Proclitics and enclitics in Old French V1 clauses: V positions *or* tense (non-)dependence?

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Goal. Changes in enclisis *vs* proclisis of object clitics between the 10th and the 13th c. in Old French V1 declaratives (D), yes-no questions (Q), and imperatives (I) have led to differing proposals regarding V positions in the left-periphery of main clauses and grammatical factors determining enclisis *vs* proclisis. Rouveret 2004 and Labelle & Hirschbühler (L&H) 2005 consider that changes in clitic position reflect changes in the syntax of V1 clauses. However their analysis of the structure and properties of V1 and V2 clauses before and after the end of the 12th c. differ. We argue for a configurational approach of the type proposed by L&H, point out problems of coverage and analysis in Rouveret's approach, and provide new data along the way.

Data. The data comes from 37 texts written between 980 and 1309 (12 from the Ottawa MCVF parsed corpus of French texts, 3 from the Penn Supplement, and 22 searched manually) and provide precise quantitative data on the relation between the decline of V1 declaratives and the loss of enclitics in V1 declaratives and yes-no questions. Encliticization is initially the rule in all V1 clauses, with procliticization elsewhere (= Tobler-Mussafia "law"). In declaratives, the earliest example of proclisis is from c. 1120 (*St Brendan*), the next one 50 years later (Erec 1170), for a total of 12 cases of proclisis in the corpus against 582 of enclisis, but the mean of the proclisis/(enclisis+proclisis) ratio per text is 7%. Fig. 1 shows a sharp decrease in the absolute number of enclisis by the time of Erec (1170) (setting aside the *Roman d'Alexandre*). Enclisis prevails between 1170 and 1200. It is absent from our data after 1200, reflecting the disappearance of V1 declaratives around that time (Figure 3). In V1 interrogatives, the first case of proclisis is from 1150 (*Charroi de Nîmes*). By 1225 it is more frequent than enclisis (Fig. 2), becoming quickly the only option. The mean ratio of proclisis in V1 interrogatives by text is 19%. Fig. 3 is based on the texts of the parsed corpora. Besides showing that the decline of enclisis in V1 declaratives reflects the general decline of V1 declaratives and of the percentage of V1 declaratives relative to the total number of declaratives, it shows that V1 declaratives are on their way out as early as 1177, making the language more strictly V2 (V3+ clauses = V2 plus additional phrases positioned higher in the left periphery, as argued, e.g., by Rouveret). We also provide figures for V1 clauses introduced by *et* ('and'). In declarative clauses, proclisis is present throughout the corpus, first in small numbers, but it becomes prevalent in certain texts by 1150. In imperative clauses, enclisis is found in the majority of cases before 1200 (11 vs 3), after that proclisis is the rule. There are only two examples of *et V1* in yes-no questions, one with enclisis (*Yvain* 1177, another manuscript has proclisis) and one with proclisis (*Aspremont* 1188). As proclisis appears in *et V1* imperatives but not in absolute V1 imperatives, proclisis in *et V1* clauses is at first sight a different phenomenon from that observed in absolute V1 constructions.

L&H *vs* Rouveret. 1) <u>L&H: a configurational account</u>. In the initial period, all V1 clauses are ZP, Z bearing a [+D] discourse feature. V moves from V to Z over clitics, adjoined to Fin, giving the V-cl order. Towards the end of the 12th century, V loses the ability to bear [+D], leading to restructurations. V1 questions become FinP, Fin and V bear a [Q] feature; V1 declaratives become TP, before disappearing. Proclisis results from the impossiblity of movement of V to Z. Imperative clauses remain ZP (Z bears an [IMP] feature), with encliticization. The change from *et V-cl* to *et cl-V* reflects a change from *et* [$_{ZP}$ *V* ... to *et* [$_{FinP}$ *V* … in all clause types (later to *et [TP*… in declaratives).

2) <u>Rouveret: dependend *vs* non-dependent Tense</u>. The structure of the higher part of clauses depends on where the EPP and Tense features are situated and on the requirements for their satisfaction. Initially, the EPP feature is assigned to I, later to Fin (exceptionally to Force). V1

clauses with EPP in I are FinP, while with EPP in Fin they are ForceP. In the second period, V1 questions and declaratives are ForceP. ForceP contains a quantificational/modal feature that binds Tense and makes it dependent. Proclitics are found with a dependent Tense; enclitics signal a non-dependent Tense. Rouveret does not discuss V1 imperatives with enclitics after 1200 and no analysis is proposed for changes in coordinated sentences.

