Sa nature proveir se volt:
A New Examination of Leftward Stylistic Displacement in Medieval French
through Textual Domain, Information Structure, and *Oral Représenté*

By

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Abstract

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Among all the studies performed on medieval French syntax during the last decade, one construction in particular, variously known in the literature as "stylistic fronting" or "leftward stylistic displacement", has provoked particularly lively debate. Atheoretically conceived, this construction is characterized by the presence of non-subject constituents to the left of the finite verb, such as adjectives, adverbs, nouns, infinitives, past participles, and prepositional phrases. One or more such elements may appear in both main and subordinate clauses, either to the left or to the right of the subject, when the subject is expressed. Originally at the heart of this debate was the apparent similarity between the medieval French construction and one found in contemporary and historical Scandinavian languages (Holmberg 2000; Hrafnbjargarson 2004). On the basis of a corpus containing instances of leftward stylistic displacement involving infinitives, past participles, and a small group of adverbs, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) have successfully illustrated that the medieval French construction is different from the Scandinavian one; there remains, however, much work to be done in terms of the holistic description of medieval French leftward stylistic displacement, particularly in view of the full variety of elements that can be displaced.

The aim of the current project is twofold: firstly, to continue the descriptive project of Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) by offering as complete a picture as possible of the totality of morphosyntactic variation that is inherent in this family of constructions, and secondly, to begin to understand what factors may (or may not) condition this variation. To that end, we construct a ~225,000-word plurigeneric corpus from portions of twelve texts ranging in date from the late-twelfth to the mid-fifteenth centuries and undertake a complete description of the leftward stylistic displacement that we find there. In addition to describing the construction itself as it appears through time, we consider three external textual and discursive variables: domain (a macro-version of text type), information structure, and reported discourse status. As a result of our study, we conclude that domain, on its own, is not a particularly good predictor of the morphosyntactic variation intrinsic to leftward stylistic displacement; we find that time, however, is an excellent predictor of this variation, an indication of a construction where change is very much at work. Using a series of decision trees for the information-structural tagging of our data, we also find that leftward stylistic displacement generally bears one of two information-structural values. On the basis of these, we propose a reanalysis of the structure of subordinate clauses in medieval French. With respect to discourse type, we find

that discourse type (direct discourse versus narration) is not a good predictor of the morphosyntactic variation that characterizes leftward stylistic displacement. We conclude, finally, that leftward stylistic displacement represents a fertile ground for continued research in medieval French, especially as it pertains to subordinate clauses.

For Bart

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Introduction

0.0- From Latin to Romance: Syntactic Change

It is a readily recognized fact that, since the period during which Latin was being spread to the furthest reaches of what would eventually become the Romània, the word order of Romance has undergone various shifts (Ledgeway 2011, 382), with French, the subject of the present study, being no exception to these movements. Typologically speaking, Latin is generally held to be a subject-object-verb (SOV) language.[1] On the whole, the word order of Latin was decidedly freer (though not entirely unconstrained) than that of present-day Romance dialects in that constituents were able to change in position without any alteration of their syntactic function (Pinkster 1991), that is, the individual elements of a simple transitive sentence containing a subject, verb, and direct object could occur in any order due to this language's relative morphological complexity, as shown in (0.1).

(0.1)   Lucius   pontem   construxit.   Lucius   construxit   pontem.
           L-NOM   bridge-ACC build-PERF   L-NOM build-PERF bridge-ACC

           Construxit   Lucius   pontem.   Construxit   pontem   Lucius.
           build-PERF L-NOM   bridge-ACC   build-PERF bridge-ACC L-NOM

           Pontem   construxit   Lucius.   Pontem   Lucius   construxit.
           bridge-ACC build-PERF   L-NOM   bridge-ACC L-NOM build-PERF
                                             'Lucius built a bridge'

How, then, is one meant to interpret the great variety of constituent orders attested in Latin? Consider the assumption that SOV sentences such as *Lucius pontem construxit* are held to be the norm: logically, this would entail that such sentences are unmarked, in the sense of Jakobson (1932, 1939, 1957), since they convey no further specifying information. The corollary of this is that the other configurations are indeed marked and are likely to carry further specifying information of some sort; in this case this specifying information is pragmatic in nature. In Latin, the generalization that word order is pragmatically conditioned is no less true for main clauses (Spevak 2010; Pinkster 2015) than it is for subordinate clauses (Danckaert 2012). Indeed, deviations from the predominant SOV word order in main clauses, Ledgeway (2012, 150) writes, "[…] rather than being [entirely] 'free', are pragmatically determined orders derived from underlying SOV. On this view, V-initial orders…," he continues, "involve fronting of the verb to the left periphery, and XVS(X) orders involve the additional step of fronting some other pragmatically salient element to the left periphery […] under topicalization or focalization" (Ledgeway 2012, 150). The structures Ledgeway describes are exemplified in (0.2a-b):

(0.2a)   Animadvertit   Caesar   unos   ex   omnibus
           notice-3SG.PERF C-NOM   alone-ACC.PL from   all-ABL.PL
             Sequanos   nihil   earum   rerum   facere…
           Sequani-ACC.PL nothing this-GEN.PL thing-GEN.PL do-INF.PRES.ACT

---

[1] This Greenbergian (1974) style typology is, of course, not the only way to classify word order. One might also classify sentences pragmatically, using, for example, constructs such as *thème* (given information) and *rhème* (new information) (Krifka 2007), or according to how semantic and morphosyntactic categories such as agentivity and transitivity interact with one another, as with nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive languages. (Comrie 1989, 125ff).

'Caesar noticed that only the Sequani, out of all (the tribes present) did none of these things'

<div align="right">(De Bello Gallico I.32.2)</div>

(0.2b)　　　His　　　　responsis　　　ad　　Caesarem　　　relatis,
　　　　　this-ABL.PL answer-ABL.PL　to　　C-ACC　bring back-PPP.ABL.PL
　　　　　　iterum　　ad　　eum　　Caesar　　legatos　　　cum
　　　　　immediately　to　him-ACC　C-NOM　envoy-ACC.PL　with
　　　　　　his　　　　　mandatis　　　　mittit…
　　　　　this-ABL.PL　command-ABL.PL　send-3SG.PERF

　　　　　'With these responses having been brought back to Caesar, Caesar immediately
　　　　　sent envoys to him (Ariovistus) with these orders…

<div align="right">(De Bello Gallico I.35.1, both translations mine)</div>

The sentence just preceding (0.2a) in the context describes the clamorous reaction of the Gauls present at a meeting with Caesar to a speech delivered by the druid Diviciacus; it is the incongruous taciturnity of the Sequani that leads Caesar to highlight his perceptions by bringing the verb into sentence-initial position, placing on it a contrastive sort of focus, as though to say, "I noticed, however…". The ablative absolute construction *his…relatis* that sits in the left periphery of (0.2b) has been placed there in order to situate temporally the actions related in the following main clause. Similar displacements may occur in embedded clauses, as shown in (0.3).

(0.3)　　　　Quem,　　　ut　　　　barbari　　　incendium　　　effugisse
　　　　　who-ACC.SG　when　barbarian-NOM.PL　fire-ACC.SG　flee-INF.PERF
　　　　　　viderunt,　　　telis　　　eminus　　　missis
　　　　　see-3PL.PERF　spear-ABL.PL　from afar　throw-PPP.ABL.PL
　　　　　 interfecerunt.
　　　　　kill-3.PL.PERF
　　　　　'(Whom) when the barbarians saw that he had escaped the fire, they killed him with
　　　　　spears thrown from afar'
<div align="right">(Taken from Danckaert 2012, 108; his 265; translation mine)</div>

In the subordinate clause in (0.3), which describes the demise of Alcibiades, an Athenian general, at the hands of enemies who wished to burn him alive instead of facing him openly in battle, the accusative relative pronoun *quem* is followed directly by an *ut*-clause, which again serves as a frame-setter temporally contextualizing the traitorous man's grisly end.

　　　Although this sort of flexible, yet pragmatically constrained syntax characterized Latin, Ledgeway (2011) explains, "[as] early as late Latin there is considerable evidence that the more flexible linearizations of the classical period were rapidly giving way to a more fixed ordering of the internal components of the nominal group and the verbal group" (396); that is, certain patterns were beginning to develop which would eventually lead to the solidification of the SVO word order that dominates contemporary Romance. Indeed, in a résumé of a series of studies attempting to chronicle the shift from Latin's predominant object-verb order to Romance's verb-object orders in main clauses, Ledgeway (2012, 228-31) finds that the persistence of verb final orders in main clauses can be readily attributed to the prestige of the literary styles that these orders most exemplify, given overwhelming

frequency differences between certain classical authors and their dispreferred status in semiliterate prose. The preponderance of these main-clause VO configurations in semiliterate prose illustrates (to some extent) the syntax of the nascent Romance languages. Embedded clauses exhibit a robust predisposition toward verb-medial orders across all periods of Latin, irrespective of register (Ledgeway, ibid.; Pinkster 1991), despite their pragmatic sensitivity.

In contemporary French, verb-medial orders are generalized in both main and subordinate clauses, with an unmarked order for declaratives of SVO (Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers 2001, 248). Such orders are exemplified in (0.4a-b).

(0.4a)   Main clause
            J'ai regardé les étoiles.
            'I looked at the stars.'

(0.4b)   Subordinate clause
            Quand j'ai regardé les étoiles, c'était une expérience émouvante.
            'When I looked at the stars, it was a moving experience.

It should be noted, however, that the SVO configuration most commonly seen in contemporary French is not without its own exceptions. Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers (ibid.) note such examples as clitic-left dislocation, which can result in an OSV configuration, as in (0.4c), or subject-verb inversion, as in (0.4d).

(0.4c)   Clitic-Left Dislocation
            Les étoiles, je les ai regardées.
            'The stars, I've looked at them'

(0.4d)   Subject-Verb Inversion
            As-tu regardé les étoiles ?
            'Have you looked at the stars?'

Broadening our purview to include sentential elements other than subjects, verbs, and objects, contemporary French also maintains the ability to host certain types of adverbial constituents in the left clausal periphery, as shown in (0.4e-f).

(0.4e)   Main clause
            Après toutes ces années, j'ai enfin regardé les étoiles.
            'After all these years, I finally looked at the stars.'

(0.4f)   Subordinate clause
            Quand, après toutes ces années, j'ai enfin regardé les étoiles, c'était une
            expérience émouvante.
            'When, after all these years, I finally looked at the stars, it was a moving
            experience.'

Beyond this, however, the abandon with which Latin was able to rearrange the constituents of its sentences has all but disappeared in Romance in simple declarative sentences as illustrated by each of the Romance examples in (0.5), which are analogous to the sentence in (0.4a).

(0.5)   Occitan
               (Ieu) agachèri las estelas.

