from a century will behave similarly. To begin with, we examine the frequency of different types of aboutness topics: DP, object pronoun, null subject, or demonstrative pronoun. We find a significant interaction between texts and the part of speech of the aboutness topic (*X^2=46.69, df=28, p=0.01478*)

Table 5.1: *Frequency of types of aboutness topics, by text*

	DP		ObCl		Null		DemPro		total
Merlin	63	70.8%	11	12.4%	11	12.4%	4	4.5%	89
Cassidorus	84	76.4%	5	4.5%	16	14.5%	5	4.5%	110
Perceforest	92	84.4%	7	6.4%	9	8.3%	1	0.9%	109
Mélusine	102	82.3%	6	4.8%	12	9.7%	4	3.2%	124
XV	101	87.8%	4	3.5%	10	8.7%	0	0%	115
CNN	100	84.7%	5	4.2%	13	11%	0	0%	118
L'Heptaméron	102	75%	14	10.3%	20	14.7%	0	0%	136
Angoisses	67	69.8%	8	8.3%	17	17.7%	4	4.2%	96
Total	711		60		108		18		

Broadly speaking, we see that DPs, including full DPs and subject pronouns, are the most common types of aboutness topics. Given the Information Structural role of aboutness topics, this preference for DPs is logical. Having established which parts of speech are most common for aboutness topics, we now turn to the preferred position of aboutness topics.

We find that the position of aboutness topics changes significantly in each text across the eight texts ($X^2=111.24$, $df=35$, $p<0.001$).

Table 5.2: *The position of aboutness topics, by text*

	XXXXV[86]	**XXXV**	**XXV**	**XV**	**XV**[87]	**VX**[88]	**total**
Merlin	0 0%	1 1.1%	7 7.9%	32 36%	22 24.7%	27 30.3%	89
Cassidorus	0 0%	0 0%	6 5.5%	50 45.4%	21 19.1%	33 30%	110
Perceforest	0 0%	1 0.9%	11 10.1%	63 57.8%	15 13.8%	19 17.4%	109
Mélusine	0 0%	0 0%	2 1.6%	85 68.5%	17 13.7%	20 16.1%	124
Quinze	0 0%	0 0%	2 1.7%	85 73.9%	14 12.2%	14 12.2%	115
CNN	1 0.8%	4 3.4%	9 7.6%	77 65.3%	17 14.4%	10 8.5%	118
L'Heptaméron	0 0%	5 3.7%	12 8.8%	77 56.6%	34 25%	8 5.9%	136
Angoisses	0 0%	3 3.1%	4 4.2%	58 60.4%	25 26%	6 6.3%	96
Total	1	14	53	527	165	137	897

Looking at the data as a whole, we see that in each text aboutness topics are most

frequent in the immediately preverbal position. It is also clear that the frequency of

aboutness topics in each position changes from text to text.

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[86] In reading the following tables, note that the underline element in the heading is where the element in question is located. For example, in XXXV, the constituent is separated from the finite verb by two other constituents.

[87] All constituents in this column are either null subjects or object clitics.

[88] For the purposes of this study, any constituents found to the right of the finite verb or auxiliary were coded as being postverbal. Constituents located in the clause final position were also coded as such, but separately.

We begin synchronically, with the two texts from the 13th century. In *Merlin*, we find that while there are more aboutness topics in the immediately preverbal position than the postverbal position or in the "verbal" position (e.g. null subjects or object clitics), the differences between each of these positions is not significant (XV vs. VX: *z=0.7961, p=0.42372*; XV vs. V: *z=1.6304, p=0.1031*). Similarly, in *Cassidorus* the order of position preference for aboutness topics is: immediately preverbal, postverbal, and verbal. However, the preverbal position is significantly more frequent than the postverbal position (*z=2.3646, p=0.01828*), though the difference between the postverbal and verbal position is not significant (*z=1.8799, p=0.0601*).

In the 14th century, *Perceforest* demonstrates the same preferences as *Cassidorus* before it. Once again, there preverbal aboutness topics are significantly more frequent than postverbal aboutness topics, the second most common position (*z=6.1518, p<0.001*). Similarly, there is no significant difference between the verbal and postverbal positions (*z=0.7467, p=0.45326*). The aboutness topics in *Mélusine* behave similarly (XV vs. VX: *z=8.3537, p<0.001*; VX vs. V: *z=0.5347, p=0.59612*).

The preferences of aboutness topics begin to shift in the 15th century. In *Quinze Joyes*, there is no difference whatsoever between postverbal and verbal aboutness topics, though the immediately preverbal position remains dominant (XV vs. VX: *z=9.4552, p<0.001*). In *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, while the immediately preverbal position remains dominant, the preference for the postverbal position over the verbal position switches, though the difference is not significant (XV vs. V: *z=7.9781, p<0.001*; V vs. VX: *z=1.4315, p=0.15272*).

Finally, in the 16th century, this new preference for verbal over postverbal aboutness topics continues. In *L'Heptaméron*, the preference for preverbal aboutness topics over the verbal position is significant ($z=5.3049, p<0.001$), as is the preference for verbal over postverbal aboutness topics ($z=4.3628, p<0.001$). The same is true of *Angoisses* (XV vs. V: $z=4.8074, p<0.001$; V vs. VX: $z=3.7266, p<0.001$).

As we have just seen, there is a change in the preferred positions of aboutness topics from the first text, from ca. 1205, to the last text, from ca. 1538. In the first text examined, while there are different frequencies of aboutness topics in each of the top three positions, these differences are not statistically significant. In the next three texts, there is a greater frequency of aboutness topics occurring postverbally rather than "verbally", though this difference is never statistically significant. This hierarchy (e.g. immediately preverbal > postverbal > "verbal") begins to shift in Les *Quinze Joyes* du marriage, the first 15th century text, as there is no difference in the frequencies of verbal and postverbal aboutness topics. In the final three texts, the verbal position is preferred over the postverbal position, but not significantly so. These changes are presented in figure (5.1) below.

Figure 5.1: *Rates of preverbal, verbal and postverbal aboutness topics, by text*
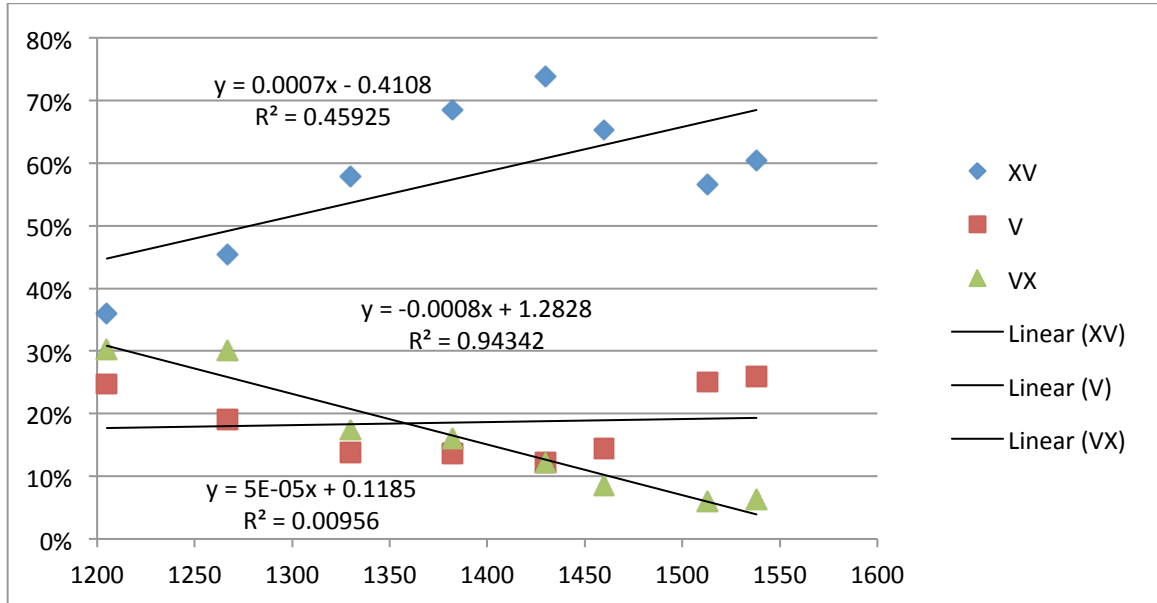
Looking at these changes from text to text, we find that by-and-large these shifts occur slowly, and the changes are typically not significant between "chronologically adjacent" texts. For example, there is an increase in the frequency of immediately preverbal aboutness topics from *Merlin* to *Cassidorus*; however, this increase is not statistically significant (*z=1.2812, p=0.20054*). The same is true between *Cassidorus* and *Perceforest* (*z=1.8971, p=0.05744*), though it does approach significance. If we were to compare *Merlin*, the first 13th century text, to *Perceforest*, the first 14th century text, we find that the increase in frequency of aboutness topics in the immediately preverbal position is statistically significant (*z=3.0604, p=0.00222*). Similarly, the increase in aboutness topics in this position is not significant between *Perceforest* and *Mélusine*, but the increase from *Cassidorus* to *Mélusine* is statistically significant (*z=3.6353, p<0.001*), as in the increase from *Perceforest* to *Quinze* (*z=2.6486, p=0.00804*).

This same pattern holds true for the decrease in verbal and postverbal aboutness topics. From the 13th to the mid-15th century, we find a decline in the frequency of object clitic and null subject aboutness topics. There is no significant difference between each chronologically adjacent text from *Merlin* through *Quinze*, though there is a clearly visible decline in frequency. If we compare *Merlin* to *Perceforest*, however, we find that the decline is significant (*z=1.9676, p=0.04884*). Similarly, the decline in postverbal aboutness topics is gradual from the 14th through the 16th century, after an initial significant decline. This decline is even slower than the previous, as the first significant comparison we can make is between *Perceforest* and *CNN* (*z=2.0197, p=0.04338*).

If we look more closely at what happens between the texts of the 16th century, we find that they do not pattern as might be expected, as far as the immediately preverbal and verbal positions are concerned. From the 13th through the 15th century, we see a slow rise in the frequency of preverbal aboutness topics and a slow decline in the frequency of verbal aboutness topics. In the 16th century, these trends are reversed. First, we see a significant increase in the frequency of verbal aboutness topics from *CNN* to *L'Heptaméron* (*z=2.1019, p=0.03572*), which is continued into *Angoisses*. Secondly we see a slight decrease in the frequency of immediately preverbal aboutness topics. This decrease is similar to the preceding increase in that it is only significant when comparing two texts that are not chronologically adjacent, such as *Quinze Joyes* and *L'Heptaméron* (*z=2.9587, p=0.00308*).

From these results, we can conclude that there is a general preference for aboutness topics to occur immediately preverbally, though the intensity of this preference does change from century to century. At the same time, we see a significant decrease in

the possibility for aboutness topics to occur postverbally. This is most likely linked to the fact that topics are most commonly subjects, and the immediately preverbal position is being solidified as a subject position during this period. Interestingly, while these changes may be related, the shift in preference of aboutness topics occurs at a far more gradual rate than the changes in subject position discussed in the previous Chapter. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next Chapter.

5.1.2 *Familiar Topics*

As discussed in §2.2.2, a familiar topic is one which is coreferential with the most recently established aboutness topic, and serves to maintain topic continuity. As they do not serve the same function as aboutness topics, we do not necessarily expect them to show the same syntactic preferences with respect to part of speech and sentence position. That being said, the same positions and parts of speech possible for aboutness topics are possible for familiar topics. In (2) below are examples of both all possible positions and all possible parts of speech. (2 a&b) are examples of familiar topics separated from the verb by at least one constituent. The familiar topic is immediately preverbal in (2 c). In (2 d & e) we see both possible types of familiar topics in the verbal position, and in (2 f) the familiar topic is postverbal. With respect to parts of speech, the familiar topic in (2 a) is a tonic pronoun, while it is an object pronoun in (2 d) and a subject pronoun in (2 f). The familiar topic in (2 b) is a full DP subject, and is a null subject in (2 e). Finally, in (2 c), the familiar topic is a demonstrative pronoun, here acting as a object.

(2) a. et <u>pour ce</u> [lui _{FamT}] <u>voiant les chargez dessus dites et ce qu'il a a faire</u>

   and for this him seeing the charges above said and that which he has to do

   <u>comme j'ay dit</u> **il** ne lui *chault* mes qu'il vive et est tout en non chaloir

   like I have said it NEG to.him is important but that he lives and is all

   "And because of this, he, seeing the charges stated above and what he had

   to do, as I have said, nothing mattered to him, except that he lives…"

   (*Quinze Joyes,* §4.41-44)

 b. <u>Car comme leurs varletz achessoient cerfz a l'encontre de eulx</u>

   Because as their valets were hunting deer at the meeting of them

   [**Brutus** _{FamT}] <u>desirant envoier une saiette</u> *feri* son père sur le pis

   Brutus, desiring to.send an arrow hit his father on the chest

   "As their valets were hunting deer when they met, wanting to shoot an

   arrow, Brutus hit his father in the chest."

   (*Perceforest* §6.3-5)

 c. [<u>ce</u> _{FamT}] est **il** sanz faille

   This is he without fault

   This he is without a doubt

   (*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207, §76.35)

 d. et **Uitiers** [li _{FamT}] *fist* molt grant joie

   and Uitiers to.him made much great joy

   "And Uitiers made great joy over him."

   (*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207, §37.27-28)

 e. et <u>puis</u> *a* [*pro* _{FamT}] pendu un fort escu a son col

   and then had [*he*] hung a heavy shield at his neck

   "And then he hung a heavy shield from his neck"

   (*Cassidorus,* §59)

 f. <u>Or</u> *est* [**il** _{FamT}] en la nasse bien embarré

   Now is he in the net well stuck

   "Now he is truly stuck in the net"

   (*Quinze Joyes,* §2.97-98)

Looking at familiar topics, we find that there is a significant effect of time on the position of familiar topics. ($X^2=81.17$, $df=28$, $p<0.001$).

Table 5.3: *Position of familiar topics, by text*

	X̲XXV		XX̲V		X̲V		XV̲		VX̲		total
Merlin	0	0%	2	1%	44	22.4%	139	70.9%	11	5.6%	196
Cassidorus	0	0%	1	0.6%	45	28.8%	94	60.3%	16	10.3%	156
Perceforest	0	0%	3	1.9%	60	37.5%	80	50%	17	10.6%	160
Mélusine	0	0%	0	0%	39	27.1%	89	61.8%	16	11.1%	144
XV	1	0.8%	0	0%	54	44.3%	64	52.5%	3	2.4%	122
CNN	0	0%	0	0%	52	33.1%	101	64.3%	4	2.5%	157
L'Heptaméron	0	0%	4	2.5%	43	26.9%	107	66.9%	6	3.7%	160
Angoisses	0	0%	0	0%	77	45.3%	83	48.8%	10	5.9%	170
Total	1		10		414		757		83		

Looking first at the 13th century, we find that in *Merlin* and *Cassidorus* there is a significant preference for verbal familiar topics over preverbal familiar topics (*z=9.6176, p<0.001; z=5.5814, p<0.001* respectively). We also find that the preverbal position is significantly more frequent than the postverbal position in both texts *(z=4.7991, p<0.001; z=4.1397, p<0.001*, respectively). In the 14th century, the preference for familiar topics in the verbal position over the preverbal position is significant in *Perceforest* (*z=2.2537, p=0.02444*) and *Mélusine* (*z=5.9293, p<0.001*). Furthermore, the preference for the immediately preverbal position over the postverbal position is significant in *Perceforest* and *Mélusine* (*z=5.6233, p<0.001; z=3.448, p<0.001*). The same patterns hold true for *Quinze Joyes*, *CNN* and *L'Heptaméron*. However, in *Angoisses* there is no significant difference in the frequency of familiar topics in the

verbal position versus those in the immediately preverbal position (*z=0.6519, p=0.5157*).

These preferences are modeled in Figure (5.2) below:

Figure 5.2: *Rates of preverbal, verbal and postverbal familiar topics, by text*
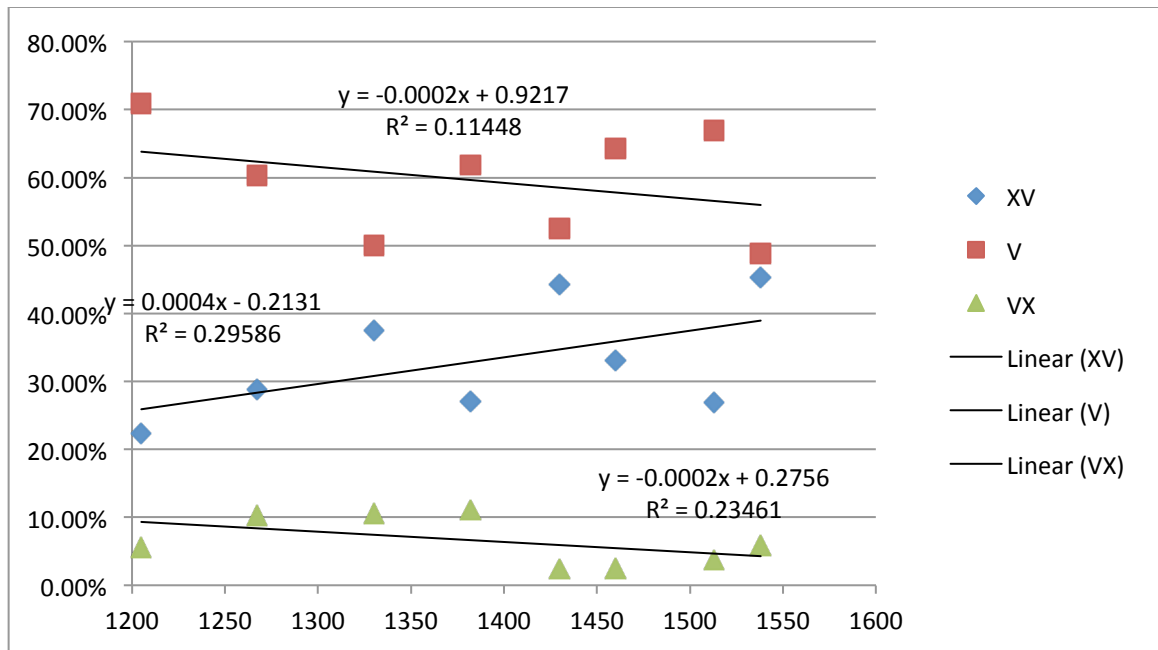
Diachronically, we find that although there is a clear upward trend in the frequency of preverbal familiar topics, comparing each text against each other is not informative due to the wide variation between the texts in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. If on the other hand we were to combine these texts into their respective centuries, the results are clearer, though the trend remains unchanged. This combination of texts into centuries can be seen in Table (5.4) and Figure (5.3) below:

Table 5.4: Position of familiar topics, by century

	$\underline{XXXV}$		$\underline{XXV}$		$\underline{XV}$		$X\underline{V}$		$V\underline{X}$		total
13	0	0%	3	0.8%	89	25.3%	233	66.2%	27	7.7%	352
14	0	0%	3	1%	99	32.6%	169	55.6%	33	10.8%	304
15	1	0.4%	0	0%	106	38%	165	59.1%	7	2.5%	279
16	0	0%	4	1.2%	120	36.4%	190	57.6%	16	4.8%	330
Total	1	0%	10	0.8%	414	32.8%	757	59.8%	83	6.6%	1265

(X^2=37.56, df=12, p<0.001)

Figure 5.3: Rates of preverbal, verbal and postverbal familiar topics, by century
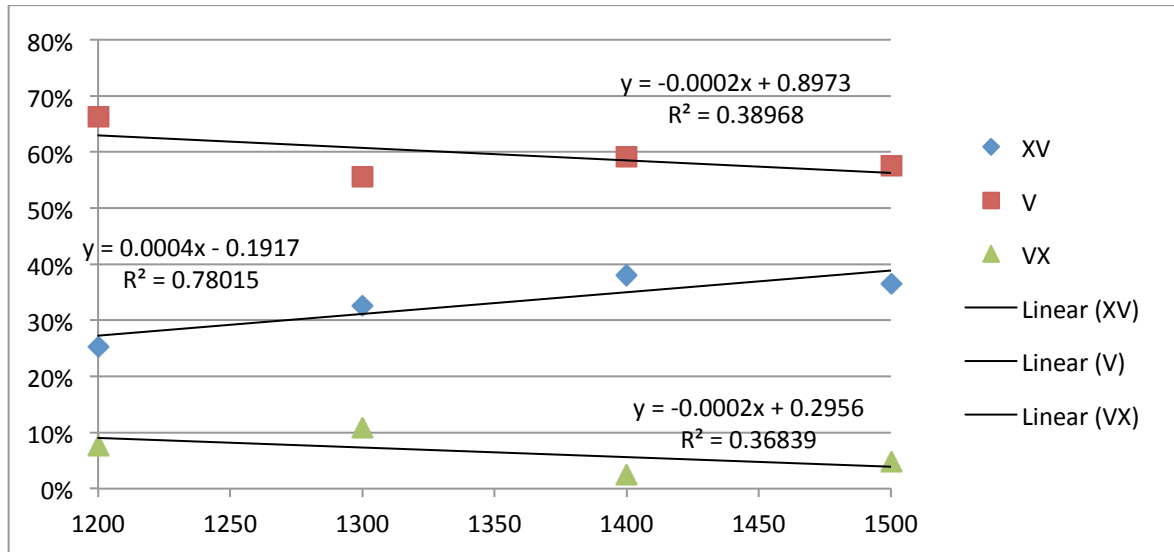
Now we find a significant increase in preverbal familiar topics from the 13th to the 14th century (*z=2.0568, p=0.0394*).[89] The increase from the 14th to the 15th century, however is not significant (*z=1.4598, p=0.1443*), nor is the decrease from the 15th to the 16th century (*z=0.5054, p=0.61006*).   This increase is presented as the diamond points in Figure (5.3).

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[89] Here, combining the texts into centuries does not change the trendlines

Similarly, the decrease in frequency in null subject and object clitic familiar topic is significant from the 13th to the 14th century ($z=2.7796, p=0.00544$), while the increase from the 14th to the 15th century is not significant ($z=0.7773, p=0.4354$), nor is the decrease from the 15th to the 16th century ($z=0.3005, p=0.76418$). This is show as the square points in Figure (2)

Finally, the rise in postverbal familiar topics from the 13th to the 14th century is not significant ($z=1.4111, p=0.15854$). The decline from the 14th to the 15th century is significant ($z=3.9823, p<0.001$). The rise from the 15th century to the 16th is not significant ($z=1.509, p=0.13104$). The rate of postverbal topics is presented as the triangle points in Figure (2).

Looking diachronically at aboutness topics and familiar topics, we find that they behave similarly with respect to the preverbal position. Each undergoes a significant increase from the 13th to the 14th century, but not from the 14th to the 15th century. The similarity in the two types of topics extends, generally, to the decline in postverbal and null subject and object clitic topics as well.

Looking at the data as a whole, we see that in spite of the changes in the frequency of certain positions over time, a hierarchy of preferred position exists across the centuries. Firstly, the most frequent familiar topics are in the XV position, followed by preverbal position and then the postverbal position.

5.1.3   Contrastive Topics

The final set of topics to be examined is contrastive topics. Recall from §2.2.2 that contrastive topics are topics which are set in opposition to another established topic.

These topics would otherwise be coded as either aboutness or familiar topics if they were not specifically contrasting with another topic. These topics, too, can occur in any of the positions and can be any of the parts of speech examined. In (3 a & b), the contrastive topic is separated from the verb by at least one constituent. The contrastive topic is immediately preverbal in (3 c). In (3 d & e), the contrastive topics are in the verbal position. Finally, in (3 f) the contrastive topic is postverbal. With respect to part of speech, the (3 b & f) are subject pronouns. (3 c) is also a subject, but unlike (3 b & f), it is a demonstrative pronoun. In (3 d), the contrastive topic is an object pronoun, while in (3 e), the contrastive topic is a null subject. Any contrastive topic that is a null subject must be set in a parallel construction with another sentence in the data.

(3)	a.	Et ainsi est il de vous car le lieu est tel que les preudommes

and thus is it concerning you for the place is such that the worthy-men

et les sains y peuent entrer ne sy ne troeuvent chose

and the saints there can enter and there neg find thing

dont ilz ayent paour ne qui leur soit contraire,

of-which they might-have fear or that to-them be opposed

ainçois s'en unient voulentiers ensemble par nature

rather REFL-of-it unite.3pl voluntarily together by nature

et [vous qui estes ordes de mescreance et de plusieurs autres pechiez ConT]

and you who are soiled of heresy and of many other sins

sy tost que vous venistes prez du lieu saint, **vous** *eustes* hides et paour

as soon as you came near of-the place holy you had horror and fear

de vostre contraire

of your opposite.

"And so it is with you, because the place is such that worthy men and

saints can enter there, and they find nothing there that they are afraid of or

that is against [their nature]. Rather they voluntarily unite together with it

by their very nature**.** And you, who are soiled with heresy and many other

sins, as soon as you came near the holy place you were in horror and fear

of your opposite."

(*Perceforest* §234.10-16)

b.	Or advint grant temp après que la dicte faee se baignoit.

	Now came great time after that the said fairy refl.bathed

	[**Il** ConT] par sa curieusete la *voult* veoir, et tantost la faee bouta

	He by his curiosity her wanted to.see, and immediately the fairy hit

	sa teste dedens l'eaue et devint serpent, n'onques puis ne fu veue,

	her head in the water and became serpent never again NEG was seen.

	et le dit chevaliers declina petit a petit de toutes ses prosperitez

	and the said knight declined little by little of all his prosperity

	et de toutes ses choses.

	and of all his things

	"Now it happened a long time afterward that the above-mentioned fairy

	was bathing. Out of curiosity, he wanted to see her, and immediately the

	fairy put her head in the water and became a serpent, which was never

	seen again, and the knight lost little by little all of his prosperity and all of

	his things"

	(*Mélusine* p. 4)

c.	[cele ConT] *fist* ce que celle li comenda

	This.one did that which that.one to.her told

	"This woman did what that woman told her"

	(*Merlin en prose* §76.8-9)

d.	La duchesse ayant ouy ceste sage response l'ayma plus fort que paravant

	The Duchesse, having heard this wise response loved him more than ever

	et [luy ConT] *jura* qu'il n'y avoit Dame en sa courte

	And to.him swore.3.sg that it NEG there was woman in her court

	qui ne fust trop heureuse d'avoir un tel serviteur

	who NEG was very happy to.have a such servant

	"The duchesse, having heard this wise response loved him more than ever

	before. And she swore to him that there was not a woman in her court

	who wouldn't be happy to have such a servant"

	(*L'Heptaméron*, LXXe nouvelle)

e.　　et <u>lors</u> le *porta* [*pro* _{ConT}] a sa femme… si le prant

and then him brought.3.sg to his wife… SI him.took.3sg

et demande son seingnor s'il estoit baptoiez…

and asked.3sg his lord if he was baptized…

"And then he brought him to his wife… then she took him and asked her

lord if he was baptized"

(*Merlin* §76.53-54, 56-57)

f.　　Biau frere, vos ne savez cui cil prodom est, mais tant voil

Good brother, you NEG know who this gentleman is, but so much want

je que vos sachiez que ce est li plus saiges hom qui soit en vie

I that you know that this is the most wise man who is alive

et dom nos avons greingnor mestier.　Et <u>tant</u> *sachiez* [**vos** _{ConT}]

and of.whom thus we have greatest need. and much know you

bien que il a tel pooir com jo vos dirai

although he has such power like I to.you will.say

"Brother, you don't know who this man is, but I very much want you to

know that he is the wisest man alive and of whom we have the greatest

need.　May you know well that he has the kind of power that I will tell you

about"

(*Merlin* §38.66-70)

Just like aboutness topics and familiar topics, there is a significant change in the preferred

position of contrastive topics from the 13th to the 16th century (X^2=66.62, df=28,

$p<0.001$).

