Comparing Old French and Middle English Clause Structure

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DiGS 14

www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/handouts/digs14.pdf

Direct Object Position

AuxOV word order in early Middle English

(1) for þa twelf kunreden sculden þer mide heore þurst kelen.
    for the twelve kinfolk should therewith their thirst cool.
                                                (CMLAMB1, 141.271)

(2) Herode king maʒʒ swiþe wel Þe laþe gast bitacnenn;
    Herod king may very well The Evil Spirit betoken;
                                                (CMORM, I, 280.2285)

(3) for no man ne mai his sinnes bete; er he habbe nume shrift þerof.
    for no man may his sins atone; before he has taken shrift thereof.
                                                (CMTRINIT, 59.796)

(4) ... þat Frolle wolde mid faehte France bitellen.
    ... that Frolle would with violence France defend.
                                                (LAYAMON, 618.2151)

OAuxV word order in early Middle English

(1) & maniȝ mann þiss merrke shall Wiþþstanndenn & wiþþseggenn.
& many man this darkness shall resist & renounce.
(CMORM, I, 265.2151)

(2) 'Ðe michele drinkeres soðliche naure naure heuene riche ne sculen
bruken.'
The great drinkers truly never never heaven's kingdom shall
enjoy.
(CMVICES1, 139.1709)

(3) & Kai þat lich wolde leden mid him-seolue.
& Kai that body would lead with himself.
(LAYAMON, 722.3773)

VAux word order in early Middle English

(1) er þanne þe heuene oðer eorðe shapen were
    before that heaven or earth created were

                                (CMTRINIT, 133.1776)

(2) for ði ðat godd isæd hadde to Adame: Morte morieris!
    because that God said had to Adam: Morte morieris!

                                (CMVICES1, 105.1276)

(3) Ne dieuel ne mann none mihte ne none strengþe habben ne
    neither devil nor man no power nor no strength have NE
    muȝen ouer oðren, bute ...
    may over others, except ...

                                (CMVICES1, 107.1292)

Frequency of VAux word order in early Middle English

% Aux-final, unbiased estimate	% Aux-final on surface
3.1%	9.6%

OV_fin word order in early Middle English

for æuric rice man his castles makede
for every rich man his castles made

(CMPETERB, 55.425)

and eft sone ech at shrifte þat ilke bihoteð.
and repeatedly each at shrift that same promises.

(CMTRINIT, 61.837)

and fele here lif fulliche lateð.
and many their life fully surrender.

(CMTRINIT, 181.2470)

His cun i þisse londe ure aelderne a-qualden.
His kin in this land our elders killed.

(LAYAMON, 522.706)

Cador his sweord an-hof
Cador his sword up-lifted

(LAYAMON, 562.1314)

AuxOV word order in early Old French

(1) Li reis Marsilies ad la culur muee;   (1100-ROLAND, 34.419)
    the king Marsilies has the color changed

(2) Quant la dame ad la messe oïe, Ariere vait,
    when the lady has the mass heard back goes

                              (116X-M-D-F, 19.352)

(3) Li sire en ad Deu mercïé;
    the lord for-it has God thanked

                              (116X-M-D-F, 45.886)

(4) Chaucuns ha la seue espousee   (1190-BORON-V, 103.1639)
    each has the his married

AuxOV word order in later Old French

(1) Quant li rois ot ceste parole dite si se tot,
   when the king had this word said, SI REFL was-silent
                                (1225-QUESTE, 31.726)

(2) La parole que cis dist a moult les autres meüs,
   the word that this-one said has much the others moved
                                (127X-CASSIDORUS, 6.85)

(3) Quant les jouvenceaulx eurent leur ante emprisonnee....
   when the young-men had their aunt imprisoned
                                (133X-PERCEFOREST, 99.656)

(3) Li honme de la ville avoient le pont desfait.
   the men of the city had the bridge destroyed
                                (1373-FROISSART, 385.7693)

OAuxV word order in early Old French

(1) E quatre cuntes l' estreu li unt tenut.
   and four counts the stirrup him have held

                                       (1100-ROLAND, 201.2806)

(2) Li venz la nef ad cunduite
   the wind the ship has conducted

                                       (1120-BRENDAN, 61.825)

(3) Mes sire Yvains la dame a morte
   my lord Yvain the lady has killed

                                       (1170-YVAIN, 84.2916)

total: 23 examples: 16 verse, 7 prose

VAux word order in early Old French

(1) Danz Oliver trait ad sa bone espee
    Sir Oliver pulled has his good sword

                                                  (1100-ROLAND, 107.1380)

(2) Li gentilz reis descendut est a piet
    The gentle king descended is on foot

                                                  (1100-ROLAND, 181.2474)

(3) ...que il feit avoit D' Evein et d' Adam....
    ...which he made had from Eve and from Adam

                                                  (1190-BORON-V,4.43)

OV_fin word order in early Old French

(1) Sainz Alexis la sue li alascet:
   Saint Alexis the his him gave

(10XX-ALEXIS, 75.691)

(2) Et Engelers li Guascuinz de Burdele Sun cheval brochet,
   and Engelers the Gascon of Burdele his horse spurred

(1100-ROLAND, 100.1292)

(3) Pois li prophetes Samuel une pierre leva,
   Then the prophet Samuel a stone lifted

(1150-QUATRELIVRE, 15.473)

OV$_{fin}$ word order in later Old French

(1) se ele cheval li done bon et bel ....
   if she horse him gives good and beautiful
                                        (1225-QUESTE, 122.3246)

(2) ...entendra que qui eglise edifie lo regna daus ceus s'aparellia.
   ...means that who church builds the reign of heaven acquires
                                        (122X-PS-TURPIN, 332.2055)

(3) ...dist ... que qui peche encontre le Saint Esperit ja merci n'en aura,
   ...says ... that who sins against the HS so mercy not EN will-have
                                        (1279-SOMME 1, 25.675)

The problem of poetry

(1) Li reis Marsilies ad la culur muee;
   De sun algeir ad la hanste crollee.

(1100-ROLAND, 34.419-20))

(2) It failleth nat whils it is in youre hoold
   And whan this knyght hath thus his tale toold

(1390-CHAUCER-SQT, 58-59)

(3) They told her to return at once to Steve,
   But she her child would never ever leave.

(Modern English doggerel)

Frequency of OV$_{fin}$ word order in French
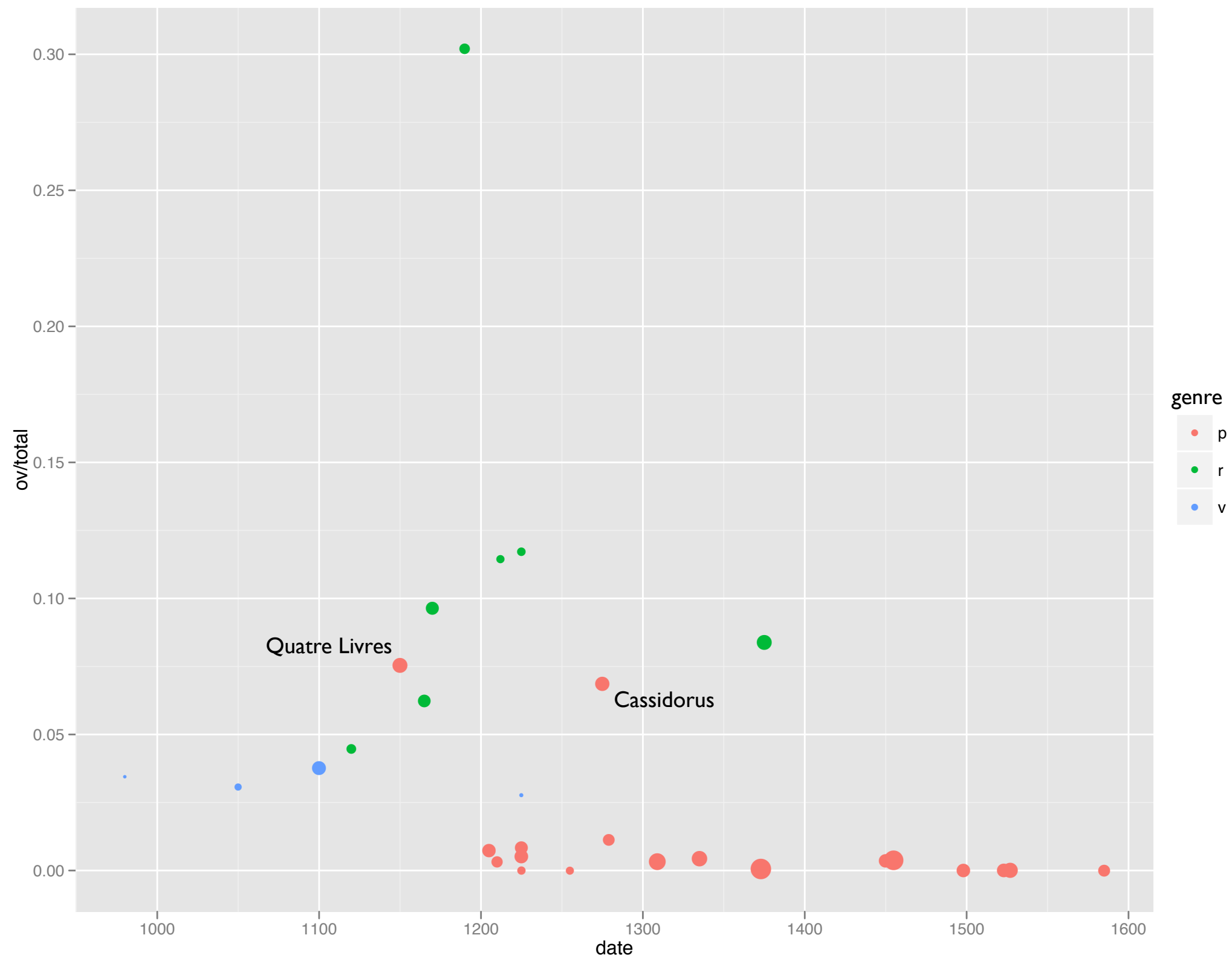
Frequency of OV_fin word order in French, no quantified DPs

