Colloque **Tracing the Curve of Evolution: Syntactic change through text types**
Université de Caen Normandie
March 28-29 2024

Programme

Salle des Actes, MRSH, Campus 1

***Thursday March 28 2024
9h30 – Welcome coffee

Morning session chair: Charlotte Galves (Campinas)
10h00-11h00 Wendy Ayres-Bennett (Cambridge), "Text types and syntactic change in seventeenth-century French"

11h00-11h30 Barbara Vance (Indiana), "Social variables and Information Structure in a medieval French "roman à tiroirs": moving toward modern word order in *Le Roman de Cassidorus*"

11h30-12h00 Bryan Donaldson and Ivy Shaw (Santa Cruz), "Old French sentential coordination: Syntactic change and textual variation"

12h00-14h00 – lunch

Afternoon session chair: Adeline Patard (Caen)
14h00-14h30 Sam Wolfe (Oxford), "Early Medieval Romance and the Problem of Text Types"

14h30-15h00 Francesco Pinzin (Frankfurt) and Mathieu Goux (Caen), "How *genre* affects word order: a diachronic analysis of French"

15h00-15h30 Charlotte Galves (Campinas), "Genre, register and syntax in the history of Portuguese: a study based on syntactically parsed corpora"

15h30-16h00 – break

16h00-16h30 Afra Pujol i Campeny (Oxford), "Register, genre, and syntax in Old Catalan"

16h30-17h00 Elisa De Roberto (Roma), " Clitic pronouns before the infinitive in two early Italo-Romance varieties (Tuscan and Lombard, 13th-15th centuries)"

17h00-17h30 Lene Schøsler and Kirsten Kragh (København), "The status of administrative texts with respect to language change"

18h30 – apéro

19h30 – dinner

***Friday March 29 2024
Morning session chair: Francesco Pinzin (Frankfurt)
9h30-10h00 Andreas Dufter (München), "*Avant qu'il (ne) vienne* : tracing the trajectory of *ne* in 'before'-clauses in French

10h00-10h30 Katalin Gugán (Budapest), "Variants of sentential negation across registers: a case study of Middle Hungarian"

10h30-10h50 – break

10h50-12h00 Flash presentations
10h50-11h05 Zinaïda Geylikman (Paris), "*Personne* in *ne*-sentences from 14th to 16th centuries : a contribution of text-type calibrated corpora"
11h05-11h20 Ana Bravo (Murcia), "Spanish *venir* 'to come' + past participle: a history of forking paths and coming letters
11h20-11h35 Pierre Larrivée, "Is Middle French a partial null subject language?"
11h35-12h00 Corpora presentations: Anne Breitbarth ; Charlotte Galves ; Katalin Gugán ; Pierre Larrivée ; Francesco Pinzin

12h00-14h00 – lunch

Afternoon session chair: Afra Pujol i Campeny (Oxford)
14h00-14h30 Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), "What metrical poetry can tell us about word order change"

1430-15h00 Anne Breitbarth (Gent), "*You are what you is*. Understanding Dutch agreement variation through historical letters"

15h00-15h30 Kristin Bech (Oslo), "The periphrastic perfect: *Have* + participle in the *Ormulum"*

15h30-16h00 Sonja Zeman (Augsburg), "Language change through narration: A diachronic view on German"

16h00-16h30 – break

16h30-17h30 Johannes Kabatek (Zurich), "Discourse traditions and (Romance) historical syntax"

17h30 – final discussion and drinks

Kristin Bech (Oslo). The periphrastic perfect: HAVE + participle in the *Ormulum*

The *Ormulum* is a biblical exegesis, written by the monk Orm in the 12th century, i.e. in the Early Middle English period. It is written in verse, and the special thing about it is that Orm uses a phonetic spelling system, intended to help the priests pronounce the vernacular language, as many of the priests were speakers of Anglo-Norman after the Norman Conquest.

In Old English, the combination *habban* 'have' + participle was well established, but the functional distinction, according to which an earlier event or state is linked with the present time, was not yet established (Mitchell 1985 I: 296–298).

In the *Ormulum,* on the other hand, there is an abundance of examples of HAVE in combination with a past participle. Although the use of HAVE + participle itself in many instances might be attributed to rhythm, there are instances of word order variation within the rhythmic pattern, as in (i).

(i)   Forr þuss he seȝȝde þær till himm.   For thus he said there to him
       Iesumm icc **hafe fundenn**.   Jesus I have found.   Forr
       þatt he wollde don himm swa.   For that he would do him so.
       To sen. & tunnderrstanndenn.   To see and to understand.
       Þatt tatt wass godess sune crist.   That that was God's son Christ.
       Þatt he þa **fundenn haffde**.   That he then found had.
       (13506–13511)

According to Fischer and van der Wurff (2006: 139), the periphrastic perfect has gone through a slow grammaticalization process entailing both formal and semantic shifts, as well as a shift in the context in which the construction occurs. The overall aim of this paper is to provide an overview of this construction in the *Ormulum,* and assess which stage it had reached in the grammaticalization process. The following questions are asked:

- Does HAVE + participle occur with animate or non-animate subjects? In Old English, HAVE had a possessive meaning, and thus the subjects tended to be animate. As HAVE lost that possessive meaning, it began to occur with non-animate subjects (Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 140).

- Are the verbs transitive or intransitive? Because of the possessive meaning of HAVE in Old English, the associated verb tended to be transitive (Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 140).

- Does perfect HAVE refer to an activity in the past that is linked to the present moment, or does it rather have present time reference expressing completion, as in Old English? (cf. Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 140; Elsness 1997: 286).

- What causes word order variation with respect to the position of HAVE and the position of the participle in relation to each other? Does it have to do with main clause versus subordinate clause word order, as example (1) may indicate? Or are there other mechanisms involved?

The overarching question is whether the perfect with HAVE reflects new usage, or whether it is a consequence of the meter in this particular text type – used to create enough syllables and the appropriate rhythm for Orm.

Elsness, Johan. 1997. *The perfect and the preterite in contemporary and earlier English*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Johannesson, Nils-Lennart and Andrew Cooper (eds.). 2023. *The Ormulum*, vols. 1 and 2. Early English Text Society O.S. 360 and 361. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fischer, Olga and Wim van der Wurff. 2006. Syntax. In Richard Hogg and David Denison (eds.)*, A history of the English language*, 109–198. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English syntax*, vols. I and II. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ana Bravo (Murcia). Spanish *venir* 'to come' + past participle: a history of forking paths and some coming letters

In this talk I address the topic of the role of register in both the evolution and the decline of two closely related variants. Namely, I am interested in the combination of Spa. *venir* 'to come' followed by a past participle. The declining variant is the change-of-state construction, forerunner of the COME-passives (Ramat and Sansó 2014). In Italian (Ramat and Sansó 2014, and references therein), but not in Spanish, in addition to the canonical passives with the verb corresponding to *be*, the verb TO COME might function as a passive auxiliary (1), ungrammatical in Spa. (2):

(1) *Il giovedì il portone **viene chiuso** alle 21*. (R&S 2014: 22)　　　　　It.
  the Thrusday the door   comes closed at   21
  'On Thrusdays the main door *is closed* at 9 p.m.'
(2) **El jueves   la puerta **viene cerrada** a las 21*.
   the Thrusday   the door   comes closed   at the 21.

Coming passives, indeed, are a rare grammaticalization path to follow. According to R&S (2014), a change-of-state meaning construction functions as the forerunner construction:

(3) *Per tanto **viene privato**   molto tosto come egli è preso*. (Ramat 2014: 27)
   for this comes domesticated very   soon as   soon is captured
   '[N]onetheless it becomes domesticated soon after it is captured'.

As for Spanish, the documents reveal that this BECOME meaning stage was on the verge of takeoff, and around at the same time as in Italian. However, examples are restricted to the Alfonso X's scriptorium and don`t go beyond the 13th century (4). Pountain (1984) only finds one case of *venir* with the meaning of BECOME and it belongs to the late 12th century (*Poem of Mio Cid*):

(4) eran tantas que todo el ayre texie   & **venje cubierto** dellas. *General estoria V* (CDE: G/ H).
   were many that all the air weaved et   came covered of-them
   'They were so much that the air become covered'

The first conclusion, thus, is that *venir* as BECOME was restricted to a particular written register -that of the alfonsíes texts (Fernández-Ordóñez 2008), out of which it did not further develop.

A second interesting fact concerning *venir* + pp is that the general frequencies of use of *venir* remain quite low until the 16th and 17th century, when there is a rapid and strong increase in its use (up to the 23.72 % in the 16th century and to the 26,08% in the 17th century). This is the emerging construction. The relevant data are in Table 1:

Still, both the grammar and the semantics of *venir* + pp remains almost the same since the first documented examples (also Octavio de Toledo for *venir* + gerund). In (5a) the subject has a human referent and in (5b) the referent is inanimate. In both cases the subject changes its location, and the past participle functions a secondary predicate:

(5) a. *Estonces sobreuino diomedes […] & **viene acompañado** de mucha gente*. (*Troyana,* 14th, CDE)
       then   overcame Diomedes   et comes accompanied of much people
     'And then appears Diomedes and he comes accompanied by many people.'
  b. que los escriptos **vengan**   **firmados** de   letrado conosçido. (*Siete,* 13th CDE)
      that the writings come.SUBJ signed   from lawyer known
     'That the writings must be signed by a known lawyer'.

The reason behind this dramatical change is exogenous and, at the same time, linked to two different discursive traditions or genres. The discovering and subsequent conquering of America is the exogenous cause , due to its own communicative purposes that had to be satisfied: the ongoing process of conquering the new continent had to be described, the Monarchy in the Metropolis had to be informed about the establishment of the new cities, the Catholic Church set up his own organization, and individual citizens had families, properties and affairs on both sides of the Ocean that had to be attended. The historical fact of the discovering and subsequent conquering of America dramatically boosted up the exchange of letters, official and personal, documents and literature dedicated to attending the new reality. And *venir* + pp, probably evidential in its origins, was perfectly suited to meet the new communication needs (Jacob & Kabatek 2001, Kabatek 2008, Company 2008, a.m.o):

(6) [Los Incas] **enviaron** pintado en vara y media de tafetán blanco de la   China el   árbol real […].
    the Incas sent   painted in rod and half   of taffeta white of the China the   tree royal
    ***Venían** los Incas pintados en su   traje antiguo […]; **venían** pintados de los pechos arriba, y no más.*
    came the Incas painted in their dress ancient   came painted of the chest up   and no more
    *Todo este recaudo **vino** dirigido a mí, y yo lo **envié** a…*   (*Comentarios,* 1578, CDE)
    all   this collection came directed to
(7) Mandó allí […] sacar a Chalco Chima de la prisión en que **venía guardado** […] y le hizo quemar.
    (*Historia general del Perú*, Murúa, 1616, CDE)
    `He ordered there […] to get Chalco Chima out of the prison in which he had **been 'lit. came' kept**.
    […] and he had him burned'.

In (6), from *Comentarios reales* (Garcilaso de la Vega *El Inca*), all the verbs are *venir* (three of them) or its causative alternation (*enviar,* 'to send'). Additionally, I will compare these texts with personal letters from the 16th century from the *P.S. Post Scriptum* corpus and show that there is an important difference between the American and the European letters, where this construction is almost absent.

Concomitant to this situation is the flourishing of the Books of Chivalry, of which *El Quijote* is its best, and almost its last exponent. The stories in the Books of Chivalry are stories about travels and about displacement. These explains that *El Quijote* be the second source of occurrences of *venir* + pp:

(8) Las ninfas […] **traían** a las espaldas en pergamino blanco y letras grandes escritos sus nombres. […]
    Del modo mesmo **venían** señaladas las que al Interés seguían. (*Quijote*, 1582, CDE)
    'The nymphs had their names written, lit. brought written, on their backs in white parchment and large
    letters. […] In the same way they **were, lit. came**, indicated those that followed Interest'.

In a moving society in a moving world *venir* as a motion verb become central, and this huge number of texts both explains the dissemination of *venir* + pp (Pountain 2000, 2006, Eberenz 2008, Oesterreicher 2008) and at the same time, completely blocked its way along the passive path.

Anne Breitbarth (Gent). *You are what you is*. Understanding Dutch agreement variation through historical letters
It is well-known that the (polite) forms of address in Dutch underwent a cyclic replacement by which the 2nd person nominative plural pronoun ghi/gij became the formal 2nd nominative singular pronoun (V(os)-form), and later the informal 2nd nominative singular pronoun (T(u)-form), replacing older du, while the 2nd person accusative plural pronoun u first became the accusative of the new singular V-form, and later the nominative V-form.

A question that has not received much attention so far is how the verbal agreement with these pronouns evolved. There are two theories regarding the rise of nominative u that make different predictions with respect to this question. First, according to e.g. Vor der Hake (1911), the nominative use of u arose from the accusative one by semantic shift. Second, as proposed by Van der Horst (2008: 1094), the nominative use of u arose via an intermediate step, namely the epistolary forms of address consisting of a (possessive) pronoun and a honorific noun, U.Ed., U.E. (uw edelheid, 'your honour') and U.L. (uwe(r) liefde 'your love / kindness') used in letters from the 17th century onwards. Under the first theory, one would expect 2nd person agreement to be older, under the second, 3rd person agreement, as the form of address is an abbreviated noun phrase. In those verbs that do not have syncretic forms for 2nd and 3rd person agreement, viz. hebben 'to have', kunnen 'can', zijn 'to be', and zullen 'shall', there still is variation in present-day Dutch (e.g. https://www.vlaanderen.be/team-taaladvies/taaladviezen/hebben-u-heeft-u-hebt-heeft-u-hebt-u).

In order to better understand the origins and early diachronic development of this variation in the verbal agreement with these verbs, I searched the Letters-as-Loot corpus1 for all occurrences of 2nd and 3rd person forms of abovementioned verbs as well as a form of U.Ed. or U.L., and analysed the variation with exploratory and inferential statistics. The data suggest that the factor with the greatest influence on the agreement form is the presence or absence of inversion, with straight / uninverted contexts strongly favouring 2nd person agreement, and inversion contexts favouring 3rd person agreement. The use of 3rd person agreement seems to originate in the province of North-Holland, and with lower social classes, and spread throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. For my presentation, I will attempt to gather additional data from other genres that might show early use of u as a subject pronoun, as well as later sources (epistolary and other genres), in order to gain a better understanding of the determinants and diachronic development of this (persisting) agreement variation.

Heeroma, K. 1934. De beleefdheidsvorm u omstreeks 1800. De Nieuwe Taalgids 28. 328–332.

Kern, J.H. 1911. Is de beleefdheidsvorm U 'n verbastering van U.E.? De Nieuwe Taalgids 5: 121–133.

Leuvensteijn, A. van. 2002. Epistolaire aanspreekvormen in de correspondentie van Maria van Reigersberch. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde 118: 288–298.

Paardekooper, P.C. 1996. U (ond.) ook voor 1600. Taal en Tongval 48: 70–71.

Van der Horst, J.M. 2008. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse syntaxis. Part 2. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.

Vermaas, J.A.M. 2005. Veranderingen in de Nederlandse aanspreekvormen van de dertiende t/m de twintigste eeuw. Utrecht: LOT dissertation.

Vor der Hake, J.A. 1911. Is de beleefdheidsvorm U 'n verbastering van UEd.? De Nieuwe Taalgids 5: 16–24.

1 https://brievenalsbuit.ivdnt.org/

Elisa De Roberto (Roma). Clitic pronouns before the infinitive in two early Italo-Romance varieties (Tuscan and Lombard, 13th-15th centuries)

A rather controversial aspect of the morphosyntax of early Italo-Romance varieties is the position of clitic pronouns. Many studies have been devoted to the position of clitics in relation to the verb in main sentences in Old Italian (Tobler-Mussafia law) and to the rise of the clitic in certain verbal periphrases in the infinitive (*voglio farlo* vs *lo voglio fare*). Grammars of Old Italian normally deal with these two phenomena. On the other hand, the syntax of clitics in non-temporalised subordinates (infinitives, participials and gerund clauses: *sono uscita per vederlo, di' a Maria di non dimenticarlo*; *vedutolo/vedendolo, lo chiamò*) has rarely been studied. Today, in standard Italian, these verb forms select the enclisis (i.e. the pronoun is collocated after the verb for which it is the argument), but in the dialects we find a very different situation: Manzini/Savoia (2005: 335-386) describe 4 patterns of clitic pronoun distribution in Italian dialects:

1) generalised enclisis with the possibility of the clitic rising with the modal verb (*credo di chiamarti*, but *voglio chiamarti / ti voglio chiamare*).

2) proclisis is possible with negation or an interrogative element *wh-* (e.g. in the Modena dialect):

> *a t'o det d'ander-əg* vs *a t'o det d'an g'ander* (Briza)
> 'I told you to go-LOC' vs 'I told you don'tLOC aller go'
> *a n' so sa dir- ət*
> 'I don't know what to tell-you'

3) proclisis is very frequent in the same contexts as (2) but also in circumstantial clauses, typically in south-central dialects (examples from the dialect of Popoli, Abruzzo):

> *so veggnutə pə ttə vedoi*
> *mə nə so joita pə tteə vedoi* 'I went away to [not] see you'.

4) proclisis is systematic in infinitive clauses, whether negative, positive, circumstantial, argumentative or introduced by an interrogative operator.

Leaving aside the clitic climbing, due to a more advanced integration between the two verbal components (which together function as a complex predicate, La Fauci 2009: 130-131), we propose to study the proclisis before the infinitive clauses (with the value of a circumstantial subordinate or argument) in two ancient varieties: Tuscan and Lombard of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. According to Egerland/Cardinaletti (2010: 432), clitic pronouns in Old Tuscan always follow verbs in the gerund, infinitive and participle, except in the presence of negation and in interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative phrases: in this context, the clitic can very rarely be placed before the verb. However, Weinapple (1983) and (1996) show that in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, there was an increase in the use of the proclitic pronoun in circumstantial and negative argument clauses, as well as a tendency for some authors to use the clitic pronoun before an affirmative infinitive. This phenomenon is often considered a "modern" rhetorical device, however, it is possible to document examples of this structure even in authors and writers of the fourteenth

century (eg. Filippo Villani, *Cronica* [1363], «entrò in mare in Bologna sor la Mere *per* ire e *si rasegnare prigione* in Inghilterra»; Boccaccio, *Decameron*, X, VIII [1349-1370ca]: «io non intendo al presente di più aprirvi, ma come amici *vi consigliare*» 'I don't want to explain this to you now, but as my friends to advise you'; *Lettere fior.* [1388] «con vergogna mi conduco a *vi scrivere*» 'with shame I will write to you').

We will examine the cases of proclisis in infinitive subordinates documented in the OVI corpus and in the ALTRA-CAL corpus. The OVI corpus includes 3,477 texts, 1,971 of which are attributable to Tuscany (last update: September 2023), dating from before 1400 (although some texts date from the first decade of the fifteenth century). OVI is the largest database currently available on Old Italian. Although it does not provide for morphologic and syntactic annotation, the number and types of texts included ensure a high degree of representativeness. The ALTRA-CAL corpus, which is currently under construction, will include ca. 500 texts attributable to Western Lombard and dated between 1270 and 1550 (current situation: 60 texts). The project is now focusing on identifying and editing previously unpublished Lombard texts and studying existing editions in order, where necessary, to correctly restore the morpho-syntactic structure of word sequences (e.g. virtual pronouns <che> *ch'e'*, <poristo> *poris-to*, <nonn essere> *non n'essere* or *nonn essere*, as the case may be) and to limit interventions in the language of the manuscripts. Finally, the philological work carried out on the texts in ALTRA-CAL and the study of the tradition ensure that textual variance is exploited to the full.

On the basis of the data from the two corpora, we will try to shed light on the position of clitic pronouns in this syntactic context, by attempting:

1) to identify the critical aspects of such an analysis: a) formal underspecification of the tonic and non-tonic series in certain varieties (e.g. *te* can be both a tonic and a clitic pronoun); b) distributional ambiguity of the clitic pronoun in modal verb contexts (e.g. in *vo' lo portare con meco*, *lo* could be enclitic to *vo'* or proclitic to *portare*: here it is up to the editor of the ancient texts to decide);

2) to reconstruct the chronology of the phenomenon in different syntactic contexts, taking into account recent studies on Spanish (Mackenzie 2017) and French (Goldbach 2006 and 2008, Olivier 2022);

3) to indicate any correlations between the semantics of the verb and the position of the pronoun;

4) to check whether discourse genre and register play a role in the choice of the proclisis with an infinitive subordinate.