Table 5.5: *Frequency of contrastive topic positions, by text*

	X̲X̲X̲V̲		X̲X̲V̲		X̲V		X<u>V</u>		V<u>X</u>		total
Merlin	0	0%	0	0%	27	43.5%	26	41.9%	9	14.5%	62
Cassidorus	0	0%	0	0%	4	36.4%	5	45.4%	2	18.2%	11
Perceforest	1	4.3%	0	0%	9	39.1%	9	39.1%	4	17.4%	23
Mélusine	0	0%	1	2.6%	4	10.5%	32	84.2%	1	2.6%	38
XV	0	0%	0	0%	9	81.8%	1	9.1%	1	9.1%	11
CNN	0	0%	0	0%	3	37.5%	3	37.5%	2	25%	8
L'Heptaméron	0	0%	0	0%	5	20%	20	80%	0	0%	25
Angoisses	0	0%	1	3.3%	3	10%	25	83.3%	1	3.3%	30
Total	1		2		64		121		20		

To begin with, we see in Table (5.5) that the frequency of preverbal and verbal contrastive topics varies enormously from text to text. Additionally, there is a great deal of variation in the number of contrastive topics in each text. Looking more closely, we see that it is the later texts with 11 or fewer examples of contrastive topics that show these drastic variations, such as the swing from 10.5% preverbal and 84.2% verbal contrastive topics in *Mélusine* compared to the 81.8% preverbal and 9.1% verbal contrastive topics in *Quinze Joyes*. Given that firm conclusions cannot be drawn from 11 or fewer tokens, we can remove these texts from the table to see what is going on over time. This modified table is presented in table (5.6), below:

Table 5.6: *Frequency of contrastive topic positions, by text (updated)*

	XXX̲V		XX̲V		X̲V		X̲V̲		VX̲		total
Merlin	0	0%	0	0%	27	43.5%	26	41.9%	9	14.5%	62
Perceforest	1	4.3%	0	0%	9	39.1%	9	39.1%	4	17.4%	23
Mélusine	0	0%	1	2.6%	4	10.5%	32	84.2%	1	2.6%	38
L'Heptaméron	0	0%	0	0%	5	20%	20	80%	0	0%	25
Angoisses	0	0%	1	3.3%	3	10%	25	83.3%	1	3.3%	30
Total	1		2		64		121		20		

($X^2 = 46.85$, $df = 16$, $p<0.001$)

If we compare the linear regressions of the preverbal, verbal and postverbal contrastive topics in both tables, we see that the trend lines are very similar suggesting that removing these texts does not change the overall story. These two scatter plots are presented in Figures (5.4 and 5.5) below:

Figure 5.4: *Rates of preverbal, verbal and postverbal contrastive topics, by text*
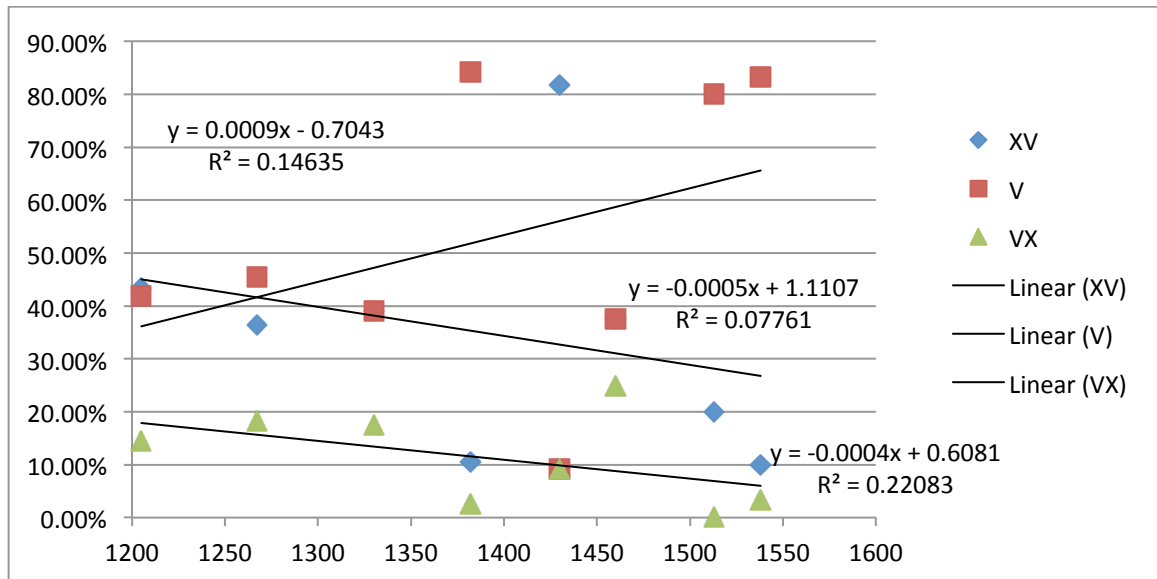
Figure 5.5: *Rates of preverbal, verbal and postverbal contrastive topics, by text*

 (updated)
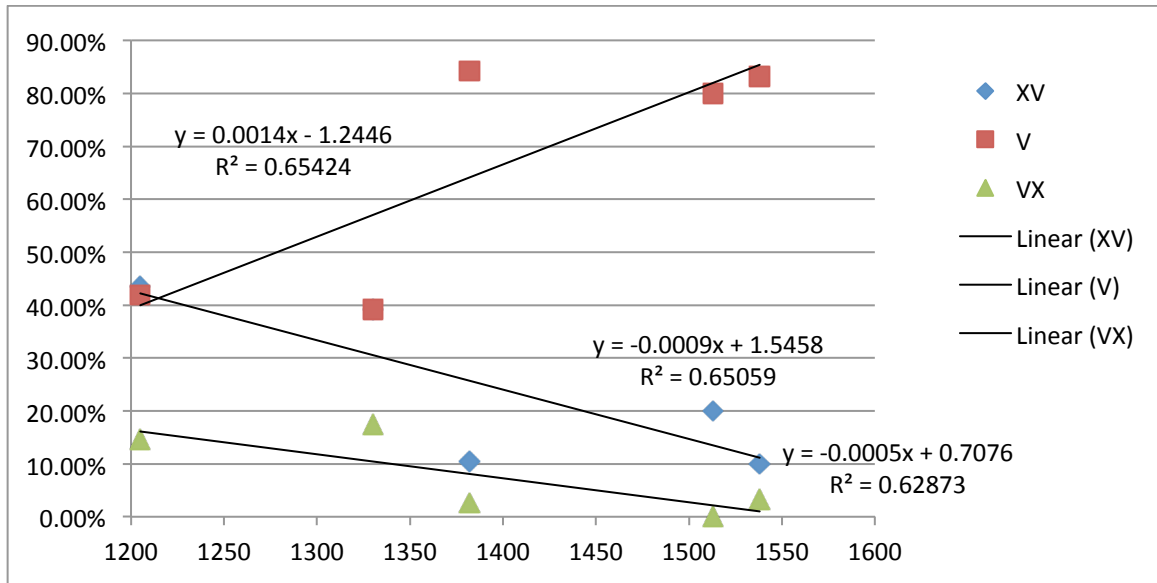
We can clearly see there is an increase in the frequency of contrastive topics in the verbal position from the 13th to the 16th century, as well as concomitant decreases in contrastive topics in the pre- and postverbal positions.

Looking beyond the linear regression, we see that the increase in the verbal position is not as gradual as might be suggested. Rather, there is a marked increase in the 14th century, from 39.1% in *Perceforest* to 84.2% in *Mélusine* ($z=3.635, p<0.001$). At the same time, there is significant, though not as dramatic, decrease in the frequency of preverbal contrastive topics ($z=2.644, p=0.0083$) and postverbal contrastive topics ($z=2.0367, p=0.04136$). Thus it appears that the verbal position, where object clitics are found, becomes the dominant position of contrastive topics.

5.2   Focus

Having addressed the preferred position for topics from the 13th to the 16th century, both

individually and when they co-occur with other topics, we turn our attention to the

preferred location of the two types of focus: new information focus and contrastive focus.

Recall that the role of a focus is to present information that adds to what is known

about the topic. Typically, this information is new to the discourse, though it may be

given information which is newly relevant to the topic. Unlike topics, any constituent

can be a focus, in the right context. While all focus is inherently contrastive, as we are

selecting and identifying specific information from the set of all possible information, a

distinction is still made between new information focus and contrastive focus. The

difference between the two types of focus lies in whether or not the information is being

explicitly contrasted, either structurally or semantically, with another constituent in the

discourse. If it is not, then we have NIF; if it is, it's CF. The identification for focus in

the corpus was completed using the methodology presented in Chapter 3. For more on

these two types of focus, see §2.2.3.

It should be noted that whereas each type of topic may only occur once per

sentence, each type of focus may occur multiple times in the same clause. As such, each

of the following tables presents the aggregate frequencies of each focus in each century.

5.2.1   New Information Focus

We begin with New Information Focus (NIF). This is the most common focus in the

data, with 3435 examples, compared to the 275 examples of contrastive focus. These IS

elements may occur in most of the positions examined, depending on the text. Examples

of NIF in these various positions and of sentences with multiple NIF are presented in (4).

(4)   a.   [Mout $_{NIF}$] y *ot* [de princes $_{NIF}$] a lui [haubergier $_{NIF}$]

               Much there has of princes to him to.dress-in-chainmail

               "There were many princes to dress him in chainmail"

               (*Cassidorus*, §59)

    b.   [La chair $_{NIF}$] et [concupiscence $_{NIF}$] *est* adversaire de l'esprit

               The flesh and carnal.desire is the adversary of the spirit

               "The flesh and carnal desire are the adversaries of the spirit"

               (*Angoisses*, p. 399)

    c.   Quant vint sur le soir, **la posterne** *fut* desserree

               When came on the night, the door was open

               "When the night came, the door was open"

               (*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 1ere Nouvelle)

Looking at NIF across the centuries, we find a significant interaction between

century and NIF position (X^2=*158.258, df=21, p<0.001*).

Table 5.7: *The position of New Information Focus in diachrony*

	X(X)XV		XV		XV[90]		VX		total
Merlin	0	0%	34	8.3%	41	10.1%	332	81.6%	407
Cassidorus	1	0.2%	45	10%	57	12.6%	349	77.2%	452
Perceforest	5	1.2%	21	4.8%	35	8.1%	373	85.9%	434
Mélusine	2	0.4%	18	4.1%	55	12.6%	363	82.9%	438
XV	12	3.1%	18	4.7%	45	11.7%	309	80.5%	384
CNN	35	7%	47	9.4%	62	12.5%	354	71.1%	498
L'Heptaméron	8	2%	17	4.2%	25	6.1%	357	87.7%	407
Angoisses	6	1.4%	36	8.7%	19	4.6%	354	85.3%	415
Total	69		236		339		2791		3435

As is clearly seen, NIF prefers the postverbal area in every text. It is worth reiterating that this label does not apply to a single position, per se, but rather to the entirety of the clause to the right of the finite verb. This preference for postverbal NIF over all other possible positions is statistically significant in each text (*Merlin*: *z=18.0157, p<0.001; Cassidorus: z=16.3637, p<0.001; Perceforest: z=21.1799, p<0.001; Mélusine : z=19.4312, p<0.001; Quinze: z=16.8875, p<0.001; CNN: z=13.3082, p<0.001; L'Heptaméron: z=21.5207, p<0.001; Angoisses: z=20.3404, p<0.001*).

The immediately preverbal position and the finite verb itself are the next two most common positions for NIF, but their frequencies never rise above 12.6%. In *Merlin*, we find that the difference between the two is not significant (*z=0.8483, p=0.39532*); nor is it significant in *Cassidorus* (*z=1.2615, p=0.20766*). This continues to be true in *Perceforest* (*z=1.9343, p=0.0536*). However, there are significantly more NIF in the

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[90] With respect to focus, this position does not refer to either null subjects or object clitics, but to the *finitie* verb itself.

verbal position than the immediately preverbal position in *Mélusine* (*z=4.5231, p<0.001*). *Quinze* also shows a preference for verbal NIF over immediately preverbal NIF (*z=3.5504, p<0.001*). We do not find any significant difference in the frequency of NIF in either position in either *CNN* or *L'Heptaméron* (*CNN: 1.5225, p=0.12852; L'Heptaméron: z=1.2676, p=0.20408*). Finally, in *Angoisses*, there are significantly more preverbal NIF than verbal NIF (*z=2.3722, p=0.01778*).

Furthermore, there is an increase in the frequency of NIF to the left of the immediately preverbal constituent over the centuries. Between each of the texts in the 13th and 14th century, there is no significant difference in the frequency of NIF in position. However, the increase in NIF in this position from *Mélusine* to *Quinze* is statistically significant (*z=2.95, p=0.00318*), as is the increase from *Quinze* to *CNN* (*z=2.5588, p=0.01046*). There is a significant decrease from *CNN* to *L'Heptaméron*, (*z=3.5613, p<0.001*); however, the rate of NIF in this position in *L'Heptaméron* is significantly higher than that of *Mélusine* (*z=2.0268, p=0.04236*). The implications of this specific change on the decline of Verb Second will be discussed further in the next Chapter.

In Figure 5.6 below, we see the preferences of NIF from the 13th through the 16th centuries.

Figure 5.6: *Rates of NIF positions, by text*
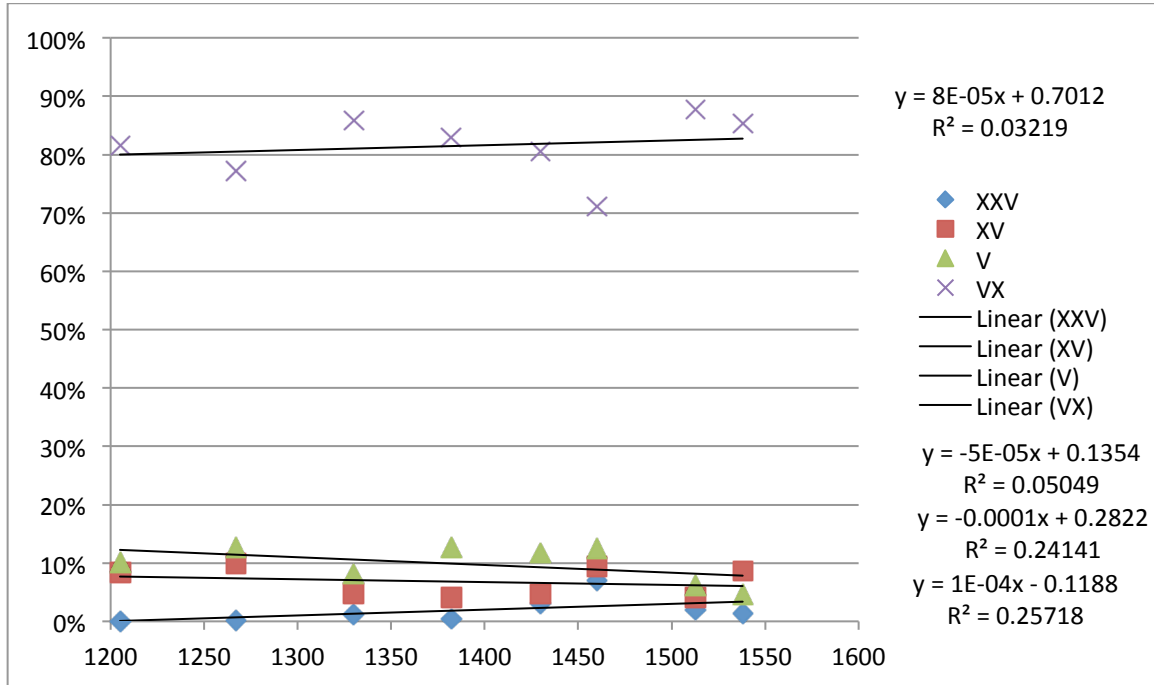
Diachronically, we find that, while there is variation from century to century, the basic syntactic preferences of NIF remain consistent from the 13th to the 16th century. This is in contrast to the three types of topic previously discussed. As a result we can comfortably propose a hierarchy of NIF positions. NIF are most frequent in the postverbal position, followed by the verbal position, and finally the preverbal position. Note that while certain positions do show increases or decrease, their place in the hierarchy remains stable. The implications for what changes do occur with NIF will be discussed in §6.4.

5.2.2   *Contrastive Focus*

It is clear that NIF demonstrate a strong preference to occur postverbally, and that this preference remains stable over time. Let us now turn to contrastive focus, to see if this

same preference is true for focus in general. As in the previous discussions, the data for each text is presented and compared. Recall that there may be more than one CF per clause, and as a result the following table presents all of the tokens in aggregate, rather than just the counts for the first CF per clause.

As with NIF, contrastive focus can occur in all positions in the sentence.

(5)   a.   et <u>quanque l'en a en [ceste mortel vie $_{CF}$]</u> *seuffre*
          and whatever one has in this mortal life allows
          Nostre Sires a avoir por esprouver [de l'autre$_{CF}$]
          Our Lord   to have for to.test of the other
          "And Our Lord takes whatever (possessions) we have in this mortal life in order to test (us) concerning the other (life)"
          (*Merlin en prose* §78.31-32)

    b.   car <u>onques pour prosperite ne pour bien que noz dieux nous envoiassent</u>
          because never for prosperity NEG for good that our gods us sent.3.pl
          <u>**nous**</u> ne les [*regraciasmes* $_{CF}$] ne loenges ne [*rendismes* $_{CF}$] a eulx
          we NEG them thank NEG praises NEG offer.1pl to them
          ne [*feismes sacrifice* $_{CF}$]…
          NEG make.1pl sacrifice
          "because never for the prosperity nor for the good that our gods have sent us would we not thank them, nor not offer praise to them nor make a sacrifice…"
          (*Perceforest* §356.26-29)

    c.   <u>Le gentil homme</u> <u>non moins [fasché $_{CF}$] que [estonné $_{CF}$]</u>
          The gentleman no less angry than surprised
          <u>de ses parolles</u> luy *respondi*…
          of these words to.him responded
          "The man, no less angry than surprised at these words said to him…"
          (*L'Heptaméron* p 291)

First, we find that there is a significant interaction between century and contrastive focus position, indicating the presence of a change (X^2=31.7556, df=9, p<0.001).

Table 5.8: The position of Contrastive Focus, by text

	X(X)XV		XV		XV		VX		Total
Merlin	2	4.1%	6	12.2%	13	26.5%	28	57.1%	49
Cassidorus	1	4.5%	1	4.5%	7	31.8%	13	59.1%	22
Perceforest	1	3.1%	3	9.4%	9	28.1%	19	59.4%	32
Mélusine	2	8%	2	8%	5	20%	16	64%	25
XV	1	1.8%	5	8.8%	6	10.5%	45	78.9%	57
CNN	0	0%	1	3.6%	0	0%	27	96.4%	28
L'Heptaméron	1	2.7%	2	5.4%	2	5.4%	32	86.5%	37
Angoisses	3	12%	2	8%	2	8%	18	72%	25
Total	11		22		44		198		275

As was the case with NIF, contrastive focus most frequently occupies the postverbal position, typically followed by the verbal position. In many texts, this preference for postverbal over verbal is significant (*Merlin: z=3.0717, p=0.00214; Perceforest: z=2.5189, p=0.01174; Mélusine : z=3.1519, p=0.00164; Quinze: z=7.3462, p<0.001; CNN: z=6.9488, p<0.001; L'Heptaméron: z=6.9979, p<0.001; Angoisses: z=4.6188, p<0.001*), though in *Cassidorus* it is not (*z=1.8166, p=0.06876*). We also find that while there are more CF in the verbal position than the immediately preverbal position in most texts, this difference is only significant in *Cassidorus* (*Merlin: z=1.7886, p=0.07346; Cassidorus: z=2.3452, p=0.01878; Perceforest: z=1.9215, p=0.05486; Mélusine : z=1.2227, p=0.22246; Quinze: z=0.3172, p=0.74896; CNN: z=1.009, p=0.3125;*

L'Heptaméron: z=0, p=1; Angoisses: z=0, p=1). The frequencies of CF in these

different positions in each text can be seen in Figure (5.7) below.

Figure 5.7: *Rates of CF positions, by text*
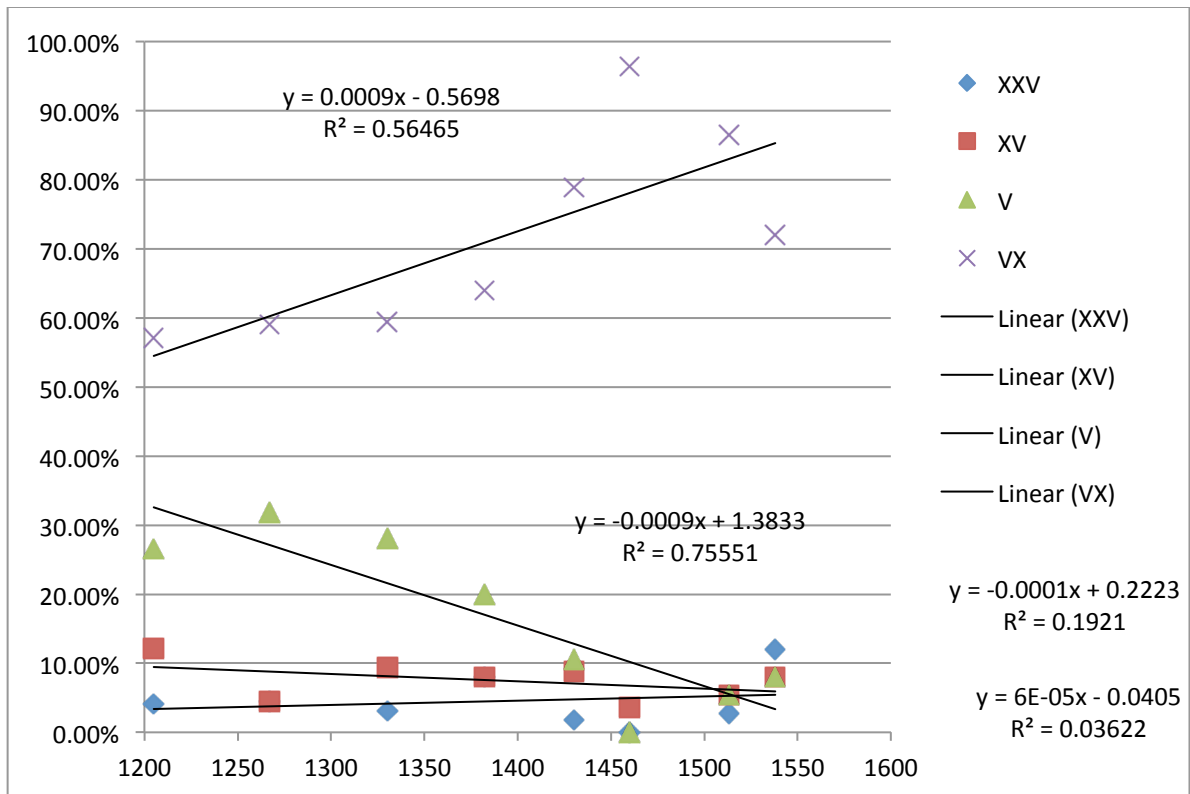
In figure (5.7), the trendlines fitted to the data indicate clear diachronic change. Looking

first at the increase in postverbal contrastive focus, we find the increases from *Merlin* to

Cassidorus, *Cassidorus* to *Mélusine* , *Mélusine* to *Perceforest*, and *Mélusine* to *Quinze*

are not significant (*z=0.1537, p=0.88076; z=0.0209, p=0.98404; z=0.3559, p=0.71884;*

z=1.4276, p=0.15272). The increase from *Quinze* to *CNN* is significant (*z=2.1046,*

p=0.03572).   If we were to compare non-adjacent texts, such as *Perceforest* and *Quinze*

Joyes, as we did when looking at aboutness topics, we find that the increase in the postverbal position is significant (*z=1.9715, p=0.04884*).

The next change of interest is the decrease in the use the verbal position. To begin, the increase from *Merlin* to *Cassidorus* is not significant (*z=0.458, p=0.64552*). The decreases from *Cassidorus* to *Perceforest*, *Perceforest* to *Mélusine* and *Mélusine* to *Quinze* are not significant (*z=0.292, p=0.77182; z=0.7071, p=0.4777; z=1.1588, p=0.24604*). However, if we compare the frequency of verbal contrastive focus in *Merlin* and *Quinze*, we find that the decrease is, in fact, significant (*z=2.1418, p=0.03236*). Therefore what we see is a gradual but significant decrease in the utilization of this position by contrastive focus.

Finally, looking at the two preverbal positions, we find that there are no significant changes whatsoever occurring between any of the texts.

Based on the data presented, we can conclude that there is a hierarchy of preferred positions for contrastive focus: postverbal, verbal, preverbal. This is the same hierarchy established for new information focus. While these two types of focus share the same hierarchy, they differ in the specific rates of the different positions, especially early on. These differences can be seen in Figure (5.8).