Quatre Livres

Cassidorus

genre
- p
- r
- v

ov/total

date
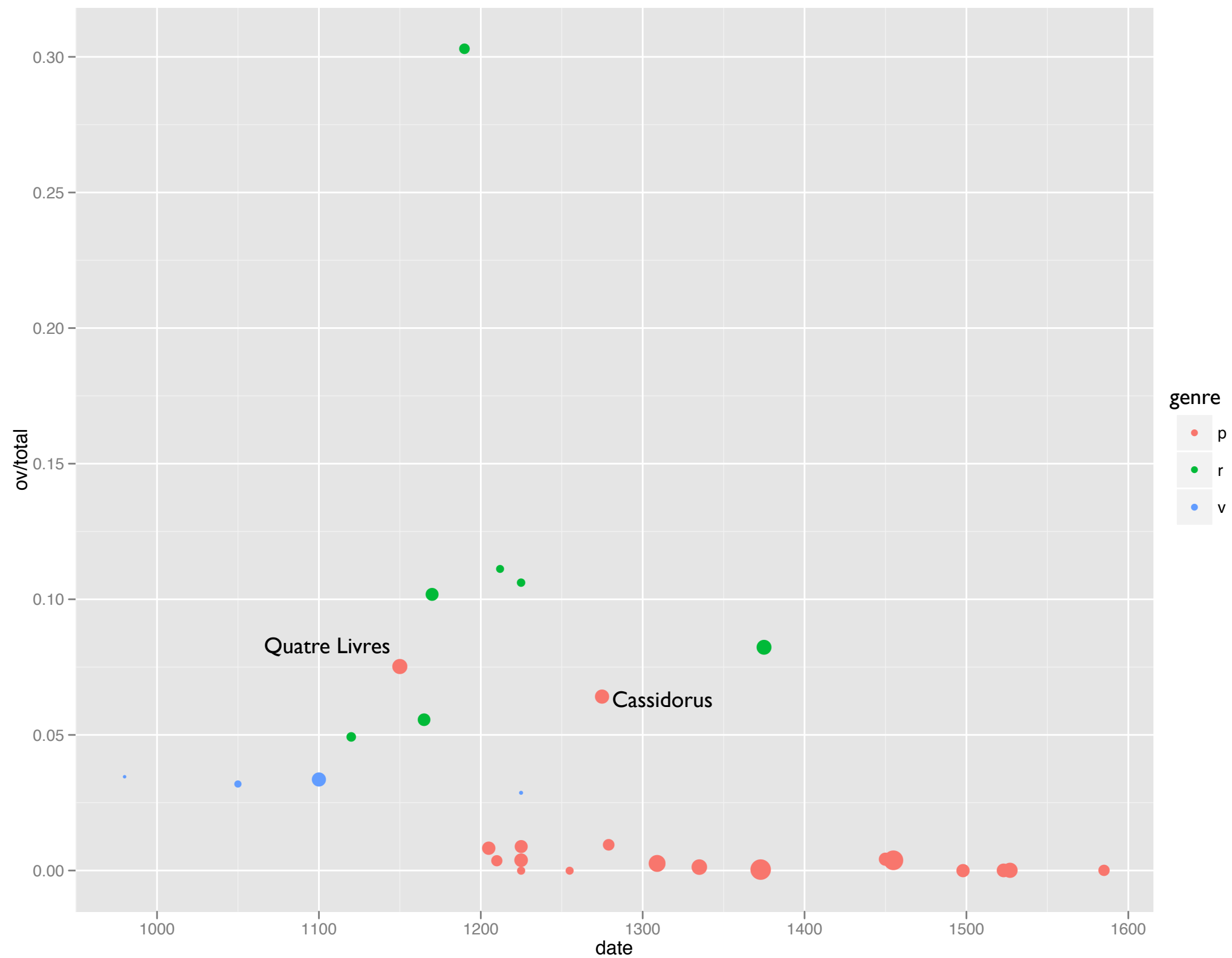
Frequency of OV$_{fin}$ word order in French, subject pronouns removed
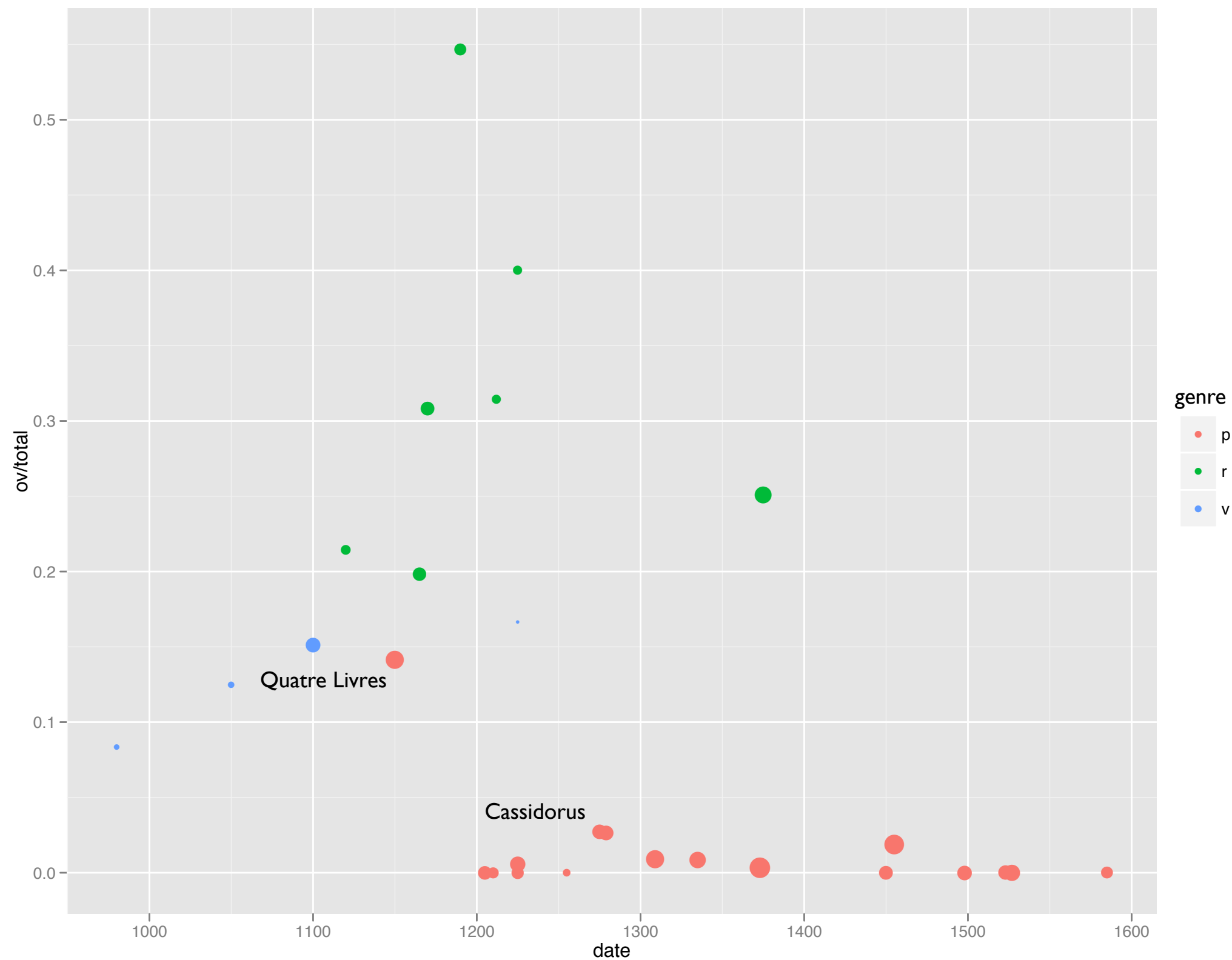
Frequency of AuxOV word order in French
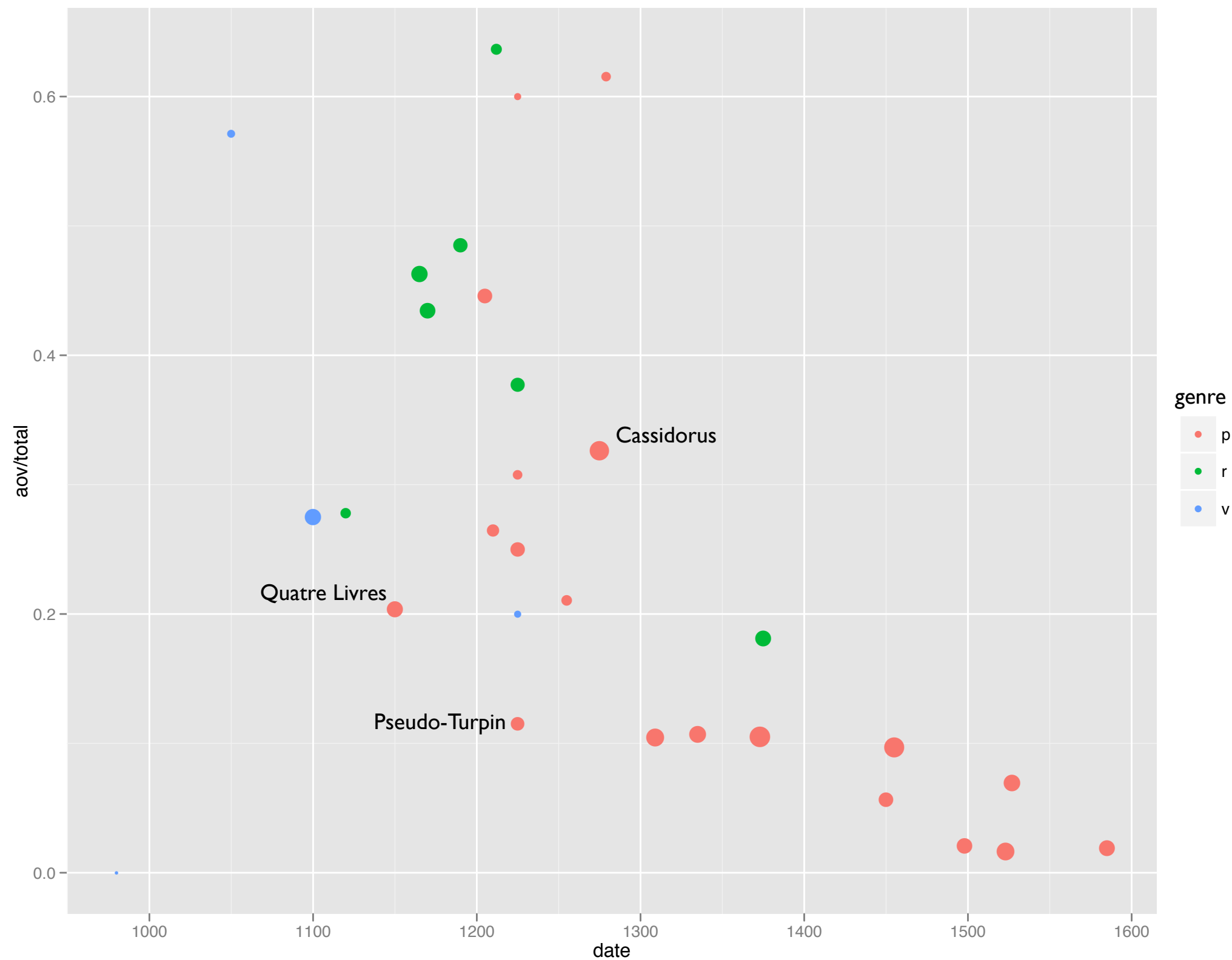
Frequency of AuxOV against OV_{fin} in French