On this point, there is sometimes little consistent data: even though it occur in texts of medium or low register, the proclisis with infinitive would be, according to grammarians, an indicator of "high" style (Moise 1878: 370). We will therefore try to establish whether the phenomenon shows a different frequency and function in two discursive traditions: legal-administrative texts (such as statutes, laws, diplomatic letters, formal acts of various kinds...) produced by chancelleries, and hagiographic legends (i.e. narratives in prose and verse relating to the lives of saints or biblical figures). These two discursive traditions are clearly characterised, but at the same time well documented in both, Tuscan and Lombard, varieties. The integration of quantitative and qualitative data could help us to interpret the phenomenon, whose different manifestations, while showing the same surface configuration, could depend on diverse syntactic motivations.

OVI = *Corpus OVI dell'Italiano antico*, dir. by Pär Larson, Elena Artale, Diego Dotto. Firenze: Opera del Vocabolario Italiano-CNR.

ALTRA-CAL = Raymund Wilhelm, *Traditions of Ancient Lombard – Corpus dell'Antico lombardo* (under construction).

Cardinaletti, Anna / Egerland, Verner (2010), *I pronomi personali e riflessivi*, in *Grammatica dell'italiano antico*, éd. par Giampaolo Salvi, Lorenzo Renzi, 2 voll., Bologna, Il Mulino, I, 414-450.

Goldbach, Maria (2006), *Kontrastiver Vergleich der syntaktischen Verteilungen der starken und schwachen Objektpronomen im Alt- und Mittelfranzösischen und im Altitalienischen*, „Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie", 122/3, 392-428.
Goldbach, Maria (2008), *Die Stellung der Objektklitika im Französischen und Italienischen*, „Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie", 124/1, 31-54.

La Fauci, Nunzio (2009), *Compendio di sintassi italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino.

Manzini, Rita / Savoia, Leonardo (2005), *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*, 2 voll., Torino, Edizioni dell'Orso.

Mackenzie, Ian (2017), *The rise and fall of proclisis in Old Spanish postprepositional infinitival clauses: a quantitative approach*, "Bulletin of Hispanic Studies", 94(2), 127-146.

Moise, Giovanni (1878), *Grammatica della lingua italiana*, Firenze, Tipografia del Vocabolario.

Roberts, Ian (2016), *Object clitics*, dans *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, ed. by Adam Ledgeway, Martin Maiden, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 786-801.

Olivier, Marc (2022), *Diachronie de la proclise et de l'enclise avec l'infinitif en français médiéval (12e-15e sicècles)*, « Studia linguistica romanica », 8, 10-35.

Weinapple, Fiorenza (1983), *La clisi nel linguaggio comico del Cinquecento*, «Studi di grammatica italiana», 12, pp. 5-106.

Weinapple, Fiorenza (1996), *Il filo di Arianna. La clisi attraverso il linguaggio di Pulci, Boiardo e Ariosto*, Roma, Bulzoni.

Bryan Donaldson and Ivy Shaw (Santa Cruz). Old French sentential coordination: Syntactic change and textual variation.

This presentation reports part of an ongoing project aimed at better understanding how strategies of sentential coordination interact with word order and syntactic change in Old French. In particular, we focus on the alternation between two elements, the conjunction *e(t)* 'and' as in (1) and (2), and the sentence adverb *si* 'thus, and' as in (3), both of which can occur sentence-initially (although occupying different underlying syntactic positions) and can function as roughly equivalent linking elements between two conjoined clauses (Fleischman 1991; Foulet 1928; Marchello-Nizia 1985; *inter alia*):

(1)   *Si l'adoba **et le fist chevalier**.*
       'He dubbed him **and made him a knight**.'
       (*Coronemenz Looïs*, 1650 ms. B, ca. 1130)

(2)   *Or ne fera mes plus; trop a avant alé, **E pesot li que tant en aveit trespassé**.*
       'From now on, he will not do more; he went too far, **and he regretted having gone that far**.'
       (*Vie de Saint Thomas Becket*, 1020, ca. 1174)

(3)   *Et ensi se partirent, **si tint cascuns sa voie**.*
       'And thus they separated from each other, **and each one went on his way**.'
       (Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, §34, ca. 1208)

Both *et* and *si* as sentential coordinating conjunctions are attested from the earliest Old French texts (as early as the *Séquence de Ste Eulalie*, ca. 880) but undergo changes in frequency relative to each other over time. In early Old French (prior to ca. 1200), a second conjunct introduced by *et* can be either a verb-second main declarative as in (2) (i.e., a Complementizer Phrase [CP]; see e.g., Vance 1997), or a Tense Phrase (TP; as in 1), which under the V2 grammar of Old French is not a full stand-alone main declarative (see Benincà 1995; Donaldson 2021; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012). In contrast, main declaratives introduced by *si* (3) are CPs at any stage of Old French (e.g., Benincà 2006). Donaldson (2021) argued that the choice between TP and CP coordination with *et* in early Old French depended on the semantic and discourse contexts in which they occur: CP coordination of the type in (2) occurs when the conjoined clauses require separate force operators (i.e., *coordinating relations*; Asher & Vieu 2005), whereas TP coordination

(1) occurs when two closely linked clauses share a single force operator (i.e. *subordinating relations;* Asher & Vieu 2005).

By ca. 1200, however, the specific instantiation of CP coordination in (2), in which the first clausal position (i.e., SpecCP or SpecFocus in a generative approach) remains empty, is no longer possible due to changes in the V2 grammar of Old French. As a result, after ca. 1200, *et*+verb sequences in Old French are necessarily TPs (Donaldson 2021; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012, Vance 1993), although coordination with *si* always entails a CP.

In this paper, we use a variationist approach (Labov 1972) to:

(a) Explore the hypothesis that matrix *et*-verb-clitic sequences like (2) and *si*-(clitic)-verb sequences like (3) are in free variation in early Old French, as two instantiations of CP coordination, and that they occur in the same semantic and discursive contexts, viz., coordinating relations

(b) Trace the rise of *si*-(clitic)-verb coordination, hypothesizing that, as *et*-verb-clitic sequences disappear from the language (ca. 1200), use of *si*-(clitic)-verb expands proportionately in the context of coordinating relations

(c) Investigate microvariation between texts and across registers within texts in the use of *si* versus *et* as a marker of sentential coordination.

Our original corpus draws on 10 texts spanning the period from 1100 to 1308. Shorter texts are analyzed in their entirety; in longer texts, a minimum of 300 tokens are analyzed. For each token, coding includes (a) coordination level (TP vs. CP) of the second conjunct, (b) choice of coordinator (*et* vs. *si*), (c) the presence of a *verbum dicendi* in the second conjunct, (d) whether the predicates in the two conjuncts are sequential, (e) change from background to foreground information across conjuncts, (f) subject change across conjuncts, (g) change of sentential polarity across conjuncts, (h) register (e.g., narration vs. represented speech), and (i) discourse coherence relations between conjuncts.

Our results confirm that the use of sentential coordination with *si* rises between early Old French and later Old French but that individual texts vary, sometimes markedly, in their proportions of sentential coordination with *si*, as well as in the contexts that favor *si*. For example, coordination with *si* represents only 5% of all sentential coordination in *Brendan* (ca. 1121) but 24% in the *Anglo-Norman Alexander* (ca. 1188) and 48% in *Clari* (ca. 1205). As the use of *si* as a sentence coordinator rises over the course of the 12th century, it is perceived by some authors as innovative, occurring more frequently in represented speech passages (Marchello-Nizia 2012; Donaldson 2014) than in narrative. On the other hand, the use of *si* as a sentence coordinator is not uniform between text and appears to be conditioned by different factors, as our variationist analysis reveals. For instance, whereas *si* is strongly preferred in the presence of a *verbum dicendi* in *Clari* (ca. 1205) and *Villehardouin* ca. 1206), *et* is preferred in the *Queste del Saint Graal* (ca. 1225). Finally, by the early 14th century, *si* as a sentence coordinator is in clear decline, at least in Joinville (ca. 1308), and appears to have lost its association with coordinating relations.

Beyond identifying intertextual variation, we contribute to debate on properties of the complex "mystery particle" (Fleischman 1991: 251) *si* in Old French and in particular the participation of *si* in sentential coordination, a domain in which Old French used both syntactic and lexical means to mark subtle differences in the discourse coherence relations between conjuncts. Our results also contribute to our understanding of the syntactic change by which Old French transitioned from a "relaxed" V2 language (Wolfe 2019), in which the first clausal position (i.e. SpecCP/SpecFocus) could remain unsaturated in main declaratives to a stricter V2 grammar, in which this position was obligatorily filled by–among many other possibilities–the sentence adverb *si*.

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Andreas Dufter (München). *Avant qu'il (ne) vienne* : tracing the trajectory of *ne* in 'before'-clauses in French

Background. Expletive negation, i.e., the optional presence of negative elements in clauses expressing non-negative propositions, has intrigued French grammarians for centuries. While in Latin, the analysis of *ne, quin* and *quominus* as expletive negators remains controversial (*cf.* Orlandini 2005 *vs.* Pinkster 2015: 700–707), expletive uses of *ne* are solidly attested since early Old French (Stauf 1927, Combettes *et al.* 2020: 1262). Typical contexts of occurrences include (i) object complement clauses governed by matrix predicates such as *craindre* 'fear', *empêcher* 'prevent' or *défendre* 'forbid', (ii) correlative clauses in comparative constructions (e.g. *plus grand qu'il ne paraît* 'bigger than it seems'), and (iii) adverbial clauses introduced by subordinators such as *sans que* 'without', *à moins que* 'unless' and *avant que* 'before' (*cf.* Muller 1991: 362–380, Grevisse 2016: 400–405 for more detailed lists of licensors). Quite a few attempts have been made to provide a uniform semantic characterization of these licensors of expletive *ne* (*cf.* Martin 1984, Muller 1991, Hunnius 2004). Upon closer scrutiny, however, some degree of lexical and grammatical idiosyncrasy will almost certainly have to be acknowledged (Larrivée 1994).

Diachronically, it turns out that the evolution of the frequency of expletive *ne* differs greatly between different licensors (*cf.* Stauf 1927, Vásquez Molina 2002, Tahar 2022). In clauses headed by *avant que*, in particular, the rise of expletive *ne* seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon (Fournier 2004: 62, Tahar 2021: 621, Tahar 2022: 88–93), even if occasional examples from Old French can be found in 'before'-clauses headed by *ainz que* and *aincois que* (Muller 1991: 377, Buridant 2019: 1059). This delayed take-off of expletive *ne* with *avant que* may seem all the more surprising given that 'before'-clauses are considered among the most common contexts of expletive negation in Romance languages and dialects (Mourin 1979, Ramat 2022) and in the languages of the world (Delfitto 2020: 256, Jin & Koenig 2021: 49, Olguín Martínez 2023). Subtle semantic or pragmatic differences between the presence and absence of expletive negation in 'before'-clauses have also been postulated

time and again (*cf.* Vogeleer 2000, Hunnius 2004 and Tahar 2021 for French, Krifka 2010 for German, Delfitto, Melloni & Vender 2019 for Italian), even if for French, evidence seems equivocal at best.

Research problem. While expletive negation has recently enjoyed a resurgence of interest in formal semantic and typological research, much variationist and socio-historical investigation remains to be done. On the one hand, there are those who consider expletive negation in French as a vernacular tendency ("quelque chose d'assez spontané", Grevisse 2016: 1400), originating in popular registers (Muller 1991: 382), a scenario well-known from other languages (Jin & Koenig 2021: 44). On the other hand, expletive *ne* in modern French is commonly evaluated as being typical of formal registers (Abeillé & Godard 2021: 1168), but elsewhere in steady decline (Nyrop 1930: 47, Gamillscheg 1957: 763), and even on its way to "extinction" in vernacular sources since the seventeenth century (Larrivée 2014: 46). Normative judgements have likewise been exceedingly variable, ranging from recommendation (*DAF*, s.v. *ne*) to outright rejection (cf. quotations in Meier 1968: 564).

　　In *avant que*-clauses, linguistic authorities either ignored or condemned expletive *ne* until the nineteenth century (cf. Brunot 1966: 1865–1867, Fournier 2005). Nevertheless, a sharp increase in frequency can be observed in Frantext corpus data since Classical French (Tahar 2022). What must first be determined, therefore, is the diachronic trajectories of expletive *ne* with different licensors in French across different text types. This, in turn, will allow an assessment of whether *avant que*-clauses are indeed a kind of latecomer as licensor of expletive *ne*, or fit into more general diachronic trends – at least in certain text types or registers. At the same time, fine tuning the development of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses will also allow us to reassess hypotheses according to which cross-linguistically prototypical contexts of expletive negation (so-called frustrative or apprehensive uses) favor the presence of expletive *ne*, even in less formal text types.

Data and method. The presence vs. absence of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses will be investigated within different sub-corpora of Frantext, with new philologically reliable editions or digital copies of contemporary editions being consulted in cases of doubt. These sub-corpora are defined by domain (literary texts, philosophical and scientific texts, and ego-documents ("écrits personnels")) for the sixteenth to twenty-first centuries. In addition, a number of other corpora and text collections, including Ernst (ed.) (2019), the *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Corpus 14 and ÉMA (Boré & Elalous 2017), contribute to broaden the empirical basis.

Key finding. While the details remain to be spelled out, the overall finding is clearly one of an increasing divergence between text types, with literary texts and personal texts by experienced writers showing an impressive rise of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses from the eighteenth century onwards. By contrast, expletive *ne* remains sporadic among less experienced writers and in less elaborated texts throughout the historical period under investigation. Our results thus lend additional support to Fournier's (2005: 51) claim that variability in the use of the expletive *ne* has increased over time, thereby increasing its salience as a socio-stylistic variable.

Relevance for the meeting. The diachrony of expletive *ne* illustrates how difficult it can be to gain a more fine-grained picture of the evolution of variation, given the contingency of surviving texts and their selective consideration in historical corpora such as Frantext. More specifically, the comparative study of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses suggests that French expands a variant here which has enjoyed prestige from the beginning, without vernacular origins or recurrent pragmatic motivations as they are assumed for other languages, including Italian, Dutch and German. Thus, it seems as if parallel developments in related or neighboring languages may constitute a change from below in one language but a change from above in another.

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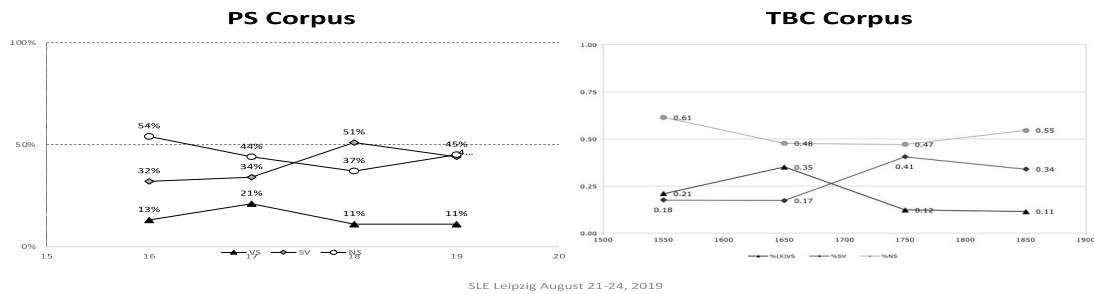Tahar, Chloe. 2021. Apprehensive and frustrative uses of *before*. In: *Proceedings of SALT 31*, 606–628.

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Charlotte Galves (Campinas). Genre, register and syntax in the history of Portuguese: a study based on syntactically parsed corpora

The advent of syntactically annotated corpora has allowed a new look at the history of Portuguese, in particular at the hitherto little-studied 16th-19th c. period, covering both Classical Portuguese (henceforth ClP), and early Modern European Portuguese (henceforth EP). In this talk, I shall consider some aspects of the historical syntactic research that were enhanced by the availability of two such corpora, the *Tycho Brahe Corpus of Historical Portuguese* (henceforth *TBC*) and the *Post-Scriptum Corpus of Ordinary Writing* (henceforth *PSC)*: 1. the dating of the change from ClP to EP, 2. the question of knowing to what extent the syntax observed, on the one hand, in the literary texts of the *TBC* and, on the other hand, in the familiar letters contained in the *PSC* can be amenable to the same underlying grammars along time, 3. the more general question of the variation between V1 and V2 in old Romance Languages, particular those that were dubbed as relaxed V2 languages by Wolfe (2015a).

The *TBC* has brought strong empirical evidence to the claim initially made by Torres Moraes (1995) that ClP was still a V2 language, more exactly a relaxed V2 language (Galves 2020). It also allowed to locate in time in a more precise way the change to EP, which involved, among other phenomena, the loss of V2 and the generalization of the enclitic placement in tensed contexts in which it was before marginal (Galves and Paixão de Sousa 2017). Martins (2014) had noted that the frequency of the enclitic position of pronouns in such contexts in the Sermons of Antonio Vieira (1608-1697) was much higher than that of the correspondence of his contemporary Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608-1666). She then interpreted this fact as indicating the emergence of EP at Vieira's time, i.e in the 17th century, and considered Melo as a conservative writer. The *TBC*, which brought together a larger number of works by authors born during the 17th century, made it possible to show that Vieira's Sermons were in fact an exception with respect to clitic placement, including when compared with the correspondence of Vieira himself, which is as proclitic in V2 contexts as Melo's (cf. Galves, Britto & Paixão de Sousa 2005). It was also possible to show that this exception constituted evidence for Vieira's use of the ClP grammar where clitic placement was shown to be sensitive to prosody (Galves & Sandalo 2012, Galves & Kroch 2016). Indeed, all cases of enclisis in the Sermons occur in sentences as illustrated in (1) with the verb preceded by contrastive topics. These are by hypothesis separated by a prosodic boundary from the verb, which is then in first position in the following intonational curve, forcing the postverbal position of the clitic pronoun. The importance of the effects of contrast (typical of the baroque style) thus explained the frequency of enclisis found in V2 contexts in the Sermons, bringing counterevidence that the change happened at Vieira's time. Additionally, the comparison between the texts of the *TBC*, of a more literary nature, and the "ordinary writing" of the *PSC* allows us to refine our understanding of what is a grammatical fact and what is the effect of usage. The following graphs (Galves 2019) show the distribution of null, postverbal and preverbal subjects in the two corpora.

The expression of subjects in main clauses, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, by 100-year periods.

| PS Corpus | TBC Corpus |

SLE Leipzig August 21-24, 2019

Parallel to what was observed by Larrivée (2022) about medieval French, the frequency of preverbal subjects is systematically higher in colloquial letters than in literary texts, in detriment of both null subjects and postverbal subjects during the 16th and 17th centuries and of null subjects in the 18th and 19th centuries. Concerning ClP, we can however think that this difference is not to be derived from a grammatical difference but from a different usage of the same grammar, which allows such a variation. In effect, the dynamics of evolution is the same in the two corpora, with the concomitant decrease of VS and increase of SV between the 17th and 18th centuries, corresponding to the loss of V2 (Galves & Paixão de Sousa 2017). Other facts, easily retrievable from large, parsed corpora, even when they are infrequent, like the placement of manner adverbs like "well" after the post-verbal subject, typical of V2 languages (cf. Belletti 2004), reinforce this claim (cf. 2).

Finally, the diversity of text types helps understanding another variation generated by relaxed V2 grammars, namely the V1/V2 variation, particularly relevant in the context of the discussion of the typology of ancient Romance languages (cf. Wolfe 2015b). One of the texts of the *TBC*, the *Gazeta* of Manuel Galhegos (1597-1665), written from 1641 on, displays around 40% V1 order while the other texts from the same period all have a V1 frequency of around 30%. This is likely to derive from the journalistic nature of this text, composed of short news, in which the frequency of sentences which introduce out-of-the-blue information, favoring the V1 order, is much higher than that of narrative texts. which establish long-range links between referents and events, favoring the V2 order. The difference in results between Wolfe (2015b) and Sidaridou (2012) regarding the frequency of V1 in medieval Spanish – respectively 1.26% and 20.3% – can thus derive from the difference in the types of texts considered, in spite of the fact that they share the same relaxed V2 grammar, in which the movement to the pre-verbal position is not a "formal movement" (Frey, 2006) but a movement triggered by discursive features only.