               Catalan
               (Jo) vaig mirar els estrels.

               Spanish
               (Yo) miré las estrellas.

               Portuguese
               (Eu) olhei as estrelas.

               Italian
               (Io) ho guardato le stelle.

               Romanian
               M-am uitat la stele.

Indeed, as Ledgeway (2011) explains: "[o]versimplifying somewhat and putting aside some minor exceptions, Romance sentential word order can be said then to have converged in the modern languages towards a predominantly SVO order, in which the grammatical functions of subject and object are unambiguously marked by their respective positions to the left and the right of the verb" (69).

0.1- Verb-Second Syntax and Leftward Stylistic Displacement in Medieval French

The shift from Latin's predominant SOV order to Romance's predominant SVO order did not, of course, happen in one fell swoop, but rather progressively over many centuries. This means that, along the way from Latin to contemporary French, there exist intermediate stages where the syntax of the language is more flexible than in its contemporary iteration, and presumably less so than in preceding iterations. Perhaps the most frequently researched of the intermediate syntactic states between the flexible syntax of Latin and the comparatively rigid SVO syntax of contemporary Romance is the one known as verb-second (V2). Descriptively, verb second is characterized by the obligatory appearance of the finite verb in the second position in the clause, irrespective of the constituent that precedes it. In the event that the preverbal constituent is not the subject, the subject, if it is overt, can be found immediately following the finite verb. Examples of such constructions from several medieval Romance dialects, taken from Wolfe (2019, 18-9) can be found in (0.5), with the preverbal constituent displayed in bold; the subject, when expressed, is underlined.

(0.5)   Medieval Neapolitan
               Li nuostri Diey invocamo in testimonio…
               'We call upon our gods as our witness…'

               Medieval Milanese
               Bon vin fa l'uga negra…
               'Black grapes make good wine'

Medieval Spanish
Grande duelo avien <u>las yentes christianas</u>…
'The Christian people experienced great grief'

Medieval Portuguese
E todo o contrairo faz <u>a Escritura</u>…
'And the Scripture does entirely the opposite.' (Translation mine)

Medieval Occitan
Saveir en voil la verité…
'I want to know the truth'

Although we can account for the vast majority of medieval Romance word orders with these generalizations, there are a variety of minority word order patterns for which this is not possible. It is on one such syntactic construction, or rather group of constructions, that we will focus our attention, which is variously called stylistic fronting or leftward stylistic displacement (Fontana 1993; Cardinaletti 2004; Martins 2005; Benincà 2006; Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle 2007; Franco 2009, 2012; Fischer 2010, 2014; Egerland 2011; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017; Rahn 2016) in the previous literature. In essence, to give an atheoretical definition, leftward stylistic displacement involves the appearance of one or more non-subject constituents to the left of the finite verb. These displaced elements may appear to the left or to the right of the subject or may appear in the absence of an overt subject. Further, this operation can occur in both main and subordinate clauses and can involve any non-subject constituent. Several examples of this type of construction, taken from various sources, are given in (0.6).

(0.6)   Medieval Catalan, displaced past participle
          …la demanda que **feta** li havie…
          '…the question that he had asked him…'
                                                          (Fischer 2010, 115)

          Medieval Spanish, displaced adverb
          …sacrifficio los gustamientos que **ygoalment** son offrecidos…
          'I sacrifice my preferences, which are also offered….'
                                              (Fischer 2010, 125; translation mine)

          Medieval Portuguese, displaced nominals
          E <u>os muitos comeres</u> **nõ tam solamente as almas mais ajnda os corpos**
          destruuem…
          'And too much eating ruins both the soul and the body…'
                                                          (Martins 2011, 140)

          Medieval Italian, displaced infinitive
          Col guadagno che **far** se ne dovea…
          'With the gain that one should make [from] it…'
                                                          (Franco 2009, 150)

Medieval French, too, exhibited leftward stylistic displacement, as illustrated by the example sentences in (0.7), where the displacement involves a past participle, an adverb, and a prepositional phrase, respectively.

(0.7)   E si il auient dedenz cele quinzeine ke li uns de ses testemonies murge, celui qui **uiff** est, pruuera son testimonie par serrement…
'And if it should happen within that fortnight that one of the witnesses die, the surviving one shall prove his testimony by oath…'
        (*Coutumes*, p. 1902, §5)

Or oez une des plus granz merveilles et des plus granz aventures que <u>vous onques</u> oïssiez...
'Now hear one of the greatest wonders, the greatest strokes of luck that you will have ever heard tell of...'
        (*Constantinople*, p. 72, §70)

Quar ainz jor aler l'en covint,// et s'amie o lui a l'uis vint// [...] Iluec ot ploré mainte lerme, // et si oï prendre le terme // du rassambler iluec arriere. // <u>Li chevaliers</u> **en tel maniere** // s'en part et la dame l'uis clot...
'For, before daybreak, it was required of him to leave, and his lover came to the door with him [...] There, many tears were shed, and he (the eavesdropping duke) heard them decide the time of their next meeting there. The knight left in this way, and the lady closed the door'
        (*Vergy*, p. 66)

As in broader medieval Romance, in medieval French, these elements may appear to the left or to the right of the subject, or may appear in the absence of an overt subject, since null subjects were licensed at that stage of the language's evolution (Adams 1987; Vance 1997), at least in some textual genres (Balon and Larrivée 2016). This family of constructions was first considered by Mathieu (2006, 2013) to be akin to a similar construction found in Scandinavian languages (Holmberg 2000; Hrafnbjargarson 2004); however, subsequent research (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) has largely worked to differentiate medieval French's leftward stylistic displacement from Scandinavian's stylistic fronting on the basis of several incongruencies that will be laid out in Chapter 1. Since the main thrust of the cited previous literature on this group of constructions has served largely to illustrate what leftward stylistic displacement is *not*, comparatively less work has been done on what leftward stylistic displacement *is* (see Rahn 2016 for an example of this descriptive approach). In order to fill this lacuna, in this study, we will offer what is perhaps the most systematic description of this set of constructions produced to date, both in terms of the variety of tokens examined and of the number of different angles from which we approach the question. The aim of this study is thus to provide the fullest picture possible of the morphosyntactic variation exhibited by this family of constructions, at the same time as we attempt to understand what factors, if any, condition this variation.

        After summarizing the preceding literature and situating the study of leftward stylistic displacement within the larger field of medieval French syntax in Chapter 1 and laying out the methodology used to conduct this project in Chapter 2, we move into our own contribution to the study of leftward stylistic displacement. Given that Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2014a, 2014b, 2017) previous work has relied on a limited inventory of displaced elements (infinitives, past participles, and

a small number of adverbs) and text types, our own description, which appears in Chapter 3, collects all types of displaced elements from four textual domains (administrative, historiographical, literary verse, and literary prose) and charts the evolution of this construction from approximately 1170 to 1435. In this chapter, we find that time is a good predictor of this variation, and that domain, when viewed on its own synchronically, does not serve as a strong conditioning factor for the way LSD manifests itself in our corpus. When viewed together, however, we are able to see differences between the way that LSD appears in each domain, which we propose to be a result of differing levels of conservatism and innovation between the domains in question. The data presented in this chapter also contain a number of LSD configurations that were previously unattested in Mathieu's (2006, 2013) and Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) work, especially with respect to LSD occurring in subordinate clauses. In their research, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013) and Rahn (2016) were not able to offer (in our view) a conclusive view of this construction's relationship with the discourse-pragmatic concept known as information structure; this question is addressed in Chapter 4. After meticulously assigning each of the displaced elements an information structural value by following decision trees described in Chapter 2, it is our finding that the majority of LSD elements either exhibit contrastive focus or are frame-setters. Finally, given the special connection of vernacular writing with the oral code during the period here in question, it is only natural to enquire whether leftward stylistic displacement is at all conditioned by orality. Chapter 5 takes aim at the relationship between leftward stylistic displacement and representations of oral production in directly reported discourse, using as a control the linguistic production found in narration. Here, it was possible to perform a basic statistical analysis on our data to determine the relevance of the morphosyntactic variation attested between these two discourse types; despite finding values that approach significance for some of these variables, however, we find that LSD is not conditioned by these discourse types. Finally, Chapter 6 offers a broad summary of the findings of the dissertation and offers paths for future research on the topic of leftward stylistic displacement.

Ore oëz le comencement !

Chapter One:
Review of the Literature

1.0- Introduction

In this chapter, we offer a selected review of research on medieval Romance syntax, and more specifically, on medieval French, tracing the trajectory of scholarship from the late-nineteenth century to the present day, with specific attention paid to verb-second syntax, one of the most thoroughly researched phenomena in historical Romance syntax. We then relate these findings to the family of constructions with which we will specifically concern ourselves in the present study, namely leftward stylistic displacement, analyzing the studies performed previous to this one, and thus identifying the particular approach that we will take in the following chapters. We then offer a theoretical apparatus for each of the three data chapters that comprise our own contribution to the study of leftward stylistic displacement before mobilizing them in our methodology (Chapter 2).

1.0.1- Medieval Romance: Verb Second and the Left Periphery

As we mentioned in Section 0.1, the most commonly researched stage in the syntactic evolution of Romance from Latin is the verb-second (V2) grammar that was in place during the medieval period. Recall that this system involves the obligatory appearance of the finite verb in the second position of the clause, and that both subjects and non-subject elements of the sentence can appear in the position immediately preceding the verb. When this preverbal position is filled by material other than the subject, that subject, if it happens to be overt, will appear directly following the verb. For ease of reference, the examples of V2 syntax from Section 0.1 are reproduced here as (1.1a).

(1.1a)   Medieval Neapolitan
        Li nuostri Diey invocamo in testimonio…
        'We call upon our gods as our witness…'

        Medieval Milanese
        Bon vin fa <u>l'uga negra</u>…
        'Black grapes make good wine'

        Medieval Spanish
        Grande duelo avien <u>las yentes christianas</u>…
        'The Christian people experienced great grief'

        Medieval Portuguese
        E todo o contrairo faz <u>a Escritura</u>…
        'And the Scripture does entirely the opposite.' (Translation Mine)

        Medieval Occitan
        Saveir en voil la verité…
        'I want to know the truth'

This medieval Romance syntactic system finds a good, if not totally exact, parallel in all contemporary Germanic dialects besides modern English, illustrated by the Dutch examples in (1.1b).[2] Indeed, theorizations of medieval Romance syntax have drawn heavily on studies involving Germanic languages, where this type of construction has been frequently studied and debated since the mid-1970s (Koster 1975; Thiersch 1978; Den Besten 1983).

(1.1b)   SVO
        <u>Ik</u>   las   een goed boek   gisteren.
         I read-PAST   a   good book   yesterday
        'I read a good book yesterday.'

        XVSO (Verb Second)
        Gisteren   las   <u>ik</u> een goed boek.
        Yesterday read-PAST I   a   good book
        Yesterday, I read a good book.