Frequency of AuxOV word order in English
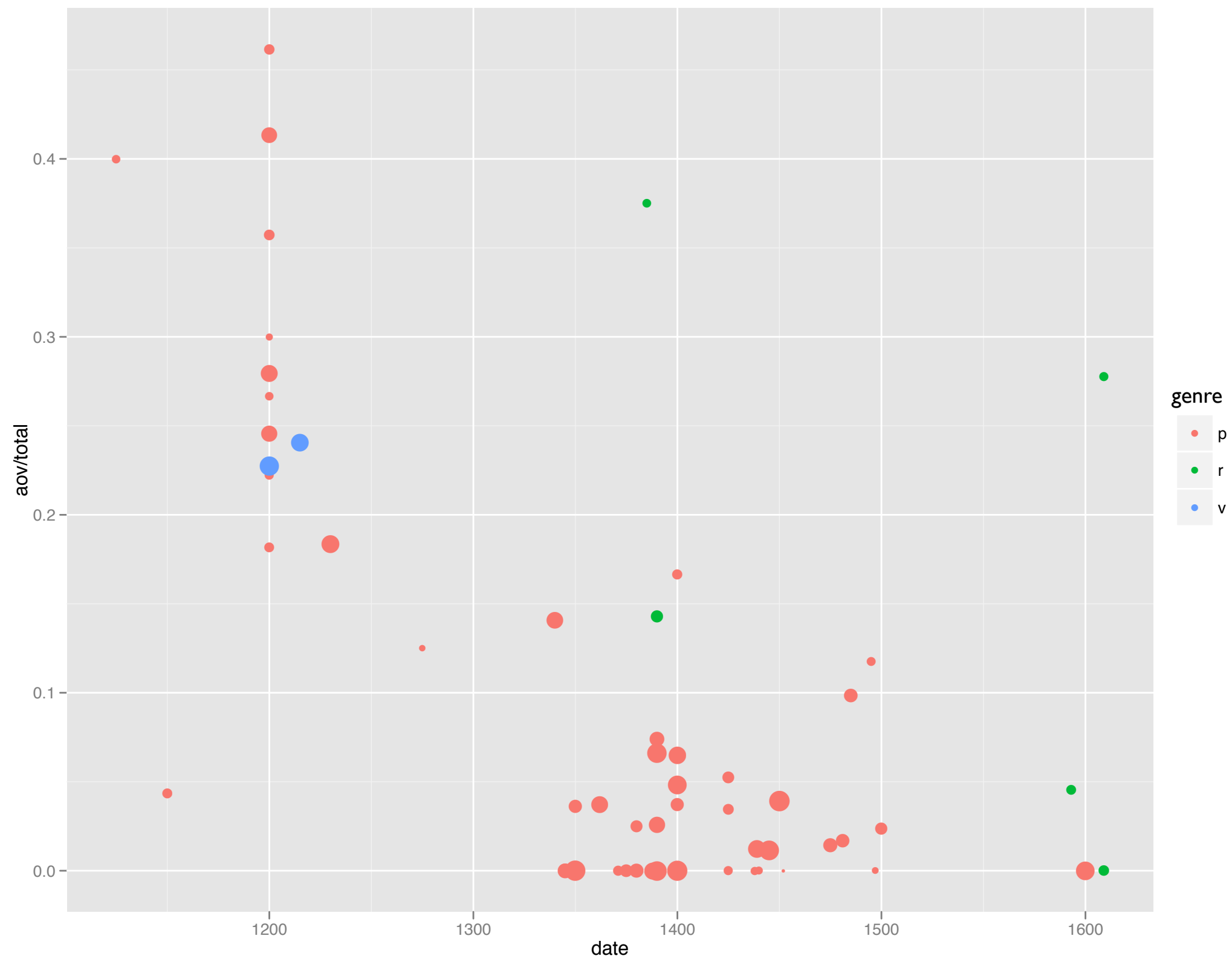
Frequency of AuxOV word order in English, logistic scale
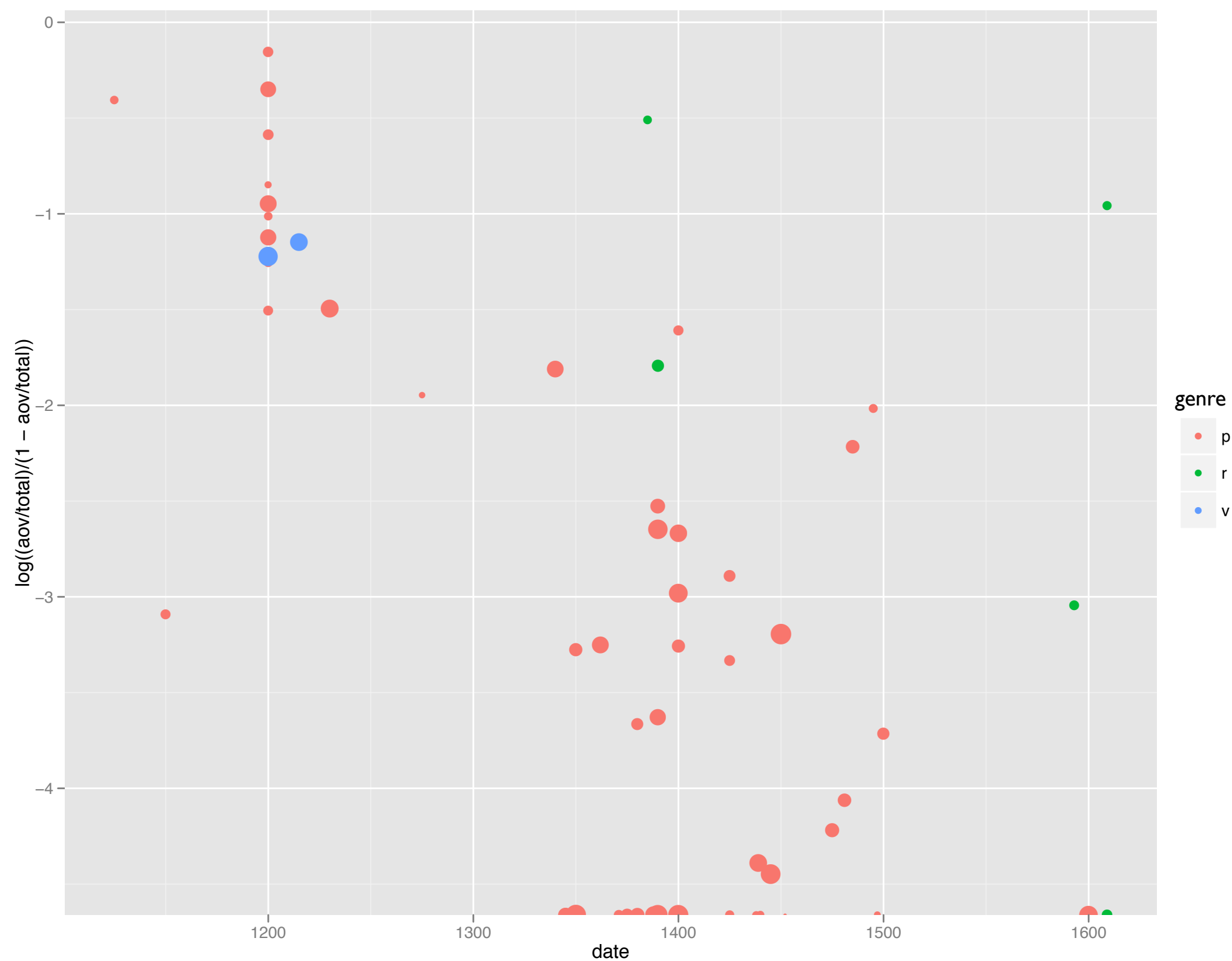
Frequency of OAuxV word order in English