Figure 5.8: *Rate of postverbal NIF and CF, by text*
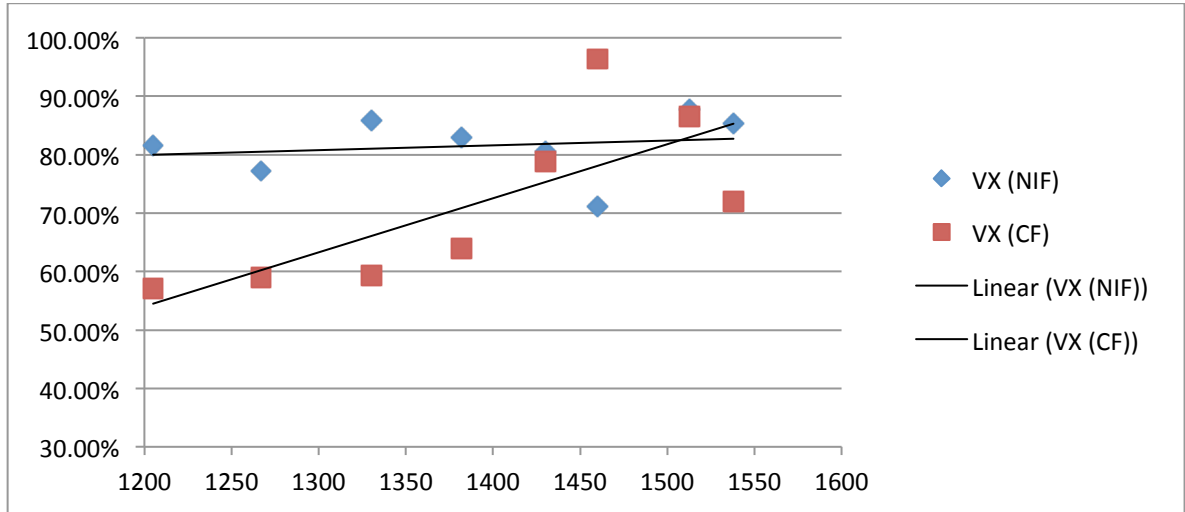
In the 13th century, the rate of postverbal NIF is significantly higher than that of postverbal (*z=4.1845, p<0.001*). The same is true of the 14th and 15th centuries (*z=4.4779, p<0.001; z=1.9662, p=0.04884*). Finally, in the 16th century, the difference in the rate of NIF and CF occurring postverbally is no longer significant (*z=1.2837, p=0.20054*). It appears as though the preference for foci to occur postverbally has solidified by the 16th century. The exact reasoning behind this strong preference is beyond the scope of this dissertation, as it is no doubt linked to changes in prosody[91].

5.3   *Frame-Setters*

The last Information Structure elements to be examined are frame-setters. These elements serve to establish the information presented in the sentence within the larger discourse. This can be done either with respect to time, place, or a previously established event. Typically frame-setters (FS) are AdvPs, PPs, or subordinate clauses, but may also

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[91] Focus appears to be more strongly linked to prosody than any other IS element (Büring 2003; Féry 2011, 2011; Féry & Samek-Lodovici 2004; Samek-Lodovici 2005; Speyer 2008; Truckenbrodt 1999).

be DPs. As such, they can, and do, occur in any of the positions examined other than the verbal position. For more information on which constituents are possible frame-setters, and what distinguishes them from other IS elements, refer back to §2.2.4.

As was done for focus, Table (5.9) presents the aggregate data on Frame-Setter location, combining all instances of FS elements in the data, including those that co-occur with other frame-setters in a sentence. Here, we find a significant effect of time on the position of frame-setters ($X^2=104.6908, df = 21, p<0.001$). This indicates that there is a significant change in the frequency of FS in different positions across the texts examined.

Table 5.9: *The position of Frame-Setters, by text*

	X(X)XXV		XXV		XV		VX		total
Merlin	1	0.7%	46	35.4%	53	40.8%	30	23.1%	130
Cassidorus	2	1.3%	45	30.2%	73	49%	29	19.5%	149
Perceforest	15	7.5%	80	39.8%	74	36.8%	32	15.9%	201
Mélusine	4	3.3%	55	45.1%	35	28.7%	28	22.9%	122
XV	4	2.9%	59	43.4%	42	30.9%	31	22.8%	136
CNN	20	12.1%	69	41.8%	31	18.8%	45	27.3%	165
L'Heptaméron	3	1.7%	55	32.2%	70	40.9%	43	25.1%	171
Angoisses	16	8%	107	53.2%	62	30.8%	16	8%	201
Total	65		516		440		254		1275

Even in the earliest text, *Merlin*, we find that frame-setters occur regularly in a position to the left of the immediately preverbal constituent, and that throughout the data, they may occur even further to the left than that. Examples of frame-setters in all of these positions are presented in (6), below:

(6)   a.   et [puis après le soupper $_{FS}$] nous *fut* pourveu de repos honnorable

                    And then after dinner to.us was provided of repose honorable

                    "And after dinner, good beds were provided for us"

                    (Les *Angoisses* douloureuse qui procedent de l'amour, p. 401)

       b.   et [entre les desirez et loez edifices $_{FS}$] **sa maison** *descouvroit*

                    And between the desired and praised buildings his house opened

                    sur pluseurs rues

                    on several streets

                    "And between the desired and praised buildings, his house opened on to

                    several streets"

                    (*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, la première nouvelle)

       c.   **Je** n'i *parlerai* mie [a ceste foiz $_{FS}$]

                    I NEG to.him will speak not at this time

                    "I will not speak to him at this time"

                    (*Merlin en prose* §75.12)

The data presented in Table (5.9) clearly indicates a strong preference for the preverbal area, both immediately preverbal and further to the left. In the 13th century, the preference is weighted towards the immediately preverbal position. In *Merlin*, there is no significant difference between the immediately preverbal position and all other preverbal FS (*z=0.7649, p=0.44726*). In *Cassidorus*, on the other hand, there is a significant preference for the immediately preverbal position (*z=3.071, p=0.00214*). From *Perceforest* on, we find a significant preference for frame-setters to occur to the left of the immediately preverbal position in all texts except *L'Heptaméron* (*Perceforest: z=2.1218, p=0.034; Mélusine: z=3.1572, p=0.00158; Quinze: z=2.6155, p=0.0088; CNN: z=6.6372, p<0.001; L'Heptaméron: z=1.3409, p=0.18024; Angoisses: z=6.1042,*

p<0.001). The postverbal position is also a possibility for FS in all texts, with

frequencies between 15% and 27% in most every text.

Figure 5.9: Rates of Frame-Setter positions, by text
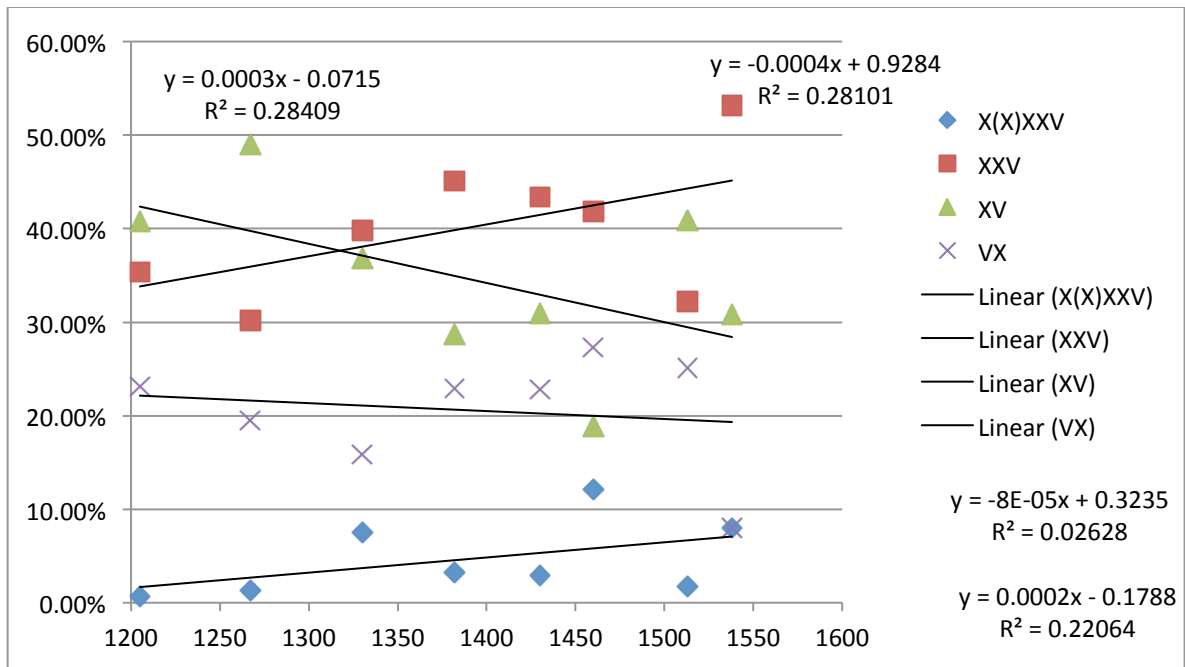
Diachronically speaking, we find a significant change in the preferred position of

frame-setters, whereby the frequency of FS separated from the verb by one preverbal

constituent is significant (*z=2.91, p=0.00362*), as is the rise in the FS separated from the

verb by at least two preverbal constituents (*z=2.8477, p=0.00438*) and the decline in FS

occurring immediately preverbally (*z=3.1754, p=0.00148*). The same does not hold true

from the 14th to the 15th century. First, the increase in preverbal constituents separated

from the finite verb by one other constituent is not significant (*z=0.0785, p=0.93624*),

nor is the increase in FS further to the left of the verb (*z=0.9964, z=0.31732*). However,

the decline in frequency of immediately preverbal frame-setters continues to be

significant ($z=2.4941, p=0.01278$). From the 15th to the 16th century, we find a significant increase in the frequency of immediately preverbal frame-setters ($z=2.9864, p=0.00278$) alongside an insignificant increase in the frequency of frame-setters in the XXV position ($z=0.4777, p=0.63122$) and an insignificant decrease in XX(X)V ($z=1.4679, p=0.14156$).   The implications for these changes, especially in the frequency of preverbal frame-setters will be discussed in greater detail in §6.4.

5.4   *Information Structural Template*

We have now examined the three major categories of Information Structure, as well as all relevant subcategories, and determined their preferred positions in each text. From here, we can establish a clausal template, based on the most preferred position of each IS element.

It should be noted that the interactions between similar types of constituents when co-occurring in the same clause (e.g. aboutness and familiar topics) were tested—see Appendices C-F for the results. Generally speaking, it was found that when IS constituents of the same broad category (e.g. topics) co-occur in the same clause, each tends to occupy its typically preferred position. The one exception to this rule is when aboutness and contrastive topic co-occur in the 13th century. In this century, the two most common combinations of aboutness and contrastive topics are either for the ConT to be preverbal while the AbT is postverbal (30.7%) or for the AbT to be preverbal with an object clitic or null subject ConT (23.1%). This means that the contrastive topic is more likely to target its preferred position, and push aboutness topics to a secondary

position. With this in mind, we turn first to the clausal template for the 13th century, presented in (7), below:

(7)   13th century preferences

XXV	XV	V	VX
(Frame)	Aboutness Topic	FamT	NIF
	Frame	ConT	CF
	ConT		

What we find in the 13th century is that both types of focus show a preference for occurring in the postverbal area, familiar topics prefer the verbal position, and aboutness topics prefer the immediately preverbal position. Contrastive topics and frame-setters both show a split preference for two different positions, contrastive topics between the verbal and preverbal position, and frame-setters between the immediately preverbal position and the position(s) to the left of that.

(8)   14th to 16th century preferences

XXV	XV	V	VX
Frame	Aboutness Topic	FamT	NIF
		ConT	CF

From the 14th to the 16th centuries, we find that the clausal template remains stable. At this point, the split preferences shown by frame-setters and contrastive topics have been resolved, and each has established a single preferred position. All in all, there is not a great deal of movement in the Information Structure clausal template in 13th to 16th century French.

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It is important to remember that these templates reflect the preferred position of each of the IS elements, and not the only position in which they occur. Based on these templates, it is tempting to conclude, as many authors have (Marchello-Nizia 2001; Combettes 2003; Rinke & Meisel 2009) that Old French was a Topic initial language; however, in the next Chapter, I will argue that this was not the case.

If we continue to look at each position, rather than each individual IS category, a few more patterns become evident. Looking first at the immediately preverbal position, we find that aboutness topics and familiar topics show an increasing frequency of occurrence in this position, while all other IS elements appear either to be receding from the position (e.g. contrastive topic, frame-setter), or show no change in frequency (e.g. contrastive focus, new information focus). This is, presumably, linked to the solidification of this position as a host for subjects. As the requirement for some XP, regardless of IS-value, to occupy this immediately preverbal position declines, IS-values not associated with subjects withdraw from this position. This will be explored further in the following Chapter.

Looking to the left of that position, we find differences in the various IS elements as well. First, we find that frame-setters are the only IS elements that routinely make use of this position in the 13th century. As was previously discussed, this becomes the preferred location for frame-setters from the 14th century on, and these are the only IS elements for which this is true. We also find that contrastive focus and aboutness topics show consistent low levels of use of this position, while familiar topics and contrastive topics never do. Interestingly, NIF show a dramatic increase in the use of this position

from the 14th to the 15th century. The implications of this change will be discussed

further in the next Chapter.

Chapter 6: Results and Discussion: Information Structure, Verb Second, and the Left Periphery

6.0   Introduction

In Chapter 4 the changes in descriptive verb position and in the position of the subject with respect to the verb that occurred from the 13th to the 16th century were examined. This permitted comparison between the present data against previous work on Verb Second word order in Old and Middle French, to verify if the data behaved as expected. Chapter 5 presented the changes in the preferred position of the different IS elements in the sentence as a whole, along with the influence they may have had on the position of other IS elements. This permitted us to create a clausal template based on the preferred positions of each IS element. The next logical step is to map this IS template onto the IS-neutral clausal structure established by generative syntactic theory and onto the structure of the Left Periphery as developed, partly in conjunction with IS considerations, by Rizzi (1997) and others over recent years. The present Chapter will build upon the information presented in these two preceding Chapters.

The goal of the present Chapter is to determine in what way changes in Information Structure may shed light upon both the synchronic syntax of 13th through 16th century French, as well its evolution. There are several reasons for looking at Verb Second in Old and Middle French through the lens of Information Structure. To begin with, recall from §4.1.1-2, between the 13th and the 14th century there is a significant rise in the frequency of preverbal subjects coupled with a significant decline in the frequency of postverbal subjects. At the same time, we find a significant rise in the

frequency of V>2 clauses and decline in V2 clauses. These changes are consistent with a decline in V2. In §5.1.1-2, we found a significant increase in the frequency of preverbal aboutness and familiar topics, while in §5.2.1 and §5.3 we found significant increases in NIF and frame-setters occurring to the left of the immediately preverbal position. The goal now is to determine why these changes are occurring, and how they directly impact the decline in Verb Second. To do so, we will look at the data from the perspective of the Left Periphery and the position of subjects, rather than the individual IS elements as a whole. In other words, we are looking for a more nuanced analysis of both the different IS elements and the basic V2 facts than was presented in the previous two Chapters.

Additionally, IS preferences provide another source of comparison for 13th through 16th century French and modern V2 languages. For example, it has been claimed that Old French was a topic-initial language (e.g. Vennemann 1974; Combettes 1997, 2003; Marchello-Nizia 1999; Rinke & Meisel 2009); V2 languages, on the other hand, permit all IS elements in the immediately preverbal position (*prefield* or *Vorfeld*) (Frey 2004; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010).   In and of itself, this has been taken as evidence against a V2 analysis of French, as it suggests that Information Structure conditions the realization of the subject in either the preverbal or postverbal position in Old French. This follows from the claim that if Old French is a topic-initial language focused subjects would not be able to occur preverbally (e.g. Combettes 1997, 2003; Marchello-Nizia 1999; Rinke & Meisel 2009; see also Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011; Steiner 2013 a & b, for a counter argument).

It has also been shown that Information Structure plays a role in syntactic changes in other languages. Speyer (2008) found that Information Structure, specifically its

prosodic correlates, had a significant impact on the usage of Topicalization in the history of English, especially as a result of the loss of Verb Second. Specifically, he suggests that the reason for the decline of object topicalization in English is the result of Stress Clash Avoidance, as the topicalized object and the subject, both of which receive prosodic peaks, would be adjacent, once V2 had been lost. Similarly Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2010) find that the change from V1 to V2 in West Germanic is due, in part, to Information Structure. They claim that in Old High German V1 and V2 clauses are conditioned by Information Structure; V1 clauses tended to be thetic, serving to introduce new discourse referents, while V2 clauses had some sort of topic-comment function, with topics occupying the immediately preverbal position. Over time, the preverbal position in V2 clauses was rendered IS-neutral, leading to the generalization of V2 to all sentences, regardless of IS concerns. Given the fact that IS seems to play a role with changes related to Verb Second in Germanic languages, it is reasonable to test its involvement in the decline of V2 in French.

Furthermore, as the main obstacle to V2 analyses of Old French lies in the relatively high frequency of V>2 clauses, as compared to other V2 languages, it is necessary to examine V>2 clauses more closely. As we have already seen in Chapter 4, 13th century French appears to have a robust V2 grammar, which declines steadily over the subsequent centuries. In looking at the IS composition of the preverbal constituents in V>2 clause, we can compare these clauses in 13th-16th century French to those in uncontroversial V2 languages.

Given all the considerations just discussed, we can outline a precise set of predictions to test during our final round of examination of the data collected. We will

compare the data from each century against these predictions to determine the V2 status

of the grammar at the time. First, with respect to the IS-value of subjects, we expect in a

non-V2 SVO language to find nearly all subjects occurring either preverbally or as null

subjects, regardless of their IS-value, as the postverbal position is not generally available.

Alternatively, if Old French patterns like Modern Spanish and Italian, we should expect

to find a clear division between preverbal and postverbal subjects, whereby preverbal

subjects are topics and postverbal subjects are focus[92]. On the other hand, in a V2

language, we expect to find differences in the frequency of the different subject positions

depending on the IS-value, as both the preverbal and postverbal positions are available

for subjects. At the same time, in V2 languages, we should find both topics and focus in

both the preverbal or postverbal position, just at different rates.

Secondly, looking at the IS-value of the immediately preverbal constituent, we

expect to find a wide variety of IS elements in this position in a V2 language. In a non-

V2 SVO language, we should expect to find a predominance of topics in this position,

due to the strong correlation between topics and subjects.

Thirdly, looking at non-subjects in the immediately preverbal position, we should

still expect to find both a greater number and greater variety of IS elements in this

position in a V2 language than in a non-V2 language. Again, one of the hallmarks of a

V2 language is the ability for a wide variety of constituents to be hosted in the

immediately preverbal position. We expect these constituents to trigger postverbal

subjects, as well, if the subject is overt. In a non-V2 SVO language, on the other hand,

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[92] This is a somewhat idealized version of the Modern Romance situation, based on Rinke & Meisel (2009), amongst others.

we expect to find subjects in this position, meaning we do not necessarily expect to find many constituents in this position. In this case, we expect either the subject to be null.

Finally, looking at the position to the left of the immediately preverbal, we expect to find clear differences between V2 and non-V2 SVO languages. First of all, there should be a lower number of clauses with constituents in this position in V2 languages than in non-V2 languages. Secondly, according to Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011), we should not find examples of Focus in this position in a V2 language, as movement past SpecFin is not permitted in a V2 grammar[93]. In a non-V2 SVO language, on the other hand, there should be no prohibition against these structures. These predictions are summarized in table (6.1) below:

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[93] See §2.3.1 for more on these proposals on the Left Periphery in V2 languages.

Table 6.1: *Predictions for IS and Syntax in V2 vs. non-V2 SVO languages*

Context	V2 languages	non-V2 SVO language
Subject IS-value and subject position	Overt subjects may be pre- or postverbal, with different IS-values showing subtly different patterns of distributions.	All overt subjects, regardless of their IS-value should occur preverbally (e.g. ModFr, ModEng), or be distributed rigidly according to IS (e.g. ModSpan, ModItal).
IS-value of <u>X</u>V	All IS-values should be able to occur in this position	Topic should be the dominant IS-value in this position; other values also permitted if associated with the subject.
IS-value of non-subject <u>X</u>V	Higher number of examples, wide variety of IS-values; should trigger postverbal subjects	Low number of examples; should occur primarily with null subjects
IS-value of <u>XX</u>V	Only Topic or Frame-Setter; low number of examples	All IS-values possible; higher number of examples

Once the relationship between Information Structure and Verb Second has been discussed, we will turn to the structural implications of these results. Given the inherent link between Information Structure and the Left Periphery, as discussed in §2.3, it should be possible to map our findings onto a structural framework. This in turn will provide further information about the V2 status of the grammar. From there, we will be able to discuss how and why Verb Second declines through the period examined in this study.

The Chapter will be organized as follows. First, in §6.1, we will examine how IS influences the realization of the subject, both in terms of its position with respect to the verb and whether or not it is overt, testing the first prediction from Table 6.1. Predictions 2-4 will then be examined in §6.2. An interim summary will be presented in §6.3. From

there theoretical discussions of V2 and the Left Periphery in synchrony (§6.4) and in diachrony (§6.5) will be presented.

6.1   Subject IS-value and verb position

In the following section I discuss the interaction between the Information Structure value of subjects and their position in the clause with respect to the verb. As seen in Chapter 4, the position of subjects (e.g. preverbal, postverbal or null) undergoes significant changes from the 13th to the 16th century. For example, we find a significant increase in the frequency of preverbal subjects (SV) from the 13th to the 14th century, but subsequent increases from the 14th to the 16th century are not statistically significant. At the same time, the frequency of postverbal subjects (VS) declines significantly between each century and the next. Finally, the frequency of null-subjects declines significantly from the 13th to the 14th century, but remains stable in the following centuries examined. While this provides us with general trends during this period, it does not indicate why the different subject positions are not all changing together. The goal of the following sections is to begin to shed light upon this question.

Additionally, there has been recent discussion in the literature on where differently IS-valued subjects may occur with respect to the verb. For example, Rinke & Meisel (2009) argue that focus-subjects may only occur postverbally and that topic-subjects may occur either pre- or postverbally, as the preverbal position is reserved for topics and "topic-like" constructions, here called frame-setters. This analysis has since been claimed to be incorrect, as a variety of non-topic constituents, including expletive subjects are permitted to occur in this position according to the IS analyses of Kaiser &

Zimmermann (2010), Labelle & Hirschbühler (2011) and Steiner (2013 a & b). Following up on Steiner (2013 a & b), in this Chapter I put these claims to the test, taking advantage of the precise methodology established in Chapter 3 to reexamine the IS trends we see in the history of French as they pertain to the decline of Verb Second.

As seen in §4.1.2, the position of subjects with respect to the verb changes significantly across the centuries. We find a significant increase in the frequency of preverbal subjects from the 13th to the 14th century, coupled with a significant decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects. This indicates two things: a) it is becoming less possible for non-subjects to occur in the preverbal position because b) the immediately preverbal position is beginning to solidify as a subject position. This is indicative of the loss of Verb Second. The question to be addressed now is: what role, if any, does the IS-value of the subject have in conditioning its realization with respect to the verb—preverbal, postverbal or null—and whether certain IS-values are preferred in different positions?[94]

In table 6.2 below, the position of each IS type of subject in the 13th through 16th century is presented. In each century, we find a significant interaction between the IS-value of the subject and its preferred position (13th: $X^2=162.6989$, $df=10$, $p<0.001$; 14th: $X^2=125.1277$, $df=10$, $p<0.001$; 15th: $X^2=163.2418$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$; 16th: $X^2=117.2895$, $df=10$, $p<0.001$). This indicates that the distribution of the different types of subject in each position is not random.

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[94] Recall that the clausal template provided at the end Chapter 5 describes the preferred position for each IS element in general, and does not present other possible positions for these constituents. It is important to note that the preferred position for the IS element in general may not correspond to its preferred position when it is acting as a subject.

Table 6.2: *Subject IS-value by subject position, by century*

		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA[95]	Total
13th	SV	94	90	29	21	8	0	17	259
		54.7%	32.8%	72.5%	52.5%	72.3%	0%	27.4%	
	VS	52	23	7	19	3	0	9	113
		30.2%	8.4%	17.5%	47.5%	27.3%	0%	14.5%	
	NS	26	161	4	0	0	0	37	228
		15.1%	58.8%	10%	0%	0%	0%	58.7%	
	Total	172	274	40	40	11	0	63	600
		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
14th	SV	160	99	15	17	3	0	39	333
		74.8%	37.5%	79%	65.4%	75%	0%	54.2%	
	VS	33	28	2	9	1	0	7	80
		15.4%	10.6%	10.5%	34.6%	25%	0%	9.7%	
	NS	21	137	2	0	0	0	27	187
		9.8%	51.9%	10.5%	0%	0%	0%	37%	
	Total	214	264	19	26	4	0	73	600
		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
15th	SV	179	101	12	23	6	3	41	365
		80.3%	41.4%	80%	69.7%	100%	60%	55.4%	
	VS	20	8	3	10	0	2	7	50
		9%	3.3%	20%	30.3%	0%	40%	9.5%	
	NS	24	135	0	0	0	0	26	185
		10.8%	55.3%	5.3%	0%	0%	0%	35.1%	
	Total	223	244	15	33	6	5	74	600

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[95] Note: NA in the following tables stands for "Not Applicable" and refers to all constituents without IS value.

		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
16th	SV	150	122	9	44	5	0	44	374
		78.1%	46.9%	100%	80%	83.3%	0%	56.4%	
	VS	7	6	0	11	1	0	4	29
		3.6%	2.3%	0%	20%	16.7%	0%	5.1%	
	NS	35	132	0	0	0	0	30	197
		18.1%	50.8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	38.5%	
	Total	192	260	9	55	6	0	78	600

Similarly to what we expect, given the results in table 4.2, most subjects, regardless of IS-value, prefer the preverbal position in the 13th century[96] (aboutness topic: *z=4.5816, p=<0.001*; contrastive topic: *z=4.9441, p<0.001*; contrastive focus: *z=2.132, p=0.03318*).[97] That being said, there are still differences in the preferences of each IS-value during this century. Familiar topics and subjects without an IS-value (e.g. expletive subjects) are significantly more frequent as null subjects than either pre- or postverbal (*z=603874, p<0.001; z=3.449, p<0.001*, respectively). New Information Focus do not show a significant preference for either the pre- or postverbal position *(z=0.4472, p=0.65272)*. We also find that the most frequent values for subjects in each position are topics (SV*: z=14.5853, p<0.001*; VS: *z=13.0175, p<0.001*; NS: *z=14.4234, p<0.001*). This corresponds with the widely held assumption that most topics are subjects, and conversely that most subjects are topics.[98] The results from the 13th century provide

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[96] See Chapter 5 for examples of these different types of IS elements as subjects (including *pro*).
[97] Unless otherwise noted, all z-scores are calculated by comparing the two most frequent possibilities for synchronic analyses, and by comparing the structure in question between centuries for diachronic analyses.
[98] This holds true for all centuries, and as a result the numbers will not be reported for each century.

counterevidence against the claims of Rinke & Meisel (2009) that only topic-subjects may occur preverbally.

Looking specifically at the postverbal position, which is not preferred by any individual subject type, we find that aboutness and familiar topics make up the majority, token count-wise, of subjects.   Below, we see examples of subjects in the postverbal position in the 13th century[99].