(1)   Elles   conheciam-se,   como homens,   Christo conhecia-os,   como Deus.
        They   knew-CL,   as men,   Christ knew-CL,   as God.
        They knew themselves as men, Christ knew them as god

(2)   porque vale   o   chão   para   todas as   partes
        because (is)worth the   land for   all   the   parties
        bem   os   ditos   4500 reais   e   duas galinhas.
        well   the   said   4500 reais   and   two   hens   (*PS Corpus* PSCR0051,.9) 16c.
        Because the land is well worth for all the parties the aforementioned 4500 reais and two hens.

Post Scriptum Corpus:
http://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/en/10-research/662-p-s-post-scriptum
Tycho Brahe Corpus:
http://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/~tycho/corpus/en/index.html

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Zinaïda Geylikman (Paris). *Personne* in *ne*-sentences from 14th to 16th centuries : a contribution of text-type calibrated corpora

The present talk will enlighten the genesis of the n-word use of *personne* from 14th to 16th century throughout a quantative and qualitative analysis of its occurrences in three corpora : BFM22, MICLE and ConDÉ.

French negative system has been the object of multiple studies over past decades (for an overview, see Donaldson 2018). Its evolution is usually described as a classic case of the so-called Jespersen cycle, whose intermediate stage[1] – emersion of n-words to be used regularly in *ne*-sentences – starts in the Medieval French period (9th- late 15th/early 16th centuries). A study by Donaldson (2018) opposing the *ne*-sentences without n-words to those with n-words *pas/mie/goute* in Medieval French suggests that the innovative variant – *ne* + n-word – is more keen to appear in 'represented speech' – text segments that 'represent' spoken language, i.e. mostly direct speech (for the introduction of the concept, see Marchello-Nizia 2012)

Medieval French texts know a number of items which, having also negative polarity value, start to be regularly used in ne-sentences and thus acquire n-word status at different stages of Medieval French evolution. Apart from *pas/mie/goute* – grammaticalized nouns that desemanticize completely in combination with *ne* in Old French (12th-13th century) – a number of determiners, pronouns and adverbs join the n-word set, such as *rien* pronoun (grammaticalized noun, see Martin 1966), *nul* pronoun and determiner, *onques* adverb (Eng.

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1 Speaking about 'intermediate stage' of the Jespersen cycle in French we use the basic three stages schema : 1. *Ne*-fully negative – 2. *Ne* used alongside a negative polarity emphasizer which becomes n-word – 3. N-word becoming fully negative (see Larrivée, 2010 : 1-2). For a more nuanced and diachronically accurate description on the example of *pas*, chosen to illustrate the original Otto Jespersen's view on the subject (Jespersen, 1917), see Donaldson 2018, Table 1.

'ever/never') *etc.* (for various studies of n-words emerging in French diachrony, see Prévost & Schnedecker 2004, Larrivée & Kallel 2020, Larrivée 2021).

Of all the n-words that emerged during the Medieval French period, *personne* seems to be the latest : the first occurrences are noted from late 13th – early 14th century (TLFi)[2]. The NPI and n-word uses appear simultaneosly, the latter being more frequent from the beginning.

The present talk will focus on the n-word use of *personne*. The occurrences ought to meet the following criteria: 1. *personne* should appear in a *ne*-sentence ; 2. it must have no determiner or modifier ; 3. it must allow the interpretation as 'no one, nobody' as in :

<div align="center">

14th century, Melusine, p. 134[3] :

et venez tout seul, et n'en dictez rien a **personne**.

</div>

Moreover, previous nor following sentences should not be *ne*-sentences contaning *personne* in similar conditions, but with a determiner/modifier (e.g., *personne quelconque* Eng. 'some person' as in BFM22, regcrim2 p. 72-73), allowing a noun-intepretation of *personne*.

One of the main focuses will be the use of the three corpora in our analysis. Indeed, being aware of the importance of text-type distribution for diachronical studies (for discussion see Prevost 2015, Glessgen *et al.* 2018), for the purpose of the study we have initially chosen BFM22 corpus only. Of all the existing open-access Medieval French corpora, BFM22 is the largest - 7 328 715 tokens – and contains the biggest diversity of text-types : fiction (epic texts, romance, lyric poetry *etc.*), religious texts (hagiography, sermons), historical textes (chronicles, memoirs), didactical texts, law texts. Thus, while BFM22 corpus contains an important number of occurrences of *personne*-noun (1385), the examples of *personne* in indefinite use in a *ne*-sentence turned out to be scarce : 16 occurrences in 14th century and 14 in the texts of 15th – beginning of 16th century. Whereas these results confirmed the dating of the phenomenon – early 14th century – it did not provide any conclusive evidence as for its genesis.

First, though *personne* in *ne*-sentences appears mostly as an object (21 on 30 occurrences), subject-function is also possible, as well as that of a presentative. As for the text-type distribution there was nothing conclusive either : whereas most of the occurrences came from fiction, there were also examples in didactical, historical texts and even one in a law text. Finally, we have also tested the verse *vs* prose opposition to find that *personne* in *ne*-sentences could appear in both, with a slight preference for prose that could as well be explained by a bigger proportion of prose in 14th and 15th century texts in the BFM22. All in all, the low frequency disallowed to determine whether either of these features was truly characteristic of *personne* as n-word. Comparative studies with other n-words such as *personne*'s semantic concurrent – the pronoun *nul* – or another pronominalized noun *rien*, appeared to be irrelevant within BFM22, as both items are well spread from the 12th century and showed no specific common pattern with *personne*. *Aucun,* on the contrary, is rarely n-word before the 16th century, while existing as a positive or NPI indefinite from the beginning of Medieval French (Prévost & Schnedecker 2004, Larrivée 2021) which also prevents its comparison to *personne* from being relevant during the studied period.

Therefore, we decided to turn to two text-type homogeneous corpora : ConDÉ and MICLE. Both of the corpora, in their current state, could be roughly described as law texts, even though there are fundamentally different : the first one represents sets of 'coutumes', Normandy laws, whereas the second contains court proceedings. We have conducted a search on the same set of criteria as for BFM22, from the earliest texts of the corpora up to 16th century. The results were suprising at first sight : while MICLE contained 14 occurrences of

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2 In its noun use, *personne* is known from 12th century, appearing mostly in text-types that are originally Latin (religious texts, law texts *etc.*, as opposed to vernacular text-types such as epic texts, romance, lyric poetry *etc.*) meaning 'person', 'ecclesiastic dignitary' or 'one of the hypostases of the Trinity'.

3 The example is referenced as in BFM22 corpus.

indefinite use in *ne*-sentences on a total of 251 occurrences of *personne* from 14th to 16th century, ConDÉ only contained 4 on a total of 982 examples and that appeared only at the very end of the 16th century. But this time there was a clear pattern : the occurrences of *personne* in indefinite use in *ne*-sentences appeared regularly in reported speech. That pattern explains the difference between MICLE with its court proceedings, which note the words of the accused and thus contain abundant examples of reported speech, and ConDÉ which describes legal norms. But this pattern and that difference had also an effect of a spotlight that allowed a more productive analysis of the occurrences from BFM22 corpus.

Thus, throughout a detailed analysis of the occurrences of *personne* as n-word in BFM22, MICLE and ConDÉ corpora, the present talk will confirm Donaldson's hypothesis that states that a more innovative variant tends to appear first in represented speech. Therefore, the talk will emphasize the importance of the 'narration vs represented speech' parameter in the diachronical studies of the French negation system. More generally, it will make the case for the use of different text-type calibrated corpora for a better understanding of linguistic phenomena evolution.

BFM22 = Base de Français Médiéval [En ligne]. Lyon : ENS de Lyon, Laboratoire IHRIM, 2022, <txm.bfm-corpus.org>.

ConDÉ = Larrivée, Pierre et Mathieu Goux (dir.), 2021, corpus ConDÉ, version Bêta 1.0, Caen, CRISCO (EA 4255) et PDN (MRSH) de l'Université de Caen. URL : https://txm-crisco.huma-num.fr/txm/

MICLE-PREVIEW = Larrivée, Pierre et Poletto, Cecilia (dirs), 2023, corpus MICLE-PREVIEW, v. 0.9, Caen (France) / Francfort (Allemagne), CRISCO (EA 4255) / Institut für Romanische Sprachen und Literaturen.

TLFi = *Trésor de la langue Française informatisé*, http://www.atilf.fr/tlfi, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine.

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Katalin Gugán (Budapest). Variants of sentential negation across registers: a case study of Middle Hungarian

1. **Aims.** The importance of register in historical linguistics is unquestionable (Kytö 2019), yet register as a factor seems to be somewhat elusive. From a methodological perspective, it can be difficult to operationalize it as a variable, as its levels can be construed in different ways. From the point of view of historical linguistics research, it is generally assumed that spoken informal communication is the hotbed of innovation and it also leads the dissemination of innovative variants. This assumption must hold generally, but there are remarkable counterexamples, e.g. Ayres-Bennett (2018), Dömötör (2021).

The present research intends to investigate the role of registers in the domain of sentential negation in Hungarian. Its primary aim is exploratory: focusing on six different text types of Middle Hungarian, it aims at surveying and comparing the distribution of the variants across registers. As a further objective, it also hopes to address both problems outlined above, i.e. capturing register as a factor, and adding information concerning its role in language change.

2. **The variable.** Ever since Hungarian has been documented (longer texts being available first from the second half of the 14th century), there are two word order variants of negative sentences that also feature verb modifiers: the verb modifier can either precede or follow the negated verb. It is generally assumed that the previous variant (VM – NEG – V) is a conservative pattern, inherited from Proto-Ugric, whereas the latter variant (NEG – V – VM) is a later, but also quite old innovation. According to É. Kiss (2014), the conservative word order pattern is the result of left-adjunction of the negative particle to the verb, whereas the innovative one is due to merging the negative particle into the NegP, from where it elicits verb movement.

3. **Background.** The two variants were in stable variation during Old and Middle Hungarian, with the conservative pattern being the dominant one. The distribution of the two variants changed radically during New Hungarian (late 18th century – early 20th century): the NEG – V – VM variant became much more frequent, and in modern Hungarian, this is the standard negative pattern, while the VM – NEG – V pattern appears in restricted contexts. Gugán (2020/MS, 2022/MS) argued that even though there is no grammaticalization of a new negative marker involved, this change is similar to the Negative Cycle in that a formerly marked pattern gains frequency, and, as a consequence of this, loses its special function, becoming the standard way of expressing negation.

To reveal the specific functions of the two variants prior to the change, a detailed investigation of the Old and Middle Hungarian Corpus of Informal Language Use (OMHC) was carried out (Gugán 2021). The investigated external factors seemed to play little or no role in variation: whereas there was a slight decrease (!) in the proportion of the NEG – V – VM pattern from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the three social groups and the different counties seemed to be rather homogeneous; for instance, the NEG – V – VM pattern occurred in texts representing the language use of serfs, educated commoners and noblemen at a very similar rate (14.8%, 15.9%, and 15.2%, respectively). The investigated internal factors (clause type, co-occurrence patterns with indefinite pronouns and emphatic particles) all pointed towards the suggestion that the NEG – V – VM pattern was less frequent because it was pragmatically marked: it was a more emphatic way of expressing negation. The fact that the NEG – V – VM pattern is excluded from contexts in which pleonastic negation occurs and the observation that the two patterns probably differed in NEG being or not being assigned stress ('NEG – V – VM vs. 'VM – NEG – V) also corroborated this assumption.

OMHC consists of texts assumed to represent spoken informal language use as closely as possible: witness deposits of witch trials and private correspondence. The above

investigation showed that these text types were fairly homogeneous concerning the distribution of the variants. However, preliminary analyses of representatives of a more formal register from the same period yielded completely different results. Whereas the oeuvre of cardinal Péter Pázmány, the influential counter-reformer hardly displayed any instances of the NEG – V – VM pattern (2.2%, N=714), the protestant Gáspár Károlyi's widely used translation of the New Testament featured this pattern in 43.1% of all cases (N=195). That is, randomly selected representatives of the formal/religious register differed both from the informal register and from each other. This suggested that a detailed investigation of the role of text type/register as a factor is inevitable.

4. Methods. The results shown above allowed only for a rather broad hypothesis: it was assumed that in the case of the above variants that differ in their pragmatic value, text types that are more formal and aim at affecting a broader audience may give more space to the individual, perhaps idiosyncratic motivations and usage patterns of authors, leading to more intra-register variation. The following six text types are included in the investigation:

	Witness deposits	Private letters	Drama	Memoires	Scientific prose	Bible translations
Speech-related	+	+	+	+	-	-
Speech-based	+	-	+	-	-	-
Constructed	-	-	+	+	+	+
Ego-document	-	+	-	+	-	-

Scientific prose and Bible translations are assumed to be the most formal text types, whereas Drama and Memoires are closer to informal language use in being speech-related. Data are annotated both using text type as a variant with the above six levels (witness deposits etc.) and using the factors in the first column to see which (if any) of these features yield clusters of text types. The analysis will also include the language-internal factors mentioned above, and it will be carried out by using the partykit package of R (Hothorn&Zeileis 2015) to draw a conditional inference tree as the basis for interpreting the results.

5. The results of a pilot study and further expected results. A preliminary comparison of the 16th-century subcorpus of OMHC and four 16th-century Bible translations (using broadly the same methods, but a less elaborate classification of text types, only distinguishing informal and formal texts) showed that Károlyi's translation was the only outlier among the translations.[4] The inclusion of further potential parameters of variation pertaining to text types is hoped to answer the question of whether variation in the usage patterns is conditioned by text type, broader features, idiolectal properties, or a combination of these. It is also hoped that the inclusion of three further text types yields results that are more representative of the language use of Middle Hungarian, helping to uncover if there are predecessors of the 19th-century change, and if any of these text types are more likely to disseminate innovative patterns.

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4 Zooming on a smaller dataset of OMHC returned an outlier from the informal text type as well, but in that case, the exceptional nature of the dataset is probably due to a confounding factor.

szerkezetek a középmagyar kor nyelvében [Competing constructions in Middle Hungarian]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.129–153. * Gugán, Katalin 2022/MS. Contrast maintenance in syntax: a highly atypical case of the Negative Cycle. * Hothorn, Torsten & Zeileis, Achim 2015. partykit: A Modular Toolkit for Recursive Partytioning in R. Journal of Machine Learning Research 16: 3905–9. **∗** É. Kiss, Katalin 2014. The evolution of functional left peripheries in the Hungarian sentence. In: É. Kiss, Katalin (ed.), The Evolution of Functional Left Peripheries in Hungarian Syntax. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 9–55. **∗** Kytö, Merja 2019.

Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), What metrical poetry can tell us about word order change

This paper seeks to show how metrical poetry can throw light on the course of syntactic change in interaction with prosody: given that word order variation in metrical poetry is constrained by metrical requirements, there is a lot to learn from evidence that metre (co-) conditions word order choices.

An often cited case of language change in the history of English is the loss of (in particular) nominal inflections in the transition from Old to Middle English (1050-1250). Any textbook observes that reduction of unstressed syllables led to the loss of stem extensions and nominal endings marking case and gender. It has often been argued that the reduction and loss of endings led to rigidification of word order: e.g. the hypothesis that loss of inflections for case and gender led to further change such as the loss of OV word order is likewise well-known (see e.g. Fischer et.al. 2000; Taylor & vd Wurff 2005, Struik & van Kemenade 2022). My hypothesis in this context is that metrical poetry can inform us on how advanced phonetic reduction of unstressed syllables is. My primary aim (as defined in the workshop outline) is to come closer to the evolution in the immediate competence of speakers.

The paper will focus primarily on a very well-known, not to say notorious, text from the transition period between Old and Middle English: the Ormulum. Written ca. 1200 by the Augustinian monk Orm, it presents some 30,000 lines of sermons in very strict metre: a trochaic foot, in a spelling system that makes every effort to express vowel length (another change in progress at the time). We can thus rely on the metre for stress patterns, and on spelling to see how far advanced the reduction of unstressed syllables was, and how this interacted with ongoing syntactic change such as the loss of OV word order, the development of subject-verb inversion in questions and clauses introduced by e.g. unstressed adverbs such as *then*, or stressed preposed objects. It is generally assumed that Orm was radically consistent in his spelling of vowel length, and hence one assumes that his spelling of unstressed syllables is consistent. I will show in particular that the latter needs some qualification, and that this is a source of information about syntactic change in progress.

One illustrative example of this is variation in subject-verb inversion. I contrast here, as an example, two possible word orders (multiply and consistently exemplified in the text) in clauses introduced by the adverb *her* 'here':

Inversion
|Her hábbe icc shæ'wedd nú till ȝúw || Here have I shown now to you ORM.I.189.1560

no Inversion
& hér icc wíle shæ'wenn ȝúw || and here I want show you ORM.I.115.998

The linguistic difference between the two examples is that in the case of inversion (left), the unstressed ending -*e* must be assumed to assimilate with the initial vowel *i* of the following word: [h'abıtʃ]. In the non-inversion case *her* is stressed and the initial *i* of the following word is the unstressed syllable conforming to the metre. This shows us that inversion is variable, but that it is constrained by stress patterns. Importantly, it also shows us that in the inversion

case, Orm's spelling spells two short syllables but merges them into one metrical one. This shows a curious kind of consistency: the unstressed verb ending of *habbe* must have been pronounced in other contexts (see *wile* in the noninversion case), or he would not have spelled it; his spelling works at syllable level, without indicating assimilation between words.

Interestingly, there is a text-linguistic distinction between the two examples as well: the inversion cases conclude a passage, the non-inversion cases initiate one.

Even this single example (as part of a larger number of similar ones) suggests that Orm has a lot to tell us about syntactic change in progress, which makes it likely that there are more cases than this in this period of turbulent change. These may include:

- Trips (2003) makes a case that stylistic fronting in Ormulum is more frequent than in contemporaneous texts because it is in part metrically conditioned
- The choice of relativization patterns in Orm are co-determined by metrical considerations
- OV/VO patterning differs between prefixed and non-prefixed verbs. More generally, I will also cite examples from Shakespeare's sonnets which inform us about the ongoing loss of subject-verb inversion around 1600.

Trips, Carola. 2003. Stylistic fronting in Ormulum: Scandinavian syntactic phenomena in early Middle English texts. *Nordlyd* 31.2, 457-472.
Fischer, Olga et. al. 2000. *The Syntax of early English*. Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, Ann & W. vd Wurff (eds.) 2005. Special issue on Aspects of OV and VO order in the history of English. *English Language and Linguistics* 9.1.