In the first of these sentences, the overt subject *ik* occupies the first position in its clause, and therefore verb-second effects are not apparent; in the second sentence, however, the first position is occupied by the adverbial complement *gisteren*. Here, the verb obligatorily holds the second position in the clause, and the subject, *ik*, falls into the third position.

    For medieval French, verb-second constructions have been an object of study since the late nineteenth century. As Foulet (1919) wrote, "L'ancien français, nous le savons, enchaine les mots avec une liberté qui est inconnue à la langue moderne… L'inversion du sujet est le grand fait qui domine la construction médiévale. Il n'y a pas une page de vieux français où elle n'abonde" (241-2).[3] Correct though he may be, it was nearly thirty years prior to the publication of Foulet's *Petite Syntaxe* that Thurneysen (1892) first commented on the same overwhelming tendency to which Foulet (1919) makes reference in the above citation: for the verb to quite consistently appear in the second position of a matrix clause, no matter the nature of the constituent preceding the verb, in opposition to contemporary French, where we find a fairly standard tendency toward Subject-Verb-Object word order.[4] Examples of verb-second word order in medieval French can be found below in (1.2a-d):

(1.2a)   **Comander** vos vuel et prier que ja n'en aiez au cuer ire…
         'I wish to command and request that you no longer have anger in
         your heart'
                                   (*Yvain*, ll. 134-5)

(1.2b)   **Ensinc** est <u>la chose</u> atornee a l'endemain, a l'ajornee.
         'Thus the thing (the hunt) was set for the following day, at dawn'
                              (*Erec et Enide*, ll. 67-8)

---

[2] See Haider and Prinzhorn, eds. (2012) for a recent account of verb-second syntax in a variety of contemporary Germanic dialects. It should be noted that the SVO sentence in this example also exhibits verb-second syntax.

[3] 'Old French, as we know, strings words together with a liberty that is unknown to the contemporary language… Inversion of the subject is the great fact that dominates the medieval construction; there is not one page of old French where it does not abound' (Translation mine).

[4] For an interesting *remise-en-cause* of this notion, however, see Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers 2001, Ch. 9.

(1.2c)　　　　**A cel chevalier** vuil parler, car la roÿne m'i envoie.
　　　　　　　'I wish to speak to this knight, because the queen sends me to do
　　　　　　　so'

<div align="right">(*Erec et Enide*, ll. 167-8)</div>

(1.2d)　　　　<u>Li rois</u> fu a Cardoeil en Gales.
　　　　　　　'The king was at Cardoeil in Wales'

<div align="right">(*Yvain*, l. 7)</div>

In examples (1.2a-c), we can see a variety of constituents having been brought to the front of the sentence: in (1.2a), the infinitive *comander*; in (1.2b), the adverb *ensinc*; and in (1.2c), the prepositional phrase *a cel chevalier*. In all of these examples, the matrix verb is in second position, including in (1.2a), as such cliticized object pronouns as *vos* do not figure into the count of preverbal constituents.[5] The Subject-Verb order in (1.2d), which is familiar from contemporary French, is also an example of verb-second in the same vein as (1.2a-c).

　　　In more recent times, a large portion of the discussion of word order in medieval French has indeed happened in the context of the generative approach to syntax, with Adams' (1987) proposal of rules governing the possibility of *pro*-drop based on medieval French leading to a seminal work in generative syntax as it pertains to medieval French: Vance's (1997) study on null subjects and verb-second word order. Although her work has not escaped criticism, especially from researchers whose approach tends more toward the historiography of the language (cf. reviews by Posner (1999) and Schøsler (1999)), major tenets thereof still figure heavily in current research on word order in medieval French, such as Steiner's (2014) dissertation on the role of information structure in the loss of verb-second word order in French, Wolfe's (2019) study of verb-second in medieval Romance, or, indeed, the present study.

　　　Returning, then, to the broader Romance family, there are two debates that appear to dominate treatments of the medieval forms of these languages, to which French is no exception: firstly, whether the medieval Romance languages had a verb-second grammar at all, and secondly, whether this verb-second grammar applied in both main and subordinate clauses, or only main clauses, i.e., whether verb-second syntax is symmetrical. Regarding the first of these matters, Wolfe (2019), in his magisterial treatment of verb-second syntax in medieval Romance, finds convincingly that the evidence in favor of a V2 analysis in main clauses outweighs the evidence to the contrary on the basis of data from medieval Italo-Romance, medieval Gallo-Romance, medieval Spanish and medieval Sardinian. What is the evidence to the contrary, then? Firstly, a formulation of verb-second syntax as a strict prohibition of linear orders where the verb is not in second position does not obtain in the slightest, since orders where the verb appears in clause-initial position, as well as in third, fourth, or even later positions seem to spring up across the Romance languages. The existence of such sentences, exemplified in (1.3)[6], have been viewed as disqualifying a V2 analysis by a wide variety of scholars, such as Kaiser (2002, 2009), Fiéis (2003), Rinke (2003, 2007), Eide (2006), Bossong (2006), Rinke & Meisel (2009), Sitaridou (2011, 2012), and Zimmerman (2014), among others.

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[5] If the pronoun *vos* were not clitic, and thus needed to be counted, we would expect an order like 'Comander vuel (je) vos', since the verb should be in second position.
[6] The Medieval Umbrian example is similarly taken from Wolfe (2019, 31); the medieval French examples hail largely from the corpus used for the present study, which is described in Chapter 2. These examples are accompanied by a small number of examples from other sources.

(1.3)   Medieval Umbrian
             <u>La mia cattivanza</u> **l'alma** ha menata.
             'My wickedness has led my soul.'

             Medieval French
             Quar **ainz jor aler** l'en covint,// et <u>s'amie</u> **o lui a l'uis** vint// [...] **Iluec** ot
             ploré mainte lerme, // et si oï prendre le terme // du rassambler iluec arriere.
             // <u>Li chevaliers</u> **en tel maniere** // s'en part et <u>la dame</u> **l'uis** clot...
             'For, before daybreak, it was required of him to leave, and his lover came to
             the door with him [...] There, many tears were shed, and he (the eavesdropping
             duke) heard them decide the time of their next meeting there. The knight left
             in this way, and the lady closed the door'

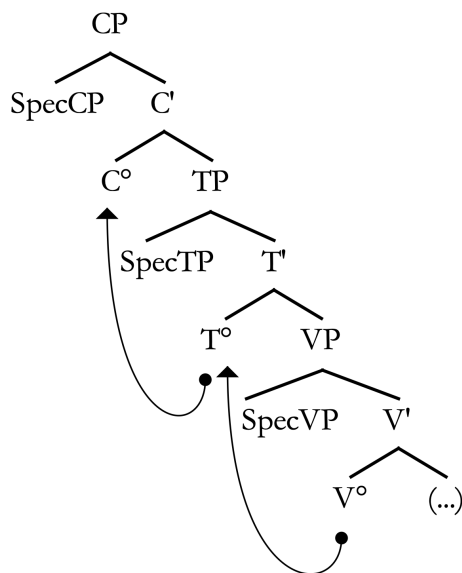   (*Vergy*, p. 66)

In the first of the examples, the subject *la mia cattivanza* is followed directly by the direct object, *l'alma*, resulting in a sentence where the verb appears in the third position. Similarly, we see two instances of verb-third orders in the medieval French example: in the first case, the subject *li chevaliers* is followed by the prepositional phrase *en tel maniere*, and in the second case, the subject *la dame* is followed by the direct object of the verb *clore*, *l'uis*.

It is undeniable that sentences such as those in (1.3), which are found in all the Romance varieties surveyed by Wolfe (2019), would seem to provide strong evidence contradicting the notion that medieval Romance exhibited verb-second syntax, especially if we choose to define verb-second as purely a function of linear order. With respect to this question in medieval French, specifically, Steiner (2014) succinctly notes: "[the] most significant divergence between the non-V2 analysis of [Old French] and the V2 analyses of Vance (1989, 1997) or Adams (1987) is the significance afforded to these... V>2 structures" (24). If we approach this question in a way that is informed by syntactic theory, however, such apparent contradictions indeed pose less of a problem for a verb-second analysis of medieval Romance; that is, our ability to attribute V2-grammar to a language depends entirely on how we define this type of grammar. A wide variety of scholars studying medieval Romance utilize the definition provided by Thiersch (1978) and den Besten (1983), which asserts that, in matrix clauses, the finite verb must move upward from its base position in the VP layer, through the IP layer, finally landing in the position C°, as illustrated in (1.4).[7]

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[7] This V°-to-T°-to-C° movement has also been held to be responsible for the licensing of null subjects in Romance (Benincà 1995; Vanelli, Renzi, and Benincà 1986). The necessity of filling the SpecCP position is generally assumed to disqualify the possibility of verb-first orders (Rinke and Meisel 2009, 95). Such clauses are not unattested in the history of French, though by ca. 1220, they had all but disappeared (Skårup 1975). Descriptions of Verb-Second typically illustrate the subject in a postverbal position, although (1.2d) shows that preverbal subjects also satisfy the necessity of filling SpecCP. These pre-verbal constituents are generally held to be a sort of topic; Vennemann (1974), Harris (1978), and Marchello-Nizia (1995, 100) explain the transition from a verb-second system to the contemporary SVO pattern by making the assumption that subjects served as the most frequent topics, thus permitting a reanalysis that rendered the subject obligatory.

(1.4)

```
                              CP
                          ╱       ╲
                      SpecCP       C'
                                ╱      ╲
                              C°        TP
                                     ╱      ╲
                                 SpecTP       T'
                                           ╱     ╲
                                         T°        VP
                                               ╱       ╲
                                           SpecVP        V'
                                                      ╱     ╲
                                                    V°       (...)
```

Consider the verb-second sentences in (1.2) in light of this model: the finite verb moves into the C°
position, which leaves one place to the left of this (SpecCP) for the pre-verbal constituents in bold to
occupy; the subject can thus move no higher than SpecTP, which results in its appearance directly
following the finite verb.

Assuming that the verb does indeed reside in C°, this model cannot, as it stands, account for
sentences such as those in (1.3), since there is simply not enough space to the left of C° to host more
than one constituent. Such sentences appear to be licensed across western Romance during the
medieval period (Wolfe 2019, 122); for that reason, the model used to account for them needed to be
modified. Following in the footsteps of Larson (1988), who proposed a split verb phrase to explain
the syntax of verbs with multiple object complements, and Pollock (1989), whose analysis divided the
inflectional phrase into several functional projections that matched both overt and implicit features
expressed on the verb, Rizzi (1997) propounds a split complementizer phrase based largely on data
from contemporary French, Italian, and English. Based on the information-structural value of
elements transposed to the left periphery, along with a series of adjacency tests, he convincingly argues
for the presence of the structure, including the relative order of projections, pictured in (1.5), which
extends to the left of the aforementioned traditional CP structure.[8] This retheorization of the CP layer
not only allows us to more easily account for sentences such as those in (1.3) simply on the basis of
space, but also allows us to discuss more richly the reasoning for the presence of the preverbal
elements, as we will see in Section 1.5 and in Chapter 4.