(1)   a   <u>Lors</u> s'en *torna* [**li ennemis** AbT] as bestes au prodome

              Now REFL turned the enemy to.the beasts to.the man

              Then the demon turned to the man's animals

              (*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207, §2.17-18)

        b.   Et <u>einsi</u> *fist* [**deables** FamT] savoir l'ovre que cil faisoit par son porchaz

              And thus made the devil to.know the work that this one did by his pursuit

              tant que le siecle le sot

              such that the world knew

              Thus the devil made known what that one had done by his pursuit.

               (*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207, §3.11-12)

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[99] As was discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, it has been argued that there are really two different types of postverbal subject in Old and Middle French, referred to as Germanic Inversion and Romance Inversion. The difference between these two types lies in where the subject is found in the structure. Rather than being examples of true subject inversion, postverbal subjects in Old French are the result of the verb moving higher in the clause, past the subject. In Germanic Inversion, the subject is situated in SpecIP/TP, while the verb raises to C^0/Fin^0, whereas in Romance Inversion, the subject remains in a lower position, in the VP. The distinction between the two types is most clear in sentences with full DP subjects and compound verb forms, wherein the subject either occurs between the auxiliary and the past participle (e.g. Germanic Inversion) or after the past participle (e.g. Romance Inversion). In the vast majority of cases, it is difficult to determine which of the possible postverbal positions a non-pronominal subject is in. Pronominal subjects, however, are presumed to always be in the higher of the two postverbal positions, at least in the 13th century (Adams 1987; Roberts 1993; Vance 1995)

For the purposes of this table, all postverbal subjects have been grouped together, for two reasons. The first is that for the majority of postverbal subjects, it is not clear in which of the two possible positions they are located, and the N of the remaining examples is so low that it would be difficult to draw any firm or reliable conclusions. Second, of the few remaining unambiguous examples, there does not appear to be much difference in their IS preferences—it is possible for both types to be focus or topic.

c.   Un jour li *vindrent* [**nouveles** $_{NIF}$] que en la cité de Romme ot cheval

One day to.him came news that in the city of Rome had.3.sg horse

tel que en tout le monde n'avoit son per

such that in all the world NEG had his equal

"One day news came to him that in the city of Rome there was a horse that

had no equal in the whole world"

(*Cassidorus* §105)

d.   Adont *parla* [**uns chevaliers** $_{NIF}$] qui moult ert ses amis

Thus spoke one knight who much was his friend

"Thus a knight who was very much his friend spoke"

(*Cassidorus* §56)

f.   Dont *a* [**vierge** $_{CF}$] partout plus de digneté

Thus has virgin everywhere more of dignity

"Thus a virgin has more dignity everywhere"[100]

(*Cassidorus* §34)

g.   et *pour ce* n'i *a* [**il** $_{NA}$] nul de nous de qui il ne soit doutez.

And for this NEG loc. has il none of us of whom it NEG was doubted

And for this there is not one of us who is not

(*Cassidorus* §59)

As was previously said, these are the most common types of subjects overall, so this finding is not surprising. However, if we compare the relative frequency of postverbal subjects for each subject type, we find that the proportion of NIF subjects in this position (47.5%) is statistically higher than the proportion of the next most common type of subject, namely aboutness topics (30.2%) ($z=2.0843, p=0.03752$).

In the 14th century, there is a general preference for the preverbal position, with the exception of familiar topics. As in the 13th century, both aboutness and contrastive

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[100] In this passage *vierge* is being compared frequently with *dame*.

topics are statistically most frequent in the preverbal position ($z=12.337$, $p<0.001$; $z=4.2413$, $p<0.001$, respectively). New Information Focus subjects prefer the preverbal position over the postverbal position as well ($z=2.2188$, $p=0.02642$)[101]. Whereas in the 13th century subjects without an IS-value were usually null subjects, here they are most frequently represented as overt preverbal subjects ($z=2.007$, $p=0.0444$, respectively). The only type of subject that does not prefer the preverbal position is familiar topic, which continues to show a significant preference for null subjects ($z=3.3262$, $p<0.001$). As for the postverbal position, which is not preferred by any IS-value, NIF continue to have a significantly higher proportion of their tokens occurring in this position than aboutness topics ($z=2.4324$, $p=0.0151$).

The same preferences from the 14th century hold true for the 15th century. Aboutness topics, contrastive topics, NIF, contrastive focus and IS-valueless subjects all prefer the preverbal position, as is generally true for subjects at this time (AbT: $z=14.7383$, $p<0.001$; ConT: $z=3.2863$, $p=0.001$; NIF: $z=3.2004$, $p=0.00138$; CF: $z=3.7641$, $p<0.001$, NA $z=2.4771$, $p=0.01314$). Similarly, familiar topics continue to prefer to be null subjects ($z=3.0799$, $p=0.00208$). NIF continue to have a significantly higher proportion of postverbal subjects than aboutness topics ($z=3.5563$, $p<0.001$).

Unlike the other centuries, there are five subjects that are frame-setters, which are more frequent in the preverbal position, but not significantly so ($z=0.6325$, $p=0.5287$). An example of a sentence with a frame-setting subject would be *L'eure vint de partir* "the time came to leave" (*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 15th Century). The presence of these frame-setter subjects can probably be chalked up to a stylistic difference rather than a grammatical change. Structurally speaking, there is no reason that this type of structure

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[101] The results for contrastive focus are not presented, as the n was too low.

would not be possible in the previous centuries, as there are examples of DP frame-setters in each of the texts examined. It simply appears as though they are not used as subjects of thetic clauses in previous centuries, as is true in the example from *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*.

Finally, in the 16th century, as in the 14th and 15th centuries, the preverbal position is preferred by aboutness topics, contrastive topics, NIF, contrastive focus and IS-valueless subjects (AbT: *z=11.7449, p<0.001*; ConT: *z=4.2426, p<0.001*; NIF: *z=6.2929, p<0.001*; CF: *z=2.3094, p=0.02088*, NA: *z=2.2447, p=0.0251*). As in the previous centuries, the proportion of postverbal NIF is significantly higher than the proportion of postverbal aboutness topics (*z=4.1139, p<0.001*). The one major difference between the 16th century and the previous centuries is that the preference for familiar topics to be null subjects is no longer statistically significant (*z=0.8773, p=0.37886*). What we are seeing here is the solidification of the immediately preverbal position as the location for all subjects as well as overtness of the expression of the subject, regardless of IS-value. Presumably, this continues into the 17th century, with the complete loss of null subjects (Roberts 1993).

It may be the case that this decrease in frequency of familiar topics as null subjects plays an integral role in the decline of null subjects. In the 13th century, both familiar topics and subjects without an IS-value were primarily composed of null subjects. From the 14th century on, this was no longer the case for IS-valueless subjects; however this remained true for familiar topic subjects until the 16th century. The increasing preference for IS-valueless subjects to occur as overt preverbal subjects suggests that the preverbal position is being fixed as an EPP position that can be occupied

by any subject. Perhaps it is the continuing preference of familiar topics for this type of subject that maintains null subjects into the 16th century. Unfortunately, further exploration of the evolution of null subjects is beyond the scope of this study.

Looking purely at this synchronic data, it is reasonable to conclude that the position of the subject relative to the verb is indeed influenced by the IS-value of the subject. The general assumption that preverbal subjects are topics and postverbal subjects are focus is not entirely supported in this data; in fact, this claim will be refuted by later data. While the data may trend in that direction, the distinction is not as categorical as has been assumed (e.g. Rinke & Meisel 2009).

The fact that familiar subjects and IS-valueless subjects make up the vast majority of null subjects, and that familiar subjects demonstrate a preference for this type of subject throughout the centuries examined, makes sense given their very nature. IS-valueless subjects are by-and-large expletive subjects, which are typically null in any language that permits null subjects.[102] Familiar topics, too, are logical null subjects. These topics are obligatorily coreferential with a previously established aboutness topic, and as such are likely to be pronominal in nature. Furthermore, we already know, based on the data presented in §5.1.2, that familiar topics as a whole prefer to occur in the verbal position. Null subjects in 13th century French, at least, are only permitted to occur in an environment that would license a postverbal subject pronoun (Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1985; Adams 1987; Vance 1989, 1997 Hirschbühler 1989; Roberts 1993). The preference for familiar topic-subjects to be null falls out accordingly.

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[102] It has been argued that expletive subjects are obligatorily null in a null subject language, and that this is one of the key features of a null subject language (de Bakker 1995; Kaiser 2009; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010). This has been taken by Zimmerman (2009) as evidence against Old French being a null-subject language, as it routinely permits overt expletive subjects.

Just as familiar topic subjects prefer being null, NIF have the highest proportion of postverbal subjects of all the IS types. At the same time, after the 13th century, there are significantly more NIF subjects occurring preverbally than postverbally. This is the result of opposing forces, so to speak, acting on these subjects. As we know from Chapter 4, subjects are generally being drawn into the immediately preverbal position over time, especially after the 13th century. This accounts for the increase in preverbal NIF subjects seen across the centuries. At the same time, NIF shows a highly significant preference for the postverbal area in general. This is presumably why we continue to find the highest proportion of postverbal subjects amongst NIF. Unlike other subjects, they have to choose between satisfying the position preferences of being a subject (e.g. preverbal) and being an NIF (e.g. postverbal).

Recall from table 6.1 that we have specific predictions about how V2 and non-V2 SVO languages should behave with respect to the position of the subject, based on its IS-value. First, V2 languages should have overt subjects occurring both pre- and postverbally, with subtle differences in the distribution of the IS-values. Second, non-V2 SVO languages may appear in one of two ways: either all overt subjects, regardless of their IS-value, will occur preverbally (e.g. ModFr, ModEng) or all overt subjects will be distributed rigidly according to their IS-value (e.g. ModSpan, ModItal). What we find in table 6.2 is that the prediction for V2 languages is borne out in the 13th century, while the data from the 14th to 16th centuries resembles more and more the prediction for non-V2 SVO languages like Modern English and Modern French.

Comparing the 13th century to the 14th century, we find a significant increase in the frequency of preverbal subjects for both aboutness topics and subjects without an IS-

value ($z=4.1408, p<0.001; z=3.1301, p=0.00174$). While the rest of the subjects also see an increase in the frequency of their realization in the preverbal position, the increase is not significant (FamT: $z=1.1303, p=0.25848$; ConT: $z=0.5314, p=0.59612$; NIF: $z=1.0349, p=0.30302$; CF: $z=0.088, p=0.92828$). Familiar topics also decrease in frequency as null subjects, but this decrease is not statistically significant either ($z=1.6014, p=0.1096$). This mirrors what was seen in §4.1.2, as all subjects are increasing in frequency preverbally.

From the 14th to the 15th century, all subjects see an increase in the frequency of the preverbal position. This increase, however, is not significant for any of the subjects (AbT: $z=1.3787, p=0.16758$; FamT: $z=0.8974, p=0.36812$; ConT: $z=0.0754, p=0.93624$; NIF: $z=0.3519, p=0.72634$; CF: $z=1.291, p=0.19706$, NA: $z=0.1504, p=0.88076$). We also see an increase in the frequency of null subject familiar topics, but this change is not significant ($z=0.7753, p=0.4354$).

Finally, from the 15th to the 16th century, most subjects see a further increase in the frequency with which they occur preverbally, but not at a significant level (FamT: $z=1.2491, p=0.2113$; ConT: $z=1.4343, p=0.15272$; NIF: $z=1.0977, p=0.27134$; NA: $z=0.1247, p=0.90448$). The two exceptions to this are aboutness topics and contrastive foci, neither of whose decrease is significant (AbT: $z=0.3192, p=0.74896$; CF: $z=1.0445, p=0.29834$). Familiar topics once again decrease in their frequency as null subjects, though the decrease is not significant ($z=1.0247, p=0.30772$).

The "shallowness" of the increases in preverbal subjects from the 14th to the 16th century is to be expected, given what was seen in Chapter 4. The major, significant increase in preverbal subjects occurs between the 13th and 14th century, and after that the

rise is not significant. We are essentially seeing the same thing here, but at slightly different rates and times, depending on the IS-value of the subject. These differences may be the result of the different general preferences of each IS element, as seen in the clausal templates at the end of Chapter 5, acting upon the subject. This will be discussed further later.

Given that all subjects undergo slight increases in the frequency of their use of the preverbal position from century to century, and that not all of the increases are significant between individual centuries, it is useful to compare the use of this position in the 13th century and the 16th century to see if there is an actual change occurring. We find that the increase in frequency of aboutness topics, familiar topics, new information focus and subjects without an IS-value is significant across all four centuries (AbT: *z=4.7562, p<0.001*; FamT: *z=3.323, p<0.001*; NIF: *z=2.847, p=0.00438*; NA: *z=3.4363, p<0.001*). However, the increase for contrastive topics and contrastive focus is not significant (ConT: *z=1.7865, p=0.07346*; CF: *z=0.4927; p=0.62414*).

Based on these results, we can begin testing previous claims about Information Structure in Old French. First and foremost, Rinke & Meisel (2009) claim that all preverbal subjects must be topics and that subject inversion is a repair strategy used to prevent non-topic subjects from occurring preverbally. In this way, Old French resembles modern null-subject Romance languages like Portuguese and Italian. In drawing this comparison, they hypothesize that postverbal subjects in Old French must be focused. However, given the high rate of postverbal pronominal subjects, assumed by Rinke & Meisel (2009) to be cliticized to the verb, they concede that postverbal topics must be a possibility. They go on to conclude that the movement of these postverbal

topic subjects to the preverbal position accounts for the loss of subject inversion. Based

on the results presented above, these claims cannot be supported. First of all, we find

focused subjects in both pre- and postverbal positions in each century.   The presence of

preverbal focused subjects runs counter to the claims of Rinke & Meisel (2009), and to

the explanation of apparent V2 in Old French being the result of its null-subject grammar.

Rather, these results support those of Labelle & Hirschbühler (2011), who also found pre-

and postverbal focus subjects in Old French. All the same, it is possible that the presence

of preverbal focused subjects is due to the SVO nature of Old French was an SVO

language in addition to being a V2 language. The nature of preverbal constituents as a

whole will be tested in the next section.

6.2   IS-value of preverbal constituents

Thus far, we have established a link between the IS-value of the subject and its syntactic

realization. We have also, briefly, begun to test existing claims in the literature about the

Information Structure of Old French. We will continue this by examining specific

positions in the sentence for Information Structure. First, the IS-value of immediately

preverbal constituents will be presented. As mentioned above, it has been claimed that

Old French was a topic initial language. If this is the case, it is potentially problematic

for a V2 analysis of OFr, as V2 languages permit all IS constituents preverbally, even

though the relative frequencies of the IS constituents may vary from language to

language (Bohnacker & Rosen 2006; Rinke & Meisel 2009, Kaiser & Zimmermann

2010). We will begin by presenting the general results of the frequency of the different

IS-values in this position. This differs to what was done in Chapter 5, as we are now able

to directly compare the frequency of each type of IS element occurring in the

immediately preverbal position. Once that has been accomplished, we will examine the

relationship between the IS-value of non-subject constituents in this position and the

syntactic realization of the subject. For example, if a non-subject aboutness topic is

situated in the immediately preverbal position, is the subject most likely to be postverbal,

to the left of this constituent, or null? After the results of the immediately preverbal

position are presented, we will examine the position to its left. As was discussed in

§2.3.1, Verb Second languages such as Modern German are able to make use of V>2

clauses, but only to serve specific IS functions. The goal of this section is to draw

connections between the IS-syntax preferences of Old French and those of V2 languages

such as Modern German.

6.2.1   IS-value of the immediately preverbal constituent

Now that we have seen how the Information Structure value of the subject is related to

the position of the subject and the type of clause it is in, let us turn away from looking

specifically at subjects, and examine the frequency of the different IS-values in each of

the preverbal positions[103]. These positions are of particular interest to us, as we are

generally interested in the decline of Verb Second[104]. It is generally assumed that the

increase in V>2 clauses is indicative of the loss of V2. For this reason, examining what

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[103] These preverbal positions are categorized based upon the number of constituents intervening between the constituent of interest and the finite verb.

[104] This is similar to the information presented in Chapter 5 in that we are interested in the frequency of IS constituents. However, in that Chapter we were interested in the position of the IS constituent in the clause as a whole with the goal of mapping the preferences of each IS element. Here, we are interested in the frequency of every IS-value in a single position.

can and does occur to the left edge of a V>2 clause could shed light upon the trajectory, if not the trigger, for this well-known syntactic change.

The following table presents the data for all immediately preverbal constituents, be they subject or otherwise. Here, we are looking at the relative frequency of each IS constituent in the immediately preverbal position in each century. There is a significant interaction between century and the IS-value of the constituent in this position ($X^2=97.3654, df=18, p<0.001$).

Table 6.3: *IS-value of element in the immediately preverbal position by century*

	AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
13th	83	89	30	81	8	128	125	544
	15.2%	16.4%	5.5%	14.9%	1.5%	23.5%	23%	
14th	147	96	14	44	5	113	83	502
	29.3%	19.1%	2.8%	8.8%	1%	22.5%	16.5%	
15th	164	100	11	66	6	77	89	513
	32%	19.5%	2.1%	12.9%	1.2%	15%	17.3%	
16th	138	119	8	71	5	131	64	536
	25.7%	22.2%	1.5%	13.2%	0.9%	24.4%	11.9%	
Total	532	404	63	262	34	449	361	2095

In the 13th century, the most frequent IS element in the immediately preverbal position is frame-setting (23.5%). Frame-setters are not statistically significantly more frequent than the second most frequent element: constituents without an IS-value[105] ($z=0.2153$, $p=0.82588$). However, they are significantly more frequent than familiar topic, the second most common constituent with an IS-value ($z=2.959, p=0.00308$). In the 14th

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[105] In addition to expletive subjects, this also includes non-focused or –frame-setting adverbs, adjective, "si" and other sentence particles, etc.

century frame-setters continue to be frequent constituents in this position, but are now second to aboutness topics. The difference between the two IS elements is significant ($z=2.4495, p=0.01428$). Aboutness topics continue to be the most frequent immediately preverbal constituent in the 15th century, and are significantly more frequent than familiar topics, the next most frequent element ($z=3.8105, p<0.001$). Finally, in the 16th century there is no significant difference between the three most common IS elements in the immediately preverbal position: aboutness topics, familiar topics and frame-setters (AbT vs. FamT: $z=1.3593, p=0.17384$; AbT vs. FS: $z=0.4931, p=0.62414$; FamT vs. FS: $z=0.8667, p=0.3843$).

Looking diachronically, we find that generally, there is not very much movement in terms of preferred IS element in the immediately preverbal position. The frequency of frame-setting constituents in this position does not change significantly from the 13th to the 16th century ($z=0.4045, p=0.68916$), except for in the 15th century where it appears to be significantly lower ($z=3.0628, p=0.00222$). This, however, cannot automatically be seen as the result of an aberrant text, as both texts from this century show the same low frequency of occurrence in this position ($z=1.3542, p=0.17702$). There is, however, no statistical difference between the 14th and the 16th century ($z=0.7504, p=0.45326$). The reason for the dip in the 15th century is not immediately clear.

As with most of the changes discussed thus far, the majority of significant changes that occur during the period being studied occur from the 13th to the 14th century. Aboutness topics increase in frequency in the immediately preverbal position ($z=5.4774, p<0.001$). Contrastive topics, NIF, and constituents without an IS-value, on the other hand, both show a significant decrease (ConT: $z=2.1933, p=0.02852$; NIF: $z=3.7925,$

p<0.001; NA: *z=2.693, p=0.00714*). This is further evidence for a major grammatical change occurring between the Old and Middle French periods—one affecting both verb position and the syntactic realization of Information Structure.

Returning again to the predictions from table 6.1, it was claimed that in a V2 grammar, all IS-values should be able to occur in this immediately preverbal position, while Topics should be dominant in non-V2 SVO languages, as it is the IS-value most closely associated with subjecthod. Once again, it appears as though the prediction for V2 is borne out in the 13th century, while the data from the 14th to 16th centuries more closely resembles what is predicted for a non-V2 SVO language, the exception being the constistently high rate of Frame-Setters, which are almost never subjects. This will be explored further in the following section.

Going back to the claim that Old French was a topic initial language (e.g. Combettes 1997, 2003; Marchello-Nizia 1999; Rinke & Meisel 2009), we can see from the data in Table (6.4) that this was never the case, at least, not using the pragmatic-centered definitions given in Chapter 2[106]. In the 13th century, when the topic-initial nature would presumably be the strongest in the period under investigation here, topics only make up 37.1% of immediately preverbal constituents[107]. Even if we extend our notion of topichood to include frame-setters, as is the case in some of the literature (e.g. Marchello-Nizia 1999; Jacobs 2001; Rinke & Meisel 2009), we still find a full 16% of sentences with a focused constituent in the immediately preverbal position.

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[106] Refer back to §2.2 for more on the differences between the syntactic and pragmatic definitions of topic and focus.
[107] Topics also make up 39.2% of all absolute initial constituents, regardless of the number of preverbal constituents.

Furthermore, given the already established link between topics and subjects, and the fact that French was an SVO language by this period, it is likely that the 37.1% of constituents that are topics in this position is mostly made up of subjects. In the next section, we examine not only non-subject constituents in the immediately preverbal position, but also what influence, if any, they have on the position of the subject.

6.2.2   *Subject position and IS-value of immediately preverbal constituent*

Information Structure influences which constituents occupy the immediately preverbal position, as was just discussed. It has also been shown to play a role in the position of subjects, depending on the value of the subject. We have also seen that there is a general decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects throughout the period being examined. The question now is: how might Information Structure condition the use of postverbal subjects?

Again, we have seen that there is a relationship between the IS-value of the subject and its position with respect to the verb. However, given that most subjects, both pre- and postverbal, are topics, that does not explain what continues to trigger postverbal subjects through the 16th century. To determine that, we must look both at the position of the subject and the IS-value of the preverbal constituent in each century. This means that all subjects in the immediately preverbal position have been excluded from the data presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.4, below, presents the interaction of subject position and the IS-value of the preverbal constituent in each century. All preverbal subjects in the following table must therefore occur to the left of the immediately preverbal position. Examples of each

of these types of immediately preverbal constituent are presented in (2) below. Note, extra context is given for contrastive example in (2 a) so as to make the contrast clear.

(2)   a.   Lors le prist la dame. Si l'alaita et norri
             Now him took the woman. SI him suckled and fed
             et [le suen ConT] *mist* au lait d'une autre femme
             and hers put to milk of another woman
             "So the lady took him. She breastfed him and she gave her child to
             another woman to nurse"
             (*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207, l. 76.57-59)

       b.   [ce FamT] *est* **il** sanz faille
             This is he without fault
             "This he is without a doubt"
             (*Merlin en prose*, ca. 1207, l. 76.35)

       c.   et [cela AbT] *dis* **je** pour Guenelic et le vertueux Quezinstra…
             And this said I for Guenelic and the vertuous Quenzinstra
             (*Angoisses*, ca. 1538 p 230)

       d.   Mais **Pandras** [mout angoisseux pour sa fuyte et la prinse de son frere NIF]
             But Pandras much suffering for his flight and the taking of his brother
             s'entremist celle nuyt de racompaigner le peuple deffuyant
             committed that night to reunite the people fleeing
             "But Pandras, suffering a lot because of his flight and the taking of his
             brother, that night committed to reuinite the fleeing people"
             (*Perceforest*, §10.18-20)

e.   …et prist un bon branc fort et pesant en sa senestre main

And took.3.sg a good sword strong and heavy in his left hand

et [en la destre main CF] *prist* un rain d'olivier…

and the right hand took.3.sg a branch of an olive tree.

"He took a strong and heavy sword in his left hand, and in his right he

took an olive branch."

(*Cassidorus* §57)

f.   Mais **sa femme** [à ceste heure Frame] n'*avoit* pas ce loisir

But his wife, at this time, NEG had not this freedom

"But at this time, his wife did not have this freedom."

(*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* p 4)

We find there is a significant interaction between these two variables in each century (13th: $X^2=60.7253, df=12, p<0.001$; 14th: *Fisher's Exact Test p=0.0003889*; 15th: *Fisher's Exact Test p=0.0003695*; 16th: *Fisher's Exact Test p=0.002019*). This indicates that subject position is conditioned by the preverbal constituent. The Fisher's Exact Test was conducted in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries because of the presence of columns in the table without any examples (i.e. contrastive topic). Because of this, a chi-square test could not be run.

Table 6.4: *Subject position by immediately preverbal, non-subject constituent, by century*

		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
13th	**SV**	0	1	0	5	0	7	6	19
		0%	5.3%	0%	26.3%	0%	36.8%	31.6%	
	VS	1	1	0	22	0	73	10	107
		0.9%	0.9%	0%	20.6%	0%	68.2%	9.3%	
	NS	0	0	2	29	1	48	75	155
		0%	0%	1.3%	18.7%	0.6%	31%	48.4%	
	Total	1	2	2	56	1	128	91	281
		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
14th	**SV**	0	0	0	6	1	13	2	22
		0%	0%	0%	27.3%	4.5%	59.1%	9.1%	
	VS	1	0	0	12	0	50	5	68
		1.5%	0%	0%	17.6%	0%	73.5%	7.4%	
	NS	0	1	0	9	2	50	30	92
		0%	1.1%	0%	9.8%	2.2%	54.3%	32.6%	
	Total	1	1	0	27	3	113	37	182
		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
15th	**SV**	0	1	0	11	0	7	7	26
		0%	3.8%	0%	42.3%	0%	26.9%	26.9%	
	VS	0	0	0	5	0	28	3	36
		0%	0%	0%	13.9%	0%	77.8%	8.3%	
	NS	0	0	0	29	0	42	28	99
		0%	0%	0%	29.3%	0%	42.4%	28.3%	
	Total	0	1	0	45	0	77	38	161

		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
16th	**SV**	0	0	0	6	0	15	4	25
		0%	0%	0%	24%	0%	60%	16%	
	VS	2	0	0	2	0	12	5	21
		9.5%	0%	0%	9.5%	0%	57.1%	23.8%	
	NS	1	1	0	17	1	104	4	128
		0.8%	0.8%	0%	13.3%	0.8%	81.2%	3.1%	
Total		3	1	0	25	1	131	13	174

Before discussing the results for any century in particular, we can see immediately that by removing immediately preverbal subjects, we have nearly eliminated topics from the data set. This is further evidence against a true topic initial period in the history of French, as there is not a strong preference for non-subject topics to occur in this position, as would be expected if this were, in fact, a TopicV grammar, as claimed by Marchello-Nizia (2001), Combettes (2003) and Rinke & Meisel (2009).