Francesco Pinzin (Frankfurt) and Mathieu Goux (Caen). How *genre* affects word order: a diachronic analysis of French
French went through a progressive diachronic change relative to word order, from a verb second (V2) to an SVO grammar (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997, Wolfe 2018 a.o.; but see Kaiser 2002, Rinke & Meisel 2009). Among other phenomena, V2 in Old French is testified by the consistent attestation of main clauses where a constituent and the finite verb are followed by the subject (the so called "Germanic inversion").
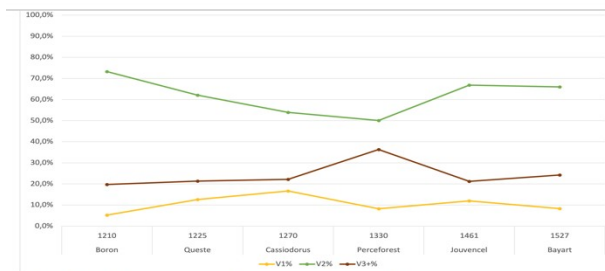
> (1) ceste costume ai je toz=jorz tenue
> this custom have-PR-1SG I all days uphold-PTCP
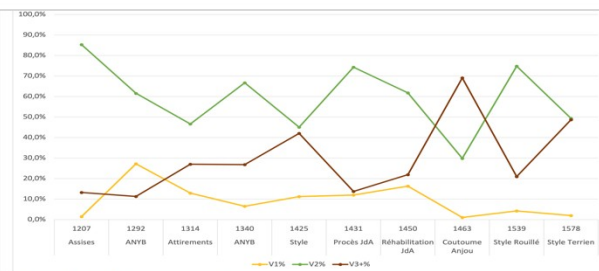> "I always have upheld the custom" (1225-QUESTE-MCVF-P,6.158)

Crucially, the same sequences are not generally attested in subordinate clauses. This asymmetric distribution calls for an analysis where the finite verb raises to the Left Periphery (CP domain) in main but not in subordinate clauses, parallel to many Germanic languages (Holmberg 2015 for references). Modern varieties of French do not show this kind of sequences and lack such a main/subordinate asymmetry, showing how word order must have changed through time. Such diachronic path is shared by most Romance languages (Ledgeway 2012, Wolfe & Maiden 2020). The loss of V2 offers a window on word order diachronic variation and its causes, but only if we accurately trace the curve of change. The task is hindered by the fact that different textual sources often give contradictory results (Prévost 2015) due to the many factors affecting how grammatical features are represented in each text (the "bad-data problem", Labov 1994). One these factors is the genre of the text, that is its definition based on its specific purpose. For example, legal texts have been found to be usually less conservative than chronicles and fictional literary material (Ingham 2016, Farasyn et al. 2018, Balon & Larrivée 2016, Goux & Larrivée 2020). In this contribution, we aim at better defining the curve of the loss of V2 in French by assessing the consistency of such word order in 10 legal texts (style & procedure material; MICLE corpus:

<https://www.unicaen.fr/projet_de_recherche/micle/>;   available   at <txm-crisco.humanum.fr/>) from the beginning of the 13th to the half of the 16th c. and in 6 contemporary   literary   sources   (romances   in   prose;   MCVF,   PPCHF <https://github.com/beatrice57/mcvf-plus-ppchf>   and   BFM   corpora <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>). To compare the two sets of texts for the diachrony of V2, we focus on 4 dimensions of variation: (i) linear position of the finite verb in main clauses; (ii) post-V NP subjects in main vs. subordinates; (iii) referential pro-drop in main vs. subordinates; (iv) post-V pronominal subjects in main vs. subordinates. Following Poletto et al. (2023), relative and interrogative clauses have been excluded, as well as second conjunct clauses with subject continuity (John came and [won the prize]); Our results show that text genre plays a crucial role in modulating the results: literary material show a slow decline of the V2 grammar, which is partially maintained up to the 16th c., while legal material show an early loss of V2. In literary texts, linear V2 is consistently preferred (in green in Graph 1). On the other hand, the main/subordinate asymmetry gradually reduces for all dimensions investigated (main clauses=full line, subordinates=dotted line in all graphs): post-V NP subjects (Graph 3), pro-drop (Graph 5), and post-V pronominal subjects (Graph 7). We take this to indicate the persistence of V2 structures in literary texts, albeit with a gradual reduction in the last period (15th-16th c.). Legal texts behave differently. Linear V2 sinks in the 14th c., with V>2 over the 50% threshold for many texts (Graph 2). Post-V NP subjects never show a marked main/ subordinate asymmetry (Graph 4). The same is valid for pro-drop (Graph 6; but notice the highly text-dependent distribution, which means that more analyses are needed). Post-V pronominal subjects, finally, are attested at very low rates since the 13th c, but still maintain throughout the period an asymmetric distribution, with subordinate clauses always around 0% and main clauses around 6% in the first texts and around 1,5-3% in the last texts. Holding that legal texts are less conservative, our results show that V2 is on its way out of the system already in the 13th/14th c. and that the high rates of subject inversion structures in literary material is an effect of the genre of the text. This shows how calibrated corpora are necessary for studying language change, allowing for limiting (and measuring) the effects of the "bad data" problem.
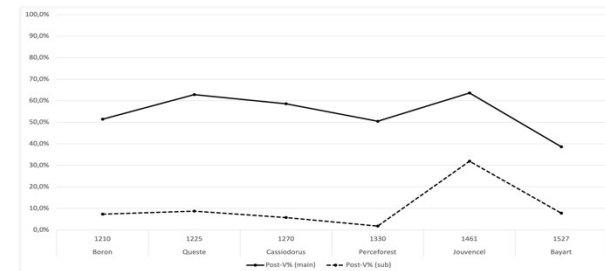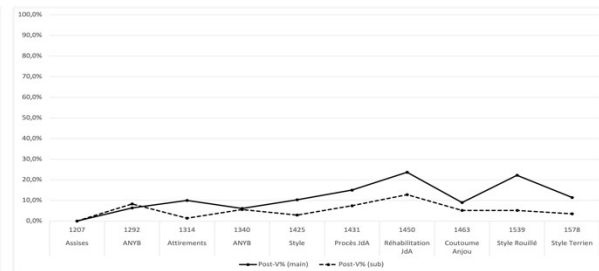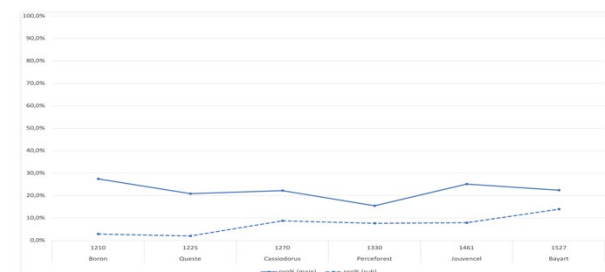
Graph 1. V-position (Literary material)

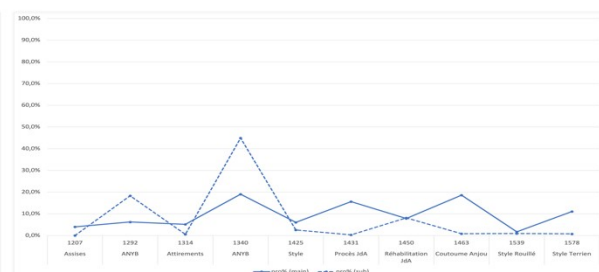*Graph 2. V-position (Legal material)*

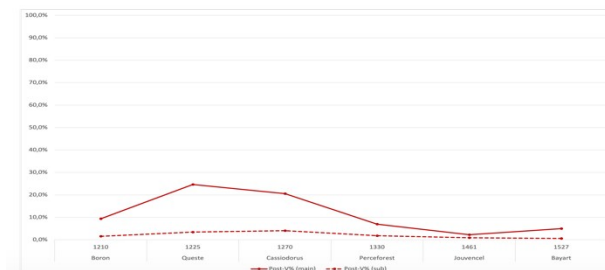*Graph 3. Post-V NP subjects (Literary material)*

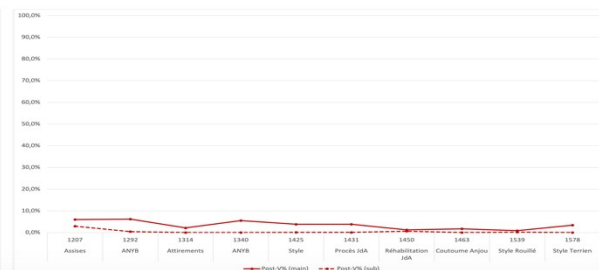*Graph 4. Post-V NP subjects (Legal material)*

Graph 5. Pro-Drop (Literary material)

Graph 6. Pro-Drop (Legal material)

Graph 7. Post-V pronominal subjects (Literary material)

Graph 8. Post-V pronominal subjects (Legal material)

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Afra Pujol i Campeny (Oxford). Register, genre, and syntax in Old Catalan
Objectives: In this talk I explore syntactic variation linked to linguistic register and literary genre in Old Catalan texts dating from the 13th to the 14th century in order to: (i) characterise different linguistic registers and literary genres syntactically and establish their archaising or innovative nature; (ii) evaluate which text types exhibit spoken register traits and which are more rigidly codified; (iii) work towards the description of Old Catalan clausal syntax beyond linguistic register and literary genre constraints. Here we will focus on the distribution of three syntactic phenomena: (a) Non-finite form preposing; (b) OVS clauses; and (c) the distribution of personal infinitives. (a) and (b) were selected due to their connection with V2 grammars: if active, their distribution would be expected to be disconnected from register, genre, and orality. In Medieval Romance, (c) has been connected to high registers (latinising) in the literature. This talk assumes a generative framework and the cartographic programme. The research presented is part of an ongoing project.

The data: the data under analysis consist of one text of each of the three textual genres under study (historiographic chronicles, legal texts, and court documents) per century, as closely dated as permitted by the record. Legal texts and court documents for both centuries were produced in the Kingdom of Valencia. The chronicles were finished in the Kingdom of Valencia, but their authors were originally from other parts of the Crown of Aragon. A syntactically annotated database where sentential constituents are labelled by grammatical category and syntactic function has been produced for each text. In addition, sentences have been labelled for: ± pro-drop, ± subject continuity, ± direct speech. The texts are:

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Furs de València (1231-1271)	Llibre de la Cort de Justícia de Cocentaina (1269-1290)	Llibre dels Fets (1244-1274)
Parsed clauses	100 main 100 embedded	100 main 100 embedded	1000 main 1000 embedded
14th century	Furs de València (1329-1330)	Clams i crims a la València medieval (1279-1321)	Crònica de Ramon Muntaner (1325-1328)
Parsed clauses	100 main 100 embedded	Under construction	250 main 250 embedded

Table 1 – Works under study

The socio-historic context: The period under study is characterised by the emergence of the *norma cancelleresca*, but it is prior to the publication of the publication of the *Ordinacions de la casa reial* under the rule of Peter II of Aragon in 1344, which established a linguistic model for all documents produced by senior civil servants and the upper classes that had an impact in genres beyond those produced by the Chancery (Ferrando 2016) and hid diatopic variation picturing a homogeneous linguistic community. One of the key traits of the *norma cancelleresca* is its latinising tendency.

4. The phenomena under study in Medieval Romance:
(a) Non-finite form fronting: The fronting of non-finite forms of verbal periphrases with tense ('to have', 'to be') or modal auxiliaries ('to want', 'to have to'). For some Medieval Romance languages, as well as for Old Spanish (Fontana 1993) it has been connected with the V2 syntax assumed for these languages (consisting of verb movement to the left periphery in main clauses + movement of a constituent to a projection targeted by the verb, following Holmberg 2015). For Old Catalan (and Old Spanish), Batllori (2012) connects it to verum focus. Pujol i Campeny (under review) proposes that a V2 analysis is pertinent for early

attestations, but not for later ones, whose distribution is governed by register (in archaising oral-like registers it reflects a V2 grammar, in more colloquial non-archaising registers, if present, it obeys informational constraints).

(b) The distribution of the particle OVS: OVS clauses have been linked to an active V2 parameter with an unspecified preverbal field in Medieval Romance (Poletto 2014; Wolfe 2018).

(c) The distribution of personal infinitives: Personal infinitives in complement clauses of verba dicendi in Old Spanish have been shown to be a learned calque from Latin Accusativus cum infinitive constructions (Pountain 1998) and developed through acquisition and transmitted to the modern language in adverbial clauses (Sitaridou 2009).

5. The phenomena under study in our Old Catalan corpora:

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Direct speech (x1) and embedded clauses (x2)	Not attested	Direct speech (x2) and embedded clauses (x11)
14th century	Embedded clause (x1)	-	Direct speech (x1)

Table 2 - Non-finite form fronting distribution

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Direct speech (x1) and embedded clauses (x2)	Deictic object of performative predicate (verum focus) (x4)	Direct speech and embedded clauses (47/1000, 65% of cases with verum focus)
14th century	Main clause (x1)	-	Embedded (9/11) Direct speech and quantified (2/11)

Table 3 – OVS distribution

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Not attested	Complement clause of demandar 'to demand' (x3)	Not attested
14th century	Complement clause of proveir 'to resolve' (x1)	-	Not attested

Table 4 – Personal infinitive distribution

6. Interim conclusions: Tables 2-4 show that the distribution of non-finite form fronting and OVS pattern: they tend to appear either in direct speech or embedded clauses, syntactic contexts that Pujol I Campeny (under review) describes as archaising in the case of Llibre dels Fets. When not occurring in either context, OVS is only found with performative predicates, with a verum focus reading, akin to OVS in Modern Catalan, suggesting that it does not respond to an active V2 constraint and that it is already used in an innovative manner, even in legal texts. This contrasts with the distribution of AccInf, found exclusively in legal and court documents, in the complement clauses of performative predicates associated to legalese, and thus belonging to a highly conventionalised register. Therefore, this preliminary data hints at the loss of V2 by the second half of the 13th century, it being retained only in syntactically archaising contexts across genres and registers. Even the formal latinizing register displayed in legal texts and court documents fails to exhibit an active V2 grammar, suggesting that this trait was not associated with prestige at the time, but that it may have been used in reported

speech in a formulaic manner, potentially echoing epic songs, as suggested in the literature. As this is an ongoing project, results are expected to be more definite by the talk.

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Lene Schøsler et Kirsten Kragh (København). The status of administrative texts with respect to language change

Our paper intends to examine cases of innovation "from above" or "from below", more specifically to investigate whether changes are dependent on text types such as administrative texts versus non-administrative texts. (We are aware that we are grossly simplifying by introducing this dichotomy between administrative and non-administrative texts).

It has been suggested that the high frequency of subject pronouns in French administrative texts from the Middle Ages can be interpreted as a sign of innovation, implying that administrative texts are innovative with respect to the use of subject pronouns (see e.g. Goux and Larrivée 2020, Larrivée 2022, and Prévost 2022, for different views, see van Reenen and Schøsler 2000), including the relevance of the distinction between main and subordinate clauses (Le Goffic 2019). On the other hand, other changes point to a more conservative language use in administrative texts than in non-administrative texts. This is the case for our ongoing research on *vu* and *vu que* in French, which we will present in detail below. We intend to explore the question whether administrative texts can be considered innovative or conservative by extending our analyses to other domains of change such as the use of nominal declension, pronominal subjects, negation, demonstratives, and the use of causal markers. Concerning declension and negation, we will draw on previous research, e.g. Glessgen and Schøsler (2018), Schøsler (2018), Schøsler and Völker (2014), and Völker (2003), and concerning demonstratives, we will refer to research by Guillot-Barbance (2017), and Guillot-Barbance and Lavrentiev (to appear). Our hypothesis is that administrative texts are not innovative but rather characterised by the necessity of expressivity and clearness, thus favouring the use of language items suited for this purpose. In other words, the constraints of the communicative situation, and therefore of the text type, is what favours e.g. the generalised use of subjects in administrative texts.

Thus, in order to test our hypothesis, we have chosen to study a number of independent linguistic changes in Medieval French, in order to explore the distribution of innovation in administrative texts *versus* fictitious texts. We believe that it is important to investigate independent innovation processes, with a view to grasping the "direction" of innovation of a text type: "from above" or "from below", since the innovation path is probably a characteristic feature of a specific text type.

Our recent study (Kragh and Schøsler to appear) has focused on two rather unexplored cases of grammaticalization and subsequent actualizations of the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* in French, in order to consider whether they are introduced "from above" or "from below". Most frequently, innovations start from below, i.e., in unmarked contexts. Analyses in Kragh (2022) show that in Modern French the two forms are mainly found in administrative texts. This could be an indication that the forms have spread from below, i.e. emerged in unmarked text types and later spread to marked text types, such as administrative texts, but the opposite direction is also possible, indeed, plausible.

Our corpus investigation includes the centuries of the first appearances of *vu*/*vu que* until the eighteenth century. First, we have investigated a few literary texts, partly compiled by Pierre Larrivée (*Le Chevalier Doré* from 1577), partly from Frantext. Subsequently, thanks to Pierre Larrivée and Mathieu Goux, we have been able to explore a large number of legal texts from Normandy, which form a comparable, however longer, period (*Condé* et *Micle*). Secondly, we jump to Contemporary French, first literary texts from 2020 till 2022, and then administrative texts from 2016 compared with a corpus of non-filtred web-texts from 2017 (Sketch Engine) in order to test our hypothesis concerning diaphasic distribution between the use of *vu*/*vu que* in the two text types.

Analyses of our old literary corpus indicate that the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* emerge at the same time (first attested in *Jouvencel* 1461), and with almost equal frequency. During the following century, they both increase in frequency, but the use of *vu que* exceeds that of *vu*. In our old administrative corpus, the first occurrences are found earlier than in the literary corpus, indeed, they are already found in texts from the 14th century, and the preposition *vu* is more frequent than the conjunction *vu que* until around 1550. Later, the conjunction is used more frequently than the preposition. We have put forward arguments in favour of our conviction that the presence of the two forms in administrative direct speech cannot be interpreted as a feature of communication of proximity, implying that it is not a sign of communication "from below". In the contemporary literary texts examined, *vu que* continues to be used more frequently than *vu*, and both can be used in standard and colloquial styles, whereas in our contemporary administrative corpus, we find the opposite: the use of the preposition *vu* is almost 10 times as frequent as the use of *vu que*. Thus, our analyses of the data from our different corpora suggest that the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* seem to appear first in administrative texts where *vu* is more frequent than *vu que*, later, in old literary texts, they seem to be equally frequent. In contemporary French, *vu* and *vu que* have spread to colloquial style in literary texts, *vu que* being more frequent than *vu*. In contemporary administrative texts, *vu* is much more frequent, in other words, the two forms have probably spread "from above". Although both have spread to colloquial style, the restricted use of *vu* compared to that of *vu que* suggests in our opinion that *vu* has specialized to marked (administrative) contexts, whereas *vu que* is clearly in the process of spreading to unmarked contexts.

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Sonja Zeman (Universität Augsburg). **Language change through narration: A diachronic view on German**

"register always matters" (Douglas Biber in Gray 2013: 360)

Short summary. *The paper aims at a systematic investigation of narration as a factor in language change. Based on a theoretical clarification of narration, it argues that the intertextual variation between narrative and non-narrative discourse modes is a relevant factor with respect to the distribution and development of grammatical elements. This is shown by two exemplary case studies on the grammaticalization of the pluperfect and left displacements in German.*

Keywords. Narration, intra-textual register variation, discourse modes, oral vs. written, tense, left displacement.

Starting point and research question. Various studies have shown that the distribution of grammatical features varies within the intra-textual registers of dialogue and narration (see, for example, Mazziotta & Glikman 2019, Egbert & Mahlberg 2020, and Larrivée 2022:2 with further references). It has, however, remained an open question as to which factors cause this intra-textual variation, and which linguistic features are affected. Against the background of these questions, the paper aims at a systematic investigation of the role of narration on language change in the history of German by (i) clarifying the theoretical concept of narration and its interaction with discourse structure, orality, and grammar, and (ii) two exemplary case studies on the development of the pluperfect and left dislocations.

Argumentation and results. With respect to a theoretical clarification, the paper distinguishes between three different dimensions of narration, based on Zeman 2018: (i) Narrative *texts* that display a narrative macrostructure in the sense of Labov & Waletzky 1967, (ii) narrative *discourse mode,* i.e. narrative segments that can occur *in* (narrative and non-narrative) texts and are characterized by a specific pattern of grammatical use (Smith 2003), and (iii) narrative *discourse relations* between propositions (Asher & Lascarides

2003). It will be shown that the distinction between narrative and non-narrative discourse modes is particularly relevant in language change, as shown in two case studies.

(i)   Grammaticalization of the pluperfect in German

Data. The analysis combines a quantitative and a qualitative approach and is based on a dataset of 6000 occurrences of the pluperfect from five different time frames of German (Old High to Present Modern German).

Results. The analysis shows that the development of the pluperfect runs differently within narrative and non-narrative discourse modes. Within the narrative discourse mode, early occurrences already display an aoristic use which is commonly considered to be a later grammaticalization stage of perfect constructions. Within the non-narrative discourse modes, pluperfect forms are first extremely rare, but already display deictic functions and tend to 'r-weakening' (Bertinetto 2013), which seems to be the grammaticalization source for 'non-conventional' uses of the pluperfect in modern spoken language. This suggests that the same form can grammaticalize differently in narrative vs. non-narrative discourse modes.