(1.5) $[_{\text{ForceP}}[_{\text{TopicP*}}[_{\text{FocusP}}[_{\text{TopicP*}}[_{\text{FinitenessP}}[_{\text{TenseP}}[\ldots]]]]]]]]$[9]

As for the specific positions in this new model, the existence of a finiteness phrase (hereafter FinP) is
derived based on the existence of different complementizers that correspond to whether the verb

---

[8] The fact that Rizzi (1997) was able to propose ordering constraints for these functional projections is an argument against
accounts using simple CP recursion. Benincà (2001) makes it quite plain: "Solutions such as recursion of CP, adjunction
to the Spec or multiple specifiers, would not lead us to expect ordering among different elements, unless this was due to
independent reasons" (41).
[9] The asterisk in this notation means that these elements may recur freely.

lower in the derivation is indeed finite, or instead remains an infinitive, as with Italian *che* and *di*, respectively. The force phrase (hereafter ForceP), then, looks out into the larger discursive context, picking up on whether "a sentence is a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a relative, a comparative, an adverbial of a certain kind, etc." (Rizzi 1997, 283); as such, this is the position where we might find *wh*-operators, otherwise known as interrogatives. The structure first mapped by Rizzi (1997) could "contain as many topics as are consistent with its (topicalizable) arguments and adjuncts" (290). This structure was reimagined by Benincà (2001), who, at the same time as she seized on an ambiguity in Rizzi's data that led him to postulate a second topic position below FocP, provided a more finely grained typology of topics based on their relation with elements in lower positions in the derivation. The resulting map of the left periphery can be found in (1.6):

(1.6)   [DiscourseP[ForceP[TopicP[FocusP[FinitenessP[TenseP[…]]]]]]][10]
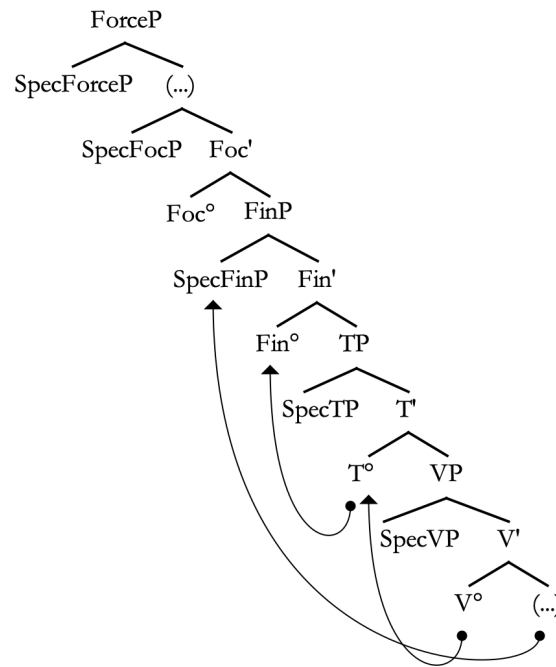
Once Benincà (2001) had elaborated this structure, it was only logical for it to be applied to historical data as well. Using the same type of adjacency tests as in her previous work and paying close attention to the position of clitic pronouns (proclitic or enclitic), she applied the model she had developed for contemporary Romance to data from a variety of dialects of medieval Romance, including a large number of medieval French examples, and arrived at the model pictured in (1.7a-b). Since Benincà's publication (2004, 2006) of this model for the complementizer phrase in medieval Romance, it has become widely accepted and employed; we, too, will use it as one of the theoretical linchpins of the present study, since it offers a possible explanation for the licensing of V3+ orders when such orders would seem to be illicit under a literalist interpretation of verb-second syntax.

(1.7a)   [ForceP   [FrameP   [TopicP   [FocusP   [FinitenessP   [TenseP[…]]]]]]][11]
              | | | |
              Relative-   Scene-   Left   Contrastive
              wh in C°;   Setting   Dislocated   Focus;
              Force C°   Topics;   Topics;   Informational
                             Hanging   List   Focus;
                             Topics   Interpr.   Interrogative
                                                            Wh

---

[10] This diagram was adapted from the tree presented by Benincà (2001, 62). The discourse phrase here plays host to "hanging topics", which differ from topics arising in the left periphery as a result of CLLD. Unlike the dislocated elements in (0.4c) above, these do not appear with prepositions when dislocated. Further, they are not always resumed by a clitic, but can also be reprised by tonic pronouns. The substructures of TopP and FocP were further explored for contemporary Italian by Benincà and Poletto (2004).

[11] Adapted from Benincà (2006, 76) with additional precision added to FocusP from Benincà and Poletto (2004, 61). Relative *wh* are relative complementizers; scene setting topics are things like time adverbials; list interpretation involves ordinals; informational focus, again, supplies requested information to an interlocutor; interrogative *wh* are interrogative adverbs.

(1.7b)

ForceP
SpecForceP   (...)
SpecFocP   Foc'
Foc°   FinP
SpecFinP   Fin'
Fin°   TP
SpecTP   T'
T°   VP
SpecVP   V'
V°   (...)

If we compare the tree diagram in (1.4) to that in (1.7b), we can see the verb moving from V° through T° to the lowest head position in the CP layer, Fin°. A non-subject constituent appearing to the left of the verb could then appear in SpecFinP, or even in a higher projection. It should be stated that this is one of several models in the literature with regards to the location of the V2 constituent: it has been variously proposed that V2 effects happen in ForceP (Rouveret 2004; Wolfe 2015a, 2016a, 2016b), FocusP (Benincà 2004; Labelle 2007; Poletto 2006a, 2006b, 2014; Donaldson 2012, 2015, 2016) and FinP (Ledgeway 2007, 2008, 2009; Salvesen 2011, 2013; Wolfe 2015b, 2015c). Orders where multiple constituents appear to the left of the verb, might then be accounted for by appealing to positions higher up in the derivation than the location targeted by the verb-second operation. The importance of this strategy to the present study becomes apparent in Chapter 4.

1.0.2- Medieval Romance: Verb Second and the Question of Symmetry

The second major point of contention in the literature regarding verb-second syntax in medieval Romance is intimately related to the first: namely, whether V2 syntax can occur in subordinate clauses as well as main clauses. The two are intimately related because the question of symmetry deals largely with the availability of the projections in the CP layer described in the previous section. Consider once more the model of the left periphery given in (1.6), where the preverbal constituent occupies the position SpecFinP and the verb itself occupies Fin°: in a subordinate clause, which is headed by a complementizer such as a relative pronoun, the complementizer occupies the position that, in a main clause, the verb is free to take. Including this 'bottleneck' effect (den Besten 1983) in our model of the sentence, as illustrated in (1.8), permits us to make several predictions about the kinds of surface orders that should be attested in subordinate clauses.

(1.8)
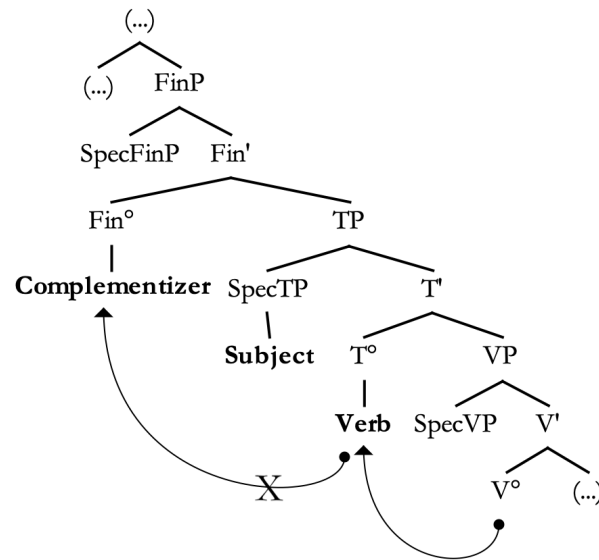
Because, in subordinate clauses, movement above T° is blocked by the presence of the complementizer in Fin°, we expect for the subject, which canonically resides in the SpecTP position, to appear immediately following the complementizer; we then find the verb and then the object, which is located in the lowest elided portion of the derivation in (1.8). Hearkening back to the Greenbergian (1974) typological approach assumed in the introduction, this means that the predicted order for all subordinate clauses is SVO, and indeed, this is is the dominant order. (Vanelli, Renzi, and Benincà 1986; Adams 1987; Hirschbühler and Junker 1988; Vance 1997; Vanelli 1988; Dupuis 1989; Benincà 1995; Wolfe 2019). A small number of example sentences demonstrating this pattern can be found in (1.9).

(1.9)   Medieval Sicilian
          Eu ti comandu... ky <u>tu</u> prindi kystu ani...
          'I command... that you take this bread'

          (Wolfe 2019, 57)

          Medieval French
          Einsint murent ces mesages que <u>vous</u> avez oï et prirent conseil entr'euls.
          'Thus these messengers which you have just heard named moved off, and consulted among themselves.'

          (*Constantinople*, §14)

          Medieval Occitan
          Cujatz que <u>ieu</u> non conosca // d'amors s'es orba o losca?
          'Do you think that I don't know if love is blind or one-eyed?'

          (*Paden*, 14.10)

8

Medieval Spanish
Et el bien dixo que <u>la leche</u> era de su parte...
'And Good said that the milk was from his part'

<div align="right">(Wolfe 2019, 100)</div>

Research conducted on the Germanic languages, which has inspired much scholarship on medieval Romance, has nevertheless shown that these rules may not be quite so solid as originally thought. Whereas it has been found that languages such as German do not license verb-second syntax in embedded clauses in any contexts (den Besten 1983), in some Germanic languages, such as mainland Scandinavian, embedded verb-second syntax can occur in a limited number of contexts (Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995), and in still others, such as Yiddish or some dialects of Icelandic, verb-second syntax is licensed in both main and subordinate contexts (Diesing 1988; Santorini 1989; Wiklund, Bentzen, Hrafnbjargarson and Hróarsdóttir 2009, 1915-23, *inter alios*). In other words, languages exhibiting verb-second syntax in main clauses appear to fall along a positional cline indicating where, if at all, they license verb-second syntax in embedded clauses.