Beginning with the 13th century, we find that when there is a non-subject constituent in the initial position, subjects are significantly more likely to be null than postverbal ($z=4.0588, p<0.001$), and more likely to be postverbal than preverbal ($z=8.9007, p<0.001$). Null subjects are significantly more likely to occur when a constituent without an IS-value is in the immediately preverbal position ($z=3.1345, p=0.00174$), followed by a frame-setter ($z=2.4975, p=0.01242$), followed by a new information focus ($z=5.1117, p<0.001$). Postverbal subjects, on the other hand, are most likely to occur after an immediately preverbal frame-setter ($z=7.0168, p<0.001$), followed by NIF ($z=2.3003, p=0.02144$), followed by a IS-valueless constituent ($z=2.7862, p=0.00528$). Finally, in the few instances we have of preverbal subjects,

there is no significant difference between NIF, FS, and IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position ($z=0.3419, p=0.72786; z=0.698, p=0.48392$).

If we examine the preferences of the immediately preverbal constituents, rather than the subjects, we find that there are significantly more non-subject frame-setters in this position than any other constituent ($z=3.2004, p=0.00138$), followed by IS-valueless constituents ($z=3.3593, p=0.00078$), and finally new information focus ($z=7.4874, p<0.001$). As was found for subject positions, we find significant differences in the preferences of each IS constituent. Immediately preverbal frame-setters show a significant preference for postverbal subjects over null subjects ($z=3.1297, p=0.00174$), and null subjects over preverbal subjects ($z=6.2391, p<0.001$). IS-valueless constituents, on the other hand, show a preference for null subjects over postverbal subjects ($z=9.6573, p<0.001$), while there is no significant difference between postverbal and preverbal subjects ($z=1.0471, p=0.29372$). Finally, we find that there is no significant difference between null subjects and postverbal subjects when NIF is the immediately preverbal constituent ($z=1.3282, p=0.18352$), though there is a significant preference for these subjects over preverbal subjects ($z=3.7555, p=0.00016$).

Turning to the 14th century, we again find that there are significantly more null subjects than postverbal subjects, and more postverbal subjects than preverbal subjects when a non-subject IS constituent is in the immediately preverbal position ($z=2.5345, p=0.0114; z=5.5887, p<0.001$, respectively). Unlike the previous century, we find that all subjects not in the immediately preverbal position show a preference for frame-setters in the immediately preverbal position (SV: $z=2.1305, p=0.03318$; VS: $z=6.5425, p<0.001$; NS: $z=2.9742, p=0.00298$). We also find that both pre- and postverbal subjects

have a higher frequency of preverbal NIF than IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position, but it is only significantly more frequent for postverbal subjects (SV: *z=1.5635, p=0.11876*; VS: *z=1.815, p=0.0703*). Null subjects, on the other hand, show a significant preference for IS-valueless constituents over new information focus (*z=3.788, p=0.00016*). Once again, this is due to the high frequency of sentence particles, which prefer null subjects occurring in the immediately preverbal position.

As in the 13th century, frame-setters are the most frequent non-subject constituents in the immediately preverbal position (*z=8.093, p<0.001*), followed by NIF and IS-valueless constituents, though there is no significant difference between these two types of constituents (*z=1.3769, p=0.16758*). With frame-setters, we find equal numbers of postverbal subjects and null subjects, both of which are significantly more frequent than preverbal subjects (*z=5.489, p<0.0010*); whereas postverbal subjects were significantly preferred over null subjects in the 13th century. IS-valueless constituents are significantly more common with null subjects than postverbal subjects (*z=5.8209, p<0.001*), and show no significant difference between pre- and postverbal subjects (*z=1.1917, p=0.23404*), as was the case in the 13th century. Finally, new information focus do not show any significant differences amongst the three subject positions (VS vs. NS: *z=0.8374, p=0.4009*; NS vs. SV: *z=0.9115, p=0.36282*). This is a change from the 13th century, when both null and postverbal subjects were significantly more frequent than preverbal subjects.

Null subjects continue to be significantly more frequent than post- or preverbal subjects when a non-subject constituent is in the immediately preverbal position in in the

15th century ($z=7.1151, p<0.001$), while there is no significant difference between pre- and postverbal subjects ($z=1.4133, p=0.15854$). Amongst null subjects, we find that while frame-setters are more frequent than both NIF and IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position, the only significant difference between any of these IS constituents is between frame-setters and IS-valueless constituents (FS vs. NIF: $z=1.9264, p=0.0536$; FS vs. NA: $z=2.0812, p=0.03752$; NIF v. NA: $z=0.157, p=0.87288$). As in the previous century, we find that postverbal subjects are significantly more likely to occur with a frame-setter in the immediately preverbal position than either NIF or IS-valueless constituents ($z=5.4401, p<0.001$) and that there is no significant difference between these second two types of constituents ($z=0.75, p=0.45326$). Finally, we find that the preferences of preverbal subjects are similar to those of the 13th century rather than the 14th century, in that there is no significant difference in the frequencies of frame-setters, new information focus and IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position ($z=1.166, p=0.242$).

Switching to the IS constituents, we find that frame-setters are the most frequent non-subject constituents to occupy the immediately preverbal position ($z=3.6761, p<0.001$), and that there is no significant difference between new information focus and constituents without an IS-value in the same position ($z=0.8918, p=0.37346$), as was the case in the 14th century. Looking individually at each of these IS constituents, we find that things have changed between the 14th and 15th centuries. Beginning with frame-setters, we find that null subjects are significantly more frequent than postverbal subjects ($z=2.2657, p=0.0232$). Note that in the 13th century, postverbal subjects were significantly more frequent than null subjects, and in the 14th century there was no

significant difference between the two subject positions. We also find a significant difference between pre- and postverbal subjects, as in the previous centuries ($z=4.0381$, $p=0$). IS-valueless constituents, which are primarily sentence particles like *si, or* and *ainz* (unless they serve a clear frame-setting role, which is determined on a case-by-case basis) but also include other adverbs which serve no specific IS role[108], on the other hand, behave similarly to the 14th century, in that null subjects are significantly more frequent than preverbal subjects, and there is no significant difference between pre- and postverbal subjects ($z=4.8328$, $p=0$; $z=1.3574$, $p=0.17384$). Finally, new information focus do not behave in the same way as they did in either of the previous two centuries. In the 14th century, they showed no significant difference between the three different types of subject, and in the 13th century, there was no significant difference between null subjects and postverbal subject, the two most common subject positions. In the 15th century, we find that null subjects are significantly more frequent than postverbal subjects ($z=3.8184$, $p=0.00014$) and that there is no significant difference between pre- and postverbal subjects ($z=1.6542$, $p=0.09894$).

Finally, in the 16th century, we find once again that when a non-subject constituent is in the immediately preverbal position null subjects are significantly more frequent than either pre- or postverbal subjects ($z=11.1241$, $p<0.001$), and that there is no significant difference in the frequencies of pre- and postverbal subjects ($z=0.6331$, $p=0.5287$). As was the case in the 14th and 15th centuries, we find that frame-setters are

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[108] Price (1962) notes that the same constituent can serve multiple pragmatic roles (including having no IS-value) depending on the discourse context: « Dans des propositions qui sont formellement identiques, un element de phrase donné peut remplir des fonctions tout à fait différents…nous ferons donc la distinction entre les *compléments accessoires*, c.-à-d. les compléments qui pourrait faire défaut sans que le sens de la proposition en soit gravement affecté, et les *compléments faisant partie intégrante de la proposition*, c.-à-d. ceux sur lesquels l'auteur veut insister ou dont la présence est nécessaire pour que le sens soit complet » (20).

significantly more frequent than NIF or IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position ($z=10.8913, p<0.001$), and similarly to the 15th century, there is no significant difference between these latter two types of IS constituents ($z=2.9609, p=0.00308$). The preferences of postverbal subjects are similar to those of the 15th century, in that frame-setters are preferred over new information focus and IS-valueless constituents, and that there is no significant difference between NIF and NA ($z=2.2005, p=0.0278; z=1.2421, p=0.21498$, respectively). Preverbal subjects, on the other hand, resemble the results for the 14th century rather than the 15th, as frame-setters are significantly more frequent than the other two IS constituents, and there is no significant difference between new information focus and IS-valueless constituents ($z=2.5788, p=0.00988; z=0.7071, p=0.4777$, respectively).

As was the case in the previous centuries, frame-setters continue to be the most frequent non-subject constituents in the immediately preverbal position ($z=11.4257, p<0.001$); however, there are significantly more NIF in this position than IS-valueless constituents, unlike the previous two centuries ($z=2.0625, p=0.0394$). Beginning with frame-setters, we find that, unlike the previous centuries, null subjects are significantly more frequent than pre- or postverbal subjects ($z=11.0433, p<0.001$), and that there is no significant difference between pre- and postverbal subjects ($z=0.6096, p=0.54186$). IS-valueless constituents also behave differently than in the previous centuries, as they show no significant difference between the three subject positions ($z=0.4122, p=0.6818$). Finally, new information focus also differs from its preferences in previous centuries. In the 16th century, we find that null subjects are significantly more frequent than pre- and

postverbal subjects, and that there is no significant difference in the frequencies of pre- and postverbal subjects ($z=3.1213, p=0.0018; z=1.543, p=0.12356$, respectively).

Looking at the position of subjects when a non-subject is in the immediately preverbal position, we find that preverbal subjects show a significant increase in frequency from the 13th to the 14th century ($z=1.9704, p=0.04884$), but do not show any significant changes from the 14th through the 16th centuries ($z=1.082, p=0.28014; z=0.4534, p=0.65272$, respectively). Generally speaking, it appears that preverbal subjects are most common before new information focus and frame-setters, but given the relatively low N it is difficult to draw a firm conclusion.

Postverbal subjects, on the other hand, decrease throughout the period examined, as discussed previously in this Chapter, and in Chapter 4. The decrease in this aspect of the grammar under discussion is not significant from the 13th to the 14th century ($z=0.1551, p=0.87288$), but it is significant from the 14th to the 15th and from the 15th to the 16th centuries ($z=3.0168, p=0.00252; z=2.5045, p=0.01242$, respectively). Postverbal subjects consistently occur most frequently when a frame-setter is in the immediately preverbal position. Even as the number of postverbal subjects declines, the preference for frame-setters over NIF and IS-valueless constituents with postverbal subjects remains significant. It has been suggested that postverbal subjects may occur to highlight the subject, to highlight the preverbal constituent or because the preverbal constituent is linked in someway to the previous discourse. This last reason is the most relevant to frame-setters, as one of their purposes is to establish a link with the previous discourse. Furthermore, frame-setters, unlike other IS constituents, benefit from

establishing broad scope over the whole utterance, which is, in part, achieved by occurring at the left edge of the clause.

Finally, the frequency of null subjects with a non-subject in the immediately preverbal position shows no significant change from the 13th to the 14th century (*z=0.9713, p=0.33204*). From the 14th to the 15th century and from the 15th to the 16th century we find significant increases in the frequency of null subjects in this data set (*z=2.0357, p=0.04136; z=2.362, p=0.01828*, respectively). Initially, null subjects show a preference for IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position; typically, this constituent is the sentence particle *si*. Overtime, we see a shift to a preference for frame-setters occurring in the immediately preverbal position with null subjects.

The changes in the frequency of postverbal and null subjects reflect what is predicted for V2 and non-V2 SVO languages, to varying degrees. First, it was predicted that V2 languages should permit a wide variety of non-subject constituents in the immediately preverbal position, and these constituents should trigger postverbal subjects. This is, broadly speaking, what is found in the 13th century, and to a lesser extent in the 14th century. In the 15th and 16th centuries, we find less variety amongst the preverbal constituents, and we find that null subjects are the most frequent type of subject in these clauses.

Turning to the IS constituents in the immediately preverbal position, we find that frame-setters are the most frequent of IS constituents in this position in each century. From the 13th to the 14th century, there is a significant increase in the frequency of frame-setters in this position (*z=3.4788, p=0.0005*). From the 14th to the 15th century, these

constituents undergo a significant decrease ($z=2.6518, p=0.00804$). Finally, there is a significant increase from the 15th to the 16th century ($z=5.176, p<0.001$). The frame-setters undergo a very clear shift in preference in preferred subjects position across the period examined. In the 13th century, there is a clear preference for postverbal subjects over null subjects, and null subjects over preverbal subjects. In the 14th century, postverbal subjects are no longer preferred over null subjects indicated by the lack of significant difference between the two. In the 15th century, null subjects are preferred over postverbal subjects, which are still preferred over preverbal subjects. Finally, in the 16th century, there is no significant difference between pre- and postverbal, and null subjects are still the most frequent IS constituents.

Non- subject new information focus, on the other hand, undergoes an insignificant decrease in its frequency in the immediately preverbal position from the 13th to the 14th century ($z=1.3957, p=0.16152$); from the 14th to the 15th century the increase is significant ($z=2.9766, p=0.00288$); finally, the decrease from the 15th to the 16th century is significant ($z=3.055, p=0.00222$). Just as with frame-setters, there is an increasing preference for null subjects when NIF are in the immediately preverbal position.

Finally, we find that IS-valueless constituents in the immediately preverbal position, undergo a significant decrease from the 13th to the 14th century ($z=2.8327, p=0.00466$), while there is no significant change from the 14th to the 15th century ($z=0.7318, p=0.4654$). Finally, from the 15th to the 16th century there is a significant decrease in the frequency of constituents without IS-value. While there are changes in the frequency of these constituents as a whole, there are no changes in its preferences

with respect to subject position, as null subjects are always preferred over pre- and postverbal subjects.

6.2.3 IS-value of constituents separated from the verb by another constituent

As discussed in §4.1.1, the number of clauses with more than one preverbal constituent increases significantly during the time period examined. This has been taken to be evidence for the loss of Verb Second grammar from French. It has thus far been seen that the Information Structure value of subjects and other constituents plays a role in the change in their position in the clause. For this reason, it is important to examine the IS-value of the preverbal constituents in V>2 clauses that are separated from the verb by another constituent.   In so doing, it may be possible to account for the permitted V>2 clauses in the 13th century, and trace the expansion of the use of V>2 clauses.

In the following table, the IS-value of preverbal constituents separated from the verb by one other constituent is presented for each century. We find that there is a significant interaction between the IS-value of this constituent and time (*X^2=62.4318, df=18, p<0.001*), indicating that the changes in the IS-value of these constituents are globally significant.

Table 6.5: *IS-value of element in <u>XXV</u> position, by century*

	AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
13th	13	2	0	1	3	91	0	110
	11.8%	1.8%	0%	0.9%	2.7%	82.7%	0%	
14th	14	3	2	8	3	138	4	172
	8.1%	1.7%	1.2%	4.7%	1.7%	80.2%	2.3%	
15th	13	0	1	41	0	130	7	192
	6.8%	0%	0.5%	21.4%	0%	67.7%	3.6%	
16th	14	4	2	16	6	163	3	208
	6.7%	1.9%	1%	7.7%	2.9%	78.4%	1.4%	
Total	54	9	5	66	12	522	14	682

To begin with, there is not much that can be said about the frequencies of familiar topics, contrastive topics, contrastive focus and constituents without an IS-value, as their token counts are so low.

Concentrating on the IS-values with large Ns (i.e. aboutness topic, new information focus, and frame-setting), we find that there are significant changes occurring. First of all, frame-setters are the most frequent constituents in this position in each century, though the IS-value of the second most frequent constituent changes across the centuries. In the 13th century, frame-setters are by far the most frequent constituent in this position, making up 82.7% of all XXV constituents. The other value that is more than marginally possible is aboutness topic, at 11.8%. The same holds true in the 14th century, the only difference being the overall higher number of XXV constituents, which is consistent with the rise in V>2 clauses at this time. Aboutness topics continue to be the second most frequent constituents at 8.1%. We also find that all IS-values occur in this position in the 14th century, but only marginally so.

In the 15th century, things begin to change. Frame-setters are no longer as dominant as in previous centuries (68.6%), and new information focus become the second most common constituent in this position, making up 21.5% of all preverbal/non verb adjacent constituents. This is statistically much higher than aboutness topics ($z=4.476$, $p<0.001$). In the 16th century, frame-setters are nearly back to their 13th and 14th century frequency (78.1%). At the same time, there is no statistical difference between the frequency of new information focus and aboutness topics in this position ($z=0.9331$, $p=0.35238$).

Returning once again to the predictions presented in table 6.1, we find that the 13th century reflects what is predicted for V2 languages (e.g. only Topic and Frame-Setter permitted in this position, relatively fewer examples) whereas the 15th and 16th centuries reflect what is predicted for non-V2 SVO langauges (e.g. all IS-values are possible in this postion, which is used relatively frequently). The 14th century, as perhaps expected at this point, is situated between the two predictions, in that it has asignificantly higher rate of V>2 clauses, but the types of IS constituents in the XXV resembles what is permitted in the 13th century. What this means for the 14th century will be discussed in greater detail in §6.3.

Diachronically speaking, there aren't many significant changes occurring to the IS-value of constituents to the left of the verb that are not immediately preverbal. First of all, the decrease in frequency of frame-setters from the 14th to the 15th century is significant (*$z=2.5292$, $p=0.0114$*), as is its subsequent rise from the 15th to the 16th century (*$z=2.1566$, $p=0.03078$*). Overall, from the 13th to the 16th century, there is no

significant change in the frequency of frame-setters in this position, even though the total number of tokens in each century does rise (*z=0.9782, p=0.3278*).

The one other IS-value that does undergo significant change during this period is new information focus. From the 13th to the 14th century, the increase in frequency, while noteworthy, is not statistically significant (*z=1.7438, p=0.08186*). From the 14th to the 15th the increase in frequency is highly significant (*z=4.6813, p<0.001*), as is the increase from the 15th to the 16th century (*z=3.6405, p=0.01878*). As a whole, only NIF show a statistically significant change from the 13th to the 16th century (*z=2.7548, p=0.00596*). This will be discussed further later in the Chapter, as it is potentially indicative of the loss of V2.

6.3   Interim summary

In Chapter 4, evidence was presented supporting not only a V2 analysis of 13th century French, but also demonstrating the decline of V2 over the subsequent three centuries. First, in the 13th century V2 clauses are significantly more frequent than non-V2 clauses (i.e. V1 and V>2 clauses), and non-preverbal subjects (e.g. postverbal and null subjects) are significantly more frequent than preverbal subjects. The combination of these two facts points to the presence of a V2 grammar. From the 13th to the 14th century, we find a significant increase in the frequency of V>2 clauses and a significant decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects. In a non-V2 SVO language, we expect to find a high frequency of V>2 clauses and a high frequency of preverbal subjects, which is exactly what we find in the 14th through 16th centuries. We also found a shift from a

predominance of Germanic Inversion to Romance Inversion with postverbal subjects. These concurrent changes are taken to be indicative of the decline in Verb Second.

In Chapter 5, we traced the preferred positions of each of the six possible IS-values: aboutness topics, familiar topics, contrastive topics, new information focus, contrastive focus and frame-setters. It was found that while each IS-value behaves in a fashion similar to that of its related values (e.g. familiar and aboutness topics), they each behave in their own unique ways. This justifies treating them individually. Furthermore, we found that frame-setters behave much differently than topics, not least of all because they select different parts of speech (e.g. DPs for topics, PPs for frame-setters). This again justifies treating them as separate categories.

Thus far in this Chapter, we have seen that Information Structure interacts with syntax in such a way as to play a role in the decline of Verb Second. We have seen that the IS-value of the subject influences its location in the clause, either before or after the verb or a null subject. We have also seen that the IS-value of the immediately preverbal non-subject constituent influences the position of the subject with respect to the verb. Additionally, we have seen how the influence that Information Structure has changes over time, along with the decline of Verb Second. Furthermore, we have found that all of the predictions for V2 and non-V2 SVO languages have been borne out in the data, such that the 13th century categorically reflects what is predicted for V2 languages, and the 14th-16th centuries resemble what is predicted for non-V2 SVO languages, to varying degrees.

In addition to this direct link to Verb Second, we have also seen that 13th century French appears to behave similarly to modern V2 languages, with respect to the syntactic

realization of its Information Structure. Just as in uncontroversial V2 languages such as Modern German and Modern Norwegian, Old French permits constituents of any IS-value to occupy the immediately preverbal position. It has also been shown that while the IS-value of a subject may influence its position in the sentence, both topic-subjects and focus-subjects are permitted to occur both pre- and postverbally. This is, again, what is found in other V2 languages.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, V2 languages do permit V>2 structures in a limited number of IS constrained contexts. For example, Poletto (2002) finds that V>2 clauses are permitted in Rhaeto-Romance only when the initial element is a hanging topic[109]. It has also been suggested by Roberts (2004) that V>2 clauses are only permitted in Modern German if the initial "dislocated" constituent is not a focus. The link between the two V2 grammars here is that focused constituents may not occur to the left of the immediately preverbal position, for reasons of movement, which will be discussed further in the following sections.

All of the results presented thus far suggest that 13th century French had a V2 grammar, and that the V2 status of French declined from the 14th through the 16th century. From here, our goal is to use these results to determine the syntactic structure behind the changes we are witnessing. Specifically, we are interested in how the Left Periphery is being used throughout this period.

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[109] Even though the notion of hanging topic is syntactically rather than pragmatically based, the two concepts are related. As stated in Chapter 2, any discussion of the IS distinctions between hanging topics vs. left dislocated topics is beyond the scope of this work.

6.4   Verb Second, Information Structure, and the Left Periphery.

As has already been discussed in Chapter 2, the term Verb Second is applied to a

language that demonstrates verb movement to a position high in the structure coupled

with the realization of a single constituent to its immediate left. Traditionally, the locus

of movement in V2 languages has been considered to be CP, though in the expanded CP

framework, it is assumed that this position is FinP. Many accounts have been proposed

for the movement of the verb to this high position, and the filling of the specifier of the

projection targeted by the verb. One of the most common is the presence of an EPP

feature on FinP (Roberts 1993, 2004; Haegeman 1996, 2012; Poletto 2002; Frey 2006;

Ledgeway 2007; Holmberg 2011). This EPP feature serves the dual role of forcing

SpecFin to be filled by some XP, and preventing movement beyond SpecFin, thus

creating a "bottleneck" of sorts, so that one and only one constituent precedes the verb.

This "bottleneck" also predicts what types of V>2 clause may be possible in a V2

language. Because of the EPP feature, which blocks movement past SpecFin, the only

constituents which may occur in the Left Periphery are those which are merged, or base-

generated, there. This means that frame-setters and topics are potentially permitted to the

left of the immediately preverbal constituent in a V>2 clause in a V2 language. Focused

constituents, on the other hand, are not permitted in this position, as SpecFoc may only be

filled via move (Rizzi 1997; Benincà & Poletto 2004; Roberts 2004).

A second possibility is that while the verb is in Fin^0, the preverbal constituent

occupies its corresponding LP specifier position (e.g. a preverbal topic would occupy

SpecTop rather than SpecFin). This is the approach taken by Benincà (1995, 2006) to

account for apparent violations of the Tobler-Mussafia law[110] in Medieval Northern

Italian Dialects. This approach makes specific predictions about the order of preverbal

constituents in V>2 clauses, due to the strictly ordered nature of the Left Periphery:

(3)   [Force] [Frame] [Top] [Foc] [Fin]   (Benincà 2006)

If this approach is correct for Old French as it appears to be for Medieval NID, we should

not find examples of V>2 clauses in which the order of preverbal constituents does not

correspond to that of the cartography of the Left Periphery.

Koster (1978) and Haegeman (1996, 2012) employ a sort of hybrid of these two

approaches to account for V2 in Germanic. Rather than SpecFin[111] remaining empty, as

is the case in Benincà (1995, 2006), all immediately preverbal constituents must move

through SpecFin into the Left Periphery, which is then occupied by their trace. Once a

constituent has moved through SpecFin, it is closed off to all other constituents, thus

blocking further movement into the Left Periphery. This approach combines the previous

two in that there is a bottleneck created as SpecFin, as in Roberts (2004), as a result of the

immediately preverbal constituent moving into the Left Periphery, as in Benincà (1995,

2006).

The question to be addressed here is which of the approaches discussed above is

appropriate for Old French. At this point, we cannot make a definitive conclusion as to

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[110] The Tobler-Mussafia law essentially states that in Medieval Romance, object clitics must be enclitic when the verb is clause initial and that object clitics may be proclitic if preceded by another, non-clitic, constituent. There are, however examples of enclisis in V(>)2 clauses in certain Medieval NIDs. Benincà (1995, 2006) accounts for these with the presence of an empty specifier position between the finite verb and the preverbal, non-clitic constituent.
[111] In order to maintain consistency with the rest of the discussion, I continue to use "SpecFin", etc., here, despite the fact that work done before Rizzi (1997) would have used CP, etc., or something similar.

whether all preverbal constituents occupy a specifier position above SpecFin, or whether the immediately preverbal constituent always remains in SpecFin. In order to determine this, we must further examine our data. The first step will be to compare the interaction between the IS constituents in the immediately preverbal position and the position to its left. This will inform us as to the position of the immediately preverbal position. If the immediately preverbal constituent is occupying its corresponding LP position, we should expect any constituent to its left to be limited to the LP positions above it. That is to say, we should never expect to find Foc-Top-V orders, as TopP is located higher in the structure than FocP. If this combination is possible, this means that the immediately preverbal constituent must remain lower in the structure, in SpecFin. If, on the other hand, the preverbal constituents in V>2 clauses always follow the same sequence as the heads of the Left Periphery, we cannot rule out the possibility that all preverbal constituents occupy the specifier of the projection that corresponds to their Information Structure value.

We begin our examination of the use of the Left Periphery in Old and Middle French in the 13th century, where we find that the interaction of the IS-values of constituents in the immediately preverbal position and the position to its left is statistically significant (*Fisher's Exact Test[112], p=0.02944*). This suggests that the combination of IS constituents to the left of the verb is not random.

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[112] A Fisher's Exact Test was run, rather than a Chi-square because of the lack of tokens in the contrastive topic and IS-valueless columns.

Table 6.6: *Interaction of XXV and XV in the 13th century*

		XXV							
		AbT	**FamT**	**ConT**	**NIF**	**CF**	**FS**	**NA**	**Total**
XV	**AbT**	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	14
	FamT	0	0	0	0	1	14	0	15
	ConT	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	NIF	3	0	0	1	0	8	0	12
	CF	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	FS	6	1	0	0	0	7	0	14
	NA	4	1	0	0	2	44	0	51
	Total	13	2	0	1	3	91	0	110

As has already been presented in Table (6), nearly 83% of the V>2 clauses in 13th century French have a frame-setter to the left of the immediately preverbal constituent (e.g. FS X V). Of these, the most common constituents in the immediately preverbal position are IS-valueless constituents. In the 13th century, these are predominately sentences similar to that seen in (4 a) below, wherein the sentence particle *si* is preceded by some sort of frame-setting clause. Following this, the next most common combinations of the two positions are frame-setters followed by aboutness topics and frame-setters followed by familiar topics, as seen in (4 b). We even find examples of frame-setters followed by new information focus, as presented in (4 c).