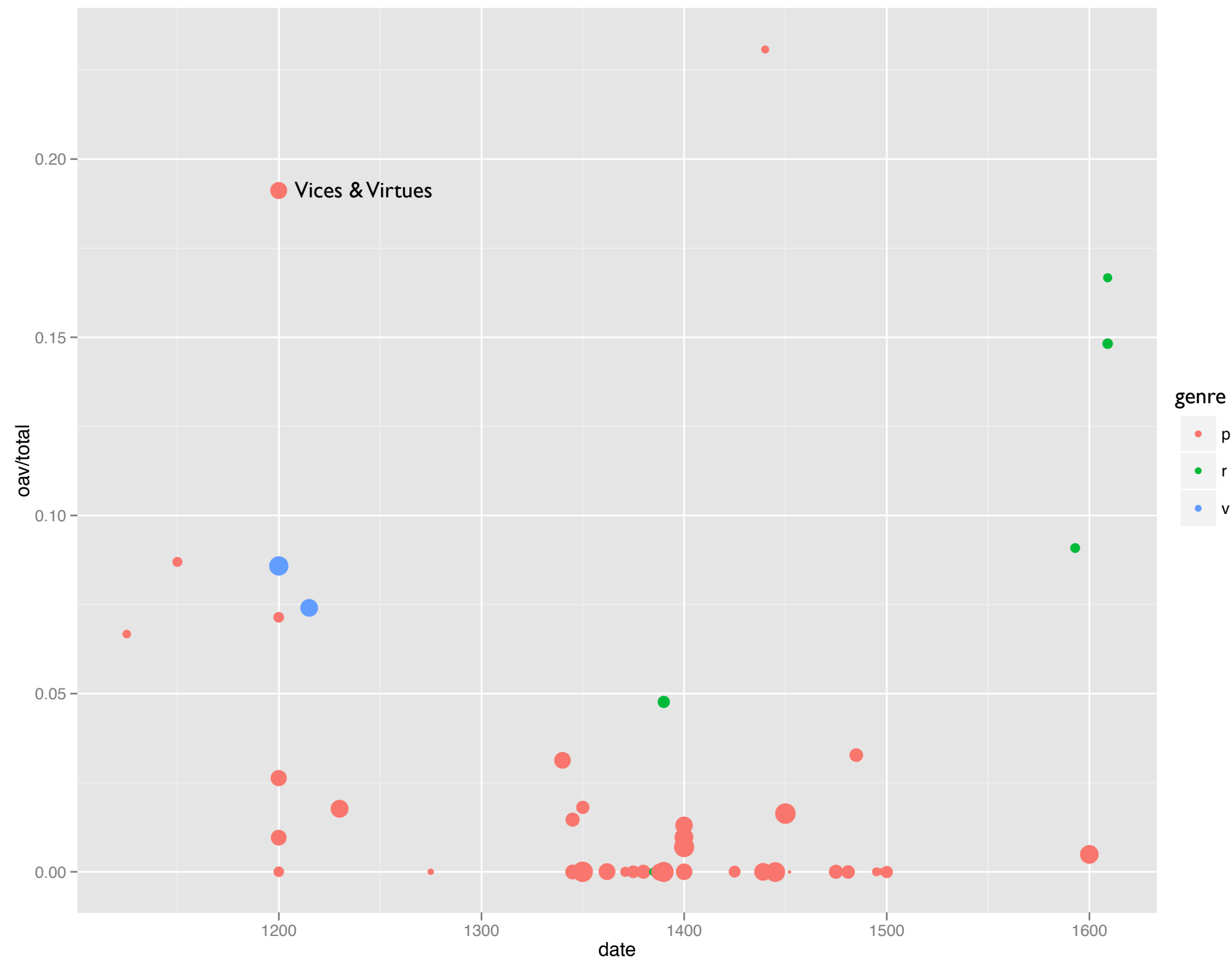
Frequency of OV$_{fin}$ word order in English
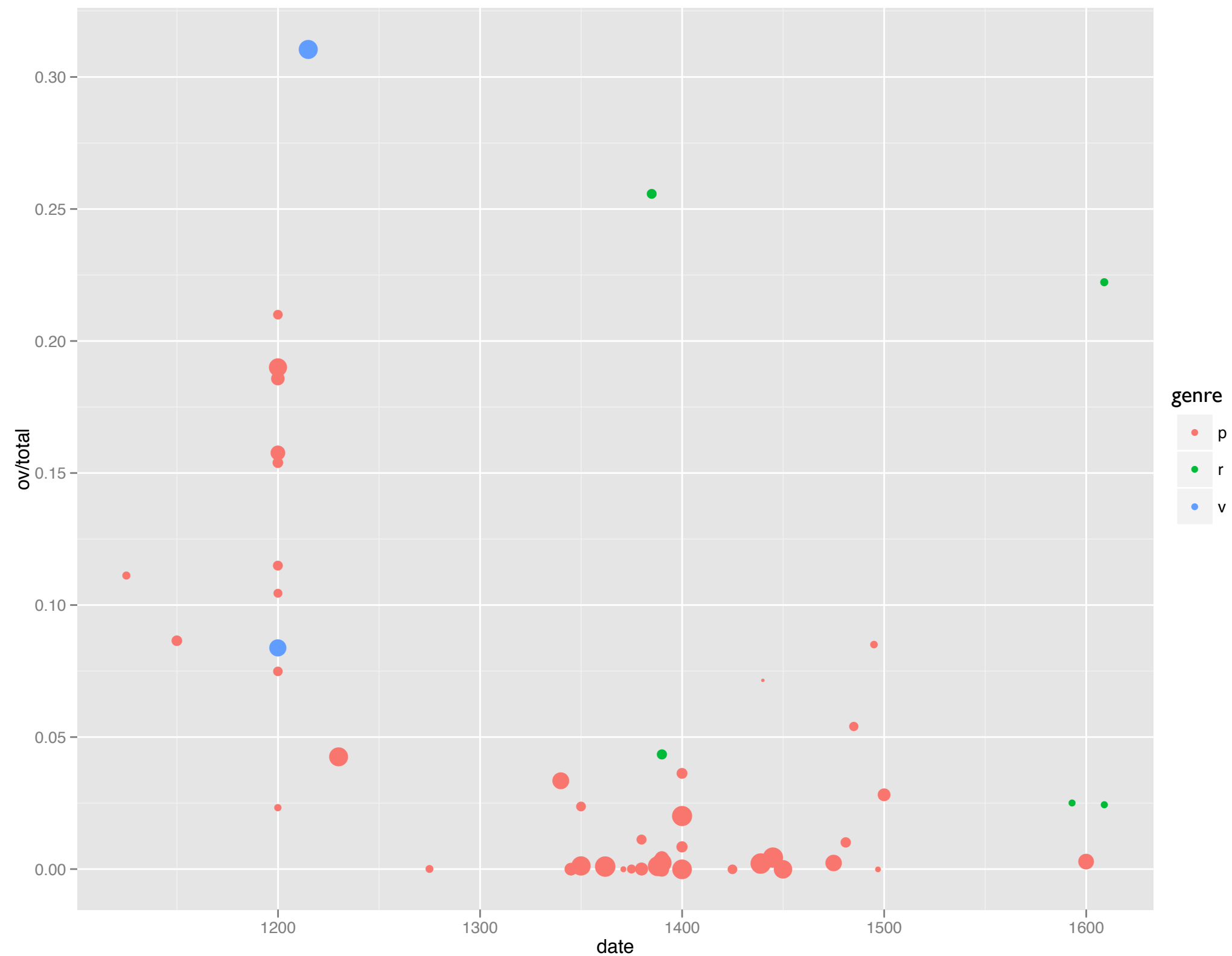
Frequency of OV$_{\text{fin}}$ word order in English, logistic scale