Romance itself appears to fall somewhere in the middle of this cline, licensing embedded V2 in a restricted set of contexts. In his study on verb second in medieval Romance, Wolfe (2019, 29) found that there was, in fact, a great amount of variation among the varieties that he surveyed with respect to the frequency with which embedded V2 occurs. The figures for embedded V2 ranged from an extremely restricted 3.67% of embedded clauses in medieval Venetian to a percentage nearly eleven times higher (40.24%) in medieval Spanish. Medieval French falls somewhere in the middle, with 16.2% of embedded clauses in Wolfe's corpus exhibiting verb-second effects. What, then, are the contexts that license embedded verb-second, as exemplified in (1.10)?

(1.10)   Medieval Sicilian
                [E] dichi ke **kistu miraculu** scripssi <u>illu</u> in unu autru libru...
                'And he said that he wrote this miracle in another book...'

<div align="right">(Wolfe 2019, 61)</div>

                Medieval French
                Et il dit que **si** fera il...
                'And he said that he would do so'

<div align="right">(Wolfe 2019, 85)</div>

                Medieval Spanish
                Dixoles ella que **bien** sabia porque venian...
                'She told them that she indeed knew why they were coming...'

<div align="right">(Wolfe 2019, 102)</div>

It seems unlikely to escape notice that the verb in the predicate in each of these three examples is a reflex of DICERE, to say or to tell. This verb falls into a category of "[...] so called 'bridge' verbs [, which] are typically verbs of 'saying', 'thinking', 'believing', and 'wanting' and [which] typically license other types of embedded root phenomena cross-linguistically (Hooper & Thompson 1973; [...]" (Wolfe 2019, 7). Indeed, a number of studies have found that embedded verb-second phenomena are generally licensed in these contexts in a variety of dialects of western Romance (Adams 1987; Vance 1997; Salvi 2004; Benincà 2004, 2006; Mathieu 2006; Labelle 2007; Ledgeway 2007; Poletto 2014; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2017; Salvesen and Walkden 2017; Wolfe 2019), with the notable exception

of Sardinian, which is predominantly verb-initial in subordinate clauses (Virdis 1996; Lombardi 2007; Wolfe 2015c).[12]

On the basis of this clearly demarcated exception to the would-be rule regarding the asymmetry of verb-second effects in main and embedded clauses in medieval Romance (when compared to more symmetrical languages such as Icelandic or Yiddish), Wolfe (2019) concludes that the evidence in favor of a symmetrical V2 analysis for medieval Romance is insufficient. Given this exception, however, it would seem that the overarching story to be told about the word order of Romance remains one of a state of variation, especially with some Romance languages behaving more strictly with respect to verb-second phenomena than others. It is in light of these theoretical questions that we will explore the phenomenon to which the present study is devoted: leftward stylistic displacement.

1.1- Defining Leftward Stylistic Displacement

Recall the atheoretical definition of leftward stylistic displacement given in Section 0.1: it involves the appearance of one or more non-subject constituents to the left of the finite verb and can occur in both main and subordinate clauses and can involve any non-subject constituent, such as an adjective, an adverb, or a prepositional phrase. Over the course of approximately the past fifteen years, the medieval French construction known as leftward stylistic displacement has endured something of an identity crisis. Following in the footsteps of many of the scholars working on verb-second syntax cited in the previous section, who directly compared Romance with Germanic languages for the insights such comparisons might offer, Mathieu (2006) posited that the underlying syntax of the medieval French construction illustrated in (1.11a) and the contemporary Icelandic one, known as stylistic fronting (Maling 1980; Platzack 1988; Jónsson 1991, 1996; Falk 1993; Holmberg 2000), in (1.11b) might be identical.

(1.11a)   E si il auient dedenz cele quinzeine ke li uns de ses testemonies murge,
            celui qui **uiff** est, pruuera son testimonie par serrement…
            'And if it should happen within that fortnight that one of the witnesses
            die, the surviving one shall prove his testimony by oath…'
                                                                    (*Coutumes*, p. 1902, §5)

(1.11b)   Sá sem **fyrstur** er að skora mark fær sérstök verðlaun.
            He that first   is to score goal gets special prize
            'The first one to score a goal will get a special prize'
                                                                    (Holmberg 2000, 445)

On the face of things, it is certainly true that there is a remarkable level of similarity between these two sentences: we see a displaced adjective in bold, directly following a subject-relative pronoun. This gives an embedded-XV word order of the sort that should be illicit in medieval French, in that the matrix predicate is not one that typically licenses embedded V2, though such transpositions should ostensibly be possible in Icelandic. Mathieu's proposal was, in the end, quite controversial, and sparked

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[12] This implies that the complementizer resides in a high position in the left periphery (ForceP) and that the verb raises to a lower position in the CP phase, which Wolfe (2015c, 183-6), locates in FinP. This leaves multiple positions in the derivation available to host additional displaced elements, namely FrameP, FocP, and TopP. He argues, however that these positions are not projected in medieval Sardinian embedded clauses since there is no attested discourse-driven movement or merging in his corpus. We offer a contrasting analysis for medieval French in Chapter 4.

many years of debate regarding the nature of the medieval French construction, in particular with the extent to which French respects the established conditions for stylistic fronting to occur.

Before turning to an exploration of this debate, it will be useful to present briefly the conditions for stylistic fronting in Scandinavian. We follow Holmberg (2000) in his presentation of these conditions, as did Mathieu (2006, 2013). Firstly, stylistic fronting requires a subject gap, which means that it cannot occur in clauses that contain an overt subject. Secondly, the operation must be able to target a large variety of different morphosyntactic categories for transposition into the preverbal zone. Thirdly, it is subject to an accessibility hierarchy (Maling 1980), which means that there is an order of preference for which elements will be targeted for fronting: negation first, then adjectives, then verbs (such as participles) or other particles. Fourthly, the construction does not perform any particular foregrounding, in contrast with other fronting operations, such as topicalization. With these stipulations in mind, let us delve into the debate that was sparked by Mathieu's (ibid.) proposal.

1.1.1- "Stylistic Fronting" or "Leftward Stylistic Displacement"?

With these rules in hand, Mathieu describes stylistic fronting at the outset of his paper as "…the leftward movement of an XP or a head into a position that precedes the finite verb when Spec-TP, the canonical subject position, is not occupied by an overt subject DP" (2006, 220).[13] This results in the production of sentences like (1.12):

(1.12)　　　　Qant **levé**$_i$ furent t$_i$ del mangier…
　　　　　　　'When they had gotten up from dinner'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Le chevalier à la charrette*, l. 1043)

In this sentence, we can see that there is indeed no overt subject accompanying the verb *furent*. In Mathieu's (ibid.) estimation, this has permitted the past participle head *levé* to raise from its base generated position (marked by the trace t$_i$) into the preverbal zone. Mathieu begins his excursus by detailing the productivity of stylistic fronting in medieval French, while trying to isolate instances of stylistic fronting from the V2 configurations described above. He thus turns to subordinate clauses such as those in (1.12) to supply his data for two reasons: firstly, in the absence of an overt subject, V2 effects would be indistinguishable from stylistic fronting, since both involve the appearance of a wide variety of elements in the pre-verbal zone.[14] Further, as we detailed in Section 1.0.2, medieval French is generally considered to be an asymmetric V2 language, meaning that V2 constructions do not occur in these subordinate clauses, in light of the complementizer bottleneck (den Besten 1983).[15] This in turn means that we can rule out V2 effects as the motivation for any transpositions we might find in subordinate clauses. To further ensure ease in forming an inventory of the types of elements that can undergo stylistic fronting, Mathieu focuses on subject relative clauses, which, by nature, never

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[13] Tense Phrase is synonymous with Inflectional Phrase.

[14] Mathieu holds that these main clause cases can be distinguished on the basis that V2 topicalization cannot target heads to bring them into the left periphery (2006, 226, 240).

[15] This also suggests that null subjects should be impossible in subordinate clauses, as null subjects are licensed by the appearance of a verb in C°. The appearance of null subjects in subordinate clauses, however, is something much more widely attested than such a categorically formulated rule would imply (cf. Hirschbühler 1989, 1995). The status of medieval French as a null subject language of any sort has also been recently called into question based on data from legal texts (Balon and Larrivée 2016). The sorts of sweeping conclusions at which this article arrives, namely that we should treat this text type as the ultimate arbiter used to date the obsolescence of null subjects, would seem to suffer the same pitfall as the decades of studies using exclusively literary texts to produce the same timeline.

contain an overt subject, and shows that any type of constituent can be placed in preverbal position. He then illustrates that this operation can be found in any type of main or embedded clause that has a subject gap, including object relatives and *wh*-operator clauses, as in (1.12). Various examples of the construction can be found in (1.13a-c).

(1.13a)   Danz Apollo lui a mandé par un respons que ad doné que **a presenz$_i$** engendera t$_i$ un felon filz qui l'ocira.

'Lord Apollo sent to him as the response that he gave, that very soon he would sire a villainous son that would kill him'
<div align="right">(Le roman de Thèbes 1, ll. 41-4)</div>

(1.13b)   Dreit a Thebes sa veie aquilt, por son piere que **veer$_i$** velt t$_i$.
'Directly toward Thebes he set a course for his father whom he wanted to see.'
<div align="right">(Le roman de Thèbes 1, ll. 207-8)</div>

(1.13c)   Mes, par celui qui **tot$_i$** a t$_i$ a sauver, ja ne quier mes lance n'escu porter.
'But, in the name of him who has everything to save, I no longer want to carry my lance or shield'
<div align="right">(La prise d'Orange, ll. 264-5)</div>

In line with data collected by other researchers on Scandinavian languages (Maling 1980; Platzack 1988; Jónsson 1991, 1996; Falk 1993; Holmberg 2000), Mathieu (2006) finds that there are no constraints, in terms of morphosyntactic categories, on what items can be fronted individually; Mathieu does, again, propose constraints, however, when two elements are fronted together, namely that the grammar does not permit two heads or two XPs to be fronted at once, but rather only an XP followed by a head. This means that the operation could not simultaneously select for fronting, for example, a noun phrase (one that has an article) and a prepositional phrase, or two bare heads (nouns without articles, past participles, or infinitives). Relevant to the above discussion of the structure of the left clausal periphery, Mathieu then proposes that the displaced element does not land in any of the positions in the standard model of the left periphery of medieval Romance, but rather postulates a special topic position, which he calls Top+P, located "just above FinP but below ForceP" (245). This is quite reminiscent of the recursive topic structure proposed by Rizzi (1997) and subsequently shown to be invalid by Benincà (2001), since it places a second topic position under FocP.[16]

Although in a later paper Mathieu (2013) continues to defend the stylistic fronting analysis for the phenomena just described, Labelle (2007), alongside Paul Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017), has spent nearly a decade arguing against Mathieu's analysis and successfully so, in our estimation, as will be illustrated below. In her first article on the subject, Labelle (2007) clearly shows that the relationship between Icelandic-style stylistic fronting à la Holmberg and the phenomena in question for medieval French is only superficial. In particular, she examines embedded clauses of all types (subject/object relatives, conjunctional clauses, adverbial clauses, indirect questions), which are superficially V2, as are the examples that Mathieu deals with. One of the main tasks that she sets herself is to "determine whether embedded clauses of type XV are V2 or result from Stylistic

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[16] Cf. *supra* (1.8).