(ii)   Left displacements (LD) in Middle High German

Data. The analysis compares the usage and discourse functions of LD (like e.g. *My aunt, she used to play the guitar*.) in two Middle High German epics from the same period of time (ca. 1200) that represent different medial constellations, i.e. the *Nibelungenlied* is contrasted with *Tristan*, which, as a courtly epic, is less committed to the oral tradition.

Results. It is shown that the use of LD, which are traditionally described as part of an "oral" syntax, differs in narrative and non-narrative discourse modes. In the *Nibelungenlied*, LD are surprisingly used more frequently in narrative than in dialogical passages and display different functions with respect to discourse relations. This can be explained by the fact that LD is functionalized as part of a narrative syntax.

Discussion. In sum, it is argued that the intertextual variation between narrative and non-narrative discourse modes is a relevant factor with respect to the distribution and development of grammatical elements. As seen in the development of the pluperfect, the underlying discourse modes can trigger different pathways of the same source construction. Furthermore, the narrative discourse mode correlates with specific discourse functions, as seen in the usage of the LD in Middle High German. In both cases, the distinction between narrative and non-narrative contexts proves to be helpful for tracing the curve of evolution of grammatical changes.

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Colloque **Tracing the Curve of Evolution: Syntactic change through text types**
Université de Caen Normandie
March 28-29 2024

With the support of the *CRISCO* research center, the *Agence nationale de la recherche* and the *Institut universitaire de France*

Programme

Salle des Actes, MRSH, Campus 1

***Thursday March 28 2024
9h30 – Welcome coffee

Morning session chair: Charlotte Galves (Campinas)
10h00-11h00 Wendy Ayres-Bennett (Cambridge), "Text types and syntactic change in seventeenth-century French"

11h00-11h30 Barbara Vance (Indiana), "Social variables and Information Structure in a medieval French "roman à tiroirs": moving toward modern word order in *Le Roman de Cassidorus*"

11h30-12h00 Bryan Donaldson and Ivy Shaw (Santa Cruz), "Old French sentential coordination: Syntactic change and textual variation"

12h00-14h00 – lunch

Afternoon session chair: Adeline Patard (Caen)
14h00-14h30 Sam Wolfe (Oxford), "Early Medieval Romance and the Problem of Text Types"

14h30-15h00 Francesco Pinzin (Frankfurt) and Mathieu Goux (Caen), "How *genre* affects word order: a diachronic analysis of French"

15h00-15h30 Charlotte Galves (Campinas), "Genre, register and syntax in the history of Portuguese: a study based on syntactically parsed corpora"

15h30-16h00 – break

16h00-16h30 Afra Pujol i Campeny (Oxford), "Register, genre, and syntax in Old Catalan"

16h30-17h00 Elisa De Roberto (Roma), " Clitic pronouns before the infinitive in two early Italo-Romance varieties (Tuscan and Lombard, 13th-15th centuries)"

17h00-17h30 Lene Schøsler and Kirsten Kragh (København), "The status of administrative texts with respect to language change"

18h30 – apéro

19h30 – dinner

***Friday March 29 2024
Morning session chair: Francesco Pinzin (Frankfurt)
9h30-10h00 Andreas Dufter (München), "*Avant qu'il (ne) vienne* : tracing the trajectory of *ne* in 'before'-clauses in French

10h00-10h30 Katalin Gugán (Budapest), "Variants of sentential negation across registers: a case study of Middle Hungarian"

10h30-10h50 – break

10h50-12h00 Flash presentations
10h50-11h05 Zinaïda Geylikman (Paris), "*Personne* in *ne*-sentences from 14th to 16th centuries : a contribution of text-type calibrated corpora"
11h05-11h20 Ana Bravo (Murcia), "Spanish *venir* 'to come' + past participle: a history of forking paths and coming letters
11h20-11h35 Pierre Larrivée, "Is Middle French a partial null subject language?"
11h35-12h00 Corpora presentations: Anne Breitbarth ; Charlotte Galves ; Katalin Gugán ; Pierre Larrivée ; Francesco Pinzin

12h00-14h00 – lunch

Afternoon session chair: Afra Pujol i Campeny (Oxford)
14h00-14h30 Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), "What metrical poetry can tell us about word order change"

1430-15h00 Anne Breitbarth (Gent), *"You are what you is*. Understanding Dutch agreement variation through historical letters"

15h00-15h30 Kristin Bech (Oslo), "The periphrastic perfect: *Have* + participle in the *Ormulum"*

15h30-16h00 Sonja Zeman (Augsburg), "Language change through narration: A diachronic view on German"

16h00-16h30 – break

16h30-17h30 Johannes Kabatek (Zurich), "Discourse traditions and (Romance) historical syntax"

17h30 – final discussion and drinks

Kristin Bech (Oslo). The periphrastic perfect: HAVE + participle in the *Ormulum*

The *Ormulum* is a biblical exegesis, written by the monk Orm in the 12th century, i.e. in the Early Middle English period. It is written in verse, and the special thing about it is that Orm uses a phonetic spelling system, intended to help the priests pronounce the vernacular language, as many of the priests were speakers of Anglo-Norman after the Norman Conquest.

In Old English, the combination *habban* 'have' + participle was well established, but the functional distinction, according to which an earlier event or state is linked with the present time, was not yet established (Mitchell 1985 I: 296–298).

In the *Ormulum,* on the other hand, there is an abundance of examples of HAVE in combination with a past participle. Although the use of HAVE + participle itself in many instances might be attributed to rhythm, there are instances of word order variation within the rhythmic pattern, as in (i).

(i)	Forr þuss he seȝȝde þær till himm.	For thus he said there to him	
	Iesumm icc **hafe fundenn**.	Jesus I have found.	Forr
	þatt he wollde don himm swa.	For that he would do him so.	
	To sen. & tunnderrstanndenn.	To see and to understand.	
	Þatt tatt wass godess sune crist.	That that was God's son Christ.	
	Þatt he þa **fundenn haffde**.	That he then found had.	
	(13506–13511)		

According to Fischer and van der Wurff (2006: 139), the periphrastic perfect has gone through a slow grammaticalization process entailing both formal and semantic shifts, as well as a shift in the context in which the construction occurs. The overall aim of this paper is to provide an overview of this construction in the *Ormulum,* and assess which stage it had reached in the grammaticalization process. The following questions are asked:

- Does HAVE + participle occur with animate or non-animate subjects? In Old English, HAVE had a possessive meaning, and thus the subjects tended to be animate. As HAVE lost that possessive meaning, it began to occur with non-animate subjects (Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 140).

- Are the verbs transitive or intransitive? Because of the possessive meaning of HAVE in Old English, the associated verb tended to be transitive (Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 140).

- Does perfect HAVE refer to an activity in the past that is linked to the present moment, or does it rather have present time reference expressing completion, as in Old English? (cf. Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 140; Elsness 1997: 286).

- What causes word order variation with respect to the position of HAVE and the position of the participle in relation to each other? Does it have to do with main clause versus subordinate clause word order, as example (1) may indicate? Or are there other mechanisms involved?

The overarching question is whether the perfect with HAVE reflects new usage, or whether it is a consequence of the meter in this particular text type – used to create enough syllables and the appropriate rhythm for Orm.

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Ana Bravo (Murcia). Spanish *venir* 'to come' + past participle: a history of forking paths and some coming letters

In this talk I address the topic of the role of register in both the evolution and the decline of two closely related variants. Namely, I am interested in the combination of Spa. *venir* 'to come' followed by a past participle. The declining variant is the change-of-state construction, forerunner of the COME-passives (Ramat and Sansó 2014). In Italian (Ramat and Sansó 2014, and references therein), but not in Spanish, in addition to the canonical passives with the verb corresponding to *be*, the verb TO COME might function as a passive auxiliary (1), ungrammatical in Spa. (2):

(1) *Il   giovedì   il   portone **viene chiuso** alle 21*. (R&S 2014: 22)   It.
    the Thrusday the door   comes closed at   21
    'On Thrusdays the main door *is closed* at 9 p.m.'
(2) **El jueves   la puerta **viene   cerrada** a las 21*.
      the Thrusday   the door   comes closed   at the 21.

Coming passives, indeed, are a rare grammaticalization path to follow. According to R&S (2014), a change-of-state meaning construction functions as the forerunner construction:

(3) *Per tanto **viene privato**   molto tosto come egli è   preso*. (Ramat 2014: 27)
     for this comes domesticated very   soon as   soon is captured
     '[N]onetheless it becomes domesticated soon after it is captured'.

As for Spanish, the documents reveal that this BECOME meaning stage was on the verge of takeoff, and around at the same time as in Italian. However, examples are restricted to the Alfonso X's scriptorium and don`t go beyond the 13th century (4). Pountain (1984) only finds one case of *venir* with the meaning of BECOME and it belongs to the late 12th century (*Poem of Mio Cid*):

(4) *eran tantas que todo el ayre texie   &   **venje cubierto** dellas. General estoria V* (CDE: G/ H).
    were many that all the air weaved et   came covered of-them
    'They were so much that the air become covered'

The first conclusion, thus, is that *venir* as BECOME was restricted to a particular written register -that of the alfonsíes texts (Fernández-Ordóñez 2008), out of which it did not further develop.

A second interesting fact concerning *venir* + pp is that the general frequencies of use of *venir* remain quite low until the 16th and 17th century, when there is a rapid and strong increase in its use (up to the 23.72 % in the 16th century and to the 26,08% in the 17th century). This is the emerging construction. The relevant data are in Table 1:

SECTION	ALL	1200s	1300s	1400s	1500s	1600s	1700s	1800s	1900s
FREQ	920	39	19	50	404	322	86	0	0
WORDS (M)	100	7.9	3.0	9.7	19.7	14.8	11.5	23.1	22.8
PER MIL	9.20	5.81	7.12	6.13	23.72	26.08	8.76	0.00	0.00

SEARCH   CHART   CONTEXT

CHANGE TO VERTICAL CHART / CLICK TO SEE CONTEXT

Still, both the grammar and the semantics of *venir* + pp remains almost the same since the first documented examples (also Octavio de Toledo for *venir* + gerund). In (5a) the subject has a human referent and in (5b) the referent is inanimate. In both cases the subject changes its location, and the past participle functions a secondary predicate:

(5) a. *Estonces sobreuino diomedes […] & viene acompañado de mucha gente*. (*Troyana,* 14th, CDE)
     then   overcame Diomedes   et comes accompanied of much people
     'And then appears Diomedes and he comes accompanied by many people.'
   b. que los escriptos **vengan**   **firmados** de letrado conosçido. (*Siete,* 13th CDE)
     that the writings come.SUBJ signed   from lawyer known
     'That the writings must be signed by a known lawyer'.

The reason behind this dramatical change is exogenous and, at the same time, linked to two different discursive traditions or genres. The discovering and subsequent conquering of America is the exogenous cause , due to its own communicative purposes that had to be satisfied: the ongoing process of conquering the new continent had to be described, the Monarchy in the Metropolis had to be informed about the establishment of the new cities, the Catholic Church set up his own organization, and individual citizens had families, properties and affairs on both sides of the Ocean that had to be attended. The historical fact of the discovering and subsequent conquering of America dramatically boosted up the exchange of letters, official and personal, documents and literature dedicated to attending the new reality. And *venir* + pp, probably evidential in its origins, was perfectly suited to meet the new communication needs (Jacob & Kabatek 2001, Kabatek 2008, Company 2008, a.m.o):

(6) [Los Incas] **enviaron** pintado en vara y media de tafetán blanco de la China el árbol real […].
     the Incas sent   painted in rod and half of taffeta white of the China the tree royal
     Venían los Incas pintados en su traje antiguo […]; venían pintados de los pechos arriba, y no más.
     came the Incas painted in their dress ancient   came painted of the chest up   and no more
     Todo este recaudo vino dirigido a mí, y yo lo envié a…   (*Comentarios,* 1578, CDE)
     all this collection came directed to
(7) Mandó allí […] sacar a Chalco Chima de la prisión en que **venía guardado** […] y le hizo quemar.
     (*Historia general del Perú*, Murúa, 1616, CDE)
     `He ordered there […] to get Chalco Chima out of the prison in which he had **been 'lit. came' kept**.
     […] and he had him burned'.

In (6), from *Comentarios reales* (Garcilaso de la Vega *El Inca*), all the verbs are *venir* (three of them) or its causative alternation (*enviar,* 'to send'). Additionally, I will compare these texts with personal letters from the 16th century from the *P.S. Post Scriptum* corpus and show that there is an important difference between the American and the European letters, where this construction is almost absent.

Concomitant to this situation is the flourishing of the Books of Chivalry, of which *El Quijote* is its best, and almost its last exponent. The stories in the Books of Chivalry are stories about travels and about displacement. These explains that *El Quijote* be the second source of occurrences of *venir* + pp:

(8) Las ninfas […] **traían** a las espaldas en pergamino blanco y letras grandes escritos sus nombres. […]
    Del modo mesmo **venían** señaladas las que al Interés seguían. (*Quijote*, 1582, CDE)
   'The nymphs had their names written, lit. brought written, on their backs in white parchment and large
   letters. […] In the same way they **were, lit. came**, indicated those that followed Interest'.

In a moving society in a moving world *venir* as a motion verb become central, and this huge number of texts both explains the dissemination of *venir* + pp (Pountain 2000, 2006, Eberenz 2008, Oesterreicher 2008) and at the same time, completely blocked its way along the passive path.

Anne Breitbarth (Gent). *You are what you is*. Understanding Dutch agreement variation through historical letters

It is well-known that the (polite) forms of address in Dutch underwent a cyclic replacement by which the 2nd person nominative plural pronoun ghi/gij became the formal 2nd nominative singular pronoun (V(os)-form), and later the informal 2nd nominative singular pronoun (T(u)-form), replacing older du, while the 2nd person accusative plural pronoun u first became the accusative of the new singular V-form, and later the nominative V-form.

A question that has not received much attention so far is how the verbal agreement with these pronouns evolved. There are two theories regarding the rise of nominative u that make different predictions with respect to this question. First, according to e.g. Vor der Hake (1911), the nominative use of u arose from the accusative one by semantic shift. Second, as proposed by Van der Horst (2008: 1094), the nominative use of u arose via an intermediate step, namely the epistolary forms of address consisting of a (possessive) pronoun and a honorific noun, U.Ed., U.E. (uw edelheid, 'your honour') and U.L. (uwe(r) liefde 'your love / kindness') used in letters from the 17th century onwards. Under the first theory, one would expect 2nd person agreement to be older, under the second, 3rd person agreement, as the form of address is an abbreviated noun phrase. In those verbs that do not have syncretic forms for 2nd and 3rd person agreement, viz. hebben 'to have', kunnen 'can', zijn 'to be', and zullen 'shall', there still is variation in present-day Dutch (e.g. https://www.vlaanderen.be/team-taaladvies/taaladviezen/hebben-u-heeft-u-hebt-heeft-u-hebt-u).

In order to better understand the origins and early diachronic development of this variation in the verbal agreement with these verbs, I searched the Letters-as-Loot corpus1 for all occurrences of 2nd and 3rd person forms of abovementioned verbs as well as a form of U.Ed. or U.L., and analysed the variation with exploratory and inferential statistics. The data suggest that the factor with the greatest influence on the agreement form is the presence or absence of inversion, with straight / uninverted contexts strongly favouring 2nd person agreement, and inversion contexts favouring 3rd person agreement. The use of 3rd person agreement seems to originate in the province of North-Holland, and with lower social classes, and spread throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. For my presentation, I will attempt to gather additional data from other genres that might show early use of u as a subject pronoun, as well as later sources (epistolary and other genres), in order to gain a better understanding of the determinants and diachronic development of this (persisting) agreement variation.

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Elisa De Roberto (Roma). Clitic pronouns before the infinitive in two early Italo-Romance varieties (Tuscan and Lombard, 13th-15th centuries)

A rather controversial aspect of the morphosyntax of early Italo-Romance varieties is the position of clitic pronouns. Many studies have been devoted to the position of clitics in relation to the verb in main sentences in Old Italian (Tobler-Mussafia law) and to the rise of the clitic in certain verbal periphrases in the infinitive (*voglio farlo* vs *lo voglio fare*). Grammars of Old Italian normally deal with these two phenomena. On the other hand, the syntax of clitics in non-temporalised subordinates (infinitives, participials and gerund clauses: *sono uscita per vederlo, di' a Maria di non dimenticarlo*; *vedutolo/vedendolo, lo chiamò*) has rarely been studied. Today, in standard Italian, these verb forms select the enclisis (i.e. the pronoun is collocated after the verb for which it is the argument), but in the dialects we find a very different situation: Manzini/Savoia (2005: 335-386) describe 4 patterns of clitic pronoun distribution in Italian dialects:

1) generalised enclisis with the possibility of the clitic rising with the modal verb (*credo di chiamarti*, but *voglio chiamarti / ti voglio chiamare*).

2) proclisis is possible with negation or an interrogative element *wh-* (e.g. in the Modena dialect):

> *a t'o det d'ander-əg* vs *a t'o det d'an g'ander* (Briza)
> 'I told you to go-LOC' vs 'I told you don'tLOC aller go'
> *a n' so sa dir- ət*
> 'I don't know what to tell-you'

3) proclisis is very frequent in the same contexts as (2) but also in circumstantial clauses, typically in south-central dialects (examples from the dialect of Popoli, Abruzzo):

> *so veggnutə pə ttə vedoi*
> *mə nə so joita pə tteə vedoi* 'I went away to [not] see you'.

4) proclisis is systematic in infinitive clauses, whether negative, positive, circumstantial, argumentative or introduced by an interrogative operator.

Leaving aside the clitic climbing, due to a more advanced integration between the two verbal components (which together function as a complex predicate, La Fauci 2009: 130-131), we propose to study the proclisis before the infinitive clauses (with the value of a circumstantial subordinate or argument) in two ancient varieties: Tuscan and Lombard of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. According to Egerland/Cardinaletti (2010: 432), clitic pronouns in Old Tuscan always follow verbs in the gerund, infinitive and participle, except in the presence of negation and in interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative phrases: in this context, the clitic can very rarely be placed before the verb. However, Weinapple (1983) and (1996) show that in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, there was an increase in the use of the proclitic pronoun in circumstantial and negative argument clauses, as well as a tendency for some authors to use the clitic pronoun before an affirmative infinitive. This phenomenon is often considered a "modern" rhetorical device, however, it is possible to document examples of this structure even in authors and writers of the fourteenth

century (eg. Filippo Villani, *Cronica* [1363], «entrò in mare in Bologna sor la Mere *per* ire e *si rasegnare prigione* in Inghilterra»; Boccaccio, *Decameron*, X, VIII [1349-1370ca]: «io non intendo al presente di più aprirvi, ma come amici *vi consigliare*» 'I don't want to explain this to you now, but as my friends to advise you'; *Lettere fior.* [1388] «con vergogna mi conduco a *vi scrivere*» 'with shame I will write to you').

We will examine the cases of proclisis in infinitive subordinates documented in the OVI corpus and in the ALTRA-CAL corpus. The OVI corpus includes 3,477 texts, 1,971 of which are attributable to Tuscany (last update: September 2023), dating from before 1400 (although some texts date from the first decade of the fifteenth century). OVI is the largest database currently available on Old Italian. Although it does not provide for morphologic and syntactic annotation, the number and types of texts included ensure a high degree of representativeness. The ALTRA-CAL corpus, which is currently under construction, will include ca. 500 texts attributable to Western Lombard and dated between 1270 and 1550 (current situation: 60 texts). The project is now focusing on identifying and editing previously unpublished Lombard texts and studying existing editions in order, where necessary, to correctly restore the morpho-syntactic structure of word sequences (e.g. virtual pronouns <che> *ch'e'*, <poristo> *poris-to*, <nonn essere> *non n'essere* or *nonn essere*, as the case may be) and to limit interventions in the language of the manuscripts. Finally, the philological work carried out on the texts in ALTRA-CAL and the study of the tradition ensure that textual variance is exploited to the full.