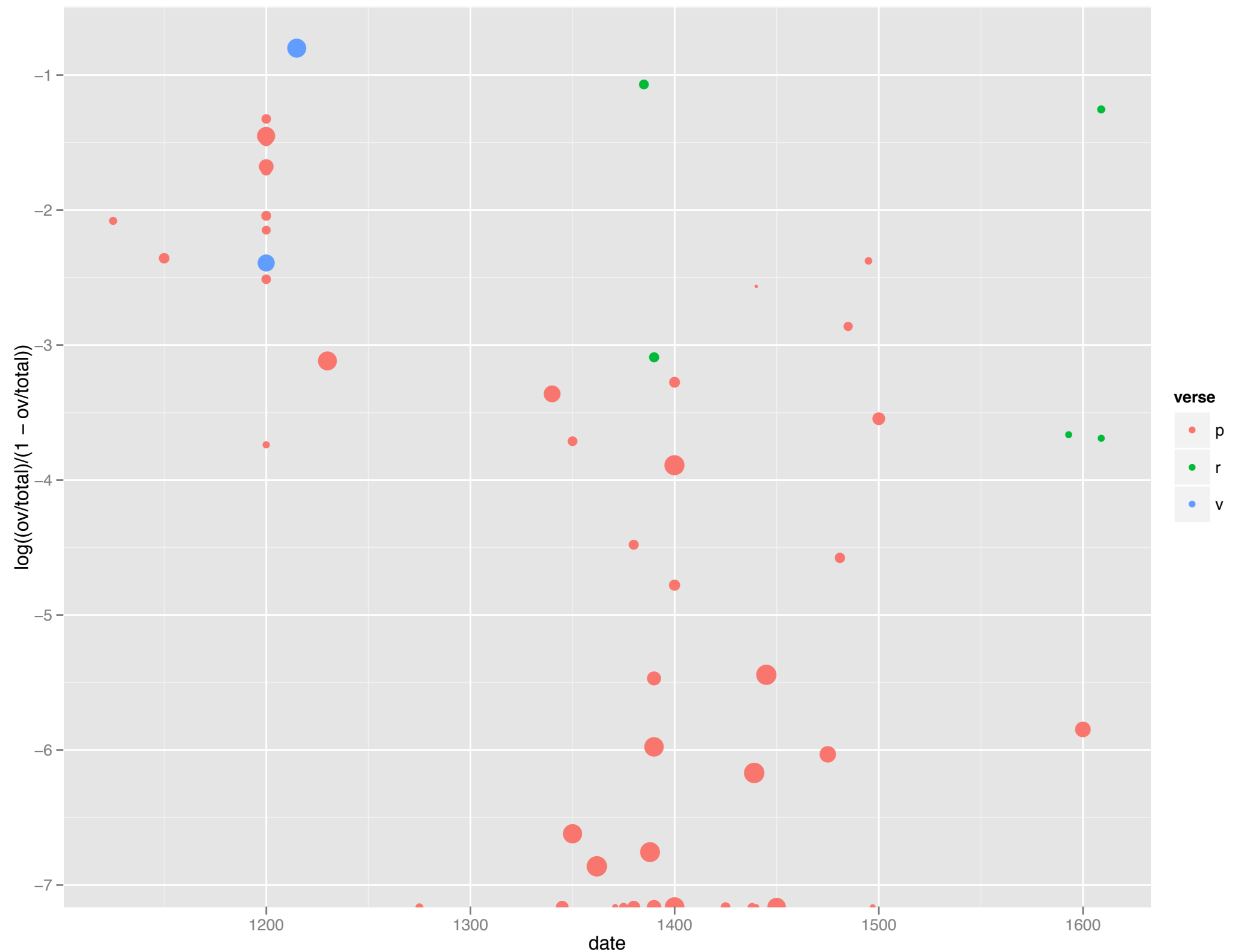
Frequency of AuxOV against OV$_{fin}$ in English
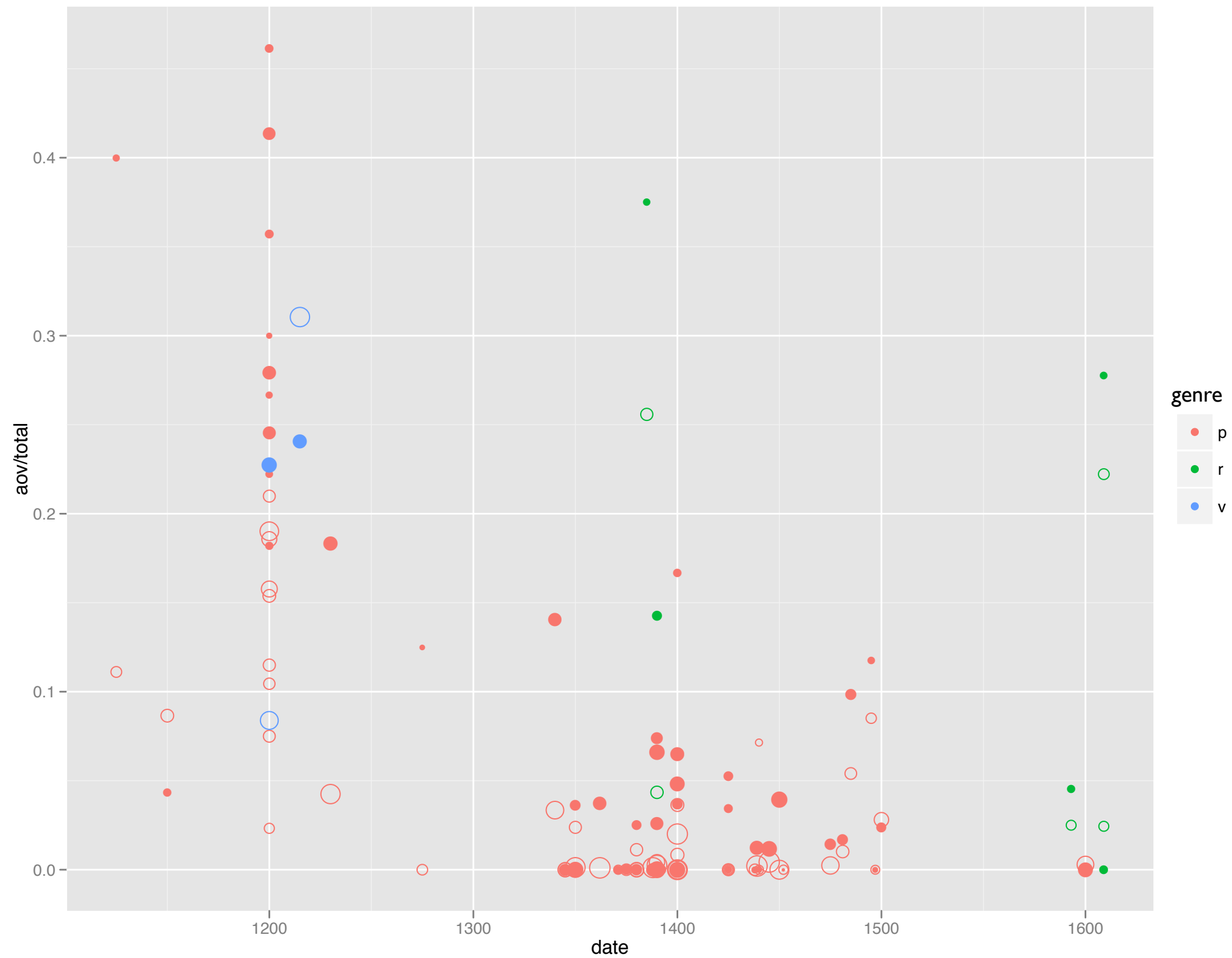
Frequency of OAuxV against OV$_{fin}$ in English
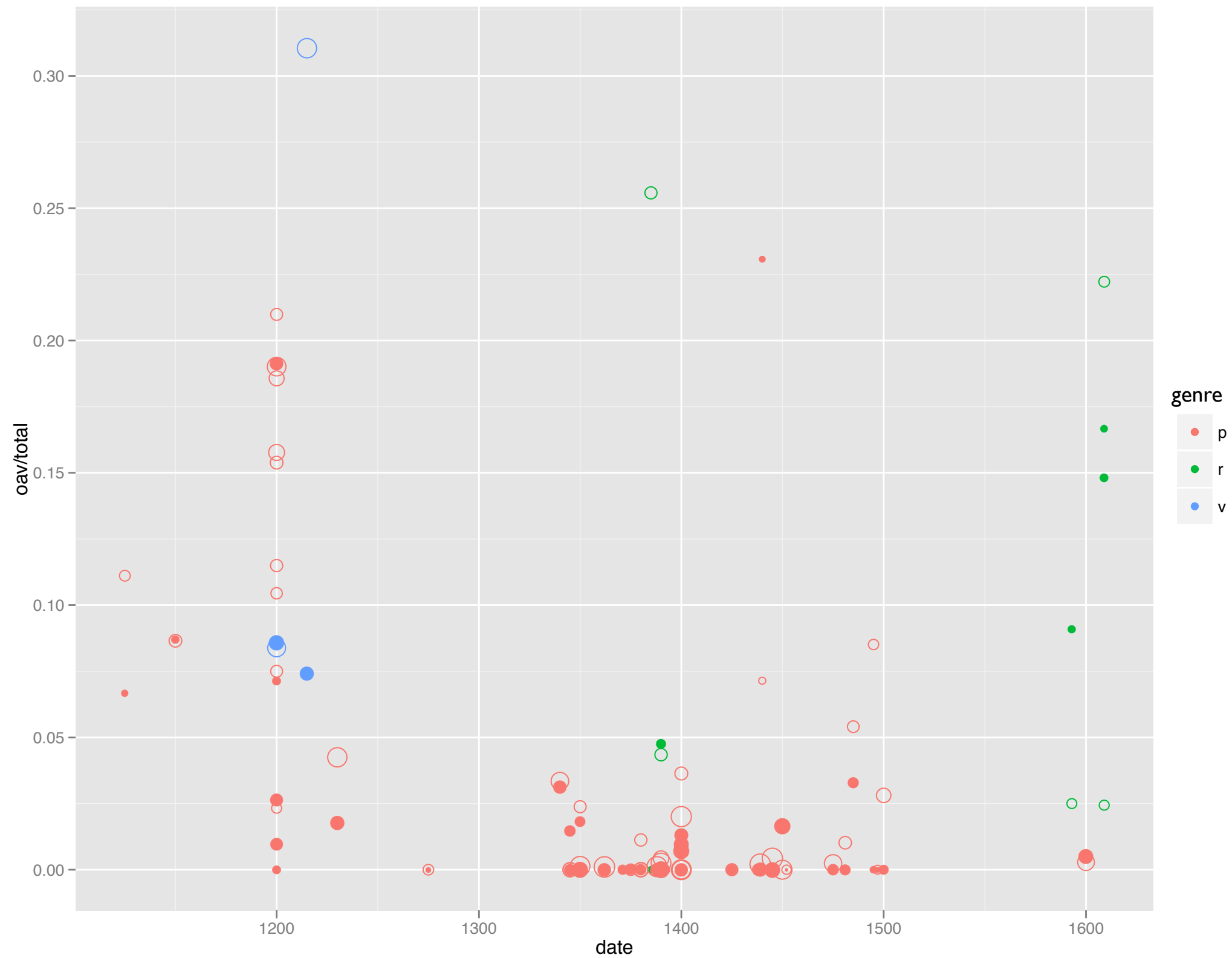
Verb Position