Fronting," (304) this despite the fact that, as an asymmetric verb-second language, these effects should not be due to V2, as indicated above.[17]

There are several reasons proffered by Labelle to differentiate stylistic fronting from verb-second, of which we will discuss two. Firstly, she says that Stylistic Fronting fills SpecIP, with the verb remaining in a lower position. Based on the existence of these superficially V2 clauses following interrogative *wh*-words such as *quant*, which appear in the focus phrase (see again (1.7a)), Labelle deduces that the preverbal element in these clauses does not make it into the complementizer phrase, but instead is forced to remain in the lower inflectional phrase (2007, 308). This, however, excludes neither clauses headed by relative *wh*, like *que* or *qui*, where these heads appear to fall higher up in the CP field, leaving the lower fields free to be occupied by displaced elements, nor clauses headed by a conjunctional *que*, as in (1.14), with the same resulting space beneath the complementizer in the derivation.

(1.14)   En la cité vint la nouvele,/ sachiez qu'**a ceus dedenz**$_i$ fu bele t$_i$.
            'The news came into the city; know that, to those inside, it was good'

                                    (Taken from Labelle 2007, 293; translation mine)

The results are the same for clauses headed by conjunctional *que* because, as Labelle herself contends, these sentences contain 'embedded V2', and can be accounted for using CP recursion (292), the same strategy espoused by Vance (1997) to account for what appears to be embedded V2. The existence of CP recursion does not appear to motivate the presence of a special head, like the Top+P one Mathieu (2006, 2013) proposed to explain this phenomenon, given the free discourse heads where fronted elements might land, nor does it seem to require the verb to stay in the IP domain. Secondly, Labelle also highlights that stylistic fronting requires a subject gap, whereas 'embedded V2' does not. As she gives her inventory of types of embedded clauses, however, showing that 'embedded V2' is more a rule than an exception, she does not mention that only three of the thirty-four examples that she has given (293-5) do not contain either a referential null subject or an impersonal null subject, as Mathieu (2013, 335) is quite right to point out in his critique of her work, which we will discuss just below. Apart from the fact that this raises questions about the structure of embedded clauses in medieval French in general, given the apparent preponderance of null subjects in her data, the issues that we have underlined regarding the positioning of these different complementizers in the derivation leave us an unsatisfactorily clear understanding of the phenomenon brought to light by Mathieu (2006).[18]

Mathieu continues to refine his approach to this phenomenon in a later paper (2013), of which a considerable portion is devoted to responding to questions raised by Labelle (2007) regarding the diachrony of the construction and the structure of embedded clauses. The greatest issue that Mathieu finds with her analysis is that he has understood her claim that V2 is readily available in embedded

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[17] Labelle (2007) reasons that Early Old French permitted generalized V2 in embedded clauses, noting, however, that "[…] EOF is atypical from the point of view of the symmetrical V2 languages […] in that there was no requirement that the embedded clause be V2" (308). The answer to her question is thus perhaps that we are witnessing neither V2 nor stylistic fronting, since V2 requires the verb to raise to a position in CP, and stylistic fronting involves a special position in the left periphery for elements undergoing this operation. This follows logically if we can account for these structures without the need to posit any special projections, as does Mathieu (2006, 2013), and we also accept the validity of a Vancian (1997) definition of verb-second.

[18] The question of null subjects in embedded clauses is not an object of frequent discussion, as, again, the general account of *pro*-drop in medieval French is that null subjects are licensed by the appearance of a verb in C°. Since, in embedded clauses, the verb is supposed to be blocked from raising into the CP domain by the appearance of a complementizer, null subjects are theoretically not supposed to appear in this context. Hirschbühler (1989, 1995) has noted, however, that, in practice, this is not the case, as Labelle's (2007) data show all too clearly.

clauses to mean that it is obligatory in this context; he contends, however, that this must be a different operation from the V2 familiar from matrix clauses, since in fact, even in the presence of a subject gap, it is possible for no transposition to take place at all, as in (1.15a).

(1.15a)   E ne sevent qu'est devenuz / Ne en quel leu est detenuz
'And they don't know what has become of him nor in what place he is held captive'

(*Le voyage de Saint Brendan*, ll. 1495-6, taken from Mathieu 2013, 335)

(1.15b)   Ki **de cest mund**ᵢ fuit le delit tᵢ, / Od Deu de cel tant en avrat / Que plusₖ demanderⱼ ne savrat tⱼtₖ.
'He who flees the delights of this world shall have from God in heaven such a reward (for this reason) that he will not be able to ask for more.'

(*Le voyage de Saint Brendan*, ll. 24-6)

In the portion of this example preceding the line break, we see that the conjunctional complement of the verb *sevent* does not have an accompanying 3.SG pronoun, which makes it ripe for stylistic fronting; we might then expect an order where the past participle is interposed between the complementizer and the verb: *E ne sevent que devenuz est*. Example (1.15b), from the same text, contains multiple examples of inversions with a subject gap: in the first line, under the *wh*-operator *qui*, we see the prepositional phrase *de cest mund* having been fronted, and in the third line, under the conjunctional *que* governed by *tant*, we see the constituent [*demander plus*] being fronted, and then undergoing a second inversion to give the order [*plus demander*]. Mathieu thus concludes, given the non-ubiquity of transpositions in the presence of a subject gap, that we must be dealing with an operation other than the Germanic type of inversion that we find in main clauses, as we would expect "inversion to occur even with overt subjects" (336). In terms of the diachrony of the construction, he finds that the distinction that Labelle (2007) draws between earlier medieval French, which does not have stylistic fronting as part of its grammar, and later iterations, which do, holds no water, since even data samples from earlier texts, like the one excerpted in (1.15), dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, show the same optionality as can be found in later texts.

   Although Mathieu (2013) once more paints a very neat picture of the construction, subsequent work by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) has shown once again that the picture is still in fact quite muddy. In order to distance their analyses from any sort of theoretical bias, they eschew the name stylistic fronting and instead begin to call the construction leftward stylistic displacement (LSD). They then fully reconsider the restrictions on these constructions, even in the modified form that Mathieu (2013) proposed them, in order to shut the door once and for all on the relation between the medieval French phenomenon and that investigated by Holmberg (2000) and others for Scandinavian languages. They show that the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Mathieu (2006, 2013) is an inoperative constraint. As originally illustrated by Maling (1980) and picked up by Holmberg (2000), this hierarchy regulates the order in which elements can be selected for transposition in operations like stylistic fronting: negation/sentential adverbs first, followed by adjectives, and then verbs and their dependent elements occurring further down in the derivation. Labelle (2007) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) have consistently been able to find data that show elements like past participles and prepositional phrases being transposed over a *forclusif* like *pas* or *point*, which would not occur if the accessibility hierarchy were a functional constraint for medieval

French. Similarly, they have been able to find adjectives transposed over sentential adverbs, which present the same issue as with elements being extracted over a *forclusif* (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2014a, 9-10).

The subject condition, the *sine qua non* of Mathieu's description and the subject of his strongest criticisms of Labelle (2007), is also shown to be largely invalid, as Labelle and Hirschbühler explain: "En français, bien que l'antéposition se fasse le plus souvent lorsque le sujet n'est pas dans sa position canonique, on trouve le participe ou l'infinitif antéposé en présence d'un sujet preverbal dans des proportions qui ne sont pas négligables" (ibid., 10-1).[19] An example of one such transposition, taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler, can be found in (1.16).

(1.16)   Et les clés avec li enporte, / Pour ce qu'**entrer**$_i$ on n'y peüst t$_i$…
                'And he takes away the keys with him, so that one could not enter
                within'
                     (Taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler 2014a, 11; translation mine)

In this example, the infinitive *entrer* has been transposed into a position before the verb, appearing to the left of the subject pronoun *on*. Interestingly, elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement can also appear to the right of the subject, that is between the subject and the verb.[20] Beyond the fact that these appear with overt subjects, this is of particular note because, whereas elements appearing to the left of the subject may fit somewhat more easily into the model of the left periphery proposed by Benincà (2004), the appearance of elements between the subject and verb is harder to account for using the same model, and does not involve the left periphery at all, but rather must recruit functional projections further down in the derivation, in the TP/IP domain.

Recall, further, that, in the event that two elements were stylistically fronted, Mathieu proposed a constraint whereby no two phrases or heads could undergo the operation simultaneously, nor could a head precede a phrase. This XP-X° constraint, illustrated below in (1.17a-b), is also unsurprisingly called into question by Labelle and Hirschbühler.

(1.17a)   **Après la biere**$_j$ **venir**$_i$ voient une rote t$_i$ t$_j$…
                'Behind the coffin, they see an escort coming…'

                                                (*Le chevalier à la charrette*, ll. 560-1)

(1.17b)   …Cil du païs tant le doutoient / que **par iluec**$_j$ **passer**$_i$ n'osoient
                'Those in the country feared it so much that they didn't dare pass
                through there'
                                                (*Le roman de Thèbes 2*, ll. 285-6)

In both of these examples, we see both a prepositional phrase and an infinitive have been extracted from their positions in the clause to a preverbal position, an order that seems not to be uncommon when two elements have been displaced. Despite the fact that Mathieu (2006, 2013) encountered no examples of XPs such as *après la biere* following a head like *venir*, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014b) explain that their data tell a different story: "dans les textes que nous avons étudiés, on trouve diverses exceptions à la contrainte XP-X°. On peut trouver à la gauche du verbe conjugué divers ordres de

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[19] 'In French, although fronting occurs most often when the subject is not in its canonical position, we find fronted participles or infinitives in the presence of a preverbal subjects in proportions that are not negligeable'.
[20] Cf. *infra* (1.19a).

surface, X°-XP, X°-X°, et XP-XP" (287).[21] This seems unlikely to be due to simple choice of texts, as their corpus comprises texts from a variety of different genres, and covers the period from the early twelfth to late fourteenth centuries. An example of two displaced XPs can be found in (1.18):

(1.18)   Se **trestout ce bien gardé** unt…
                'If they have indeed guarded all this'

                (Taken from Labelle & Hirschbühler 2014b, 288; translation mine)

Whereas upon the presentation of this data it is clear that the Scandinavian-style constraints that Mathieu (2006, 2013) applied to medieval French do not obtain, what is not immediately evident from Labelle and Hirschbühler's description of their data is exactly how frequent these word orders are. Let us now turn to the current state of research on this family of constructions.