On the basis of the data from the two corpora, we will try to shed light on the position of clitic pronouns in this syntactic context, by attempting:

1) to identify the critical aspects of such an analysis: a) formal underspecification of the tonic and non-tonic series in certain varieties (e.g. *te* can be both a tonic and a clitic pronoun); b) distributional ambiguity of the clitic pronoun in modal verb contexts (e.g. in *vo' lo portare con meco, lo* could be enclitic to *vo'* or proclitic to *portare*: here it is up to the editor of the ancient texts to decide);

2) to reconstruct the chronology of the phenomenon in different syntactic contexts, taking into account recent studies on Spanish (Mackenzie 2017) and French (Goldbach 2006 and 2008, Olivier 2022);

3) to indicate any correlations between the semantics of the verb and the position of the pronoun;

4) to check whether discourse genre and register play a role in the choice of the proclisis with an infinitive subordinate.

On this point, there is sometimes little consistent data: even though it occur in texts of medium or low register, the proclisis with infinitive would be, according to grammarians, an indicator of "high" style (Moise 1878: 370). We will therefore try to establish whether the phenomenon shows a different frequency and function in two discursive traditions: legal-administrative texts (such as statutes, laws, diplomatic letters, formal acts of various kinds...) produced by chancelleries, and hagiographic legends (i.e. narratives in prose and verse relating to the lives of saints or biblical figures). These two discursive traditions are clearly characterised, but at the same time well documented in both, Tuscan and Lombard, varieties. The integration of quantitative and qualitative data could help us to interpret the phenomenon, whose different manifestations, while showing the same surface configuration, could depend on diverse syntactic motivations.

OVI = *Corpus OVI dell'Italiano antico*, dir. by Pär Larson, Elena Artale, Diego Dotto. Firenze: Opera del Vocabolario Italiano-CNR.

ALTRA-CAL = Raymund Wilhelm, *Traditions of Ancient Lombard – Corpus dell'Antico lombardo* (under construction).

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Bryan Donaldson and Ivy Shaw (Santa Cruz). Old French sentential coordination: Syntactic change and textual variation.

This presentation reports part of an ongoing project aimed at better understanding how strategies of sentential coordination interact with word order and syntactic change in Old French. In particular, we focus on the alternation between two elements, the conjunction *e(t)* 'and' as in (1) and (2), and the sentence adverb *si* 'thus, and' as in (3), both of which can occur sentence-initially (although occupying different underlying syntactic positions) and can function as roughly equivalent linking elements between two conjoined clauses (Fleischman 1991; Foulet 1928; Marchello-Nizia 1985; *inter alia*):

> (1) *Si l'adoba **et le fist chevalier**.*
>   'He dubbed him **and made him a knight**.'
>   (*Coronemenz Looïs*, 1650 ms. B, ca. 1130)
>
> (2) *Or ne fera mes plus; trop a avant alé, **E pesot li que tant en aveit trespassé.***
>   'From now on, he will not do more; he went too far, **and he regretted having gone that far**.'
>   (*Vie de Saint Thomas Becket*, 1020, ca. 1174)
>
> (3) *Et ensi se partirent, **si tint cascuns sa voie.***
>   'And thus they separated from each other, **and each one went on his way**.'
>   (Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, §34, ca. 1208)

Both *et* and *si* as sentential coordinating conjunctions are attested from the earliest Old French texts (as early as the *Séquence de Ste Eulalie*, ca. 880) but undergo changes in frequency relative to each other over time. In early Old French (prior to ca. 1200), a second conjunct introduced by *et* can be either a verb-second main declarative as in (2) (i.e., a Complementizer Phrase [CP]; see e.g., Vance 1997), or a Tense Phrase (TP; as in 1), which under the V2 grammar of Old French is not a full stand-alone main declarative (see Benincà 1995; Donaldson 2021; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012). In contrast, main declaratives introduced by *si* (3) are CPs at any stage of Old French (e.g., Benincà 2006). Donaldson (2021) argued that the choice between TP and CP coordination with *et* in early Old French depended on the semantic and discourse contexts in which they occur: CP coordination of the type in (2) occurs when the conjoined clauses require separate force operators (i.e., *coordinating relations*; Asher & Vieu 2005), whereas TP coordination

(1) occurs when two closely linked clauses share a single force operator (i.e. *subordinating relations;* Asher & Vieu 2005).

By ca. 1200, however, the specific instantiation of CP coordination in (2), in which the first clausal position (i.e., SpecCP or SpecFocus in a generative approach) remains empty, is no longer possible due to changes in the V2 grammar of Old French. As a result, after ca. 1200, *et*+verb sequences in Old French are necessarily TPs (Donaldson 2021; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012, Vance 1993), although coordination with *si* always entails a CP.

In this paper, we use a variationist approach (Labov 1972) to:

(d) Explore the hypothesis that matrix *et*-verb-clitic sequences like (2) and *si*-(clitic)-verb sequences like (3) are in free variation in early Old French, as two instantiations of CP coordination, and that they occur in the same semantic and discursive contexts, viz., coordinating relations

(e) Trace the rise of *si*-(clitic)-verb coordination, hypothesizing that, as *et*-verb-clitic sequences disappear from the language (ca. 1200), use of *si*-(clitic)-verb expands proportionately in the context of coordinating relations

(f) Investigate microvariation between texts and across registers within texts in the use of *si* versus *et* as a marker of sentential coordination.

Our original corpus draws on 10 texts spanning the period from 1100 to 1308. Shorter texts are analyzed in their entirety; in longer texts, a minimum of 300 tokens are analyzed. For each token, coding includes (a) coordination level (TP vs. CP) of the second conjunct, (b) choice of coordinator (*et* vs. *si*), (c) the presence of a *verbum dicendi* in the second conjunct, (d) whether the predicates in the two conjuncts are sequential, (e) change from background to foreground information across conjuncts, (f) subject change across conjuncts, (g) change of sentential polarity across conjuncts, (h) register (e.g., narration vs. represented speech), and (i) discourse coherence relations between conjuncts.

Our results confirm that the use of sentential coordination with *si* rises between early Old French and later Old French but that individual texts vary, sometimes markedly, in their proportions of sentential coordination with *si*, as well as in the contexts that favor *si*. For example, coordination with *si* represents only 5% of all sentential coordination in *Brendan* (ca. 1121) but 24% in the *Anglo-Norman Alexander* (ca. 1188) and 48% in *Clari* (ca. 1205). As the use of *si* as a sentence coordinator rises over the course of the 12th century, it is perceived by some authors as innovative, occurring more frequently in represented speech passages (Marchello-Nizia 2012; Donaldson 2014) than in narrative. On the other hand, the use of *si* as a sentence coordinator is not uniform between text and appears to be conditioned by different factors, as our variationist analysis reveals. For instance, whereas *si* is strongly preferred in the presence of a *verbum dicendi* in *Clari* (ca. 1205) and *Villehardouin* ca. 1206), *et* is preferred in the *Queste del Saint Graal* (ca. 1225). Finally, by the early 14th century, *si* as a sentence coordinator is in clear decline, at least in Joinville (ca. 1308), and appears to have lost its association with coordinating relations.

Beyond identifying intertextual variation, we contribute to debate on properties of the complex "mystery particle" (Fleischman 1991: 251) *si* in Old French and in particular the participation of *si* in sentential coordination, a domain in which Old French used both syntactic and lexical means to mark subtle differences in the discourse coherence relations between conjuncts. Our results also contribute to our understanding of the syntactic change by which Old French transitioned from a "relaxed" V2 language (Wolfe 2019), in which the first clausal position (i.e. SpecCP/SpecFocus) could remain unsaturated in main declaratives to a stricter V2 grammar, in which this position was obligatorily filled by–among many other possibilities–the sentence adverb *si*.

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Andreas Dufter (München). *Avant qu'il (ne) vienne* : tracing the trajectory of *ne* in 'before'-clauses in French

Background. Expletive negation, i.e., the optional presence of negative elements in clauses expressing non-negative propositions, has intrigued French grammarians for centuries. While in Latin, the analysis of *ne, quin* and *quominus* as expletive negators remains controversial (*cf.* Orlandini 2005 *vs.* Pinkster 2015: 700–707), expletive uses of *ne* are solidly attested since early Old French (Stauf 1927, Combettes *et al.* 2020: 1262). Typical contexts of occurrences include (i) object complement clauses governed by matrix predicates such as *craindre* 'fear', *empêcher* 'prevent' or *défendre* 'forbid', (ii) correlative clauses in comparative constructions (e.g. *plus grand qu'il ne paraît* 'bigger than it seems'), and (iii) adverbial clauses introduced by subordinators such as *sans que* 'without', *à moins que* 'unless' and *avant que* 'before' (*cf.* Muller 1991: 362–380, Grevisse 2016: 400–405 for more detailed lists of licensors). Quite a few attempts have been made to provide a uniform semantic characterization of these licensors of expletive *ne* (*cf.* Martin 1984, Muller 1991, Hunnius 2004). Upon closer scrutiny, however, some degree of lexical and grammatical idiosyncrasy will almost certainly have to be acknowledged (Larrivée 1994).

Diachronically, it turns out that the evolution of the frequency of expletive *ne* differs greatly between different licensors (*cf.* Stauf 1927, Vásquez Molina 2002, Tahar 2022). In clauses headed by *avant que*, in particular, the rise of expletive *ne* seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon (Fournier 2004: 62, Tahar 2021: 621, Tahar 2022: 88–93), even if occasional examples from Old French can be found in 'before'-clauses headed by *ainz que* and *aincois que* (Muller 1991: 377, Buridant 2019: 1059). This delayed take-off of expletive *ne* with *avant que* may seem all the more surprising given that 'before'-clauses are considered among the most common contexts of expletive negation in Romance languages and dialects (Mourin 1979, Ramat 2022) and in the languages of the world (Delfitto 2020: 256, Jin & Koenig 2021: 49, Olguín Martínez 2023). Subtle semantic or pragmatic differences between the presence and absence of expletive negation in 'before'-clauses have also been postulated

time and again (*cf.* Vogeleer 2000, Hunnius 2004 and Tahar 2021 for French, Krifka 2010 for German, Delfitto, Melloni & Vender 2019 for Italian), even if for French, evidence seems equivocal at best.

Research problem. While expletive negation has recently enjoyed a resurgence of interest in formal semantic and typological research, much variationist and socio-historical investigation remains to be done. On the one hand, there are those who consider expletive negation in French as a vernacular tendency ("quelque chose d'assez spontané", Grevisse 2016: 1400), originating in popular registers (Muller 1991: 382), a scenario well-known from other languages (Jin & Koenig 2021: 44). On the other hand, expletive *ne* in modern French is commonly evaluated as being typical of formal registers (Abeillé & Godard 2021: 1168), but elsewhere in steady decline (Nyrop 1930: 47, Gamillscheg 1957: 763), and even on its way to "extinction" in vernacular sources since the seventeenth century (Larrivée 2014: 46). Normative judgements have likewise been exceedingly variable, ranging from recommendation (*DAF*, s.v. *ne*) to outright rejection (cf. quotations in Meier 1968: 564).

In *avant que*-clauses, linguistic authorities either ignored or condemned expletive *ne* until the nineteenth century (cf. Brunot 1966: 1865–1867, Fournier 2005). Nevertheless, a sharp increase in frequency can be observed in Frantext corpus data since Classical French (Tahar 2022). What must first be determined, therefore, is the diachronic trajectories of expletive *ne* with different licensors in French across different text types. This, in turn, will allow an assessment of whether *avant que*-clauses are indeed a kind of latecomer as licensor of expletive *ne*, or fit into more general diachronic trends – at least in certain text types or registers. At the same time, fine tuning the development of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses will also allow us to reassess hypotheses according to which cross-linguistically prototypical contexts of expletive negation (so-called frustrative or apprehensive uses) favor the presence of expletive *ne*, even in less formal text types.

Data and method. The presence vs. absence of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses will be investigated within different sub-corpora of Frantext, with new philologically reliable editions or digital copies of contemporary editions being consulted in cases of doubt. These sub-corpora are defined by domain (literary texts, philosophical and scientific texts, and ego-documents ("écrits personnels")) for the sixteenth to twenty-first centuries. In addition, a number of other corpora and text collections, including Ernst (ed.) (2019), the *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Corpus 14 and ÉMA (Boré & Elalous 2017), contribute to broaden the empirical basis.

Key finding. While the details remain to be spelled out, the overall finding is clearly one of an increasing divergence between text types, with literary texts and personal texts by experienced writers showing an impressive rise of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses from the eighteenth century onwards. By contrast, expletive *ne* remains sporadic among less experienced writers and in less elaborated texts throughout the historical period under investigation. Our results thus lend additional support to Fournier's (2005: 51) claim that variability in the use of the expletive *ne* has increased over time, thereby increasing its salience as a socio-stylistic variable.

Relevance for the meeting. The diachrony of expletive *ne* illustrates how difficult it can be to gain a more fine-grained picture of the evolution of variation, given the contingency of surviving texts and their selective consideration in historical corpora such as Frantext. More specifically, the comparative study of expletive *ne* in *avant que*-clauses suggests that French expands a variant here which has enjoyed prestige from the beginning, without vernacular origins or recurrent pragmatic motivations as they are assumed for other languages, including Italian, Dutch and German. Thus, it seems as if parallel developments in related or neighboring languages may constitute a change from below in one language but a change from above in another.

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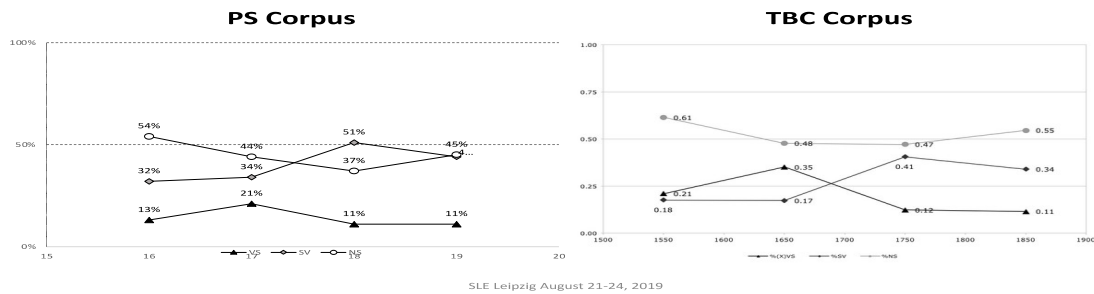Tahar, Chloe. 2021. Apprehensive and frustrative uses of *before*. In: *Proceedings of SALT 31*, 606–628.

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Charlotte Galves (Campinas). Genre, register and syntax in the history of Portuguese: a study based on syntactically parsed corpora

The advent of syntactically annotated corpora has allowed a new look at the history of Portuguese, in particular at the hitherto little-studied 16th-19th c. period, covering both Classical Portuguese (henceforth ClP), and early Modern European Portuguese (henceforth EP). In this talk, I shall consider some aspects of the historical syntactic research that were enhanced by the availability of two such corpora, the *Tycho Brahe Corpus of Historical Portuguese* (henceforth *TBC*) and the *Post-Scriptum Corpus of Ordinary Writing* (henceforth *PSC)*: 1. the dating of the change from ClP to EP, 2. the question of knowing to what extent the syntax observed, on the one hand, in the literary texts of the *TBC* and, on the other hand, in the familiar letters contained in the *PSC* can be amenable to the same underlying grammars along time, 3. the more general question of the variation between V1 and V2 in old Romance Languages, particular those that were dubbed as relaxed V2 languages by Wolfe (2015a).

The *TBC* has brought strong empirical evidence to the claim initially made by Torres Moraes (1995) that ClP was still a V2 language, more exactly a relaxed V2 language (Galves 2020). It also allowed to locate in time in a more precise way the change to EP, which involved, among other phenomena, the loss of V2 and the generalization of the enclitic placement in tensed contexts in which it was before marginal (Galves and Paixão de Sousa 2017). Martins (2014) had noted that the frequency of the enclitic position of pronouns in such contexts in the Sermons of Antonio Vieira (1608-1697) was much higher than that of the correspondence of his contemporary Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608-1666). She then interpreted this fact as indicating the emergence of EP at Vieira's time, i.e in the 17th century, and considered Melo as a conservative writer. The *TBC*, which brought together a larger number of works by authors born during the 17th century, made it possible to show that Vieira's Sermons were in fact an exception with respect to clitic placement, including when compared with the correspondence of Vieira himself, which is as proclitic in V2 contexts as Melo's (cf. Galves, Britto & Paixão de Sousa 2005). It was also possible to show that this exception constituted evidence for Vieira's use of the ClP grammar where clitic placement was shown to be sensitive to prosody (Galves & Sandalo 2012, Galves & Kroch 2016). Indeed, all cases of enclisis in the Sermons occur in sentences as illustrated in (1) with the verb preceded by contrastive topics. These are by hypothesis separated by a prosodic boundary from the verb, which is then in first position in the following intonational curve, forcing the postverbal position of the clitic pronoun. The importance of the effects of contrast (typical of the baroque style) thus explained the frequency of enclisis found in V2 contexts in the Sermons, bringing counterevidence that the change happened at Vieira's time. Additionally, the comparison between the texts of the *TBC*, of a more literary nature, and the "ordinary writing" of the *PSC* allows us to refine our understanding of what is a grammatical fact and what is the effect of usage. The following graphs (Galves 2019) show the distribution of null, postverbal and preverbal subjects in the two corpora.

The expression of subjects in main clauses, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, by 100-year periods.

PS Corpus

TBC Corpus

SLE Leipzig August 21-24, 2019

Parallel to what was observed by Larrivée (2022) about medieval French, the frequency of preverbal subjects is systematically higher in colloquial letters than in literary texts, in detriment of both null subjects and postverbal subjects during the 16th and 17th centuries and of null subjects in the 18th and 19th centuries. Concerning ClP, we can however think that this difference is not to be derived from a grammatical difference but from a different usage of the same grammar, which allows such a variation. In effect, the dynamics of evolution is the same in the two corpora, with the concomitant decrease of VS and increase of SV between the 17th and 18th centuries, corresponding to the loss of V2 (Galves & Paixão de Sousa 2017). Other facts, easily retrievable from large, parsed corpora, even when they are infrequent, like the placement of manner adverbs like "well" after the post-verbal subject, typical of V2 languages (cf. Belletti 2004), reinforce this claim (cf. 2).

Finally, the diversity of text types helps understanding another variation generated by relaxed V2 grammars, namely the V1/V2 variation, particularly relevant in the context of the discussion of the typology of ancient Romance languages (cf. Wolfe 2015b). One of the texts of the *TBC*, the *Gazeta* of Manuel Galhegos (1597-1665), written from 1641 on, displays around 40% V1 order while the other texts from the same period all have a V1 frequency of around 30%. This is likely to derive from the journalistic nature of this text, composed of short news, in which the frequency of sentences which introduce out-of-the-blue information, favoring the V1 order, is much higher than that of narrative texts. which establish long-range links between referents and events, favoring the V2 order. The difference in results between Wolfe (2015b) and Sidaridou (2012) regarding the frequency of V1 in medieval Spanish – respectively 1.26% and 20.3% – can thus derive from the difference in the types of texts considered, in spite of the fact that they share the same relaxed V2 grammar, in which the movement to the pre-verbal position is not a "formal movement" (Frey, 2006) but a movement triggered by discursive features only.

(1) Elles   conheciam-se,   como homens,   Christo conhecia-os,   como Deus.
     They   knew-CL,   as men,   Christ   knew-CL,   as God.
     They knew themselves as men, Christ knew them as god

(2) porque   vale   o   chão   para   todas   as   partes
     because (is)worth   the   land   for   all   the   parties
     bem   os   ditos 4500 reais   e   duas galinhas.
     well   the   said   4500 reais   and   two   hens   (*PS Corpus* PSCR0051,.9) 16c.
     Because the land is well worth for all the parties the aforementioned 4500 reais and two hens.

Post Scriptum Corpus:
http://www.clul.ulisboa.pt/en/10-research/662-p-s-post-scriptum
Tycho Brahe Corpus:
http://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/~tycho/corpus/en/index.html

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Zinaïda Geylikman (Paris). *Personne* in *ne*-sentences from 14th to 16th centuries : a contribution of text-type calibrated corpora

The present talk will enlighten the genesis of the n-word use of *personne* from 14th to 16th century throughout a quantative and qualitative analysis of its occurrences in three corpora : BFM22, MICLE and ConDÉ.