Topicalized object sentences with V2 word order in English and French

(1) These thinges shuld a mayde bisely kepe with gret drede....
(CMAELR4-M4,10.259)

(2) Alle sal man comunlike recaiue
(CMBENRUL-M3,35.1131)

(3) messe e matines ad li reis escultet
mass and matins has the king heard
(Roland 11.139)

(4) l'estreu li tint sun uncle Guinemer
the stirrup him held his uncle Guinemer
(Roland 27.329)

Topicalized object sentences with V3 word order in English and French

(1) Thes same wordys God schall say to you at +te day of dome

(CMMIRK-M34, 71.1908)

(2) þat Octa scal ifinden

(LAYAMON-M1, 508.466)

(3) ceste franchise il tient de Deiu
this privilege he has from God

(Somme, 80.268)

(4) aultre remyde je n'y voy
other remedy I not there see

(XV Joies, 111v.1209)

Adverb initial sentences with V2 word order in English and French

(1) and þanne schulde þy talkyngge be sauery and swete

(CMAELR3-M23, 49.734)

(2) and elles miʒt neuer man in þis liif abide it ne bere it.

(CMCLOUD-M3, 84.453)

(3) or est ele bien venue
now is she welcome

(Yvain 43.1440)

(4) ben l'entendit il arcevesques Turpin
well it understands the archebishop Turpin

(Roland 96.1237)

# Adverb initial sentences with V3 word order in English and French

(1) eftir þe dede sal þe not mis-like

(CMBENRUL-M3, 8.238))

(2) And þan þe swan shal bene slayne wiþ sorwe

(CMBRUT3-M3, 74.2230)

(3) unkes nuls hom ne vit tel ajustee.
never no man not saw such joust

(Roland 238.3299)

(4) premierement il devient taverniers
first he becomes innkeeper

(Somme 47.306)
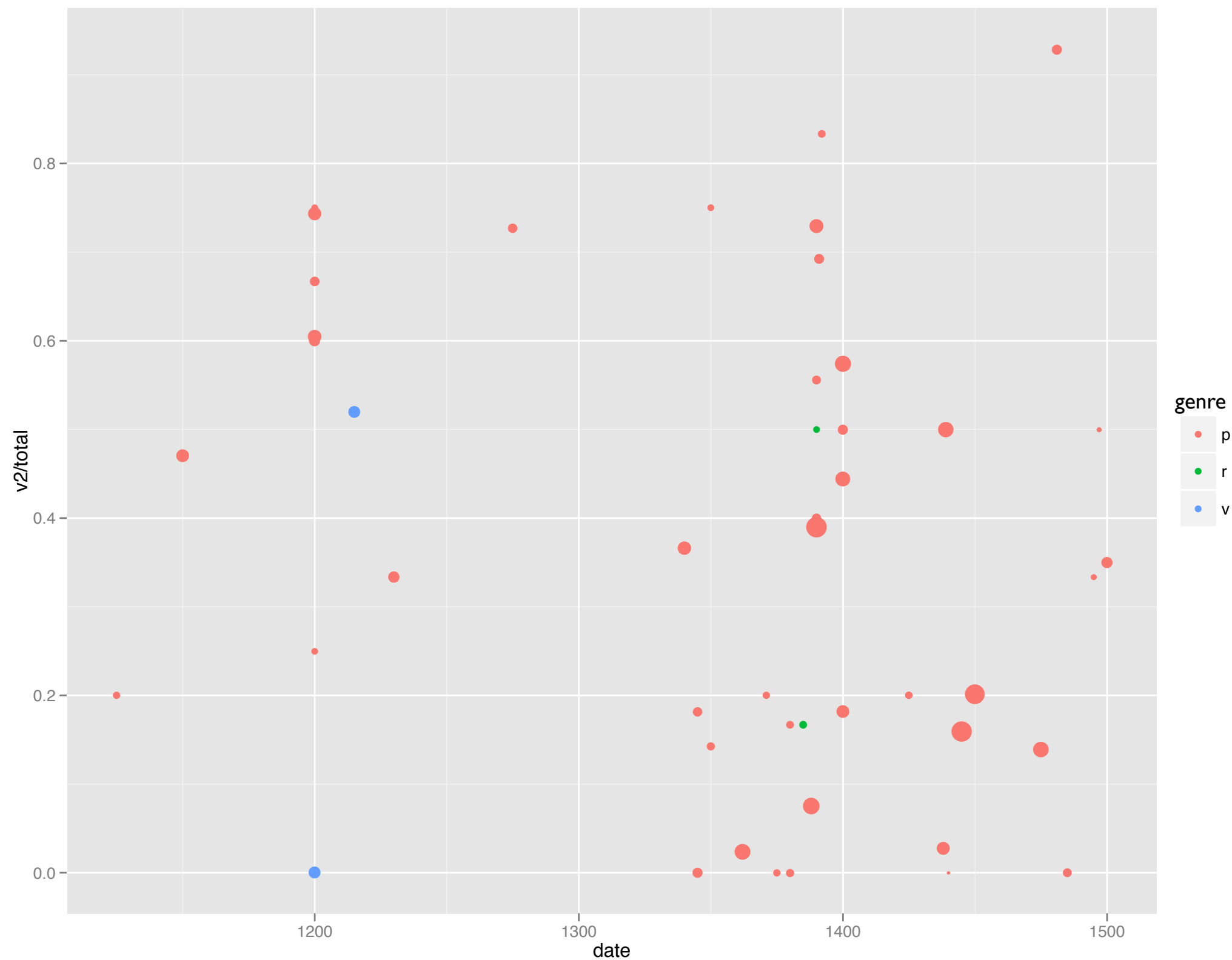
Frequency of non-subject initial V2 word order in English
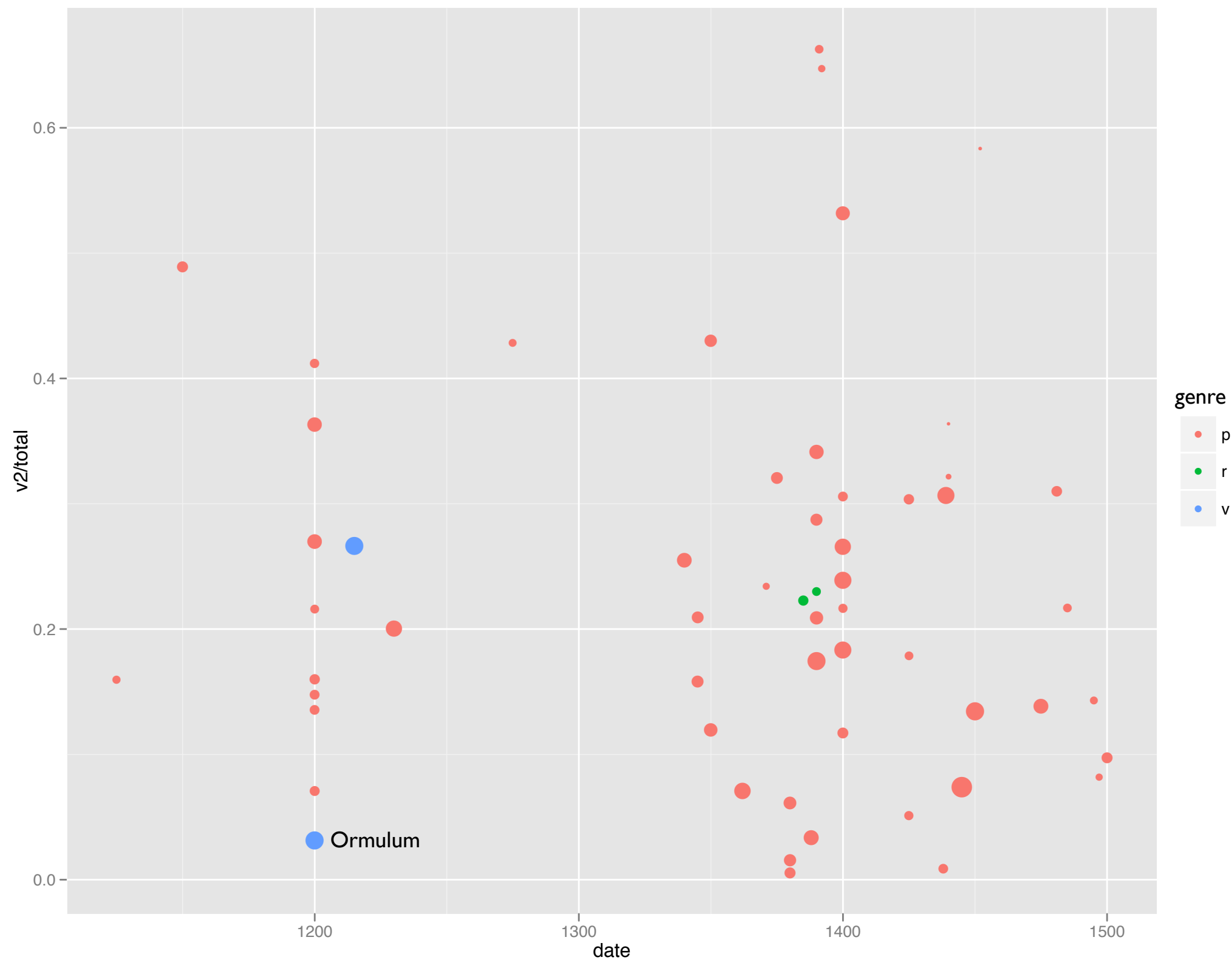
Frequency of V2 word order in French sentences
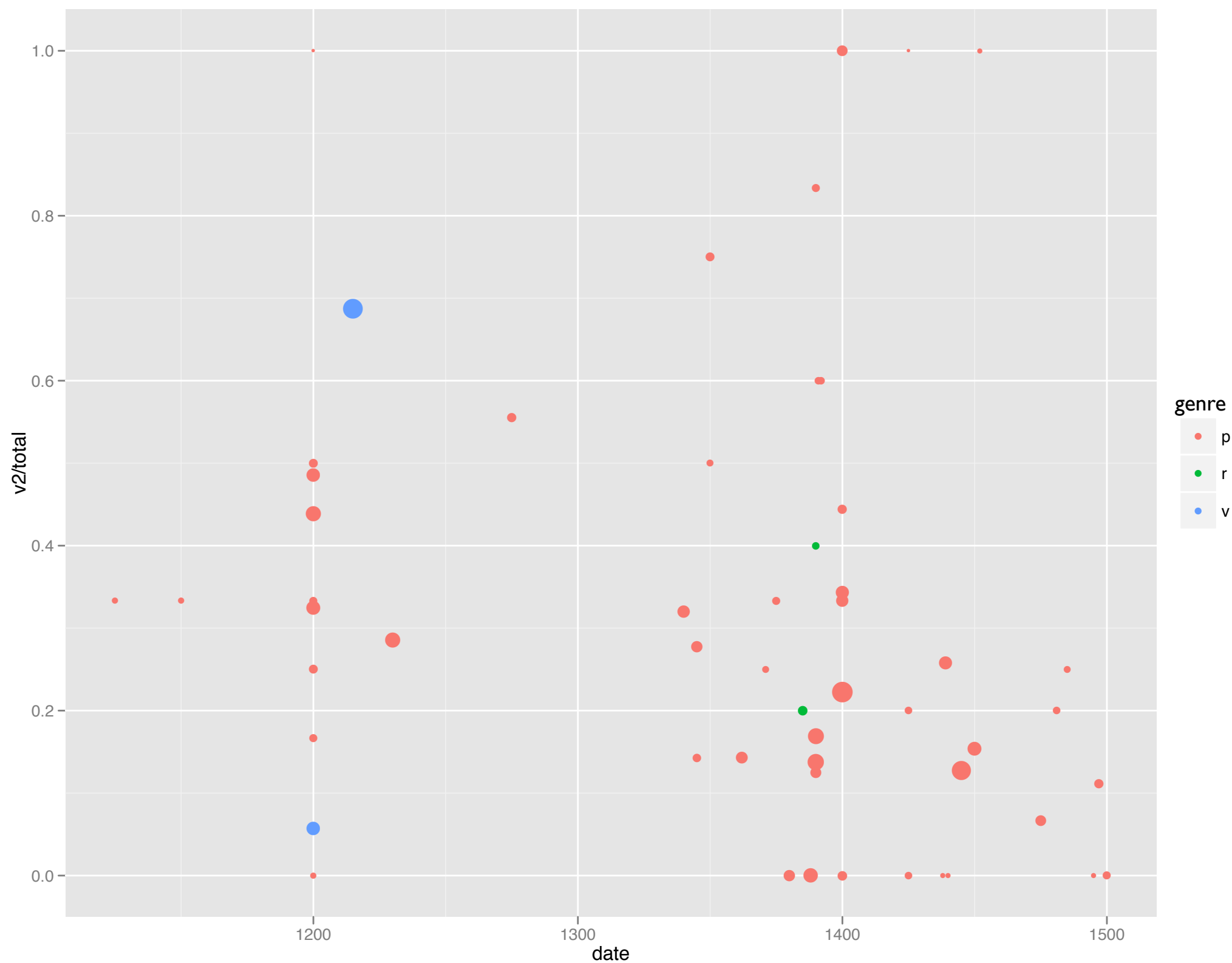with fronted temporal adverbs, full NP subjects only