1.2- The Syntax of Leftward Stylistic Displacement: *L'état de l'art*

Having satisfactorily laid to rest the idea that the medieval French phenomenon in question has anything at all to do with the Scandinavian construction known as stylistic fronting, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2014b) abandon this nomenclature in favor of a term that does not presume a particular syntactic analysis: leftward stylistic displacement (LSD). As this section illustrates, however, there remains a complex story to be told, since a great deal of their efforts prior to their latest writing, described here, had been devoted to defining what LSD *is not*. The multiplicity of variation encountered during their exploration of the Scandinavian question led Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) to propose that we are dealing not with one uniform construction, as Mathieu (2006, 2013) had argued, but rather with a minimum of three separate constructions falling under the same general umbrella. In order to be able to better map the constructions, Labelle and Hirschbühler have included in their analysis LSD sentences that include a subject, as the canonical subject position gives them an extra fixed reference point to assist them to triangulating the fronted elements. Just as Mathieu proposed that the stylistic fronting operation could occur in both main and subordinate clauses that contained a subject gap, Labelle and Hirschbühler have laid out a typology that includes these three constructions in both main and subordinate clauses. The first of these three word orders, at least in main clauses, is no different from a garden variety V2 construction (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2017), and is thus not of particular interest to the present study, since it is treated extensively elsewhere. Examples of the other two, known as LSD$_{Right}$ and LSD$_{Left}$, differentiated by the position of the extracted element in relation to the subject can be found in (1.19).

(1.19a)   Eüstaces **mot**$_i$ ne savoit t$_i$ / De ço que Dex **sauvé**$_j$ avoit t$_j$/ ses effanz…
                'Eustace did not know at all that God had saved his children'
                          (*La vie de Saint Eustache par Pierre Beauvais*, ed. Fisher)

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[21] 'In the texts that we have studied, we find many exceptions to the XP-X° constraint. To the left of the conjugated verb, we can find many different surface orders, X°-XP, X°-X°, and XP-XP' (Translation mine).

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(1.19b)   Et se **bien**ᵢ li nostre assailloient tᵢ, / <u>Li autre</u> **mieus** se deffendoient…
             'And if our men attacked well, the others defended themselves better'

             (*La prise d'Alexandrie, ou Chronique du roi Pierre Ier de Lusignan*)[22]

In (1.19a), we see LSD_{Right} in both a main and a subordinate clause. The word *mot*, likely serving as an emphatic negative particle akin to *pas*, has been extracted from its base generated position after the matrix verb *savoit*. A similar process has occurred in the conjunctional subordinate clause dependent on the verb *savoit*, where the past participle *sauvé* has been extracted into a position at the subject's right. Note that, in both cases, the extracted objects are removed from positions that would have affected the rhyme scheme, leaving *savoit* to rhyme with *avoit*. Similarly, in (1.19b), the adverb *bien* has been taken from its base generated position and placed to the subject's left, again perhaps less than coincidentally, allowing the verbs *assailloient* and *deffendoient* to rhyme with each other.[23] From a descriptive perspective, then, if we include instances in which two elements have been displaced, along with clauses that have null or postverbal subjects, we come up with the typology of sentences below in (1.20). This typology is distilled from the one that Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) have elaborated; elements labeled X in their typology are small adverbs or non-finite verbs. It should be borne in mind, further, that such typological approaches have been used with sparkling success, most notably in the case of Marchello-Nizia's (1995) study of word order in *La chanson de Roland* and *La queste del Saint-Graal*. Both LSD_{Right} and LSD_{Left} can be found in that study, with the notable difference that where Labelle and Hirschbühler look for the types of elements just mentioned, Marchello-Nizia's 'X' is a nominal direct object (ibid., 52).

(1.20)   <u>Main Clauses</u>

             ØXV(S) (Indistinguishable from V2)
             Ensinc est <u>la chose</u> atornee…
             'Thus the thing (the hunt) was set'

                                                           (*Erec et Enide*, ll. 67-8)

             SXV (LSD_{Right})
             Eüstaces **mot** ne savoit…
             'Eustache did not know at all…'
                                         (*La vie de Saint Eustache par Pierre Beauvais*, ed. Fisher)

             XSV (LSD_{Left})
             Prendre si tost je vus defent…
             'I forbid you to take it (the water) right away…'
                                                   (*Voyage de Saint Brendan*, l. 647)[24]

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[22] Taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017); their examples 35 and 34, respectively; translations theirs; line numbers unknown, as their notation gives locations in the *Corpus MCVF* (Martineau et al., 2010).
[23] Both Mathieu (2006, 248; 2013, 341) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013) have mentioned that these operations may be used to facilitate rhyme; this will be discussed below.
[24] Taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 165), their example 77.

XYV (LSD~Double~)
Apres la biere venir voient une rote …
'Behind the coffin, they see an escort coming…'

(*Le chevalier à la charrette*, ll. 560-1)

Subordinate Clauses

CØXV (LSD~Right~)
…que **le cervel** li fet del chief voler
'(He struck such a blow) that he made his brain fly forth from his
            head'

(*La prise d'Orange*, l. 833)

CSXV (LSD~Right~)
…que <u>Dex</u> **sauvé** avoit ses effanz.
'... that God had saved his children.'

(*La vie de Saint Eustache par Pierre Beauvais*, ed. Fisher)

CXSV (LSD~Left~)
…qu'**esleüs** <u>xij. homes</u> seroient qui le païs gouverneroient
'(They made a decree) that twelve men would be elected who would
govern the country'

(*La prise d'Alexandrie, ou Chronique du roi Pierre Ier de Lusignan*)[25]

CXYV (LSD~Double~)
…qui **de ce riens** ne savoit
'(They brought the girl,) who knew nothing about this'

(*Roman de Thèbes 1*, l. 466)

After Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) identify these constructions, they undertake the task of describing them from a structural syntactic point of view. The first construction that they consider is the V2 construction, noting: "[when] a fronted element is found together with a postverbal subject, there is no reason to think that it is not a V2 construction" (25). In main clauses, this is unsurprising, resulting in the V2 topic landing squarely in the left periphery, in SpecFinP, and the matrix verb also rising into the CP domain, coming to rest in Fin°. Including those matrix clauses that exhibit null subjects, which, again, cannot be distinguished from garden-variety V2 clauses, these account for ninety percent of their data (ibid.).

The analysis becomes more interesting, however, when we try to account for the existence of preverbal subjects in conjunction with other dislocated elements. If we consider that there is a canonical SubjP that directly dominates TP, as Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) have proposed, then this limits the number of positions where an element having undergone leftward stylistic displacement can land in the derivation, namely to its left or right, as shown by the arrows in (1.21).[26]

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[25] Taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler (2016), their example 33.
[26] In other words, the position of the subject is at the left edge of TP domain.

(1.21)   [DiscourseP[ForceP[TopicP[FocusP[FinitenessP[SubjP[InflectionalP[…]]]]]]]]]]

Given that this subject projection is located on the border between the CP domain and the TP domain, this would suggest that all instances of LSD$_{Right}$ leave the displaced element in a projection in TP, along with SubjP (SpecTP), and not in the left periphery as Mathieu (2006, 2013) had suggested. Nine percent of the clauses Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 155) have collected are classified as LSD$_{Right}$. This idea is most interesting because, to a certain extent, it is unexpected, if we remember both that these elements are meant to carry some sort of information-structural value and that it is the sensitivity of the complementizer phrase to the overarching discourse in which the sentence is contained that allows it to play host to these elements; the inflectional phrase has no such sensitivities of which we are aware beyond the ability to host adverbs at its left edge (Beninca and Poletto 2004, 55). We therefore would not anticipate displaced elements bearing any particular IS values in this position. Such clauses are the exception, and not the rule, since occurrences of LSD$_{Left}$, which account for a further two percent of the matrix clause data, do indeed land in the left periphery, where we would expect them to appear based on their IS values. In the end approximately ninety-two percent of the elements from their data having undergone some sort of displacement, either via LSD or normal V2 operations, can thus be found outside the sentential core, which makes them easy to account for using Benincà's (2004, 2006) model of the left periphery of medieval Romance.[27]

A similarly intriguing, and perhaps more convoluted situation is presented in embedded clauses, and for this reason we focus much attention on them in the course of the present study. The situation is more complex than in main clauses because the presence of a complementizer places an additional element on the left edge of the clause, which should restrict the ability of elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement to move into the CP phase (den Besten 1983).[28] As the diagram in (1.7a) indicates, complementizers take up residence in particular locations in the left periphery, which means that exquisite care must be taken to systematically analyze each of the constructions with a variety of these complementizers in order to present an accurately detailed account of the syntax of leftward stylistic displacement in embedded clauses. Previous work by Labelle (2007) on LSD organized itself in this more holistic fashion, but in the quest to argue against the Scandinavian style analysis put forth by Mathieu (2006, 2013), this descriptive approach seems not to have been employed. In addition to taking into account the position of the complementizer, the inclusion of sentences with an overt subject offers the advantage of another landmark in the cartography of the sentence (the subject, itself); unfortunately, in those sentences where Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) have identified leftward stylistic fronting, overt subjects are by and large the exception, not the rule. Of the 1,924 embedded clauses with pre-verbal infinitives, participles, and small adverbs to be found in their corpus, 1,598 (83%) are to be found in sentences with null subjects; such clauses with postverbal subjects account for another 4%; the remaining 13% of tokens are

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[27] This suggests the importance of studying the LSD$_{Right}$ construction in main clauses, as well as perhaps a reconsideration of the role of the inflectional phrase in the discourse-syntax interface; this task is unfortunately well beyond the scope of the present project. An information-structural analysis of LSD$_{Right}$ would prove most enlightening in any case, as it would have as its objective to determine to what extent the functional projections that this operation targets are sensitive to the overarching discourse in which they are contained. The same should be true in embedded clauses as well, which will be discussed below.

[28] Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) have found examples of long distance movement of elements from the subordinate clause to the left periphery of the main clause across an LSD constituent; the fact that "…the LSD element does not interfere with either short-distance or long-distance WH-movement," they say, shows that such LSD elements are not located in the left periphery (27).

examples of LSD$_{\text{Left}}$ (9%) and LSD$_{\text{Right}}$ (4%). This distribution is of particular import because, whereas the majority of the data in matrix clauses can be accounted for by appealing to verb-second effects, this is not a viable strategy for embedded clauses, since verb-second effects are generally not supposed to occur in this context, except in such clauses headed by a conjunctional subordinator. Further, in embedded clauses, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) account for examples of leftward stylistic displacement with null subjects as LSD$_{\text{Right}}$, although the explanation for this move is less than clear, since the absence of an overt subject at the left edge of TP blurs the line between the CP and TP phases. Based on the model that Labelle and Hirschbühler proposed for matrix clauses, if all cases of null subject LSD are so accounted for, this again leads to the vast majority of these elements residing in IP, and not in the left periphery, which remains counterintuitive due to the IS value these elements ostensibly bear. We explore in detail the question of complementizers as they apply to subordinate-clause LSD in Chapter 4.