French negative system has been the object of multiple studies over past decades (for an overview, see Donaldson 2018). Its evolution is usually described as a classic case of the so-called Jespersen cycle, whose intermediate stage[5] – emersion of n-words to be used regularly in *ne*-sentences – starts in the Medieval French period (9th- late 15th/early 16th centuries). A study by Donaldson (2018) opposing the *ne*-sentences without n-words to those with n-words *pas/mie/goute* in Medieval French suggests that the innovative variant – *ne* + n-word – is more keen to appear in 'represented speech' – text segments that 'represent' spoken language, i.e. mostly direct speech (for the introduction of the concept, see Marchello-Nizia 2012)

Medieval French texts know a number of items which, having also negative polarity value, start to be regularly used in ne-sentences and thus acquire n-word status at different stages of Medieval French evolution. Apart from *pas/mie/goute* – grammaticalized nouns that desemanticize completely in combination with *ne* in Old French (12th-13th century) – a number of determiners, pronouns and adverbs join the n-word set, such as *rien* pronoun (grammaticalized noun, see Martin 1966), *nul* pronoun and determiner, *onques* adverb (Eng.

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5 Speaking about 'intermediate stage' of the Jespersen cycle in French we use the basic three stages schema : 1. *Ne*-fully negative – 2. *Ne* used alongside a negative polarity emphasizer which becomes n-word – 3. N-word becoming fully negative (see Larrivée, 2010 : 1-2). For a more nuanced and diachronically accurate description on the example of *pas*, chosen to illustrate the original Otto Jespersen's view on the subject (Jespersen, 1917), see Donaldson 2018, Table 1.

'ever/never') *etc.* (for various studies of n-words emerging in French diachrony, see Prévost & Schnedecker 2004, Larrivée & Kallel 2020, Larrivée 2021).

Of all the n-words that emerged during the Medieval French period, *personne* seems to be the latest : the first occurrences are noted from late 13th – early 14th century (TLFi)[6]. The NPI and n-word uses appear simultaneosly, the latter being more frequent from the beginning.

The present talk will focus on the n-word use of *personne*. The occurrences ought to meet the following criteria: 1. *personne* should appear in a *ne*-sentence ; 2. it must have no determiner or modifier ; 3. it must allow the interpretation as 'no one, nobody' as in :

<div align="center">

14th century, Melusine, p. 134[7] :

et venez tout seul, et n'en dictez rien a **personne**.

</div>

Moreover, previous nor following sentences should not be *ne*-sentences contaning *personne* in similar conditions, but with a determiner/modifier (e.g., *personne quelconque* Eng. 'some person' as in BFM22, regcrim2 p. 72-73), allowing a noun-intepretation of *personne*.

One of the main focuses will be the use of the three corpora in our analysis. Indeed, being aware of the importance of text-type distribution for diachronical studies (for discussion see Prevost 2015, Glessgen *et al.* 2018), for the purpose of the study we have initially chosen BFM22 corpus only. Of all the existing open-access Medieval French corpora, BFM22 is the largest - 7 328 715 tokens – and contains the biggest diversity of text-types : fiction (epic texts, romance, lyric poetry *etc.*), religious texts (hagiography, sermons), historical textes (chronicles, memoirs), didactical texts, law texts. Thus, while BFM22 corpus contains an important number of occurrences of *personne*-noun (1385), the examples of *personne* in indefinite use in a *ne*-sentence turned out to be scarce : 16 occurrences in 14th century and 14 in the texts of 15th – beginning of 16th century. Whereas these results confirmed the dating of the phenomenon – early 14th century – it did not provide any conclusive evidence as for its genesis.

First, though *personne* in *ne*-sentences appears mostly as an object (21 on 30 occurrences), subject-function is also possible, as well as that of a presentative. As for the text-type distribution there was nothing conclusive either : whereas most of the occurrences came from fiction, there were also examples in didactical, historical texts and even one in a law text. Finally, we have also tested the verse *vs* prose opposition to find that *personne* in *ne*-sentences could appear in both, with a slight preference for prose that could as well be explained by a bigger proportion of prose in 14th and 15th century texts in the BFM22. All in all, the low frequency disallowed to determine whether either of these features was truly characteristic of *personne* as n-word. Comparative studies with other n-words such as *personne*'s semantic concurrent – the pronoun *nul* – or another pronominalized noun *rien*, appeared to be irrelevant within BFM22, as both items are well spread from the 12th century and showed no specific common pattern with *personne*. *Aucun,* on the contrary, is rarely n-word before the 16th century, while existing as a positive or NPI indefinite from the beginning of Medieval French (Prévost & Schnedecker 2004, Larrivée 2021) which also prevents its comparison to *personne* from being relevant during the studied period.

Therefore, we decided to turn to two text-type homogeneous corpora : ConDÉ and MICLE. Both of the corpora, in their current state, could be roughly described as law texts, even though there are fundamentally different : the first one represents sets of 'coutumes', Normandy laws, whereas the second contains court proceedings. We have conducted a search on the same set of criteria as for BFM22, from the earliest texts of the corpora up to 16th century. The results were suprising at first sight : while MICLE contained 14 occurrences of

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6 In its noun use, *personne* is known from 12th century, appearing mostly in text-types that are originally Latin (religious texts, law texts *etc.*, as opposed to vernacular text-types such as epic texts, romance, lyric poetry *etc.*) meaning 'person', 'ecclesiastic dignitary' or 'one of the hypostases of the Trinity'.

7 The example is referenced as in BFM22 corpus.

indefinite use in *ne*-sentences on a total of 251 occurrences of *personne* from 14th to 16th century, ConDÉ only contained 4 on a total of 982 examples and that appeared only at the very end of the 16th century. But this time there was a clear pattern : the occurrences of *personne* in indefinite use in *ne*-sentences appeared regularly in reported speech. That pattern explains the difference between MICLE with its court proceedings, which note the words of the accused and thus contain abundant examples of reported speech, and ConDÉ which describes legal norms. But this pattern and that difference had also an effect of a spotlight that allowed a more productive analysis of the occurrences from BFM22 corpus.

Thus, throughout a detailed analysis of the occurrences of *personne* as n-word in BFM22, MICLE and ConDÉ corpora, the present talk will confirm Donaldson's hypothesis that states that a more innovative variant tends to appear first in represented speech. Therefore, the talk will emphasize the importance of the 'narration vs represented speech' parameter in the diachronical studies of the French negation system. More generally, it will make the case for the use of different text-type calibrated corpora for a better understanding of linguistic phenomena evolution.

BFM22 = Base de Français Médiéval [En ligne]. Lyon : ENS de Lyon, Laboratoire IHRIM, 2022, <txm.bfm-corpus.org>.

ConDÉ = Larrivée, Pierre et Mathieu Goux (dir.), 2021, corpus ConDÉ, version Bêta 1.0, Caen, CRISCO (EA 4255) et PDN (MRSH) de l'Université de Caen. URL : https://txm-crisco.huma-num.fr/txm/

MICLE-PREVIEW = Larrivée, Pierre et Poletto, Cecilia (dirs), 2023, corpus MICLE-PREVIEW, v. 0.9, Caen (France) / Francfort (Allemagne), CRISCO (EA 4255) / Institut für Romanische Sprachen und Literaturen.

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Marchello-Nizia, C. (2012). L'oral représenté: un accès construit à une face cachée des langues 'mortes'. In C. Guillot, B. Combettes, A. Lavrentiev, E. Opperman-Marsaux, & S. Prévost (Éds.), Le changement en français. Études de linguistique diachronique (p. 247-264). Peter Lang.

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Mihatsch, W. (2017). Les noms d'humains généraux aux limites de la grammaticalisation. Syntaxe et Semantique, N° 18(1), 67-99. https://www.cairn.info/revue-syntaxe-et-semantique-2017-1-page-67.htm

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Katalin Gugán (Budapest). Variants of sentential negation across registers: a case study of Middle Hungarian

1. **Aims.** The importance of register in historical linguistics is unquestionable (Kytö 2019), yet register as a factor seems to be somewhat elusive. From a methodological perspective, it can be difficult to operationalize it as a variable, as its levels can be construed in different ways. From the point of view of historical linguistics research, it is generally assumed that spoken informal communication is the hotbed of innovation and it also leads the dissemination of innovative variants. This assumption must hold generally, but there are remarkable counterexamples, e.g. Ayres-Bennett (2018), Dömötör (2021).

The present research intends to investigate the role of registers in the domain of sentential negation in Hungarian. Its primary aim is exploratory: focusing on six different text types of Middle Hungarian, it aims at surveying and comparing the distribution of the variants across registers. As a further objective, it also hopes to address both problems outlined above, i.e. capturing register as a factor, and adding information concerning its role in language change.

2. **The variable.** Ever since Hungarian has been documented (longer texts being available first from the second half of the 14th century), there are two word order variants of negative sentences that also feature verb modifiers: the verb modifier can either precede or follow the negated verb. It is generally assumed that the previous variant (VM – NEG – V) is a conservative pattern, inherited from Proto-Ugric, whereas the latter variant (NEG – V – VM) is a later, but also quite old innovation. According to É. Kiss (2014), the conservative word order pattern is the result of left-adjunction of the negative particle to the verb, whereas the innovative one is due to merging the negative particle into the NegP, from where it elicits verb movement.

3. **Background.** The two variants were in stable variation during Old and Middle Hungarian, with the conservative pattern being the dominant one. The distribution of the two variants changed radically during New Hungarian (late 18th century – early 20th century): the NEG – V – VM variant became much more frequent, and in modern Hungarian, this is the standard negative pattern, while the VM – NEG – V pattern appears in restricted contexts. Gugán (2020/MS, 2022/MS) argued that even though there is no grammaticalization of a new negative marker involved, this change is similar to the Negative Cycle in that a formerly marked pattern gains frequency, and, as a consequence of this, loses its special function, becoming the standard way of expressing negation.

To reveal the specific functions of the two variants prior to the change, a detailed investigation of the Old and Middle Hungarian Corpus of Informal Language Use (OMHC) was carried out (Gugán 2021). The investigated external factors seemed to play little or no role in variation: whereas there was a slight decrease (!) in the proportion of the NEG – V – VM pattern from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the three social groups and the different counties seemed to be rather homogeneous; for instance, the NEG – V – VM pattern occurred in texts representing the language use of serfs, educated commoners and noblemen at a very similar rate (14.8%, 15.9%, and 15.2%, respectively). The investigated internal factors (clause type, co-occurrence patterns with indefinite pronouns and emphatic particles) all pointed towards the suggestion that the NEG – V – VM pattern was less frequent because it was pragmatically marked: it was a more emphatic way of expressing negation. The fact that the NEG – V – VM pattern is excluded from contexts in which pleonastic negation occurs and the observation that the two patterns probably differed in NEG being or not being assigned stress ('NEG – V – VM vs. 'VM – NEG – V) also corroborated this assumption.

OMHC consists of texts assumed to represent spoken informal language use as closely as possible: witness deposits of witch trials and private correspondence. The above

investigation showed that these text types were fairly homogeneous concerning the distribution of the variants. However, preliminary analyses of representatives of a more formal register from the same period yielded completely different results. Whereas the oeuvre of cardinal Péter Pázmány, the influential counter-reformer hardly displayed any instances of the NEG – V – VM pattern (2.2%, N=714), the protestant Gáspár Károlyi's widely used translation of the New Testament featured this pattern in 43.1% of all cases (N=195). That is, randomly selected representatives of the formal/religious register differed both from the informal register and from each other. This suggested that a detailed investigation of the role of text type/register as a factor is inevitable.

4. Methods. The results shown above allowed only for a rather broad hypothesis: it was assumed that in the case of the above variants that differ in their pragmatic value, text types that are more formal and aim at affecting a broader audience may give more space to the individual, perhaps idiosyncratic motivations and usage patterns of authors, leading to more intra-register variation. The following six text types are included in the investigation:

	Witness deposits	Private letters	Drama	Memoires	Scientific prose	Bible translations
Speech-related	+	+	+	+	-	-
Speech-based	+	-	+	-	-	-
Constructed	-	-	+	+	+	+
Ego-document	-	+	-	+	-	-

Scientific prose and Bible translations are assumed to be the most formal text types, whereas Drama and Memoires are closer to informal language use in being speech-related. Data are annotated both using text type as a variant with the above six levels (witness deposits etc.) and using the factors in the first column to see which (if any) of these features yield clusters of text types. The analysis will also include the language-internal factors mentioned above, and it will be carried out by using the partykit package of R (Hothorn&Zeileis 2015) to draw a conditional inference tree as the basis for interpreting the results.

5. The results of a pilot study and further expected results. A preliminary comparison of the 16th-century subcorpus of OMHC and four 16th-century Bible translations (using broadly the same methods, but a less elaborate classification of text types, only distinguishing informal and formal texts) showed that Károlyi's translation was the only outlier among the translations.[8] The inclusion of further potential parameters of variation pertaining to text types is hoped to answer the question of whether variation in the usage patterns is conditioned by text type, broader features, idiolectal properties, or a combination of these. It is also hoped that the inclusion of three further text types yields results that are more representative of the language use of Middle Hungarian, helping to uncover if there are predecessors of the 19th-century change, and if any of these text types are more likely to disseminate innovative patterns.

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8 Zooming on a smaller dataset of OMHC returned an outlier from the informal text type as well, but in that case, the exceptional nature of the dataset is probably due to a confounding factor.

szerkezetek a középmagyar kor nyelvében [Competing constructions in Middle Hungarian]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.129–153. * Gugán, Katalin 2022/MS. Contrast maintenance in syntax: a highly atypical case of the Negative Cycle. * Hothorn, Torsten & Zeileis, Achim 2015. partykit: A Modular Toolkit for Recursive Partytioning in R. Journal of Machine Learning Research 16: 3905–9. ***** É. Kiss, Katalin 2014. The evolution of functional left peripheries in the Hungarian sentence. In: É. Kiss, Katalin (ed.), The Evolution of Functional Left Peripheries in Hungarian Syntax. Oxford University Press. Oxford. 9–55. ***** Kytö, Merja 2019.

Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), What metrical poetry can tell us about word order change

This paper seeks to show how metrical poetry can throw light on the course of syntactic change in interaction with prosody: given that word order variation in metrical poetry is constrained by metrical requirements, there is a lot to learn from evidence that metre (co-) conditions word order choices.

An often cited case of language change in the history of English is the loss of (in particular) nominal inflections in the transition from Old to Middle English (1050-1250). Any textbook observes that reduction of unstressed syllables led to the loss of stem extensions and nominal endings marking case and gender. It has often been argued that the reduction and loss of endings led to rigidification of word order: e.g. the hypothesis that loss of inflections for case and gender led to further change such as the loss of OV word order is likewise well-known (see e.g. Fischer et.al. 2000; Taylor & vd Wurff 2005, Struik & van Kemenade 2022). My hypothesis in this context is that metrical poetry can inform us on how advanced phonetic reduction of unstressed syllables is. My primary aim (as defined in the workshop outline) is to come closer to the evolution in the immediate competence of speakers.

The paper will focus primarily on a very well-known, not to say notorious, text from the transition period between Old and Middle English: the Ormulum. Written ca. 1200 by the Augustinian monk Orm, it presents some 30,000 lines of sermons in very strict metre: a trochaic foot, in a spelling system that makes every effort to express vowel length (another change in progress at the time). We can thus rely on the metre for stress patterns, and on spelling to see how far advanced the reduction of unstressed syllables was, and how this interacted with ongoing syntactic change such as the loss of OV word order, the development of subject-verb inversion in questions and clauses introduced by e.g. unstressed adverbs such as *then*, or stressed preposed objects. It is generally assumed that Orm was radically consistent in his spelling of vowel length, and hence one assumes that his spelling of unstressed syllables is consistent. I will show in particular that the latter needs some qualification, and that this is a source of information about syntactic change in progress.

One illustrative example of this is variation in subject-verb inversion. I contrast here, as an example, two possible word orders (multiply and consistently exemplified in the text) in clauses introduced by the adverb *her* 'here':

Inversion
|Her hábbe icc shæ'wedd nú till ӡúw || Here have I shown now to you ORM.I.189.1560

no Inversion
& hér icc wíle shæ'wenn ӡúw || and here I want show you ORM.I.115.998

The linguistic difference between the two examples is that in the case of inversion (left), the unstressed ending *-e* must be assumed to assimilate with the initial vowel *i* of the following word: [h'abɪʃ]. In the non-inversion case *her* is stressed and the initial *i* of the following word is the unstressed syllable conforming to the metre. This shows us that inversion is variable, but that it is constrained by stress patterns. Importantly, it also shows us that in the inversion

case, Orm's spelling spells two short syllables but merges them into one metrical one. This shows a curious kind of consistency: the unstressed verb ending of *habbe* must have been pronounced in other contexts (see *wile* in the noninversion case), or he would not have spelled it; his spelling works at syllable level, without indicating assimilation between words.

Interestingly, there is a text-linguistic distinction between the two examples as well: the inversion cases conclude a passage, the non-inversion cases initiate one.

Even this single example (as part of a larger number of similar ones) suggests that Orm has a lot to tell us about syntactic change in progress, which makes it likely that there are more cases than this in this period of turbulent change. These may include:

- Trips (2003) makes a case that stylistic fronting in Ormulum is more frequent than in contemporaneous texts because it is in part metrically conditioned
- The choice of relativization patterns in Orm are co-determined by metrical considerations
- OV/VO patterning differs between prefixed and non-prefixed verbs. More generally, I will also cite examples from Shakespeare's sonnets which inform us about the ongoing loss of subject-verb inversion around 1600.

Trips, Carola. 2003. Stylistic fronting in Ormulum: Scandinavian syntactic phenomena in early Middle English texts. *Nordlyd* 31.2, 457-472.
Fischer, Olga et. al. 2000. *The Syntax of early English*. Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, Ann & W. vd Wurff (eds.) 2005. Special issue on Aspects of OV and VO order in the history of English. *English Language and Linguistics* 9.1.