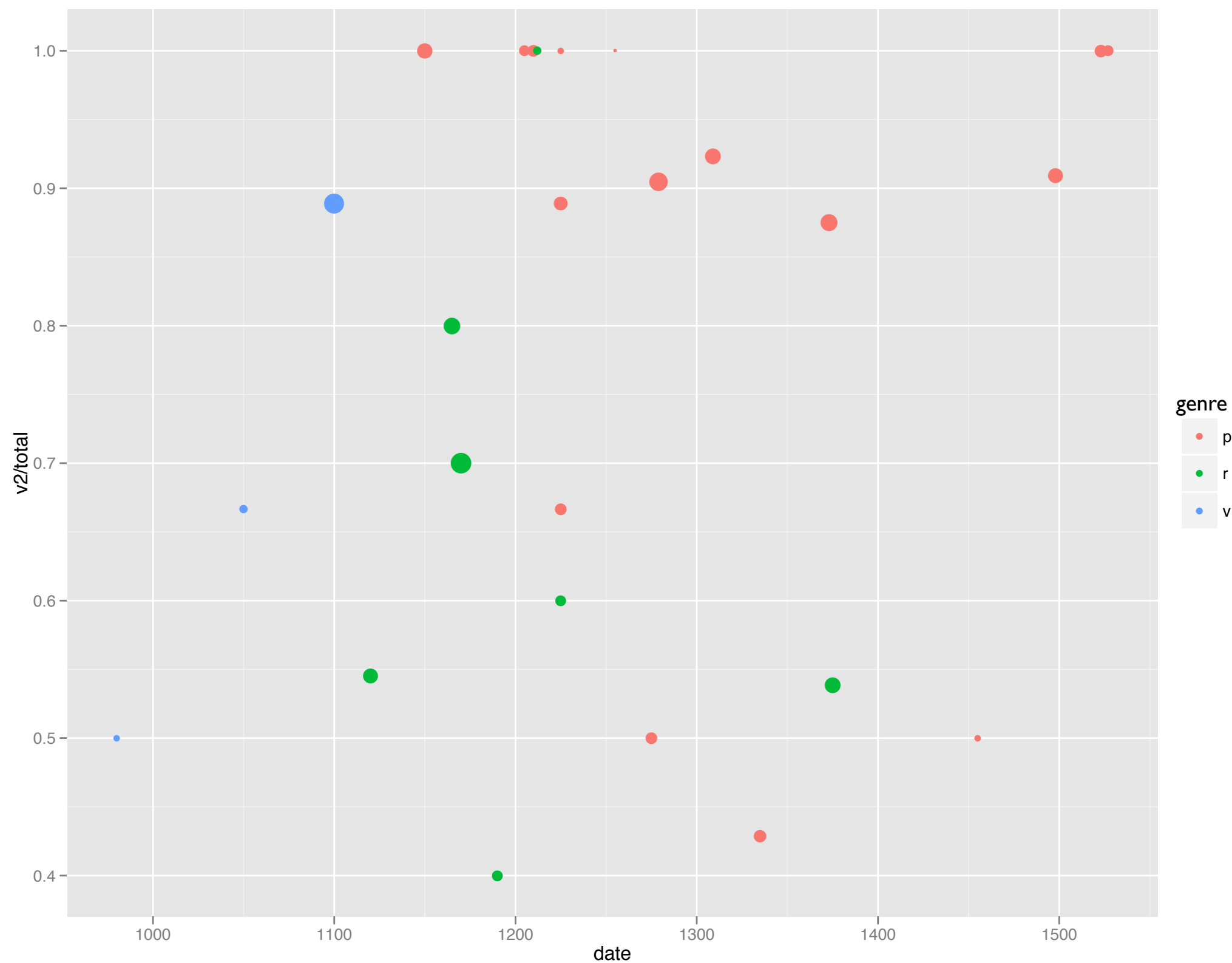Frequency of V2 word order in English sentences with fronted temporal adverbs, full NP subjects only