Claims. Rouveret's approach suffers from several problems, among which: 1) No independent argument for reassignment of EPP feature to Fin, nor exceptionally to Force for SVO sentences, in the second period; 2) reassignement of EPP to Fin should introduce Force in V1 imperatives and procliticization, just as in questions or declaratives; this is not addressed; 3) no account for changes in clitic position in V1 coordinated clauses; 4) this problem is more acute with imperatives: if Tense remains non-dependent in V1 imperatives in the second period, *et*, which does not have quantificational/modal properties, should not make Tense dependent. 5) Additional problems result when considering V2 main clauses in that SVO main clauses have more structure than the other V2 clauses. We will argue that the case of coordination provides especially strong support for an analysis along the lines of L&H.
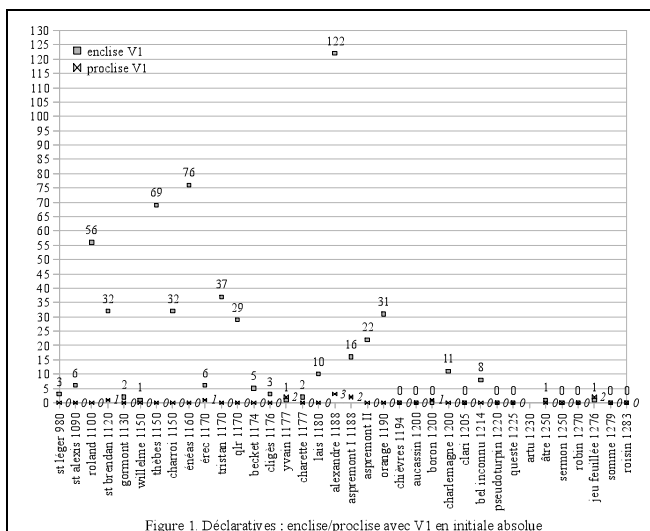

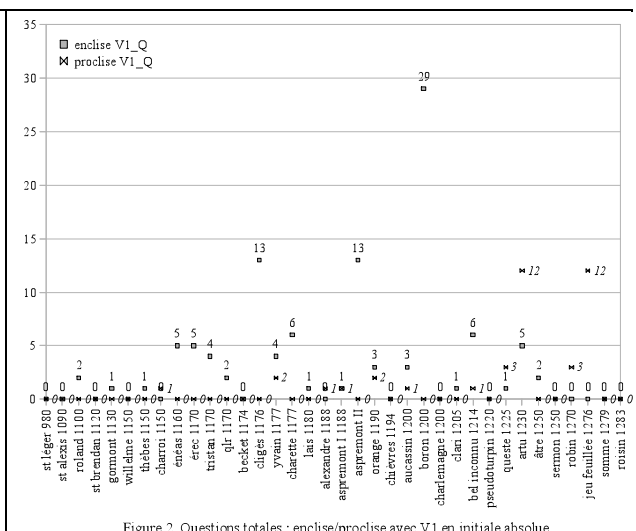Figure 1. Déclaratives : enclise/proclise avec V1 en initiale absolue

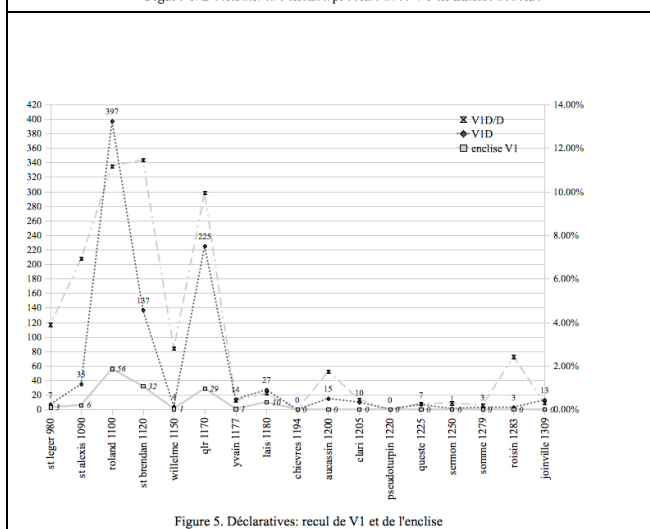Figure 2. Questions totales : enclise/proclise avec V1 en initiale absolue

Figure 5. Déclaratives: recul de V1 et de l'enclise

References.
Labelle, M. & P. Hirschbühler, Changes in clausal organization and the position of clitics in Old French, eds. Battlori et al., *Grammaticalization and Parametric Change*, 60-71, Oxford: OUP.
Rouveret, A., Les clitiques pronominaux et la périphérie gauche en ancien français, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 99: 181-237