Francesco Pinzin (Frankfurt) and Mathieu Goux (Caen). How *genre* affects word order: a diachronic analysis of French

French went through a progressive diachronic change relative to word order, from a verb second (V2) to an SVO grammar (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997, Wolfe 2018 a.o.; but see Kaiser 2002, Rinke & Meisel 2009). Among other phenomena, V2 in Old French is testified by the consistent attestation of main clauses where a constituent and the finite verb are followed by the subject (the so called "Germanic inversion").
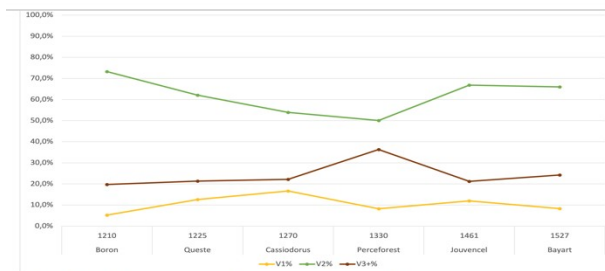
> (1) ceste costume ai je toz=jorz tenue
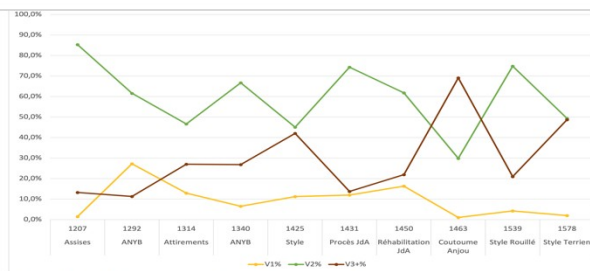> this custom have-PR-1SG I all days uphold-PTCP
> "I always have upheld the custom" (1225-QUESTE-MCVF-P,6.158)

Crucially, the same sequences are not generally attested in subordinate clauses. This asymmetric distribution calls for an analysis where the finite verb raises to the Left Periphery (CP domain) in main but not in subordinate clauses, parallel to many Germanic languages (Holmberg 2015 for references). Modern varieties of French do not show this kind of sequences and lack such a main/subordinate asymmetry, showing how word order must have changed through time. Such diachronic path is shared by most Romance languages (Ledgeway 2012, Wolfe & Maiden 2020). The loss of V2 offers a window on word order diachronic variation and its causes, but only if we accurately trace the curve of change. The task is hindered by the fact that different textual sources often give contradictory results (Prévost 2015) due to the many factors affecting how grammatical features are represented in each text (the "bad-data problem", Labov 1994). One these factors is the genre of the text, that is its definition based on its specific purpose. For example, legal texts have been found to be usually less conservative than chronicles and fictional literary material (Ingham 2016, Farasyn et al. 2018, Balon & Larrivée 2016, Goux & Larrivée 2020). In this contribution, we aim at better defining the curve of the loss of V2 in French by assessing the consistency of such word order in 10 legal texts (style & procedure material; MICLE corpus:
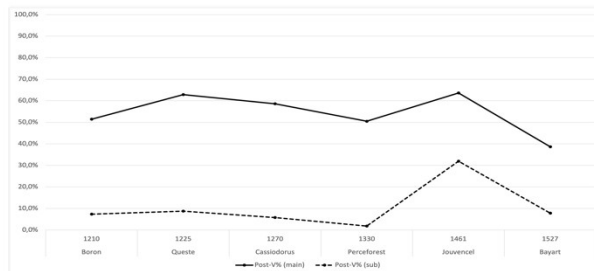
<https://www.unicaen.fr/projet_de_recherche/micle/>; available at <txm-crisco.humanum.fr/>) from the beginning of the 13th to the half of the 16th c. and in 6 contemporary literary sources (romances in prose; MCVF, PPCHF <https://github.com/beatrice57/mcvf-plus-ppchf> and BFM corpora <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>). To compare the two sets of texts for the diachrony of V2, we focus on 4 dimensions of variation: (i) linear position of the finite verb in main clauses; (ii) post-V NP subjects in main vs. subordinates; (iii) referential pro-drop in main vs. subordinates; (iv) post-V pronominal subjects in main vs. subordinates. Following Poletto et al. (2023), relative and interrogative clauses have been excluded, as well as second conjunct clauses with subject continuity (John came and [won the prize]); Our results show that text genre plays a crucial role in modulating the results: literary material show a slow decline of the V2 grammar, which is partially maintained up to the 16th c., while legal material show an early loss of V2. In literary texts, linear V2 is consistently preferred (in green in Graph 1). On the other hand, the main/subordinate asymmetry gradually reduces for all dimensions investigated (main clauses=full line, subordinates=dotted line in all graphs): post-V NP subjects (Graph 3), pro-drop (Graph 5), and post-V pronominal subjects (Graph 7). We take this to indicate the persistence of V2 structures in literary texts, albeit with a gradual reduction in the last period (15th-16th c.). Legal texts behave differently. Linear V2 sinks in the 14th c., with V>2 over the 50% threshold for many texts (Graph 2). Post-V NP subjects never show a marked main/subordinate asymmetry (Graph 4). The same is valid for pro-drop (Graph 6; but notice the highly text-dependent distribution, which means that more analyses are needed). Post-V pronominal subjects, finally, are attested at very low rates since the 13th c, but still maintain throughout the period an asymmetric distribution, with subordinate clauses always around 0% and main clauses around 6% in the first texts and around 1,5-3% in the last texts. Holding that legal texts are less conservative, our results show that V2 is on its way out of the system already in the 13th/14th c. and that the high rates of subject inversion structures in literary material is an effect of the genre of the text. This shows how calibrated corpora are necessary for studying language change, allowing for limiting (and measuring) the effects of the "bad data" problem.
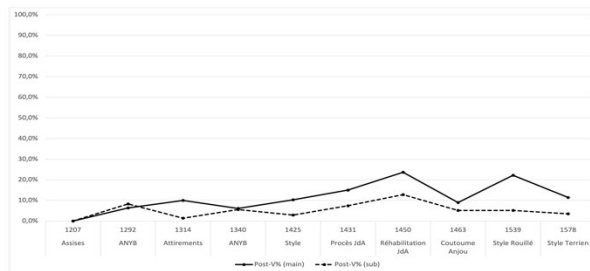
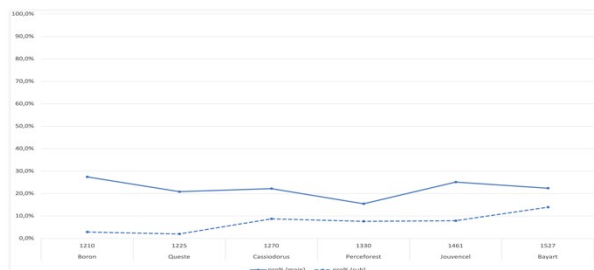Graph 1. V-position (Literary material)

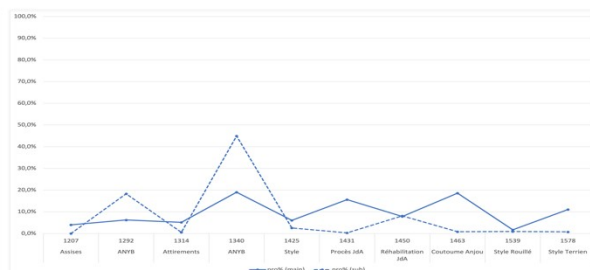Graph 2. V-position (Legal material)

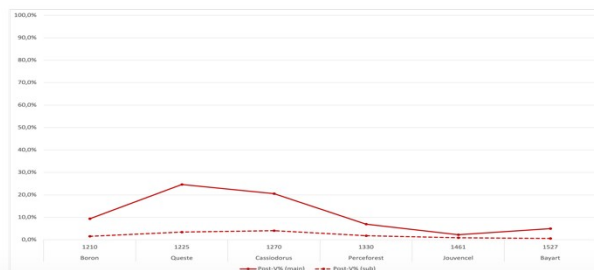Graph 3. Post-V NP subjects (Literary material)

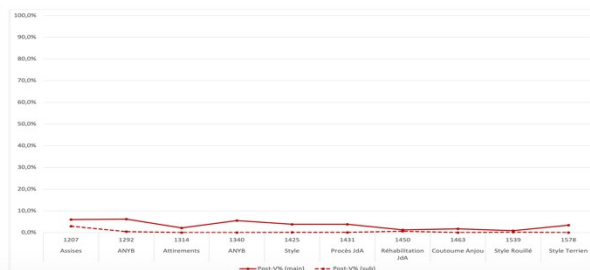Graph 4. Post-V NP subjects (Legal material)

Graph 5. Pro-Drop (Literary material)

Graph 6. Pro-Drop (Legal material)

Graph 7. Post-V pronominal subjects (Literary material)

Graph 8. Post-V pronominal subjects (Legal material)

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Afra Pujol i Campeny (Oxford). Register, genre, and syntax in Old Catalan
Objectives: In this talk I explore syntactic variation linked to linguistic register and literary genre in Old Catalan texts dating from the 13th to the 14th century in order to: (i) characterise different linguistic registers and literary genres syntactically and establish their archaising or innovative nature; (ii) evaluate which text types exhibit spoken register traits and which are more rigidly codified; (iii) work towards the description of Old Catalan clausal syntax beyond linguistic register and literary genre constraints. Here we will focus on the distribution of three syntactic phenomena: (a) Non-finite form preposing; (b) OVS clauses; and (c) the distribution of personal infinitives. (a) and (b) were selected due to their connection with V2 grammars: if active, their distribution would be expected to be disconnected from register, genre, and orality. In Medieval Romance, (c) has been connected to high registers (latinising) in the literature. This talk assumes a generative framework and the cartographic programme. The research presented is part of an ongoing project.
The data: the data under analysis consist of one text of each of the three textual genres under study (historiographic chronicles, legal texts, and court documents) per century, as closely dated as permitted by the record. Legal texts and court documents for both centuries were produced in the Kingdom of Valencia. The chronicles were finished in the Kingdom of Valencia, but their authors were originally from other parts of the Crown of Aragon. A syntactically annotated database where sentential constituents are labelled by grammatical category and syntactic function has been produced for each text. In addition, sentences have been labelled for: ± pro-drop, ± subject continuity, ± direct speech. The texts are:

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Furs de València (1231-1271)	Llibre de la Cort de Justícia de Cocentaina (1269-1290)	Llibre dels Fets (1244-1274)
Parsed clauses	100 main 100 embedded	100 main 100 embedded	1000 main 1000 embedded
14th century	Furs de València (1329-1330)	Clams i crims a la València medieval (1279-1321)	Crònica de Ramon Muntaner (1325-1328)
Parsed clauses	100 main 100 embedded	Under construction	250 main 250 embedded

Table 1 – Works under study

The socio-historic context: The period under study is characterised by the emergence of the *norma cancelleresca*, but it is prior to the publication of the publication of the *Ordinacions de la casa reial* under the rule of Peter II of Aragon in 1344, which established a linguistic model for all documents produced by senior civil servants and the upper classes that had an impact in genres beyond those produced by the Chancery (Ferrando 2016) and hid diatopic variation picturing a homogeneous linguistic community. One of the key traits of the *norma cancelleresca* is its latinising tendency.
4. The phenomena under study in Medieval Romance:
(a) Non-finite form fronting: The fronting of non-finite forms of verbal periphrases with tense ('to have', 'to be') or modal auxiliaries ('to want', 'to have to'). For some Medieval Romance languages, as well as for Old Spanish (Fontana 1993) it has been connected with the V2 syntax assumed for these languages (consisting of verb movement to the left periphery in main clauses + movement of a constituent to a projection targeted by the verb, following Holmberg 2015). For Old Catalan (and Old Spanish), Batllori (2012) connects it to verum focus. Pujol i Campeny (under review) proposes that a V2 analysis is pertinent for early

attestations, but not for later ones, whose distribution is governed by register (in archaising oral-like registers it reflects a V2 grammar, in more colloquial non-archaising registers, if present, it obeys informational constraints).

(b) The distribution of the particle OVS: OVS clauses have been linked to an active V2 parameter with an unspecified preverbal field in Medieval Romance (Poletto 2014; Wolfe 2018).

(c) The distribution of personal infinitives: Personal infinitives in complement clauses of verba dicendi in Old Spanish have been shown to be a learned calque from Latin Accusativus cum infinitive constructions (Pountain 1998) and developed through acquisition and transmitted to the modern language in adverbial clauses (Sitaridou 2009).

5. The phenomena under study in our Old Catalan corpora:

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Direct speech (x1) and embedded clauses (x2)	Not attested	Direct speech (x2) and embedded clauses (x11)
14th century	Embedded clause (x1)	-	Direct speech (x1)

Table 2 - Non-finite form fronting distribution

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Direct speech (x1) and embedded clauses (x2)	Deictic object of performative predicate (verum focus) (x4)	Direct speech and embedded clauses (47/1000, 65% of cases with verum focus)
14th century	Main clause (x1)	-	Embedded (9/11) Direct speech and quantified (2/11)

Table 3 – OVS distribution

	Legal texts	Court documents	Chronicles
13th century	Not attested	Complement clause of demandar 'to demand' (x3)	Not attested
14th century	Complement clause of proveir 'to resolve (x1)	-	Not attested

Table 4 – Personal infinitive distribution

6. Interim conclusions: Tables 2-4 show that the distribution of non-finite form fronting and OVS pattern: they tend to appear either in direct speech or embedded clauses, syntactic contexts that Pujol I Campeny (under review) describes as archaising in the case of Llibre dels Fets. When not occurring in either context, OVS is only found with performative predicates, with a verum focus reading, akin to OVS in Modern Catalan, suggesting that it does not respond to an active V2 constraint and that it is already used in an innovative manner, even in legal texts. This contrasts with the distribution of AccInf, found exclusively in legal and court documents, in the complement clauses of performative predicates associated to legalese, and thus belonging to a highly conventionalised register. Therefore, this preliminary data hints at the loss of V2 by the second half of the 13th century, it being retained only in syntactically archaising contexts across genres and registers. Even the formal latinizing register displayed in legal texts and court documents fails to exhibit an active V2 grammar, suggesting that this trait was not associated with prestige at the time, but that it may have been used in reported

speech in a formulaic manner, potentially echoing epic songs, as suggested in the literature. As this is an ongoing project, results are expected to be more definite by the talk.

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Lene Schøsler et Kirsten Kragh (København). The status of administrative texts with respect to language change

Our paper intends to examine cases of innovation "from above" or "from below", more specifically to investigate whether changes are dependent on text types such as administrative texts versus non-administrative texts. (We are aware that we are grossly simplifying by introducing this dichotomy between administrative and non-administrative texts).

It has been suggested that the high frequency of subject pronouns in French administrative texts from the Middle Ages can be interpreted as a sign of innovation, implying that administrative texts are innovative with respect to the use of subject pronouns (see e.g. Goux and Larrivée 2020, Larrivée 2022, and Prévost 2022, for different views, see van Reenen and Schøsler 2000), including the relevance of the distinction between main and subordinate clauses (Le Goffic 2019). On the other hand, other changes point to a more conservative language use in administrative texts than in non-administrative texts. This is the case for our ongoing research on *vu* and *vu que* in French, which we will present in detail below. We intend to explore the question whether administrative texts can be considered innovative or conservative by extending our analyses to other domains of change such as the use of nominal declension, pronominal subjects, negation, demonstratives, and the use of causal markers. Concerning declension and negation, we will draw on previous research, e.g. Glessgen and Schøsler (2018), Schøsler (2018), Schøsler and Völker (2014), and Völker (2003), and concerning demonstratives, we will refer to research by Guillot-Barbance (2017), and Guillot-Barbance and Lavrentiev (to appear). Our hypothesis is that administrative texts are not innovative but rather characterised by the necessity of expressivity and clearness, thus favouring the use of language items suited for this purpose. In other words, the constraints of the communicative situation, and therefore of the text type, is what favours e.g. the generalised use of subjects in administrative texts.

Thus, in order to test our hypothesis, we have chosen to study a number of independent linguistic changes in Medieval French, in order to explore the distribution of innovation in administrative texts *versus* fictitious texts. We believe that it is important to investigate independent innovation processes, with a view to grasping the "direction" of innovation of a text type: "from above" or "from below", since the innovation path is probably a characteristic feature of a specific text type.

Our recent study (Kragh and Schøsler to appear) has focused on two rather unexplored cases of grammaticalization and subsequent actualizations of the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* in French, in order to consider whether they are introduced "from above" or "from below". Most frequently, innovations start from below, i.e., in unmarked contexts. Analyses in Kragh (2022) show that in Modern French the two forms are mainly found in administrative texts. This could be an indication that the forms have spread from below, i.e. emerged in unmarked text types and later spread to marked text types, such as administrative texts, but the opposite direction is also possible, indeed, plausible.

Our corpus investigation includes the centuries of the first appearances of *vu*/*vu que* until the eighteenth century. First, we have investigated a few literary texts, partly compiled by Pierre Larrivée (*Le Chevalier Doré* from 1577), partly from Frantext. Subsequently, thanks to Pierre Larrivée and Mathieu Goux, we have been able to explore a large number of legal texts from Normandy, which form a comparable, however longer, period (*Condé* et *Micle*). Secondly, we jump to Contemporary French, first literary texts from 2020 till 2022, and then administrative texts from 2016 compared with a corpus of non-filtred web-texts from 2017 (Sketch Engine) in order to test our hypothesis concerning diaphasic distribution between the use of *vu*/*vu que* in the two text types.

Analyses of our old literary corpus indicate that the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* emerge at the same time (first attested in *Jouvencel* 1461), and with almost equal frequency. During the following century, they both increase in frequency, but the use of *vu que* exceeds that of *vu*. In our old administrative corpus, the first occurrences are found earlier than in the literary corpus, indeed, they are already found in texts from the 14th century, and the preposition *vu* is more frequent than the conjunction *vu que* until around 1550. Later, the conjunction is used more frequently than the preposition. We have put forward arguments in favour of our conviction that the presence of the two forms in administrative direct speech cannot be interpreted as a feature of communication of proximity, implying that it is not a sign of communication "from below". In the contemporary literary texts examined, *vu que* continues to be used more frequently than *vu*, and both can be used in standard and colloquial styles, whereas in our contemporary administrative corpus, we find the opposite: the use of the preposition *vu* is almost 10 times as frequent as the use of *vu que*. Thus, our analyses of the data from our different corpora suggest that the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* seem to appear first in administrative texts where *vu* is more frequent than *vu que*, later, in old literary texts, they seem to be equally frequent. In contemporary French, *vu* and *vu que* have spread to colloquial style in literary texts, *vu que* being more frequent than *vu*. In contemporary administrative texts, *vu* is much more frequent, in other words, the two forms have probably spread "from above". Although both have spread to colloquial style, the restricted use of *vu* compared to that of *vu que* suggests in our opinion that *vu* has specialized to marked (administrative) contexts, whereas *vu que* is clearly in the process of spreading to unmarked contexts.

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Sonja Zeman (Universität Augsburg). **Language change through narration: A diachronic view on German**

"register always matters" (Douglas Biber in Gray 2013: 360)

Short summary. *The paper aims at a systematic investigation of narration as a factor in language change. Based on a theoretical clarification of narration, it argues that the intertextual variation between narrative and non-narrative discourse modes is a relevant factor with respect to the distribution and development of grammatical elements. This is shown by two exemplary case studies on the grammaticalization of the pluperfect and left displacements in German.*

Keywords. Narration, intra-textual register variation, discourse modes, oral vs. written, tense, left displacement.

Starting point and research question. Various studies have shown that the distribution of grammatical features varies within the intra-textual registers of dialogue and narration (see, for example, Mazziotta & Glikman 2019, Egbert & Mahlberg 2020, and Larrivée 2022:2 with further references). It has, however, remained an open question as to which factors cause this intra-textual variation, and which linguistic features are affected. Against the background of these questions, the paper aims at a systematic investigation of the role of narration on language change in the history of German by (i) clarifying the theoretical concept of narration and its interaction with discourse structure, orality, and grammar, and (ii) two exemplary case studies on the development of the pluperfect and left dislocations.

Argumentation and results. With respect to a theoretical clarification, the paper distinguishes between three different dimensions of narration, based on Zeman 2018: (i) Narrative *texts* that display a narrative macrostructure in the sense of Labov & Waletzky 1967, (ii) narrative *discourse mode,* i.e. narrative segments that can occur *in* (narrative and non-narrative) texts and are characterized by a specific pattern of grammatical use (Smith 2003), and (iii) narrative *discourse relations* between propositions (Asher & Lascarides

2003). It will be shown that the distinction between narrative and non-narrative discourse modes is particularly relevant in language change, as shown in two case studies.

(iii)   Grammaticalization of the pluperfect in German

Data. The analysis combines a quantitative and a qualitative approach and is based on a dataset of 6000 occurrences of the pluperfect from five different time frames of German (Old High to Present Modern German).

Results. The analysis shows that the development of the pluperfect runs differently within narrative and non-narrative discourse modes. Within the narrative discourse mode, early occurrences already display an aoristic use which is commonly considered to be a later grammaticalization stage of perfect constructions. Within the non-narrative discourse modes, pluperfect forms are first extremely rare, but already display deictic functions and tend to 'r-weakening' (Bertinetto 2013), which seems to be the grammaticalization source for 'non-conventional' uses of the pluperfect in modern spoken language. This suggests that the same form can grammaticalize differently in narrative vs. non-narrative discourse modes.

(iv)   Left displacements (LD) in Middle High German

Data. The analysis compares the usage and discourse functions of LD (like e.g. *My aunt, she used to play the guitar*.) in two Middle High German epics from the same period of time (ca. 1200) that represent different medial constellations, i.e. the *Nibelungenlied* is contrasted with *Tristan*, which, as a courtly epic, is less committed to the oral tradition.

Results. It is shown that the use of LD, which are traditionally described as part of an "oral" syntax, differs in narrative and non-narrative discourse modes. In the *Nibelungenlied*, LD are surprisingly used more frequently in narrative than in dialogical passages and display different functions with respect to discourse relations. This can be explained by the fact that LD is functionalized as part of a narrative syntax.

Discussion. In sum, it is argued that the intertextual variation between narrative and non-narrative discourse modes is a relevant factor with respect to the distribution and development of grammatical elements. As seen in the development of the pluperfect, the underlying discourse modes can trigger different pathways of the same source construction. Furthermore, the narrative discourse mode correlates with specific discourse functions, as seen in the usage of the LD in Middle High German. In both cases, the distinction between narrative and non-narrative contexts proves to be helpful for tracing the curve of evolution of grammatical changes.

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