

Evidence for OV Word Order in Older French, Icelandic and Yiddish

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www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/handouts/fwav3.pdf

Data sources: French

- France Martineau et al. 2005. Corpus du projet Modéliser le changement: les voies du français (MCVF).
- Anthony Kroch and Beatrice Santorini. 2016. Penn supplement to the MCVF corpus.
- Alexei Lavrentiev, Christiane Marchello-Nizia, Céline Guillot and Serge Heiden. 2014. BFM – Base de Français Médiéval [En ligne].

Data source: Icelandic

- Joel C. Wallenbergs, Anton Karl Ingason, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson. 2011. Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus (IcePaHC).

Data source: Yiddish

- Beatrice Santorini. 2008. Penn Yiddish Corpus.

Preliminaries

- Only non-finite VPs are considered to avoid interference from V-to-C and V-to-T.
- Modals are treated as auxiliary verbs in all three languages with reported data.
- Sentences in which the direct object moves further left than T are also excluded since the “*in situ*” position is not recoverable.

French

VO & OV word order: modal + infinitive

(1) Je **veul** **avoir** mon loier

'I want to have my pay.'

(127X-CASSIDORUS-P, I 64. 1546)

(2) Kar ne **poeit** le jur **choisir** le jur

'For he cannot choose the day.'

(116X-MARIE-DE-FRANCE-R, III.2262)

VO & OV word order: *avoir* + participle

- (1) Rollant **ad mis l'** olifan a sa buche
'Roland raised the ivory horn to his mouth.'
(I100-ROLAND-V, I33.1772)
- (2) Li reis Marsilie **out sun cunseill finet sun cunseill**
'King Marsilla had adjourned his council.'
(I100-ROLAND-V, 5.53)
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Two-argument VPs: OOV word order

- (1) Or **ad** Deus **saint Thomas cel'** ampole **donee**
'Now God gave Saint Thomas this phial'
(I173-becket-p-bfm, I82.I4984)
- (2) ainsi **pourroit Grace a Dieu querre**
'In this way, he could ask God for grace'
(I190-BORON-R-PENN,7.88)

Two-argument VPs: OVO word order

- (1) Tu auoiz dous choses amises al creator
'You had presented two things to the creator'
(1190-SBERNAN-P-BFM, 10.325)
- (2) Ancor uolt plus grant honor faire a nostre lum
'He wished to do our man an even great honor'
(1190-SBERNAN-P-BFM, 37.1192)

Two-argument VPs: VOO word order

- (1) Et Pilates a douné le cors Joseph
'and Pilate gave the body to Joseph'
(I210-BORON-P-PENN,24.230)
- (2) É Deu ad dune le regne a Absalon tun fils
'and God has given the kingdom
to your son Absalom'
(I150-QUATRELIVRE-P-PENN,88.3317)

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in Early Old French (<1260)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	11	6	
V>DO	9	55	0.14
rate of DO scrambling		0.10	N=81

Chi-square:
18.52

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	.14 x .10 = 0.014
Actual rate of OOV	11/81 = 0.14

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in late Old French (<1460)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	2	17	
V>DO	31	176	0.15
rate of DO scrambling		0.09	N=226

Chi-square:
.276

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	.15 × .09 = 0.013
Actual rate of OOV	$2/226 = \textcolor{red}{0.01}$

Yiddish

VO & OV word order: modal+infinitive

(1) da **velin** mir **vermisin** di khasene

'Then we will ruin the wedding'

(1615E-COURT, 108.80)

(2) ...ver nur **kan zayn** **gezind farshiken** **zayn** **gezind**

'who ever can send away his servants'

(1619W-LETTERS,. 16)

VO & OV word order: *avoir+participle*

- (1) ...vau min **hobn fergebin** unzi zind
'where they have forgiven our sins'
(1704E-ELLUSH,.I6)
- (2) di **hbn eyn yudn** **drmurt** **eyn yudn**