(4)   a.   [Quant il orent une piece esté $_{FS}$], [si $_{NA}$] *dist* **li rois** a un de ses chevaliers
        When they had some time been, SI said the king to one of his knights.
        "When they had been (there) some time, the king said to one of his knights…"
        (*Merlin en prose* l. 38.25-27)

b.   Et [lors FS] [je AbT] sai tout vraiement qu'il istront hors pour ce que il

and so I know all truly that they will.go outside for this that they

cuideront que ce soit voirs et nous cuideront ainssi sosprendre

 will.believe that this was truth and us will.believe.3.pl thus to surprise

"So I absolutely know that they will go outside because they will believe

that this is true and will think they can take us by surprise in this way."

(*Cassidorus*, circa 1267, §36)

c.   [Dont FS] [cele hautesce NIF] ne *puet* **clarez** asommer ne ataindre

Thus this highness NEG can claret achieve NEG attain

Thus claret can neither achieve nor attain this highness

(*Cassidorus*, circa 1267, §34)

Not all of these combinations are informative as to where the verb and the immediately

preverbal constituent are located in the structure. As FrameP is the highest of the IS

related projections in the Left Periphery, any V>2 clause with an initial frame-setter

could be accounted for by any of the three possible proposals discussed above. If all V>2

clauses followed this structure, then it might be appropriate to dismiss the approach in

which the immediately preverbal constituent remains low, in SpecFin, as there would be

nothing motivating it to remain in this position. However, there are a few sentences in

the 13th century data that are informative, based on the structure in (3). These are the

examples of aboutness topics preceding frame-setters, as in (5 a), and examples of

contrastive focus preceding familiar topics, as in (5 b) below:

(5)   a.   Et [***Merlin*s** AbT], [<u>si tost coment il fut hors</u> FS], *prist* la semblance

And *Merlin*, as soon as he was outside, took the appearance

dou garcon qui ot aportees les letres

of the boy who had brought the letters

"And *Merlin*, as soon as he was outside, took on the appearance of the boy

who brought the letters"

(*Merlin en prose* §37.56-58)

b.   Quar [<u>puis que elle avroient couvoité un homme</u> FS], [<u>pour riens</u> CF]

Because since they had coveted a man, for something

[**eles** FamT] n'*acointeroient* un autre mais que il en eüst cure

they NEG meet another unless he part. had care

"But once they covet a man, they would not frequent another one unless

he desired it."

(*Cassidorus*, §34)

Given that FrameP is situated to the left of TopP, there is no way for each of the

preverbal constituents in (5 a) to be located in the specifiers of their respective XPs and

still maintain the surface order of the sentence. Rather, this is evidence that the verb must

remain low in the Left Periphery, in Fin^0, and the immediately preverbal constituent must

remain in SpecFin. Again, the frame-setter here cannot leave the verb in Fin^0 and then

raise to a specifier higher in the Left Periphery as there is an aboutness topic to its left.

The situation is even messier, and therefore conversely clearer, in (5 b). If we

start at the left edge of the sentence to begin mapping it on to the structure of the Left

Periphery, the order of the first two constituents is predictable, as FrameP is located

above FocP[113]. However, we encounter a problem with the immediately preverbal

[113]Questions such as whether familiar topics, contrastive topics and aboutness topics all target the same LP
projection are beyond the scope of this work.

constituent as it is a familiar topic. According to the cartography of the Left Periphery

proposed by Benincà (2006), TopP is situated between FrameP and FocP, not below

FocP as it would have to be for (5 b) to continue to correctly map onto the LP. As a

result, the presence of the familiar topic to the right of the contrastive focus in example

(5b) further supports the claims of Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011), amongst others,

that in (Germanic-like) V2 languages, the immediately preverbal constituent and the verb

remain in FinP, while any constituents to the left must be located higher in the structure,

solidly in the Left Periphery. These results, therefore, reflect what is predicted by

Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011) for V>2 clauses in a V2 language, adding weight to

the V2 analysis of Old French.

The example in (5 b) is potentially problematic for a V2 analysis of Old French,

given the proposals of Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011). This is because it is

generally assumed that SpecFoc may only be filled via Move, and only constituents that

are initially merged into the Left Periphery are permitted in V>2 clauses in V2 languages.

However, there is also evidence in the literature that suggests that focused constituents

may be permitted in this position in Modern German (Frey 2005; Haegeman 2012). The

following example comes from Haegemann (2012):

(6)   A: {Wen hat Maria dem Präsidenten vogestellt?}
                who has Maria to.the president introduced?
                "Who did Maria introduce to the president?"
        B: [Den Karl$_i$] den$_i$ *hat* **Maria** dem Präsidenten vogestellt.
                The Karl DEN has Maria to.the president introduced.
                "Maria introduced Karl to the president."

Let us assume that Maria has gone to a gala dinner hosted by the president, and speakers A and B are discussing her evening. In our first situation, speakers A and B have already established that Maria was there with two friends, Hans and Karl. Speaker A wants to know which of the two men she introduced to the president, to which speaker B responds that she chose Karl. In this case *den Karl* would be a topic, as he is already established in the discourse and the rest of the sentence is providing more information about him. If, on the other hand, speaker A does not know who was with Maria at the gala dinner, but knows that Maria introduced someone to the president, then *den Karl* is acting as a focus. This structure, with the resumptive pronoun *den*, is possible in either situation, regardless of the IS-value of the initial constituent[114].

Rather than being direct evidence against Roberts (2004), and the idea that Foc X V clauses are illicit due the way in which SpecFoc is filled, this may be evidence against the idea that SpecFoc may only be filled via Move. Here we begin to run into the problem of the mismatch between syntactic notions of focus and topic and their pragmatic counterparts. It should also be noted that the fact that these focused constituents must be doubled with a pronoun like *den* may be evidence that the full DP is base-generated in the Left Periphery, rather than being moved there. Unfortunately, a full discussion of the mechanics of this distinction is beyond the scope of these dissertation.

All the same, there are only four examples in the 13th century of Foc X V clauses, all of which may be found in Appendix B. As the V2 grammar is being lost from French, it is possible that the presence of these sentences, rather than being indicative of the lack of V2 in the 13th century, may be early signs of this ultimate loss.

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[114] My thanks to Silja Weber for providing me with her native speaker intuitions about the appropriate IS interpretations of this pair of sentences.

Turning now to the 14th century, we find that once again there is a significant interaction between the IS-values of the two preverbal positions closest to the verb ($X^2=106.56$, d.f.$=36$, $p<0.001$)

Table 6.7: *Interaction of XXV and XV in the 14th century*

		XXV							
		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
XV	AbT	0	0	0	1	0	51	0	52
	FamT	0	0	0	4	2	47	3	56
	ConT	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	4
	NIF	4	1	0	0	0	6	0	11
	CF	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	FS	7	2	2	1	0	3	0	15
	NA	2	0	0	2	1	27	1	33
	Total	14	3	2	8	3	138	4	172

As in the 13th century, frame-setters continue to make up the vast majority of constituents in the XXV position. Unlike the 13th century, however, FS NA V clauses (e.g. frame-setter SI V clauses) only make up 16% of V>2 clauses, as compared to 40% in the 13th century ($z=4.5863$, $p<0.001$). The vast majority of these V>2 clauses are frame-setter topic V. This is, no doubt, a reflection of the increase in preverbal subjects and concurrent increase in preverbal topics, as seen in Chapters 4 and 5 ($z=3.2915$, $p=0.001$ for aboutness topics; z=2.9042, p=0.00374 for familiar topics). This flip in preference for FS Top V and FS NA V constitute the only statistically significant changes between these two centuries.

In the 14th century we also find an increase in the frequency of Foc X V sentences, from four total examples to eleven. However, this increase is not significant (*z=1.007, p=0.3125*).

These results indicate that the V>2 clauses in 14th century French continue to reflect the predictions for V2 languages made by Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011). These results also generally follow the same patterns as the 13th century, in that they mostly occur before Familiar topics and constituents without an IS-value, although there is one example of NIF FS V (14 a) and of NIF AbT V (14 b) each. The importance of this fact is made clear in the 15th century.

(7) a. et [lui mesmes et Assaracus _{NIF}] [avec toute la multitude des hommes
          And himself and Assaracus with all the multitude of men
          et femmes qui a eulx se aherdoient _{FS}] pourprirent les forestz et
          and women who to them REFL adhered took the forests and
          les montaignes.
          the mountains
          "And he and Assaracus, with the multitude of men and women who stayed
          with them took the forests and the mountains."
          (*Perceforest*, p 7 ll. 3-5)

     b. [de tant qu'ilz ont plus esté pour vous et qu'ilz vous ont plus eslevé _{NIF}]
          The more they had much been for you and they you had much raised
          [de tant _{NIF}] [vous _{AbT}] devez vous plus doubter
          the more you should you much to.doubt
          "The more that they were there for you and they help you, the more that
          you should doubt yourself."
          (*Perceforest*, p 195, ll. 8-9)

Again, these examples demonstrate that the immediately preverbal constituent must remain in SpecFin rather than in its appropriate LP specifier, as the order of the preverbal constituents does not correspond to that of the cartography of the Left Periphery. The significance of these Foc X V clauses, which are only marginal thus far, will become clear from the results of the 15th century.

In the 15th century, we continue to find a significant interaction in the IS-values in the preverbal constituents of V>2 clauses ($X^2=68.13$, df = 24, p<0.001).

Table 6.8: *Interaction of XXV and XV in the 15th century*

		XXV							
		AbT	FamT	ConT	NIF	CF	FS	NA	Total
XV	AbT	0	0	0	10	0	46	3	59
	FamT	1	0	0	8	0	40	2	51
	ConT	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
	NIF	6	0	0	10	0	20	0	36
	CF	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
	FS	3	0	0	3	0	7	0	13
	NA	3	0	1	9	0	15	0	28
	Total	13	0	1	41	0	130	7	192

As in the previous two centuries, frame-setters make up the majority of XXV constituents, but their frequency is down to 67.7%, a significant decrease from the 14th century ($z=2.7072$, p=0.00672). We also find that FS NA X clauses are down to a negligible 7.8%, another significant decrease from the 14th century ($z=2.772$, p=0.00672). We also find a slight, insignificant decrease in the frequency of FS AbT V and FS FamT V clauses from the 14th to the 15th century ($z=1.2265$, p=0.2187; z=1.45,

p=0.14706, respectively); however, they are both statistically more frequent than the next most frequent order: FS NIF V (*z=3.5168, p<0.001; z=2.8109, p=0.00496, respectively*).

What is most interesting in the 15th century, other than these increases in the most frequent V>2 orders, is the significant increase in Foc X V clauses. In the 14th century there were only eleven examples of this order in the data. In the 15th century, this order is up to 41 examples[115], which is a statistically significant increase (*z=4.1962, p<0.001*). More importantly, it is a sign that V>2 clauses in the 15th no longer reflect the predictions made by the proposal for V2 languages of Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011). This may be taken as further evidence for the decline of Verb Second. This idea will be discussed further below.

Completing the results for the period under examination in this study, we find that the interaction between the IS-values of these two positions is significant ($X^2=120.82$, *df = 36, p<0.001*).

Table 6.9: *Interaction of XXV and XV in the 16th century*

		XXV							
		AbT	**FamT**	**ConT**	**NIF**	**CF**	**FS**	**NA**	**Total**
XV	**AbT**	0	0	0	1	0	51	2	54
	FamT	0	0	0	7	2	50	0	59
	ConT	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	4
	NIF	1	1	1	4	1	27	1	36
	CF	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	4
	FS	12	2	1	1	0	19	0	35
	NA	1	0	0	2	1	12	0	16
	Total	14	4	2	16	6	163	3	208

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[115] Note, all examples of FocusXV structures in the data can be found in Appendix B.

The general trends seen in the previous table continue here. First, frame-setters are the most common IS constituents in the XXV position. Second, the most common combinations of constituents are FS AbT V and FS FamT V. Thirdly, there is a decline in the frequency of FS NA V. Finally, there are significantly more examples of Foc X V in the 16th century than in the 13th century *(z=2.1486, p=0.01578)*. As in the 15th century, V>2 clauses in the 16th century do not conform to the predictions for V2 languages in Roberts (2004) or Holmberg (2011).

What we have seen by examining the interaction between the IS-values of constituents in the immediately preverbal position, and constituents in the position to its left is a change from V>2 clauses that resemble those expected in a V2 language, to V>2 clauses that do not. This could be taken as yet another indication of the decline of V2 between the 13th and the 16th century.

The results from the 13th and 14th century both support the account of V2 which proposes that both the verb and its immediately preverbal constituent remain low in the Left Periphery, in Fin^0 and SpecFin, respectively. This is due the presence of V>2 clauses in the data in which the preverbal constituents do not conform to the order laid out in the cartography of the Left Periphery.

Let us return to example (5 a), a Top FS V sentence from the 13th century:

(5)   a.   Et [***Merlin*s** _{AbT}], [si tost coment il fut hors _{FS}], *prist* la semblance

And *Merlin*, as soon as he was outside, took the appearance

dou garcon qui ot aportees les letres

of the boy who had brought the letters

"And *Merlin*, as soon as he was outside, took on the appearance of the boy

who brought the letters"

(*Merlin en prose*, p 144)

As we are dealing with a V2 grammar, which we established in Chapter 4, we know the

verb must be located at least as high as Fin^0. This means that our two preverbal

constituents, a topic and a frame-setter respectively, must occupy positions above Fin0.

Given that it is not immediately preverbal, and thus cannot be located in SpecFin, the

aboutness topic *Merlin*s, must occupy SpecTop. In the cartography of the Left Periphery

proposed by Benincà (2006), FrameP is located to the left of TopP, and as a result our

immediately preverbal frame-setter, *si tost coment il fust hors*, cannot occupy SpecFrame.

This means that it must be located in SpecFin, the only position below TopP and the

finite verb which may host a frame-setter. This can be seen in (8) below:

(8)   [_{ForceP}[_{FrameP}[_{TopicP} *Merlin* [_{FocusP}[_{FinP} si tost comment il fust hors [prist V]]]]]]

This same analysis holds for V>2 sentences in which the preverbal constituents

conform to the proposed cartography of the Left Periphery. This is seen in (8), a

bracketed representation of example 4 (b), which has FS AbT V order.

(4)   b.   Et [lors FS] [je AbT] sai tout vraiement qu'il istront hors pour ce que il

cuideront que ce soit voirs et nous cuiderons ainssi sousprendre

(*Cassidorus*, circa 1267, §36)

(9)   [ForceP[FrameP lors [TopicP[FocusP[FinP je [sai V]]]]]

It would also be possible for both preverbal constituents to be situated above SpecFin, with the lower of the two having left a trace in SpecFin.

(9')   [ForceP[FrameP lors [TopicP je$_i$ [FocusP[FinP t$_i$ [sai V]]]]]

However, for reasons of economy it makes more sense for the immediately preverbal constituent to always remain in SpecFin.

This further reinforces the appropriateness of the Roberts (2004) and the Holmberg (2011) proposal for V>2 clauses in V2 languages for the 13th and 14th century data. Since these proposals cannot account for the 15th and 16th century data, we can take this as further evidence for the decline of V2 during this period. This will be discussed further in the following section.

6.5   Dating the decline of V2 in 13th through 16th century French

In Chapter 4 the basic syntactic features of V2 were examined, namely the position of the verb in the clause and the position of the subject with respect to the verb (e.g. preverbal, postverbal or null). It was shown that from the 13th to the 14th century there is a significant increase in the frequency of V>2 clauses concurrent with a significant decrease in the frequency of V2 clauses. At the same time, we find a significant increase

in the frequency of preverbal subjects, coupled with the significant decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects. Combined, these facts are indicative of the decline in Verb Second word order. Furthermore, of these changes, the only one that continues at a significant rate beyond the 14th century is the decrease in postverbal subjects, which is significant throughout the period under investigation. Even so, if we look more closely at postverbal subjects, we find that the significant change in their preferred position—in the IP or VP—occurs between the 13th and the 14th centuries as well. Based on these results, it appears as though the majority of the change, the body of the proverbial S-shaped curve, occurs between the 13th and the 14th century. After the 14th century, the change continues incrementally, and not at a significant rate from century to century.

If we consider the results of the current Chapter, the dating of this decline as beginning between the 13th and 14th centuries is called into question. In particular, it appears that, with respect to V>2 clauses, and therefore the use of the Left Periphery, French continues to behave like a V2 language into the 14th century. While the increase in the frequency of V>2 clauses as a whole does not increase significantly from the 14th to the 15th century, the internal makeup of these clauses does change significantly. Specifically, we find that the types of V>2 clauses we find in the 14th century resemble those of the 13th century (e.g. FrameXV and TopXV), and of V2 languages as a whole, according to Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011). So while there are significantly more of them, they are all still of the same type. In the 15th century, on the other hand, we find that V>2 clause no longer conform to the predictions made about V>2 clauses in V2 languages. Rather, we find a significant increase in the frequency of Focus X V clauses, which are, according to some, illicit in V2 languages. This suggests that the core features

of V2 continue to play a role in the grammar well into the 14th century, a fact that is not necessarily clear from the syntactic data alone.

6.5.1   The Ordered Buildup

Looking at these changes from century to century, we find that there is an ordered buildup occurring. To begin with, in the 13th century, we have a V2 grammar that permits some V>2 clauses. These clauses are primarily frame-setter initial, though there are a few examples of Topic X V clauses in the data. What is more, of the 91 initial frame-setters in V>2 clauses, 82 are subordinate clause, meaning that in the 13th century, 74.5% of V>2 sentences are the result of initial subordinate clauses. This type of V>2 clause does not necessarily count against a V2 analysis of 13th century French, as they are possible in Modern Germanic languages (see §2.1.2.1, §2.3.1, §6.4 for further discussion). In fact, the presence of this type of V>2 clause is predicted by the Roberts (2004) proposal that V2 is the result of EPP simultaneously forcing the filling of SpecFin and preventing movement past it. These V>2 clauses are also permitted by Holmberg (2011), which proposes that only constituents that have been moved into a preverbal position "count" when satisfying V2. As these initial subordinate clauses must be base-generated in SpecFrame, they do not provide a problem for either analysis.

In the 14th century, we find a significant increase in the frequency of V>2 clauses and preverbal subjects. First, the V>2 clauses still resemble those predicted by Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011), in that they consist of Topic X V and Frame X V construction. This is evidence that both V to C movement and the mechanism that blocks movement beyond SpecFin, call it EPP, the two key featues of V2, are still present in the

14th century grammar, despite the fact that from a purely descriptive level, the language no longer looks like a V2 language. In other words, 14th century French is still a V2 language at its core.

We also find a greater proportion of these clauses are of the form Frame Topic X than in the 13th century. Presumably, this is a reflection of the increase in preverbal subjects occurring at this time, as there is a strong tendency for topics to be subjects, and vice versa. This falls out naturally from both the presence of EPP on FinP and the fact that French was underlyingly SVO at this time. Since the frame-setter is located in SpecFrame, SpecFin remains open; this is increasingly achieved by the realization of the subject in this position.

In the 14th century, a smaller proportion of Frame X V sentences are subordinate clause initial. Both PP frame-setters and adverbial frame-setters increase in frequency in this position, resulting in a significant decrease in initial subordinate clause frame-setters ($z=3.0058$, $p=0.00262$). Whereas these structures made up three quarters of V>2 sentences in the 13th century, they account for just more than half of V>2 sentences in the 14th century (96 of 172, 55.8%). Interestingly, there are no significant changes to the other types of V>2 clause (e.g. Topic X V or Focus X V).

In the 15th century, any remaining vestiges of a V2 grammar are extremely weak. In V>2 clauses, we find a continuing increase in the frequency of PP and adverbial frame-setters to the left of the immediately preverbal constituent. At the same time, there is a significant increase in the frequency of Focus X V clauses, from 8 examples in the 14th century to 41 in the 15th. Focus X V sentences account for 21.5% of V>2 clauses in this century. With this many Focus X V clauses, we cannot claim that V>2 clauses in

this century continue to conform to the predictions made by Roberts (2004) and Holmberg (2011) for V2 languages. We can safely say, therefore, that the EPP feature on FinP, which served to obligatorily fill SpecFin and prevent movement into the Left Periphery, is no longer active in the 15th century.

There is also evidence that the second pillar of Verb Second, Germanic Inversion, is also lost during the 15th century. None of the examples of postverbal non-pronominal subjects reflect clear Germanic Inversion. There are still examples of postverbal subject pronouns, which are also of the Germanic Inversion type; however, there are only 20 examples in the data, making up 3.3% of the sentences in the 15th century, and of these, 15 have an adverbial of the type *encore, or, si, aussi, avant* and *adonc*, which have been shown to behave differently from other adverbs in general (van Reenen & Schøsler 2000), and in some cases, continue to trigger inversion in today's literary French as fixed remnants of the V2 grammar. The fact that clear examples of Germanic inversion with full DP subjects cannot be found in the data indicates that V to C movement is no longer fully productive.

Finally, in the 16th century, we find evidence of solidification of all the changes seen in the data. The only potential exception to this solidification trend is Focus X V clauses, which actually undergo a significant decline from the 15th century. However, there are still significantly more Focus X V clauses in the 16th century than in the 13th century, when the EPP feature that prevented these structures was still robust ($z=2.5578$, $p=0.01046$). Postverbal subject pronouns are also down to a total of 7 examples in the data from this century. As in the 15th century, we cannot say that V to C movement has entirely disappeared, and therefore that V2 has entirely been lost, because of the

continued presence of these XVSp sentences. The seven XVSp sentences fall into three

groups: those that occur with adverbs such as *encore, si, puis,* and *tant*, those that occur

with the verb *dire* and one that occurs with an initial subordinate clause. Examples of

these three types are presented in (10) below:

(10) a. <u>encore</u> *valloit* **il** mieux faire ainsy que de donner à congnoistre
          again merited it better to do thus than to give to know
          que l'on trouvast le propos plaisant
          that one found the remarks pleasing
          "It was even better to do it in this way than to make it known that the
          remarks were pleasing."
          (*L'Heptaméron*, LIIe nouvelle)

      b. et <u>cela</u> *dis* **je** pour Guenelic et le vertueux Quezinstra…
          And this said I for Guenelic and the vertuous Quenzinstra
          "And I said this for Guenelic and the virtuous Quenzinstra…"
          (*Angoisses*, ca. 1538 p 230)

      c. <u>aussi</u>, <u>depuis que un homme est eshonté à grand peyne</u>, <u>jamais</u>
          Thus, after a man is stripped of his shame wrongfully, never
          se *peut* **il** amender parce que la honte retire autant de gens
          REFL can it to change because shame retakes as many people
          de peche que la conscience
          from sin as conscience
          "Thus, after a man has been wrongfully stripped of his shame, he can
          never make atonement, because shame rescues as many people from sin as
          conscience does"
          (*L'Heptaméron*, XLIe nouvelle)

All the same, it is evident that the change is nearly complete. This aligns with previous work which suggests that V to C is completely lost by the end of the 16th century, as the latest text in the data here is from 1538 (Roberts 1993).

We can, in a way, see each of these centuries as representing a stage in the decline of verb second. In the first stage, we have robust evidence for V to C movement and EPP on FinP, coupled with relatively low rates of V>2 clauses and preverbal subjects. In the second stage, we have a significant increase in the frequency of V>2 clauses and preverbal subjects, along with a significant decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects; however, there is still evidence for V to C movement and EPP on FinP. In stage three, there is no significant change in the frequency of either preverbal subjects or V>2 clauses, though there is a significant decline in postverbal subjects; unlike stage two, there is little evidence for V to C movement, and no evidence of EPP on FinP. Finally in stage four, we see even further decline in the evidence for V to C movement.

Having established the trajectory for the decline of V2 as seen in our data, the question that remains is: what caused the decline in the first place? In order to address that, we have to look at language acquisition and theories of language change.

6.5.2 Language Acquisition and Language Change

The present analysis essentially argues that the loss of V2 (e.g. the loss of V to C movement, and the loss of the EPP feature blocking movement past SpecFin) is driven by changes in IS preferences. Recall from Chapter 1 that there is evidence for similar situations in the history of English and Old High German, where IS played a role in syntactic change. For example, Speyer (2008) links the decline of "Topicalization" in

English, whereby focused constituents are realized at the left edge of the clause, to Stress Clash Avoidance. Topicalized constructions such as (11) are dispreferred, as both the initial focused constituent and the immediately adjacent subject receive prosodic prominence.

(11)   BEANS, JOHN likes, but PEAS, MARY likes.

This type of structure is still possible in English, but it is marked, due to the violation of the Clash Avoidance Requirement. Rather than move the focused constituent to the initial position, as in (2) above, focusing is more likely to occur in situ, using prosody to mark the focused constituent.

Based on the findings presented thus far, and on the precedent in the literature, it seems reasonable to conclude that changes in Information Structure triggered changes which resulted ultimately in the loss of Verb Second. Returning to the changes in the 13th and 14th century, namely the rise in V>2 clause, the rise in preverbal subjects and the decline in postverbal subjects, I propose that what we are seeing is fallout from a change in the preferred position of frame-setters during this period, rather than evidence for the decline of V2. Recall from §2.3.1 and §6.4 that while movement is blocked beyond SpecFin, constituents may still be externally merged, or base-generated, in the Left Periphery. Holmberg (2011) goes so far as to say that these elements "do not count for V2" (6). Since FrameP must be filled via initial Merge, rather than Move, V>2 clauses that are frame-setter initial do not violate the aspect of V2 grammar which limits the number of preverbal consitituents. Given that 14th century French was an SVO language

as well, it logically follows that we would see an increase in preverbal subjects along with these frame-setter initial V>2 clauses, as SpecFin still needs to be filled by an XP. This, in turn, leads to a decrease in the frequency of postverbal subjects—it should be noted, however, that the rate of Germanic and Romance Inversion with full DP subjects remains equal during the 14th century.

It is important to note that cues that are robust enough to trigger acquisition do not necessarily make up a large proportion of the PLD (Westergaard 2006, 2008).   It is therefore possible that the crucial V2 features, EPP on FinP and V to C movement, could have continued to be acquired, in spite of the ambiguous nature of the PLD, and the low frequency of unambiguous examples in the PLD. All the same, changes in the PLD provide the cues for the other changes occurring in the data (e.g increase in V>2, decrease in postverbal subjects, increase in types of initial frame-setters in V>2 clauses, etc.) (Andersen 1973; Lightfoot 1999; Dresher 1999; Roberts 2007). For example, the handful of examples in the 13th century of V>2 clauses with an initial frame-setting adverb or prepositional phrase would have been enough input in the PLD for children to acquire the construction, especially in the context of a high frequency of V>2 clauses with initial frame-setting subordinate clauses. Furthermore, the rise of ambiguous examples in the PLD (e.g. ambiguous postverbal subjects) end up diluting the robustness of unambiguous structures, leading to the decline and loss of the structure.