Frequency of V2 word order in French sentences
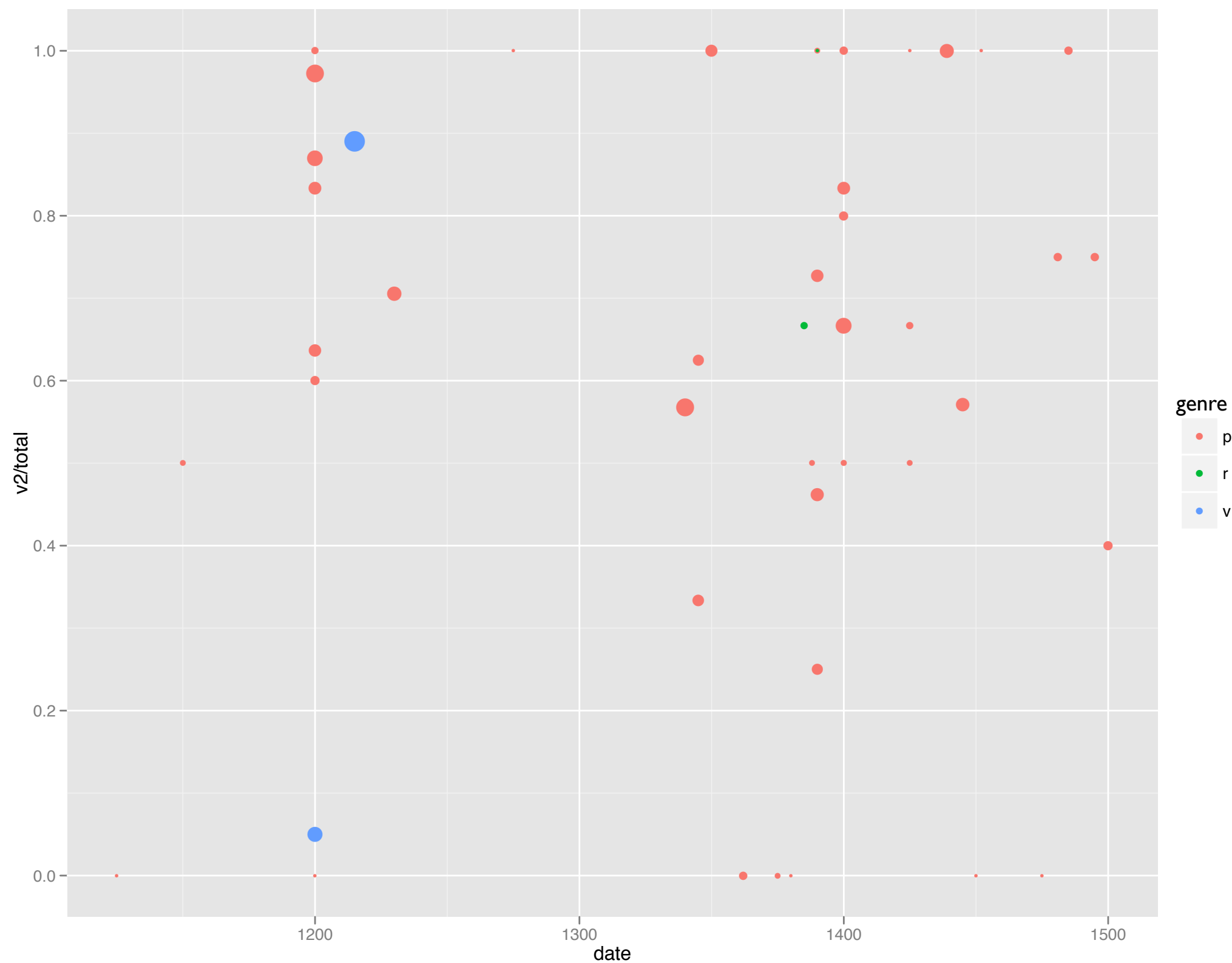with fronted non-temporal adverbs, full NP subjects only
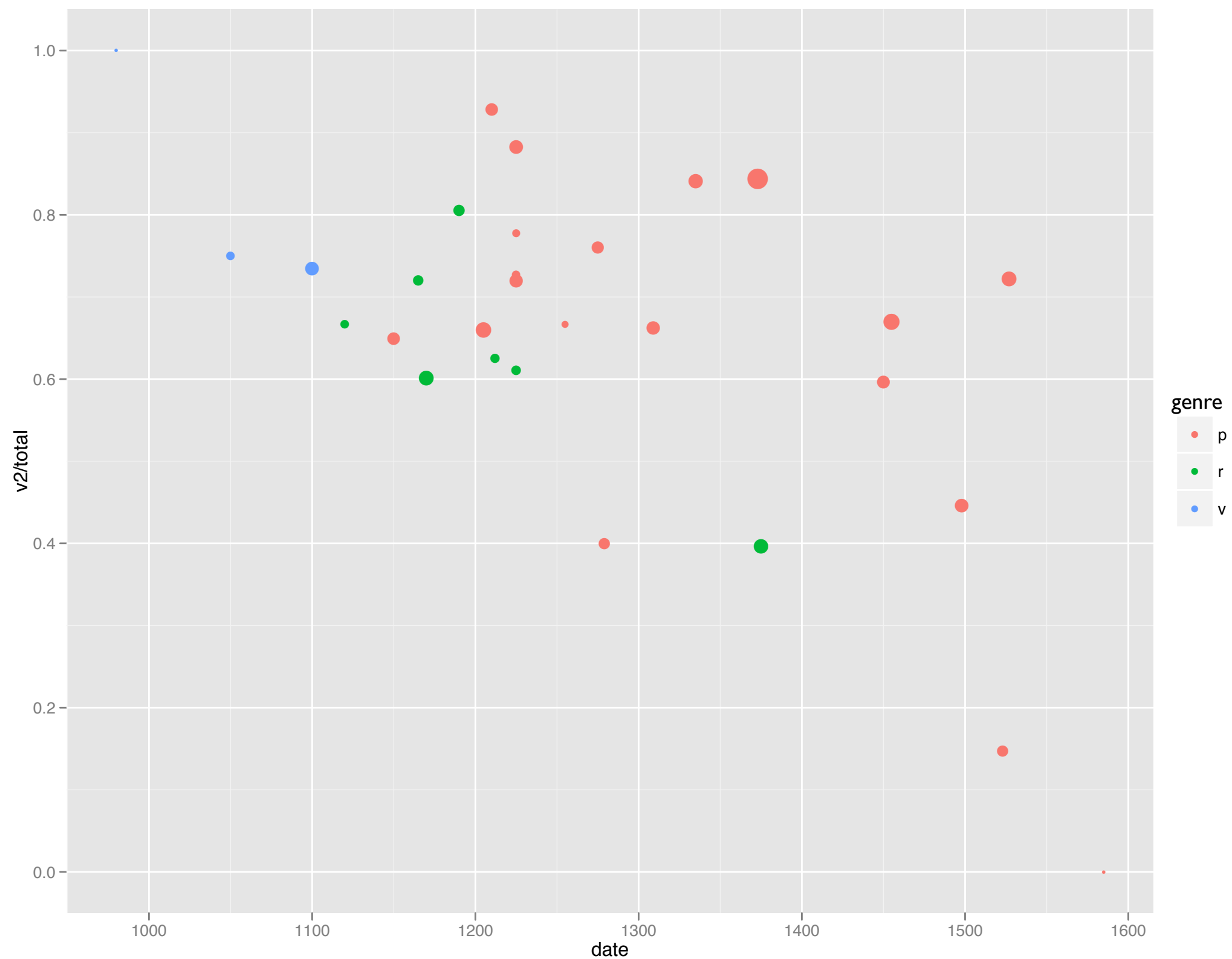
Frequency of V2 word order in English sentences
with fronted non-temporal adverbs, full NP subjects only

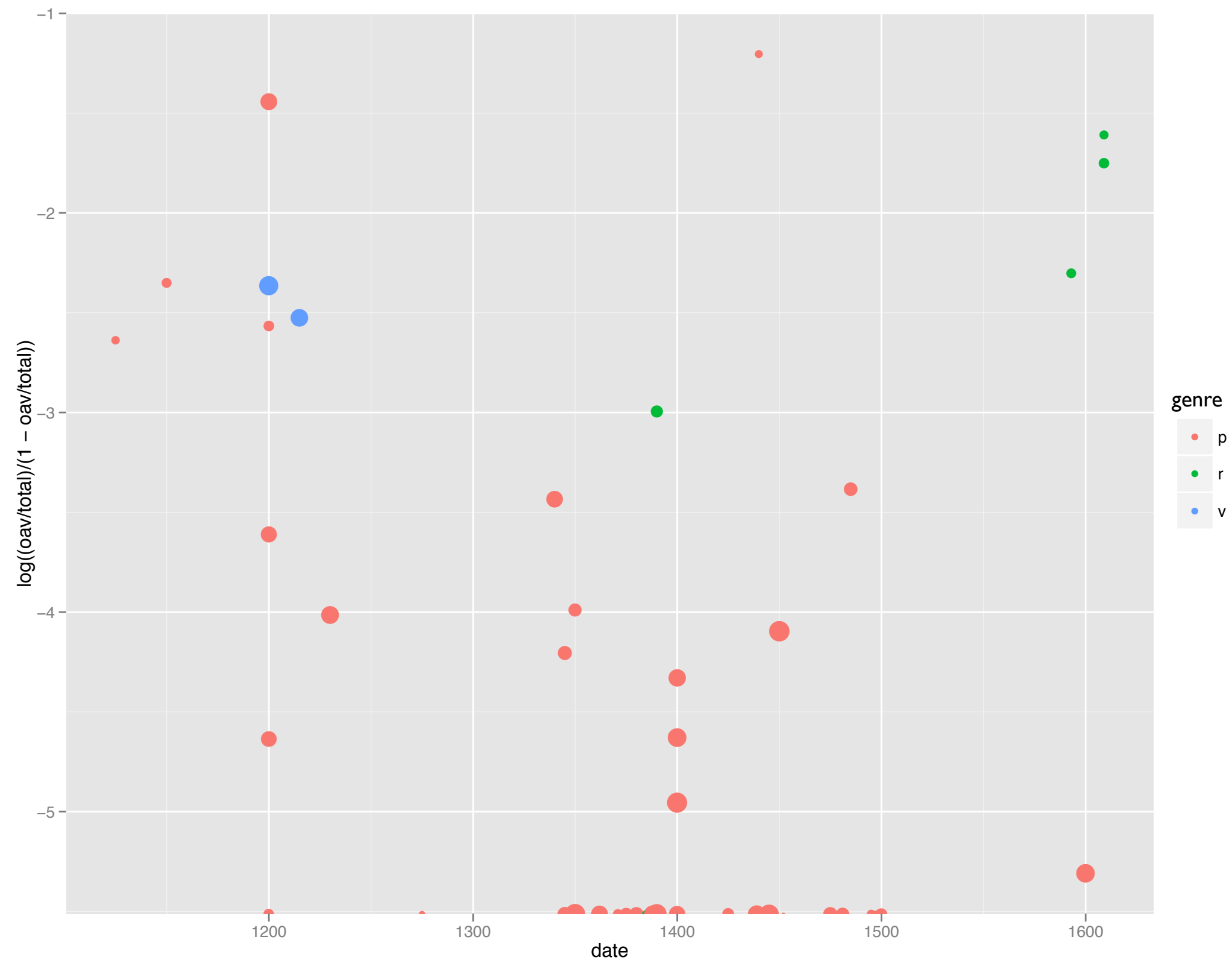Frequency of V2 word order in French sentences with fronted direct objects, full NP subjects only

Frequency of V2 word order in English sentences with fronted direct objects, full NP subjects only

Finis

Frequency of OAuxV word order in English, logistic scale

genre

genre

genre

genre

genre

genre

genre