'They murdered a Jew.'
(1465W-COURT,I6.67)

Two argument VPs: OOV word order

- (1) ikh **hab** den **isral** eyn tubh **gtan**
'I have done the Israelites a good turn'
(1579E-SHIR, 10.60)
- (2) un **mustn** imrdarn **dem** mtsraim **ir** fikh **hitn**
'and always had to guard the animals
for the Egyptians'
(1589E-ESTER, 7.123)

Two argument VPs: OVO word order

- (1) sukhr **habn** **unzri bridr** **gigebn** **fil gelt**
'Merchants gave our brothers much money'
(I692E-VILNA,217.134)
- (2) drum **hat er dem menshn gebn di turh** ...
'therefore has he the people given the Torah'
(I620E-LEVTOV I,4l.47)

Two argument VPs: VOO word order

- (1) **hat gibrakht meyn oybrstn alirley shpetsirey**
'[who] brought my boss all kinds of spices'
(1665W-COURT,221.246)
- (2) **mer haben unzer formuner gegeben meinem
stieffater tsvay hundert gulden**
'our guardians gave my stepfather 200 guilders'
(1518W-GOETZ,.137)

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in early East Yiddish (<1800)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	24	4	
V>DO	5	3	0.62
rate of DO scrambling		0.57	N=36

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	$.57 \times .62 = \textcolor{red}{0.357}$
Actual rate of OOV	$24/36 = \textcolor{red}{0.667}$

Chi-square:
2.14

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in pre-contemporary East Yiddish (<1900)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	10	1	
V>DO	3	8	0.27
rate of DO scrambling		0.11	N=22

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	.11 × .27 = 0.030
Actual rate of OOV	10/22 = 0.454

Chi-square:
9.1

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in contemporary East Yiddish (>1900)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	2	6	
V>DO	6	25	0.19
rate of DO scrambling		0.19	N=39

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	.19 x .19 = 0.037
Actual rate of OOV	2/39 = 0.051

Chi-square:
.124

Icelandic

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in pre-contemporary Icelandic (<1900)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	41	27	
V>DO	8	192	0.04
rate of DO scrambling		0.12	N=268

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	.12 × .04 = 0.005
Actual rate of OOV	$41/268 = \textbf{0.152}$

Chi-square:
107.6

Distribution of Objects in Double Object Clauses in contemporary Icelandic (>1900)

	IO>V	V>IO	rate of IO scrambling
DO>V	0	3	
V>DO	2	47	0.04
rate of DO scrambling		0.06	N=52

Expected rate of OOV based on rates of IO and DO scrambling	$.06 \times .04 = \textcolor{red}{0.002}$
Actual rate of OOV	$0/52 = \textcolor{red}{0.000}$

Chi-square:
.127

Fronted VPs after the subject in OF

- (1) car nous **riens feire ne devons**
'for we must do nothing'
(1190-BORON-R-PENN, 100.1575)
- (2) li rois **le cors mener an puet**
'the king can take the body from there'
(1170-YVAIN-R, 81.2816)