The changes to the cluster of features which produce V2 that occur in the 14th century resulted in a system that is "unstable diachronically" (Clark & Roberts 1993). While there is evidence for EPP and V to C movement, at that time, there is plenty in the data that can be taken as counterevidence for V2 (e.g. the high rate of XSV clauses).

Clark & Roberts (1993), looking at V3 in Middle French, suggest that learners may create

two different analyses for these structures, one that continues to employ V2-like grammar

(12 a), and one that does not, (12 b).

(12) a. [CP DP [CP DP [C' V [IP …]]]]   (from Clark & Roberts1993)

     b. [CP DP [IP DP V…]]   (from Clark & Roberts1993)

According to ideas of economy, the learner is going to call upon the less complex

analysis whenever possible. Roberts (1993) formulates this as the Least Effort Strategy

(156):

(13) *Least Effort Strategy (LES)*:
     Representations assigned to sentences of the input to acquisition
     should be such that they contain the set of the shortest possible chains
     (consistent with (a) principles of grammar, (b) other aspects of the
     trigger experience).

     The rise in "frame-setter subject verb" clauses in the 14th century leads to

ambiguous PLD, especially considering the variation in the type of frame-setters in this

position (e.g. subordinate clauses, adverbs, prepositional phrases, etc.). The combination

of the variety of syntactic categories occurring in the initial position, along with the

accompanying high rate of preverbal subjects in these clauses significantly reduces the

evidence in the PLD for the setting of V to C movement, or the EPP feature preventing

general V>2 clauses. The natural result is what we find in the 15th century with the

continuing high rate of XSV clauses, but now with Focus in the initial position. Recall

that FocusXV clauses were not permitted earlier, as focus presumably may only occupy

SpecFoc via Move. At the same time, we find no examples of Germanic Inversion with full D subjects, further reinforcing the claim that global V to C movement is no longer occurring. This is not to say that V to C movement is entirely lost at this point, as Germanic Inversion with subject pronouns has not significantly declined; however, it does appear to serve a more restricted function, as the use of postverbal subject pronouns has been reduced to a limited number of contexts.

What we are left with in the 15th century is a system which is primarily generated with the less costly of the two analyses in (12). According to Dekydtspotter & Renaud (2014) "[g]iven economy considerations, the least costly structure compatible with grammatical specifications is computed such that no nodes are assumed at any given point and at any given level unless they are otherwise required" (134). This corresponds directly to the changes from the 14th to the 15th century. In the 14th century, we had both structures in (19), which could be used to parse V>2 clauses. In the 15th century, the data by and large can be produced by the more economical structure (e.g. 13 b). This is not to say that the more "effortful" structure is no longer present—it must be to produce the few remaining XVSp clauses in the data, even in the 16th century—however, its use has been significantly reduced from its former generalized status.

To conclude, the data indicate that while V2 superficially appears to begin its decline between the 13th and the 14th century the Information Structure provides evidence for continued V to C movement and the presence of EPP on FinP well into the 14th century. This means that 14th century French was, at its core, still a V2 language. This runs counter to previous claims about V2 in Old French, which argue (a) that the 13th century was the end of the robust V2 grammar (e.g. Labelle & Hirschbühler 2011), (b)

that V to C was in continual decline (Adams 1987a,b; Vance 1989, 1997; Roberts 1993; Vance et al. 2010) or (c) that it was never a V2 language to begin with (Kaiser 2002; Farreresi & Goldbach 2002; Rinke & Meisel 2009; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2010). Furthermore, both the data and the acquisition argument support the claim that changes in IS preferences drove the decline and ultimate loss of Verb Second from French.

Of course, it must be admitted that this analysis does not yet account for why all V2 SVO languages, such as the Modern Scandinavian languages, are not unstable. It will be crucial, in future work, to identify reasons for the change in IS that would be unique to Old French. For example, these may be related to the rise in Frame-Setters to the left of the immediately preverbal position.

Chapter 7:   Conclusion and For Further Study

7.0   Summary

The goal of this dissertation was to address the question of the Verb Second (V2) status of Old French as well as its decline by examining the interaction of syntax and Information Structure (IS) in the Left Periphery from the 13th century through the 16th century. In examining V2 through the lens of IS, we were able to get a new perspective on the use of the Left Periphery during this period, which in turn allowed us to test specific claims about the syntax of the period, and how it changed over time.

To achieve this goal, a corpus of 2,400 declarative sentences from 8 texts, divided equally between the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th century was coded for several variables related to V2 syntax and Information Stucture, using a methodology created specifically for this dissertation. Examples of the decision trees used to determine the IS-value of the constituents examined, as well as an annotated passage were provided in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 presented the preliminary results of the V2 analysis of the data. The syntactic analysis in this Chapter was primarily descriptive in nature, as the more structurally and theoretically motivated discussion was reserved for Chapter 6, when information about IS could be included. These descriptive results suggested that most of the significant changes related to the decline of V2 (e.g. the rise in preverbal subjects, the rise in V>2 clauses) occurred between the 13th and 14th centuries. It was also found that postverbal subjects decline at a significant rate throughout the period examind.

The goal of Chapter 5 was to map out the Information Structural preferences of the language during the four centuries examined. This was done by first examining each

IS element individually, with respect to its frequency in each of the descriptive positions of interest (e.g. immediately preverbal, postverbal, etc.). From there, it was possible to create a clausal template, based on the most frequent position used by each IS constituent. The purpose of the template was to provide an idea of the "default" position of each IS-value; however, IS constituents were found to be possible in positions other than the position reflected in the template.

Once the basic V2 and IS facts for the 13th through 16th centuries were established, it was possible to examine just how these two aspects of the grammar interacted. The results of this stage of the analysis were presented in Chapter 6. First, it was determined, in combination with the results from Chapter 4, that 13th century was a V2 language. Furthermore, evidence was presented for the continued presence of the two key features of Verb Second, V to C movement and the presence of EPP on FinP, in the 14th century—a full century later than indicated by the descriptive syntactic results in Chapter 4. It was also argued that a significant increase in the frequency of FocusXV clauses in the 15th century is evidence for the loss of EPP on FinP preventing movement past SpecFin, one of the hallmarks of V2 grammar.

It was argued that the decline in Verb Second in the history of French was driven by changes in Information Structure. I propose that the descriptive changes to V2 seen from the 13th to the 14th century are the result of an increase in Frame-Setter initial V>2 clauses, and that these descriptive changes mask the continuing presence of the core of V2. The core of V2, however, significantly declines in the 15th century, and is essentially lost by the end of the 16th century. Ultimately, it has been shown that Information

Structure indeed provides fresh insight into the nature of Verb Second, especially as it pertains to the history of French.

7.1   For future study

During the writing of this dissertation many questions have arisen which have not been able to be addressed here. The first question which ought to be pursued is the relationship between pragmatic topics of the sort discussed in this dissertation and the syntactic topics of the *Hanging Topic Left Dislocation* and *Clitic Left Dislocation* variety. As was discussed in both Chapters 2 and 5, there is a disconnect in the literature between these two types of topic. This is partially the result of confusion in the IS literature as a whole, and partly due to the fact that much of the literature on Topic in Old French employs the syntactic approach. The syntactic approach is inherently linked to the issue of dislocation, which was not addressed here, in part because there were not many examples of clearly dislocated & clitic resumed structures in the data. However, it has been argued that the rise in dislocation is a key component in the loss of V2 in the history of French (Kroch 1989). Thus it will be important to address how syntactic topics fit into the analysis presented here.

Having established the changes occurring in Information Structure and V2 in prose texts, it is now possible to expand this work to include verse. Given the nature of metrical structure (in the poetic rather than prosodic sense), verse may provide insights into the prosodic nature of the language (Pintzuk & Kroch 1989). The link between prosody and Information Structure is well established in the literature (Jackendoff 1972; Selkirk 1995; Fery & Krifka 2008; Samek-Lodovici 2005), and there is evidence that the

specific prosodic information that can be gleaned from verse may be helpful in illuminating the IS of a language (Calhoun 2010). Furthermore, in adding verse texts, it will be possible to examine even earlier stages of the language, which may help to determine what led to the changes in Information Structure that triggered the decline of V2. This can be done using the electronic corpus MCVF (*Modéliser le changement: les voies du français*), which would also enormously expand the number of clauses examined from numbering in the hundreds to numbering in the tens of thousands. It should be noted, however, that this corpus is not coded for IS; this coding would still have to be done by hand, so to speak.

In terms of projects that can be started directly after the completion of this dissertation, there are two things I would like to do with the data used here. First, I plan on further exploring the difference between narration and dialogue in the representation of Information Structure and Verb Second, as discussed both by Donaldson (2013) and here in Chapter 4. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, all of the data here was coded for narration or dialogue, meaning that it would be possible to reanalyze it with this distinction in mind. Additionally, I would like to further test the methodology created for this dissertation by looking at inter-rater reliability when annotating a corpus for Information Structure. This could reasonably be included in the study on the differences between narration and dialogue. Building upon the methodology and the decision trees in this way would further increase their usefulness in IS and text-based research.

Ultimately, I hope that this dissertation and my future work contribute to the recognition of text languages as good sources of linguistic data, despite their inherent

limitations.   This dissertation will provide a solid foundation for work on prosody, cue-

based acquisition and further issues related to the IS-syntax interface.

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Appendix A

Information Structure Coding Key

Variable	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dialogue	narration	dialogue	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub_POS	-	Subject Pronoun	Non-pronominal	Heavy subject	Dem. pronoun	Null Subject	-	-
Sub_IS	-	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
SV	-	SV	VS	NS	-	-	-	-
Init	-	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
Final	-	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
V-4	empty	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
V-3	empty	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
V-2	empty	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
V-1	empty	AbTop	FamTop	ConTop	NIF	CF	FS	NA
Thetic	No	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-
XTop	None	One	-	-	-	-	-	-
XTop_POS	none	Noun Phrase	Object Pronoun	Null Subject	Dem. pronoun	-	-	-
XTop_G	-	given	accessible	new	-	-	-	-
XTop_V	-	V-1	V-2	V-3	V-4	Vf	post-V	-
NIF/ CF	none	1	2	3	-	-	-	-
NIF/ CF_POS	-	Noun Phrase	Adverb	Adj	Prep. Phrase	Sub. Clause	Verb Phrase	-
NIF/ CF_G	-	given	accessible	new	-	-	-	-
NIF/ CF_V	-	V-1	V-2	V-3	V-4	Vf	post-V	-
FS	none	1	2	3	-	-	-	-
FS_POS	-	Noun Phrase	Adverb	Adj	Prep. Phrase	Sub. Clause	Verb Phrase	-
FS_V	-	V-1	V-2	V-3	V-4	Vf	post-V	-

X_POS: the part of speech of the element in questions (i.e. **Sub_POS** = the part of speech of the subject)

Sub_IS, V-X, Initial, Final: IS-value (Topics (3 kinds) Focus (2 kinds) Frame Setting or no-IS-value)

X_G: information is given, new or accessible.

X_V: position of the element with respect to the verb

NA: Constituent without an IS-value

Vf: Include the finite verb, object clitics and null subjects

Appendix B: Focus X V examples

Merlin (circa 1205)

P 19[116]

Ce nos a morz que nos cuidames que mielz nos vausist. Membre vos que li prophet pallerent et disorient que il filz Dieu vendroit en terre por sauver le pechié d'Eve et d'Adan et des autres pecheors cels qui li plairoit. [Et nos aliens _{CFOCUS}], si les [prenoiens _{FTOPIC}] et les tormetiens plus que [les autres _{CFOCUS}] et nos fasoient semblant que nostre torment ne lor grevoit de noiant, ains confortoient les autres pecheors par ce qu'il doisent que cil nestroit en terre qui les venroit delivrer. Tant le dirent que or est avenu.

P 21

Lors parolent entr'eus et dient : « [Cil qui nos ont plus nuit _{CFOCUS}], si sont [cil qui dirent noveles de sa venue _{CFOCUS}] ce sont cil par qui li graindres dmaiges nos est venuz. Quar Quant il plus le diseient, et nos plus les tormentoiens : si nos est avis que se hasta de venir por els aidier et secorre por le torment que nos lor feismes.

Cassidorus (circa 1267):

P 34

Et toutes ces choses di je que, qui se vault meller et vault de tel geu, si aimme dame sage et vaillant, quar touz li deduis y est pour quoi ells sevent ester, et se tiennent touz jourz en un estat, quar, [puis que elle avroient couvoitié un home _{FRAME}] [pour riens _{CFOCUS}] [eles _{FTOPIC}] n'acointeroient [un autre _{NIFOCUS}], [mais que il en eüst cure _{CFOCUS}]. Et pour ceste raison y a il joie et soulaz a plenté.

P 36
Tout tel sont cil qui a toi se tendroient, quar mieus vault clarez que vins, encore soit il coulez quar seur vin est clarez prevos et sires. Et bien est apparans : [Tant comme li vins prent es espices seignourie et amonte par les bonnes herbes _{NIFOCUS}] [tout aussi _{NIFOCUS}] monte [pucelle _{NIFOCUS}] [quant ele vient a si haut hordre et a tel comme est mariages _{FRAME}].

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[116] The coding of *nos aliens* was somewhat problematic, as it could be filling the role of either contrastive topic, as to a certain extent it is what the sentence is about, or a contrastive focus. Ultimately, it was coded as a contrastive focus as it appears to be in direct contrast to *les autres*, which must be a focus, and contrastive constituents may only contrast with like IS elements. That is to say, a contrastive topic must contrast with another topic and a contrastive focus must contrast with another focus.

Mélusine (14th Century)

p 12

Sachiez que je vous en paieray bien la merite selon la desserte. [Tu, Melusigne, qui est l'aisnee et celle qui deusses estre la plus congnoissans _{NIFOCUS}], c'est par toy, car le scay bien, [que ceste dure charte et prison a esté donnee a ton père, et pour ce en sera tu la premiere punie _{NIFOCUS}]. La vertu du germe de ton père toy et les autres eust attrait a sa nature humaine, et eussiés esté briefment hors des meurs, nimphes et faees, sans y retourner.

p 486

Il est verité qu'il a pleu a Dieu que Fortune m'a a ce meu que par vostre haulter prouesce je sui desconfiz et suiz vostre prisonnier. Et [vrayement _{NIFOCUS}] [je _{FTOPIC}] ne m'en prise ja [moins _{NIFOCUS}], [quelque dommage _{NIFOCUS}] que j'en doye avoir, car il a en vous tant de bien, de honneur, de vaillance et de prouesse que de vous veoir ne puet on fors amender.

p 494

Les barons lui réservèrent un accueil déférent et lui exposerent l'affaire. apres les pondy moult gracieusement : « Beaulx seigneurs, [premierement _{CFOCUS}] [je _{FTOPIC}] rens graces[a Dieu _{NIFOCUS}], et [a vous _{NIFOCUS}] apres [de l'onneur _{NIFOCUS}] dont il m'a presentement pourveue, car si povre orpheline comme je sui n'est pas digne d'estre assignee en si hault lieu que d'avoir la fleur de chevalerie et de noblesce de toute crestienté. Et [d'autre part _{CFOCUS}], [je _{FTOPIC}] [sens _{NIFOCUS}] et [congnois _{NIFOCUS}] que vous qui estes mes hommes qui veez plus cler en mes besoignes que je ne fais, ne me conseilleriez chose qui ne feust mon prouffit et mon honneur. Si ne vous doy ne ne vueil desdire…»

Perceforest (14th Century)

p 6

Pour laquelle chose, congneue l'ancienne extraction de son lignaige, Brutus demoura aveques eulx. Et commença en tant vaoir de chevalerie et de prosse que dessus toute la jouvente du païs il estoit amé des roys et des princes. Car il estoit saige entre les batailleurs batailleur, [et quelzconques choses de or ou d'argent out de aournemens il acqueroit, _{NIFOCUS}] [il _{FTOPIC}] le departoit [tout _{NIFOCUS}] [aux chevaliers _{NIFOCUS}], parquoy sa renommee estoit depulie par toutes les provinces et nacions.

p 7

Lors fut Brutus eslevé a roy et puis il ppella de toutes pars les Troiens et les mist a garder les forteresses Assarchy. [Et lui mesmes et Assarcus _{NIFOCUS}],[avec toute la multitude des hommes et femmes qui a eulx se aherdoient _{NIFOCUS}], pourprirent [les forestz et les montaignes _{NIFOCUS}]. En apres, il transmist au roy des Gregoiz unes lettres en telle manière…

p 8

Laquelle chose, comme Antigonus, le frere Pandrasi eust veu, il se doulu oultre manière. Et lors rappella en ung mont ses compaignons espars et [de force hastive _{NIFORCE}] [il _{FTOPIC}] s'en retourna [contre les Troyens foursenans _{NIFOCUS}], car il amoit mieulx a morir en contre estant que faisant niche fuyte estre noye es terreuses eaues.

p 10

« Noble jouvenceau, [la fin de ta vie et de l'Antigoni _{NIFOCUS}] est [presente _{NIFOCUS}] [se en ce que je te commanderay a faire tu ne obeiz a ma voulenté _{FRAME}]. J'ay grant afection de en ceste nuyt ensuyvant aller aux tentes des Gregoiz pour ce que je les occie par mort non appensee. »

p 194

« Haa ! sire chevalier, dist le preudomme, [de tant qu'ilz ont plus esté pour vous et qu'ilz vos ont plus eslevé _{FRAME}], [de tant _{NIFOCUS}] [vous _{AbTOPIC}] devez vous [plus doubter _{NIFOCUS}], car ceulx estquelz vous creés ne peuent faire fors que mal. Et combien qu'il semble aux gens qu'ilz ayent pareulx aucuns biens, c'est folement creu… »

p 330

Car il avoit ja bien tant oÿ des besongnes que le lignaige de Darnant n'avoit pouoir a guerroier contre luy, car on luy avoit bien dit que le roy nouveau d'Escoce estoit son frere germain et que le roy d'Ynde avoit lors sa soeur. [Et ce qu'il cremoit encore le plus _{NIFOCUS}], c'estoit [le roy Alexandre _{AbTOPIC}], car on luy avoit bien dit qu'il estoit entré en la gueste dedens la forest luy Xe de chevaliers des plus preux du monde et avoient ja occis des meilleurs de son lignaige. Sy eut grand paour de ses enfans, car bien sçavoit que au roy Alexandre n'avoient pouoir et que obeir devoient a luy comme a leur souverain.

p 332

Car on ne scet masle de bestes ne d'oyseaulx qui ne honnoure sa fummelle ne ja force ne luy fera de chose qu'il desire a avoir d'elle, mais tant plus sera en amours, tant sera il plus homble envers elle et plus doulcement et le requerra ne ja force ne luy fera. Et [nous CFOCUS], qui devons avoir raison et qui sommes les plus nobles creatures que le Souverain Dieu ait faictes, nous nous avons [maitenu NIFOCUS] plus vilainement [que les plus viles creatures qu'il feist oncques, qui par copulacion naturelle viennent sur terre CFOCUS].

Les *Quinze Joyes de Mariage*

p 14

La seconde joye si est quant la dame se sent richement abillee, comme dit est et sciet bien que elle est belle et si elle ne l'est, si le pense elle et le croit ainxi et va a pleuseurs festes, assemblees et pelerinages. Et [aucunes fois NIFOCUS] il ne plest pas [au mary NIFOCUS] et pour ce emprent avecques sa cousine sa cousine sa commere et son cousin qui a l'aventure ne lui est rien mais elle a acoustume ainxin dire et pour cause, et sa mere mesmes qui soit aucuneffois des besoignes, a dit au pouvre home qu'il est cousin, pour lui esclarcir le cuer s'il l'avoit chargié qu'il la vendroit querre. Et [aucuneffois NIFOCUS] le mary, qui ne vieult pas que elle y aille, dira qu'il n'y a nulz chevaulx ou autre cause.

P 16

Dont advient par la longue continuacion, ou que la dame ou son amy ne se sont pas bien gouvernez, ou aucun parent ou especial amy du mary lui en ont dit aucune chouse, il trouve la verité ou s'en doubte. Pour ce chiet en la rage de la jeleusie, en laquelle ne se doit bouter nulz sages homes, car s'il sceit une foiz le mal de sa femme, [james NIFOCUS] par [nul medicine NIFOCUS] ne guerira. Et lors il la batra et empirera sa besoingne, car el ne s'en chastiera james, et en la batant il ne fera que alumer le feu de folle amour d'elle et de son amy, et lui eust il coupé les membres.

P 29

Et a ungs esperons du temps passé du roy Clotaire, de la veille faczon, dont l'un n'a point de moletem et a une robe de parement qu'i a bien cincq ou six ans qu'il a, mais il ne l'a pas acoustumé porter sinon aux festes ou quant l'en va dehors, et est de la veille fawon, pour ce que depuis que elle fut faicte il est venu une nouvelle faczon de robes. Et [quelques jeu ou instrumens qu'il voie NIFOCUS], il luy souvient toujours de son mesnage et ne peut avoir plaisir en chose qu'il voye. Il vit moult pouvrement sur les chemins, et les chevaulx de mesmes, s'il en y a.

P 29-30

Et s'il avaient que le bon home arive de bonne heure, moult las et travaille, et a le cuer pensif, chargié et engoisseux de ses besongnes et cuide estre bien arivé, combien qu'il a esté mainteffois receu come il sera, la dame tence et tempeste par la maison et sachiez : [quelque chose que le bon home commande NIFOCUS], les serviteurs n'en feront riens car ilz sont touz a la poste de la dame et les a touz endoctrinez

P 67

Le temps nouvel s'approuche et les vertuz s'esmouvent par l'emfluence des elemens et des planetes. Si convient aller aux champs jouer. Lors emprenent a aller en quelque pelerinage et [quelque besongne que les mariz aient a faire NIFOCUS], il ne leur en chault. Lors la dame dont nous parlons dit…
P 67

Voirement, ma commere, je ne scey comment je puisse avoir congié de mon mary. – Comment vous pourrez avoir congié ? dit l'autre. [De cela NIFOCUS], ma commer, je ne me soucy point. –Par Dieu, ma commere, dit l'autre, mous irons toutes et ferons bonne chiere et y vendra ma commere telle et mon cousin tel.

P 69-70

Or arivent au Puy en Auvergne a quelque paine et font leurs pelerinages et Dieu sceit si le bon home est bien debouté et foulé en la presse pour passer sa femme ! … Or faut il que sa femme en ait auxi bien come les aultres, et [a l'aventure NIFOCUS] le bon home n'a pas trop de chevance, mais [nyentmoins NIFOCUS] il faut qu'il en pourvoye

P 70

Or se rendent en la meson ou le bon home a bien mestier de repoux ; mes encore n'est il pas temps, que la dame qui est lassee, ne fera rien de XV jours sinon parler o ses commeres et cousines et parler des montaignes que elle a veues et de belles chouses et de tout ce que lui est avenue, et [par especial NIFOCUS] el se plaint du bon home en disant qu'il ne lui a fait nul service du monde et que elle en est toute morfondue

P 85

Apres digner, la dame prent eng chevalier ou ung escuier et se siet, et les aultres auxi se seent pour parler et galler ensemble, et [quoy que ce soit NIFOCUS], il s'avance et la prent par la main et lui dit…

Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles

P 3-4

Adonc il se nomma hault et cler, et bien l'entendirent et cogneurent sa bonne femme et le bourgois. Elle fut tant for enserree a la voix de son mary que a pou que son loyal cueur ne failloit ; et ne savoit ja plus sa contenance si le bon bourgois et ses gens ne l'eussent reconfortée. Le bon bourgoys, [tout asseuré _{NIFOCUS}] et [de son fait très advisé _{NIFOCUS}] la fist bien a haste coucher et au plus pres d'elle se bouta, et luy chargea bien qu'elle se joignist pres de luy et caichast le visage qu'on n'en puisse rien apercevoir. Et [cela fait au plus bref qu'on peut _{NIFOCUS}], [sans soy trop haster _{NIFOCUS}] ; il commenda ouvrir la porte. Et le bon compaignon sault dedans la chambre pensant en soy que aucun mistere y avoir, qui devant l'huys l'avoit retenu.

P 4

Et a cest cop, tenant la chandelle en sa main, se tire pres du lit ; et ja se vouloit avancer de hausser la couverture soubz laquelle faisoit grand penitence en silence sa tres parfecte et bonne femme, quand le bourgois et ses gens l'en garderent ; dont il ne se contentoit pas, mais [a force _{NIFOCUS}] [malgre chascun _{NIFOCUS}], toujours avoit la main au lit.

P 7

Mais au fort, pour abaisser la noise et a son aise mieulx dire sa volunté, elle ouvrit l'huys, et a l'entree qu'il fist, Dieu scet s'il fut servy d'une chere bien rechignee, et d'un agu et bien enflambe visage. Et quand la langue d'elle eut povoir sur le cueur tresfort chargé d'ire et de courroux, [par semblant _{NIFOCUS}] les parolles qu'elle descocha ne furent pas mains trenchans que rasoirs de guignant bien affillez

P 7

Le bon compaignon, ja soit ce qu'il fust fort courroucé et mal meu par avant, toutesfoiz pour ce qu'il voit son tort a l'œil et le rebours de sa pensees, refraint son ire, et [le courroux _{NIFOCUS}] qu'en son cueur avoit conceu quand a sa porte tant hurtoit, fut tout a coup en courtois parler coverty. Car il dit pour son excuse, et pour sa femme contenter, qu'il estoit retourné de son chemin pource qu'il avoit oublyé la lettre principale touchant le fait de son voyage.

P 8

[Sans faire semblant de le croire _{NIFOCUS}], elle recommence sa grande legende doree, luy mettant sus qu'il venoit de la taverne et des estuves et des lieux deshonnestes et dissoluz, et qu'il se gouvernoit mal en homme de bien , maudisant l'eure qu'onques elle eut son accointance, ensemble et sa tresmaudicte allyance. Le pouvre desolé, [cognoissant son cas _{NIFOCUS}], [voyant sa bonne femme trop plus qu'il ne voulsist troublee _{NIFOCUS}], helas ! et à sa cause, ne savoit que dire. Si se prend à meiser, et ; a chef de sa meditacion, se tire pres d'elle plorant ses genoulz tout en bas sur terre…

P 61

Ung lasche paillard et recreant, jalouz, je ne dy pas coulx, vivent a l'ayse ainsi comme dieu scet et que les entachez de ce mal pevent sentir et les aultres pevent apercevoir et oyr dire, ne savoit a qui recourre ne soy rendre pour trouver garison de sa dolent miserable et bien pou plaincte maladie. Il faisoit huy ung pelerinage, demain ung aultre, et aussi [le plus souvent _{NIFOCUS}] [par ses gens _{NIFOCUS}] [ses devocions et offrandes _{NIFOCUS}] faisoit faire, tant estoit assoté de sa maison, voire au mains du regarde de sa femme qui miserablement son temps passoit aveques son tresmaudit mary, le plus suspessonneuxx hoignard que jamais femme accointast.