Fronted VPs before the subject in OF

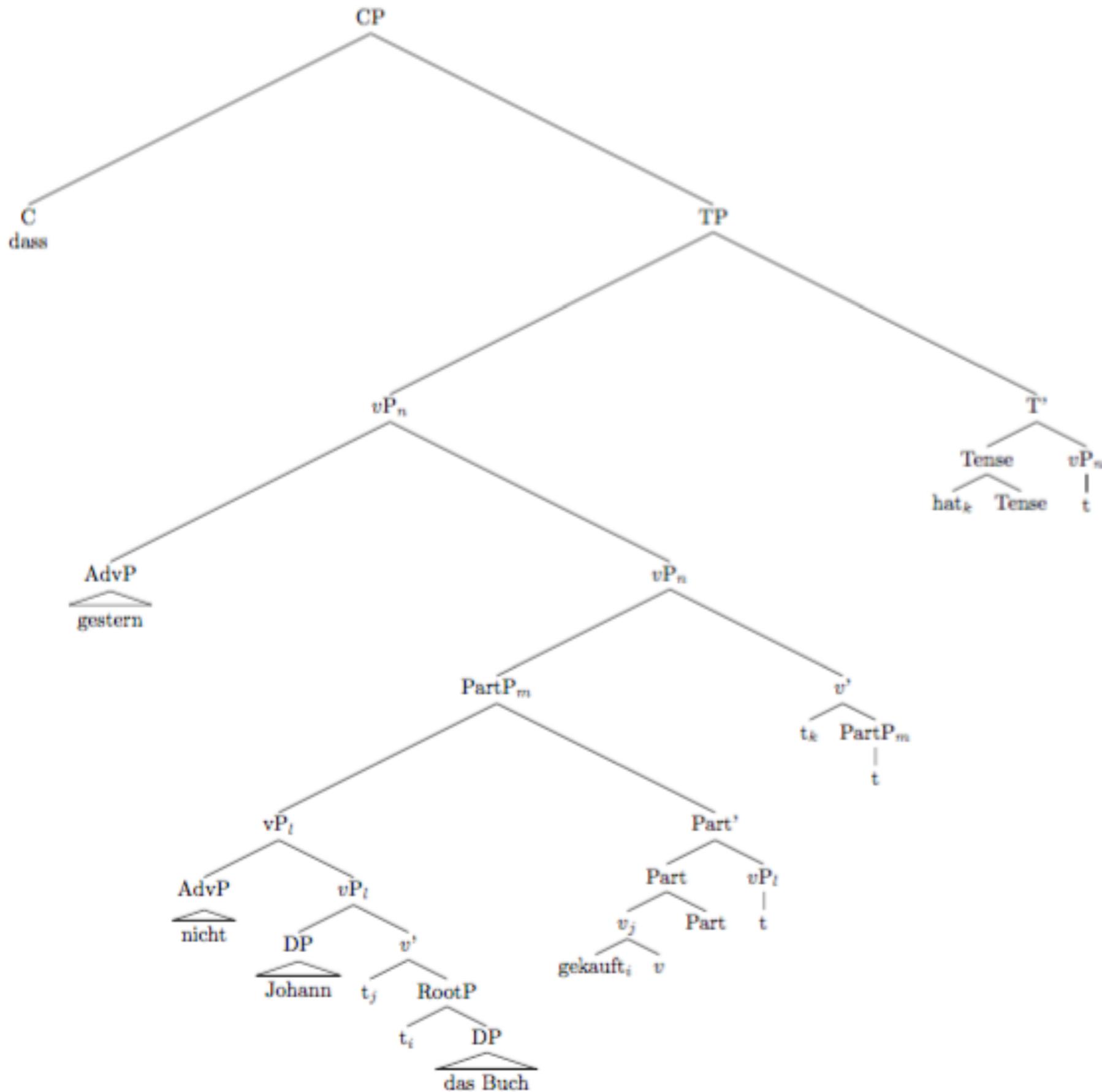
- (1) grant demi pied mesurer i pout hom
'one could measure a full half foot there'
(1100-ROLAND-V,94.1189)
- (2) seignur servir bien deit l'um tel
'one should serve such a lord well'
(1120-BRENDAN-R,55.665)