P 62

Et de fait commenda à ung de ses gens qu'il luy allumast et feist offre d'une grosse chandelle de cyre, en luy priant pour son intencion. Son commendement fut fait et accomply par le varlet, qui luy fist son rapport. « [Or ça _{NIFOCUS}], dist-il en soy mesmes, je verray si Dieu ou diable me pourroit garir. » [En son accoustumé desplaisir _{NIFOCUS}], après ceste nouvelle offrande, se va coucher ce trèspaillard jaloux auprès de sa trèsbonne femme…

P 63

Apres l'esvanuissement de ceste vision, nostre jaloux se reveilla, et si trouva l'un des doiz de sa main bien avant ou derrière de sa femme bouté dont il et elle furent bien esbahiz. Mais [du surplus de la vie au jaloux _{NIFOCUS}] [de ses affères et mainières et mantiens _{NIFOCUS}] ceste histoire se taist.

P 64

Si s'advisa que à l'adventure il s'estoit bouté dedans quelque busson pour paistre, ou dedans aucun fossé herbu, dont il pourroit bien saillir quand il auroit le ventre plain. Et affin qu'il puisse mieulx veoir et à son aise, [sans aller courre çà ne là veau où il est comme il pensoit _{NIFOCUS}], il choisist le plus hault arbre et mieulx houssé du bois, et monte dessus. Et quand il se trouve au plus hault de cest arbre, qui toute la terre d'environ descouvroit, il luy est bien advis que son veau est à moitié trouvé.

P 65

Apres il la haussa bien hault malgré elle, comme efforcée, et n'est pas contente de ce, mais pour le bien veoir à son aise et sa beaulté regarder la tourne, et <u>sus son gros derriere par trois, par quatre foiz [sa rude main _{NIFORCE}] il fait descentre il la revire d'aultrem et</u> comme il avoit son derrière regardé, aussi fait il le devant ce que la bonne simple femme ne veult pour rien consentir…

P 66

Et comme il estoit en ce parfond estude, il disoit maintenant : « Je voy cecy, je voy cela, encores cecy, encores cela » <u>[Et qui l'oyoit _{NIFOCUS}], il voyoit tout le monde et beaucop plus</u>.

P 67

Ce gentil clerc, frez et viveux, fut tantost picqué de sa maistresse, que trèsbien luy vint, que, ainçois qu'il luy osast oncques dire son cas, le Dieu d'amours l'avoit ad ce mené qu'il estoit le seul homme ou monde qui plus luy plaisoit. Advint qu'il se trouva en place ramonnée ; <u>et de fait [toute crainte mise arrière _{NIFOCUS}][à sa dicte maistresse _{NIFOCUS}] [son très gracieux et doulx mal _{NIFOCUS}] racompta, laquelle, pour la grand courtoisie que Dieux en elle n'avoit pas obliée, desja aussi attaincte comme dessus est dit, ne le fist guères languir.</u>

P 68

L'autre, qui entendoit son latin, plus joyeux que jamais il n'avoit esté, s'advisa de batre le fer tantdiz qu'il estoit chault, et <u>[si tresroidde _{NIFOCUS}] [sa besoigne NIFOCUS] poursuyt qu'en pou de temps joyt de ses amours</u>. L'amour de la maistresse au clerce et du clerc à elle estoit et fut longtemps si trèsardente

P 69

Ung jour, nostre bon clerc, voyant son maistre assez content de luy, emprint de parler et tout seult trèshemblement et <u>[doulcement _{NIFOCUS}]et [en grand révérence _{NIFOCUS}] luy dist qu'il avoit en son cueur ung secret que voluntiers luy decelast s'il osoit</u>. Et ne vous fault pas celer que comme pluseurs femmes ont larmes à commendement qu'elles esplandent toutesfoiz ou le plus souvent qu'elles veluent, si eut à cest cop nostre bon clerc…

P 70

Le clerc, sachant le tour de son baston, s'en fist beaucop prier, et a trèsgrand crainte par semblant <u>et [à grand abundance de larmes _{NIFOCUS}] et [à volunté _{NIFOCUS}] se laisse ferrer, et dit qu'il dira mais qu'il luy veille promettre que par luy jamais ame n'en sçaura nouvelle</u> car il aymeroit autant ou plus cher morir que son maleureux cas fut cogneu.

P 204

[Ung gentil chevalier des marches de Bourgoigne NIFOCUS] [sage, vaillant et très bien
adrecié NIFOCUS] [digne d'avoir bruit et los, comme il eut son temps, etnre les mieulx et
plus renommez NIFOCUS], se trouva tant et si bien en la grace d'une belle damoiselle qu'il
en fut retenu serviteur, et d'elle obtient à chef de pièce tout ce que par honneur donner
luy povoit. Et [au surplus NIFOCUS] [par force d'armes NIFOCUS] ad ce la mena que refuser
ne luy peut nullement ce que pluseurs devant et apres ne peurent obtenir. Et de ce se
print et donna trèsbien garde ung tres gentil et gracieux seigneur, trescler voyant dont je
passe le nom et les vertuz…

P 204

Et il luy repspondit que non ; et l'autre qui bien savoit le contraire, luy dist qu'il
cognoissoit trèsbien que si. Neantmains, [quelque chose qu'il luy dist ou remonstrast,
qu'il ne luy devoit pas celer ung tel cas et que si il luy estoit advenu semblable, ou
beaucop plus grand il ne luy celeroit jà NIFOCUS] si ne luy voult oncques confesser ce qu'il
savoit certainement et bien.

P 205

S'il se pensa qu'en lieu d'aultre chose faire, et pour passer temps, s'il scet trouver voie ne
fasson en lieu que celuy est tant estrange et prend si peu de fiance en luy, il s'accointera
de sa dame et se fera privé d'elle. [A quoy NIFOCUS] il ne faillit pas car en peu d'heure il
fut vers elle si très bien venue, que celuy qui le valoit, qu'il se povoit vanter d'en avoir
aultant obtenu, sans faire guères grand queste ne poursuoit, que celuy qui mainte peine et
foison de travaulx en soustint…

P 206

Et de ceste manière de faire savoit bien l'occasion le derrenier venu, mais il n'en faisoit
nul semblant et aussi [a la verité NIFOCUS] il ne luy en challoit guères, si non que ung pou
luy desplaisoit la folie du premier venu, qui trop fort à son gré se boutoit en chose de
petite value.

P 207

« …Et si je n'avoie plus grant pitié de vous que vous mesmes n'avez, je vous lairroye en
ceste folye ; mais je ne pourroye souffrir que une telle gouge se trompast et de vous et de
moy si longuement. » [Qui fut bien esbahy de ces nouvelles NIFOCUS] ce fust le premier
venu, car il cuidoit tant estre en grace que merveilles ; si ne savoit que dire ne penser.

P 208

« …Et je diray pareillement de vous, et nous verrons sur ce qu'elle fera et dira et arons advis du surplus.—C'est très bien dit, et je le veil » dit le premier venu. [Comme il fut dit _{NIFOCUS}] il en fut fait, car je ne scay quans jours apres, le derrenier venu eut son tour d'aller besoigner, si se mist au chemin et vint au lieu assigné.

P 208

Si faiz, par ma foy, je l'ai trop bien veu parler à vous à part ; et [que plus est _{NIFOCUS}], je l'ay espié et veu entrer ceans. Mais par la mort bieu, si je l'y trouve jamais, son derrenier jour sera venu, quelque chose qu'il en doyve ou puisse advenir…

P 209

« Madamoiselle, dit-il, vous le savez tres bien dire, mais je ne suis pas si beste de le croire. » [Quelque malcontent qu'il y eust _{NIFOCUS}], il fist ce pourquoy il estoit venu, et au partir luy dist…

L'Heptaméron

P 12

En une des meilleures villes de Touraine, demouroit un seigneur de grande et bonne maison, lequel y avoit esté nourry de sa grande jeunesse. [Des perfections, graces, beaulté et grandes vertuz _{NIFOCUS}] de ce jeune Prince, ne vous diray aultre chose, sinon que en son temps ne trouva jamais son pareil. Estant en l'aage de *Quinze* ans, il prenoit plus de plaisir à courir et chasser, que non pas regarder les belles Dames.

P 14

Et pour ce qu'il la congnoissoit de bas et pauvre lieu, espera recouvrer facillement ce qu'il en demandoit. Mais, n'aiant moien de parler à elle, luy envoyage un gentil homme de sa chambre, pour faire sa praticque. Auquel NIFOCUS], elle, qui estoit saige, craingnant Dieu, dist qu'elle ne croyoit pas que son maistre, qui estoit si beau et honneste prince, se amusast à regarder une chose si layde qu'elle, veu que au chaste au où il demeuroit, il en avoit de si belles qu'il ne falloit point en chercher par la ville, et qu'elle pensoit qu'il le disoit de luymesmes sans le commandement de son maistre.

P 15

Et aussy, que, s'il pensoit à cause de son pauvre estat, la cuyder avoir à son plaisir, il se trompoit, car elle n'avoit le cueur moins honneste que la plus grande princesse de la Chrestienté, et n'estimoit trésor au monde au prix de l'honnestesté et de la conscience, le suppliant ne la vouloir empescher de tout sa vie garder ce trésor, <u>car, pour mourir NIFOCUS], elle ne changeroit d'opinion</u>.

P 145

Mais, à cause de sa beaulté, plusieurs grands segneurs et gentilz hommes cherchoient fot sa bonne grace, les uns pour l'amour seullement, les autres pour l'anneau ; <u>car, oultre la beaulté NIFOCUS] elle estoit fort riche</u>. Entre aultres, il y avoit un jeune gentil homme, nommé le seigneur des Cheriotz, qui la poursuivoit de si près qu'il ne failloit d'estre à son habiller et son déshabiller…

P 287-288

Or avoit le Duc en sa maison un gentil homme, tant accomply de toutes les perfections que l'on peut demander à l'homme, qu'il estoit de tous aymé, et principalement du Duc, qui dès son enfance l'avoit nourry près sa personne ; et le voiant si bien conditionné, l'aymoit parfaictement et se confoyoit en luy de toutes les affaires que seon son aage il pouvoit entendre. <u>La Duchesse NIFOCUS], qui n'avoit pas le cueur de femme et de princesse vertueuse ; ne se contentant de lamour que son mary luy portoit et du bon traictement qu'elle avoit de luy, regardoit souvent ce gentil homme</u>, et le trouvoit tant à son gré qu'elle l'aymoit oultre raison…

P 291

<u>Le gentil homme, avec l'humilité et révérence qu'il luy debvoit NIFOCUS], s'en a devers elle en une profonde fenestre où elle s'estoit retirée. Et quand elle veid que nul de la chambre ne la pouvoit veoir, avecq une voix tremblante NIFOCUS], contraincte entre le désir et la crainte, luy vq continuer les premiers propos le reprenant de ce qu'il n'avoit encores choisy quelque Dame en sa compaignye, l'asseurant que en quelque lieu que ce fust, luy ayderoit d'avoir bon traictement. Le gentil homme, non moins fasché CFOCUS] que estonné CFOCUS] de ses parolles, luy respondit… … La Duchesse, [rougissant NIFOCUS] [pensant qu'il ne tenoit plus à rien qu'il ne fust vaincu NIFOCUS], luy jura que s'il voulloit, elle sçavoit la plus belle Dame de sa compaignye qui le recepvroit à grand joye et dont il auroit parfact contentement.</u>

P 294

Lors, sans l'escouter plus avant, s'en alla hastivement en sa chambre, et voiant qu'elle estoit suivye de ses Dames, entra en son cabinet où elle feit un deuil qui ne se peut racompter ; car, [d'un costé NIFOCUS] ; [l'amour où elle avoit failly CFOCUS] donna une tristesse mortelle ; [d'autre costé NIFOCUS] [le despit, tqnt contre elle d'avoir commencé un si sot propos, que contre luy d'avoir si saigement respondu CFOCUS] la mettoit en une telle furie, que une heure se vouloit deffaire, l'autre elle vouloit vivre pour se venger de celluy qu'elle tenoit son mortel enemy.

Angoisses

P 103

J'avoys accoustué de prendre et captiver les hommes et ne me fasoye que rire d'eulx. [mais moymesmes miserablement CFOCUS] je fux prise. Je ne povois retirer mes yeulx, et ne desirois aultre plaisir que cestuy la.

P 105-106

Ainsis doncques, commencay du tout à chasser raison, parquoy la sensualité demeura superieure. [En telles varietez de pensées NIFOCUS], je passay toute la nuicte, j'est debile et de petite complexion, pour ceste cause, au matin quand me vouluz lever, me trouvay en maulvaise disposition de ma personne, pour l'acerbe travail que j'avois eu de mes vaines et infructueuses pensées. Nonobstant cela [d'ung grand et fervent desir porté NIFOCUS] je m'habillay le plus hastivement que je peux, pour venir à la fenester ou j'attendois d'avoir singulier plaisir.

P 106

Car ceste soubdaine melencolie ne me procede d'aultre chose, sinon que j'ay craincte de la terre litigieuse, cognoissant que partye adverse est fort vigilante, et nous avons accoustumé de vivre en delices et plaisirs mondains. Parquoy nous sera difficile estre diligens, comme le cas le requiert. Et lors, mon mary, [en monstrant semblant de prester foy à mon dire NIFOCUS] [en face joyeuse NIFOCUS] me respondit…

P 231-232

Combine qu'il soit croyable et concessible, que par enucleer et declarer les *Angoisses* et doubleurs souffertes elles se peuvent mitiguer et temperer : toutesfoys je n'espere que par le relater de mes anxietez douloureuses, me soit imparty aulcune diminution de travaile : et aussi [a ceste intention CFOCUS] je n'ay donné principle à l'œuvre presente, mais seulement [pour exhorter tous jeunes jouvenceaulx d'eviter l'insupportablt charge d'Amours CFOCUS]

P 236

Et lors ; je licenciay de moy toutes aultres cures et solicitudes, pour incliner mon entendement à ces pueriles exercices que la juvenile aage a de ce coustume user= à scavoir, sonner, chanter et saulter. En semblables actes [la vie NIFOCUS], [la renommée NIFOCUS], [le temps NIFOCUS] et [la faculté NIFOCUS], je consuymye.

P 240

O Juno et Minerve, je ne suis celluy qui le jugement de la pomme contentieuse en deteriorant voz divines beaultez prononcea, O custodes infernaulx, [contre vous au grand Alcides CFOCUS][ny à ses loyalulx compaignons CFOCUS] ne prestay faveur, pour de vostre regne vous spolier.

P 401

Neantmoins puis qu'aux immuables cieulx a pleu, d'eulx eternellement me contenter et doresnavant le plus solitairement que pourray, feray residence en mon domicile : auquel je vous supplie vouloir venir vous refociler, en y usant d'autant de privaulté que pourriez faire en vostre propre lieu hereditaire. Et en ce faisant, l'estimeray à grand honneur et singulier plaisir. A ces motz, tant qu'il nous fut possible, le remerciasmes : et sans user de reffus [en son domicile NIFOCUS] nous transportasmes.

P 402

La nuict accompaignée de desir en brief somme me passa car mon intention estoit de ne sejourner plus d'ung jour en la cité mais [mon ingrate fortune CFOCUS] toujours contraire à mon desir, ne permist qu'à ma conclusion se peust ensuyvir l'effect, à loccasion d'une fascheuse fiebvre… Quoy voyant, le bon gentil homme qui si benigne reception nous avoit faict, a mon accident voulut pourvoir ; car en grand promptitude manda ung prudent et diligent phisicien : lequel avec plusieurs choses ad ce convenables fut cause de l'evacuation totale de ce qui m'estoit nuysible : telement que peu à peu fux reduict es termes de ma bonne convalescence, non portant fux longue espace si debile, qu'en ma puissance n'estoit de donner principe au tres desire partement Toutesfoys [l'affection accoustumée NIFOCUS] continuellement me stimuloit et ne moy mesmes disoye…

P 409-410

Apres que ceste bonne et religieuse personne eut imposé fin aux salutiferes parolles : desquelles gueres ne me soucioye, pource que aux sours et aux meutz l'office d'oraison est de petite efficace : Et tant plus me remonstroit, et plus [la souvenance de ma dame Helisenne NIFOCUS] [d'ardent desir NIFOCUS] m'enflammoit.

Appendix C: Interaction between Aboutness and Familiar Topics

Aboutness			Familiar								
			XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
	13th	XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	4	100%	0	0%	4
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	13	92.9%	1	7.1%	14
		V	0	0%	4	21.1%	13	68.4%	2	10.5%	19
		VX	0	0%	1	14.3%	6	85.7%	0	0%	7
		Total	0	0%	5	11.1%	37	82.2%	3	6.7%	45
			XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
	14th	XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		XV	0	0%	1	7.1%	10	71.4%	3	21.4%	14
		V	0	0%	3	50%	0	0%	3	50%	6
		VX	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		Total	0	0%	4	19%	11	52.4%	6	28.6%	21
			XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
	15th	XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		XXV	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	11	100%	0	0%	11
		V	0	0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	00%	3
		VX	0	0%	0	0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3
		Total	0	0%	2	10.5%	16	84.2%	1	5.3%	19
			XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
	16th	XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%	0	0%	2
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	3	60%	2	40%	5
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	21	80.8%	5	19.2%	26
		V	1	4.8%	3	14.3%	16	76.1%	1	4.8%	21
		VX	0	0%	1	20%	3	60%	1	20%	5
		Total	1	1.7%	4	6.8%	45	76.3%	9	15.2%	59

Appendix D : Interaction between Aboutness and Contrastive Topics

Aboutness			Contrastive								total
	13th		**XXV**		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		total
		XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	3
		V	0	0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0%	3
		VX	0	0%	4	66.7%	0	0%	2	33.3%	6
		Total	0	0%	5	38.5%	6	46.2%	2	15.3%	13
	14th		**XXV**		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		total
		XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	15	100%	0	0%	15
		V	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		VX	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		Total	0	0%	0	0%	18	100%	0	0%	18
	15th		**XXV**		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		total
		XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		V	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		VX	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		Total	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	3
	16th		**XXV**		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		total
		XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
		XXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		XV	0	0%	0	0%	8	100%	0	0%	8
		V	0	0%	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	0	0%	6
		VX	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
		Total	0	0%	1	6.7%	14	93.3%	0	0%	15

Appendix E : Interaction between Familiar and Contrastive Topics

Familiar		Contrastive								
		XXV		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		**total**
13th	**XXXV**	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XV	0	0%	0	0%	9	90%	1	10%	10
	V	0	0%	15	44.1%	16	47.1%	3	9.8%	34
	VX	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	1
	Total	0	0%	15	33.3%	25	55.6%	5	11.1%	45
		XXV		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		**total**
14th	**XXXV**	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XV	0	0%	0	0%	6	75%	2	25%	8
	V	1	5.6%	3	16.7%	14	77.8%	0	0%	18
	VX	0	0%	0	0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3
	Total	1	3.4%	3	10.3%	22	75.9%	3	10.3%	29
		XXV		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		**total**
15th	**XXXV**	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	V	0	0%	4	80%	0	0%	1	20%	5
	VX	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
	Total	0	0%	4	66.7%	1	16.7%	1	16.7%	6
		XXV		**XV**		**XV**		**XVX**		**total**
16th	**XXXV**	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
	XXV	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1
	XV	0	0%	0	0%	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12
	V	1	4.2%	2	8.3%	21	87.5%	0	0%	24
	VX	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1
	Total	1	2.6%	4	10.6%	32	84.2%	1	2.6%	38

Appendix F : Interaction between NIF and Contrastive Focus

NIF

13th

	Contrastive									
	XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
XV	0	0%	0	0%	3	33.3%	5	66.7%	8
V	1	33.3%	1	16.7%	0	0%	1	50%	3
VX	1	2.3%	3	9.3%	8	34.9%	10	53.5%	22
Total	2	4.9%	4	8.2%	11	31.1%	16	55.7%	33

14th

	XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
XXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
XV	0	0%	0	0%	2	50%	2	50%	4
V	2	50%	0	0%	1	25%	1	25%	4
VX	1	4.5%	4	18.2%	7	31.8%	10	45.5%	22
Total	3	10%	4	13.3%	10	33.3%	13	43.3%	30

15th

	XXV		XV		XV		XVX		total
XXXV	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1
XXV	0	0%	1	50%	0	0%	1	50%	2
XV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%	3
V	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%	4	80%	5
VX	0	0%	0	0%	4	25%	12	75%	16
Total	1	3.7%	2	7.4%	4	14.8%	20	74.1%	27

16th

	X(X)XV		XV		XV		XVX		total
XXXV	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	1
XXV	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1
XV	1	14.3%	0	0%	0	0%	6	85.7%	7
V	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
VX	2	13.3%	2	13.3%	0	0%	11	73.3	15
Total	2	8.3%	3	12.5%	0	0%	18	75%	24

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<u>Areas of concentration</u>: Syntax, Information Structure, Historical Linguistics, Phonology, and Dialectology
<u>Dissertation title</u>: The Role of Information Structure in the Loss of Verb-Second in the History of French
<u>Dissertation committee</u>: Barbara Vance (chair), Laurent Dekydtspotter, Kevin Rottet, Julie Auger
M.A. in French   May 2008
<u>Areas of Concentration</u>: French Linguistics

Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA   May 2006
B.A. in French and Psychology
<u>Majors</u>: French and Psychology

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Publications

- Steiner, B. D. (2013). Review of "The Transmission of Anglo-Norman: Language history and language acquisition". Linguist List. http://linguistlist.org/issues/24/24-2950.html

- Vance, B., Donaldson, B., & Steiner, B. D. (2010). V2 loss in Old French and Old Occitan: The role of fronted clauses. In S. Colina, A. Olarrea & A. M. Carvalho (Eds.), Romance Linguistics 2009: Selected Papers from the 39th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (pp. 301-320). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Steiner, B. D. (2010). Middle English influence on late Anglo-Norman syntax: The effect of imperfect L2 acquisition. In J. C. Clements, J. F. Seigel, B. D. Steiner & M. Solon (Eds.), IUWPL9: New Perspectives on Language Contact and Contact-Induced Change (pp. 99-115). Bloomington, IN: IULC Publications.

- Steiner, B. D. (2008). Underapplication of stress-clash resolution: The role of morphologically derived environments. In A. W. Farris-Trimble & D. Dinnsen (Eds.), IUWPL6: Phonological Opacity Effects in Optimality Theory (pp. 71-77). Bloomington, IN: IULC Publications.

Volumes Edited

- (2010) *New Perspectives on Language Contact and Contact-Induced Change*. Indiana University Working Papers in Linguistics Volume 9. J. C. Clements, J. F. Seigel, B. D. Steiner & M. Solon (Eds.), IULC Publications: Bloomington, IN

Presentations

- Steiner, B. D. (2014) "Preverbal Focus in Medieval and Renaissance French: Using the Left-Periphery to examine Verb Second" Indiana University Department of French and Italian Student Faculty Forum. April 18, 2014. Bloomington, Indiana.

- Steiner, B. D. (2014) "The Triumphs and Tribulations of Dissertating" French Linguistics Professionalization Workshop. March 29, 2014. Bloomington, Indiana.

- Steiner, B. D. (2013) "Methodological Concerns in the Study of Diachronic Information Structure." Poster presented at Diachronic Generative Syntax 15. Ottawa, Ontario.

- Steiner, B. D. (2013) "Use of the Left Periphery as Evidence of a V2 Grammar" Workshop on Interfaces at the Left Periphery—Clause boundaries and peripheries from a diachronic perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

- Steiner, B. D. (2013). "Information Structure and the Loss of Verb Second in French." Poster to be presented at the Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting. Boston, Massachusetts.

- Dekydtspotter, L., Siegel, J. F., & Steiner, B. D. (2009). "The acquisition of liaison by American learners of French." Paper presented at Second Language Research Forum. East Lancing, Michigan.

- Vance, B., Donaldson, B., & Steiner, B. D. (2009). "V2 loss in Old French and Old Occitan: The role of fronted clauses." Paper presented at Linguistic Symposium on Romance Linguistics 39. Tucson, Arizona.

- Steiner, B. D. (2007). "Stress in Muruwari: The effect of derivation, syllable weight and root length." Poster presented at Mid-Continental Workshop on Phonology. Columbus, Ohio.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Indiana University, Bloomington, IN:
Adjunct Assistant Professor—Teaching   August 2014—present
Courses Taught: Elementary French
Associate Instructor – Teaching   January—May 2014; August 2007—May 2010
Courses Taught: Elementary and Intermediate French
French Tutor – Tutoring   August 2006—May 2010; May 2012—August 2012
Elementary, intermediate, and advanced French students.
Instructor – Teaching   March 2009—May 2009
Course Taught: French for Travelers (in English)

Luther College, Decorah, IA:
Visiting Lecturer – Teaching   August 2013—December 2013
Courses Taught: Elementary French, Introduction to Linguistics, Introduction to Phonology

Ithaca College, Ithaca, NY:
Lecturer – Teaching August 2010—May 2013
Courses Taught: Elementary and Intermediate French, Contemporary French Culture, Introduction to Linguistics.

Wells College, Aurora, NY:
Lecturer – Teaching October 2010—December 2010
Course Taught: Elementary French.

Indiana University Honors Program in Foreign Languages, St. Brieuc, France:
Instructor/Logistics Coordinator – Teaching   June 2010—August 2010
Duties: Organized 1-3 day excursions for study abroad group; taught; directed a play.
Courses Taught: Elementary, intermediate and advanced French Grammar; French Phonetics.

Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA
Teaching Assistant – Tutoring   August 2005—December 2005
Duties: Tutoring elementary, intermediate and advanced French students, organized "drop-in" grammar clinics, and led large group study sessions.

AWARDS

March 2014 Peter Cannings Prize in French Linguistics   Department of French and Italian, Indiana University

January 2013 Travel Grant. Department of French and Italian, Indiana University

April 2009 Travel Grant. Department of French and Italian, Indiana University

SERVICE

2013 Faculty Advisor: Luther College Linguistics Club
2013 Volunteer: Linguistic Society of America Annual Convention
2011 Curriculum development: Ithaca College
2010 Organizer: Professionalization workshop, IU department of French and Italian

MEMBERSHIPS

Linguistics Society of America
Modern Language Association

LANGUAGES

English   Native speaker
French   Near-native proficiency
Old & Middle French   Advanced reading proficiency
Italian   Reading proficiency
Latin   Reading proficiency