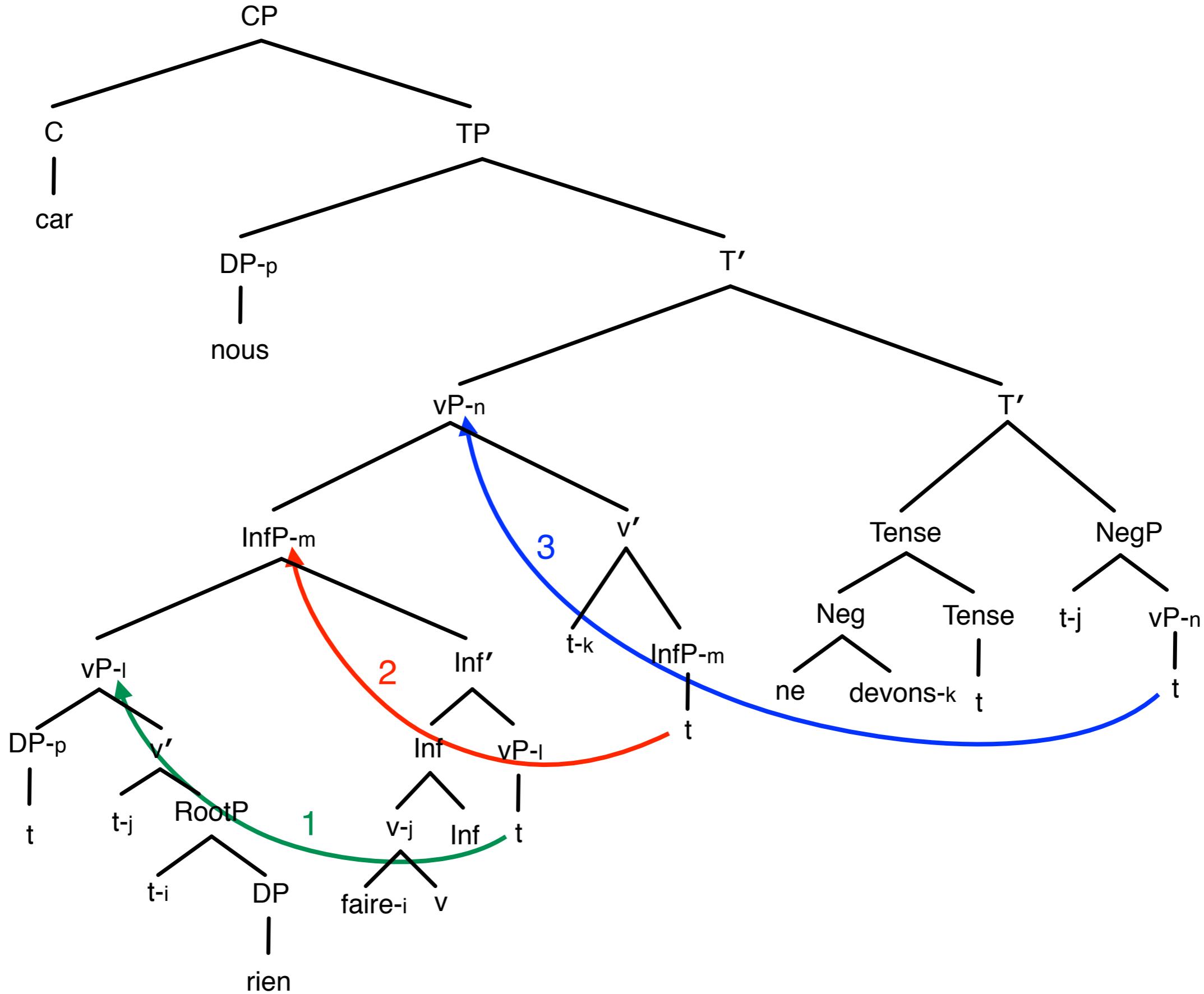
A roll-up derivation of OV word order

Biberauer, Theresa. 2003. Reconsidering the EPP and Spec-TP in Germanic. In Astruc, Luisa & Marc Richards, eds., Cambridge Occasional Papers in Linguistics, 1:100-120.

Biberauer, Theresa. 2005. Changing EPP-parameters in the history of English: accounting for variation and change. *English Linguistics* 9, 1:5-46.

Joel Wallenberg. 2009. Antisymmetry and the Conservation of C-Command: Scrambling and Phrase Structure in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspective. Penn Dissertation.





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