As a result of Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) work, we now have a better idea of what leftward stylistic displacement looks like, especially with regards to its possible occurrence with an overt subject. Our aim, here, is to paint a complete picture of this family of constructions; however, there are several ways in which Labelle and Hirschbühler's (ibid.) most recent work leaves space for further study. For example, the corpus that they have used has principally focused on instances of LSD that involve infinitives, past participles, and a small collection of frequent adverbs. Since Mathieu's (2006) first paper on the subject of stylistic fronting, however, it has been clear that LSD can target a wide variety of morphosyntactic categories, as several of the foregoing examples have illustrated. For this reason, in the present study, we should seek to collect instances of leftward stylistic displacement without limitations on the type of displaced element.[29] Further, Mathieu (2006) and Labelle (2007) have shown that leftward stylistic can occur in subordinate clauses headed by a variety of complementizers, but do not offer, for example, a clear idea of the contexts where leftward stylistic displacement occurs most frequently. In short, based on our analysis of the previous work on leftward stylistic displacement, it will be our goal to offer a complete and unlimited description of the LSD family of constructions and how they vary morphosyntactically within our own corpus.

1.3- Intermediate Summary

We have thus far contextualized the study of leftward stylistic displacement in terms of its relationship to larger questions about the nature of medieval Romance, and by extension, medieval French syntax. We have offered a description of research on leftward stylistic displacement, highlighting a number of key aspects thereof. Firstly, we described the superficial relationship between the Scandinavian construction known as stylistic fronting and the one attested in medieval French, which we, along with Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014, 2017) call leftward stylistic displacement. Secondly, we noted the fact that LSD may appear in a larger number of contexts than previously anticipated, such as in clauses with an overt subject. Finally, we detailed the implications of an element bearing an information-structural value falling on either side of the subject, which resides in SpecTP. There are, as we have stated, a wide variety of paths that the previous literature on this construction leaves waiting for exploration. In what follows, we contextualize the three external variables that we will investigate in the present study: textual domain, information structure, and discourse type.

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[29] Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 146) consider these to be the three types of displaced element that are most characteristic of leftward stylistic displacement. This assumption is tested in Chapter 3.

1.4- Textual Variables

Apart from discussing the specific syntactic positions where elements undergoing leftward stylistic displacement find themselves nestled in the clause, the second, albeit decidedly less pronounced current in Mathieu, Labelle, and Hirschbühler's research is that of text type, which for these scholars has typically meant investigating differences between verse and prose texts. This matter has received a growing amount of attention since the first passing observations on the subject by Mathieu (2006), who remarked, "As we shall see, although it is far from being impossible in prose, SF is most common in verse. This is important, because SF is often used to defocalize the most embedded element in the verse while at the same time permitting rhyming with the preceding verse," (225) and "SF is also a means of facilitating rhymes in verse (is also sensitive to the metrical structure of the sentence…)" (248). Despite the fact that Mathieu (2013) continues to gesture toward the potential importance that text type might play, he goes no further than commenting that text type might play some role in the frequency of stylistic fronting/leftward stylistic displacement. Labelle (2007) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2017) have picked up on this question, however, and have paid much closer attention to whether it may be of any importance. As Labelle (2007) has concentrated on the earliest period of medieval French, it is difficult to get a sufficient handle on whether the verse/prose distinction is important for leftward stylistic displacement, since the overwhelming majority of texts from this period are written in verse. In her investigation comparing Vance's (1997) analysis of thirteenth-century prose with earlier verse works, she found that there was no measurable distinction to be made between these texts in terms of their treatment of asymmetrical V2; despite this fact, she notes that rhymed verse likely correlates with an increased number of scrambling positions being generated.

These interesting questions regarding the differences between prose and verse texts are developed in Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 7-8), where we encounter the first frequency data on leftward stylistic displacement as it is distributed in the two text types. These data show that there is an increased incidence of XV orders in embedded clauses in verse texts as compared to prose texts, along with more elevated levels, in general, the earlier the date of the text. As for the question of whether leftward stylistic displacement is a means of facilitating rhyme, as Mathieu had claimed, Labelle and Hirschbühler find that "…in many cases, the fronted element does not come from a verse-final position and its displacement has no effect on rhyme, though it may have rythmical [*sic*] effects" (2013, 10). Although this element of Mathieu's analysis of leftward stylistic displacement, too, has been disproven, Labelle and Hirschbühler find it impossible to investigate further the matter of whatever metrical contribution this construction has to the composition of well-formed poetry. Their most recent corpus of fourteen prose and verse texts, even with a supplement of data from another corpus, the *Corpus MCVF* (Martineau et al. 2012), has not proven sufficiently large to permit them to track whether LSD is indeed generally more frequent over time in verse, since the later texts in their corpus are all prose ones: "all but one of the verse texts are anterior to 1220 in the corpus, while all the prose texts but one are posterior to 1200. A valid comparison between the two genres would require a corpus with more verse texts for the post-1200 period (no other sizeable prose documents exists [sic] for the pre-1200 period)" (2017, 8-9). We strongly agree with their assessment of the limitations of the corpus that they have used for this study, and believe that there are multiple ways in which we might expand our understanding of the phenomenon known as leftward stylistic displacement from a textual point of view.

Firstly, as Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) suggest, the corpus could be expanded to include as many later verse texts as possible so that we are fully able to trace and compare the diachrony of this construction in both verse and prose, since the corpus as constituted by Labelle and Hirschbühler must deal with two variables at the same time: modality of composition and date. Such an addition

would render the distinction between these two variables more legible. Even considering the added benefit of investigating these same questions with a broadened corpus, the spirit of an open and descriptive approach encourages us to look past the typical verse/prose distinction, such that other potentially relevant textual variables that have not yet figured into research on leftward stylistic displacement might come into view. Indeed, recent research on the prevalence of null subjects in medieval French (a frequently co-occurring, if not related syntactic phenomenon) ultimately suggests that dividing the corpus into only two text types, i.e. using a simple verse/prose distinction, may not offer sufficient granularity to the resulting analysis, as it is distinctly possible, for example, for a blanket category such as 'prose' to hide within itself the possibility of different timelines. In line with one of the general calls of the 2014 conference of the *Société Internationale de Diachronie du Français*, which underlined the importance of including less frequently used text types in the historiography of the French language, Balon and Larrivée (2016) have illustrated that, in medieval French legal texts, the percentage of null subjects appearing across all clause types is considerably smaller when compared to the rates found in the literary texts that have typically been used to create the chronology for the loss of *pro*-drop as a feature of French.[30] Although they fall into the questionably polarizing practice of calling such texts 'more reliable' for drawing this timeline,[31] an interesting strategy because it places legal texts in precisely the same *position prioritaire* that literary texts have thus far enjoyed in the majority of diachronic research on the French language, the general impetus for changing the scope of our own research is a good one, and one we intend to follow here. This impetus has also begun to be felt among the few studies that have hitherto been performed on leftward stylistic displacement: Rahn's (2016) research, which receives a complete treatment in Section 1.5.7, looks exclusively at administrative texts, eschewing literary sources entirely. Therefore, in our efforts to to triangulate the type of corpus that we ought to use in the present study, it seems that we should be able to take into account the morphosyntactic variation intrinsic to LSD not only with respect to the modality of composition, since administrative texts are written in prose, too, but also with respect to the specific cultural domain from which our sources come.

One way that this uncertainty might be overcome is to investigate a slightly larger category. Unlike the *MVCF* corpus, which only sorts its texts according to genre, the *Base de Français Médiéval* (BFM; ICAR 2016), another popular digitized corpus of medieval French, sorts its component texts, which include different genres like literary prose, *chroniques*, legal texts, and scientific treatises, according to what they call *domain*. This is defined as a "trait fonctionnel qui correspond à la destination principale du texte et au domaine d'activité auquel il se rattache" (Guillot and Lavrentiev 2009, 8).[32] For example, those texts that are destined to entertain their consumers are classed as literary, whereas those intended to regulate social life are designated as legal texts.[33] If we subdivide these domains to look at individual genres themselves, there simply do not appear to be a sufficient number of examples of each to validate treating them as legibly separate categories, at least given the current size of the corpus. For example, if we look within the domain *didactique*, we would be obligated to offer general judgments on the specific syntax of lapidaries or grammatical treatises based on the two and three members of these genres that are included in the corpus, which would cause the analysis to stray

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[30] In a similar vein, see Wirth-Jaillard's (2013) work on reported discourse in medieval fiscal documents.

[31] 'The assumption that null subjects start to be lost in the XIIIth century and become a minority option in the XVth is based on literary data. Such data are however known to be conservative, which calls into question their reliability as witness of language change processes and chronology (Ingham [(2015)]). More reliable data could be found in legal material' (1).

[32] 'functional trait that corresponds to the text's principal purpose and the domain of activity to which it is linked'.

[33] The other domain categories in Guillot and Lavrentiev's typology are as follows: didactic/scientific, religious, historical, political ('influencer le comportement des personnes et des institutions au pouvoir'), and what they call *actes de la pratique*, or other documentary texts comprising things like criminal records or court documents (ibid.). Charters may also fall under this last category.

uncomfortably close to conjecture. Based on the current composition of the *Base de Français Médiéval*, the category of domain seems able to provide a satisfactory level of granularity that might enrich our understanding of leftward stylistic displacement by branching out past the simple verse/prose distinction without leading the study down a primrose path of falsely significant or non-representative analyses.

1.5- LSD, Information Structure, and the Left Periphery

Another of the avenues left open for exploration in the wake of Mathieu's (2006, 2013) and Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) work on this family of constructions is the question of its relationship to what is known as information structure. Information structure is defined by Prince (1981) as "[...] the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver" (224).[34] In other words, information structure exists at the interface between pragmatics and syntax, in that the pragmatic needs or goals of the speaker (or in our case, writer) dictate the way that his or her linguistic production is structured. With respect to leftward stylistic displacement, specifically, Mathieu (2006) appears to assume that this type of construction has a particular information-structural value on the basis of commentary by Buridant (2000) on LSD structures in subject relative clauses: "dans une période où le choix est possible entre *qui*-O-V/*qui*-V-O, l'ordre S-O-V semble préféré quand sa valeur informative est faible, i.e. quand l'objet est anaphorique, l'ordre inverse quand la relative apporte une information nouvelle" (748).[35] Assuming, thus, that LSD is informationally weak, Mathieu (2006, 247) posits that the LSD element is an asserted background topic, much like an appositive. This is curious, from a theoretical standpoint, as appositives tend to further specify the discourse referent with which they are associated, as illustrated in (1.22a-b).

(1.22a)   Jean est grand.
               'John is tall.'

(1.22b)   Jean, le fils du boulanger, est grand.
               'John, the baker's son, is tall.

In (1.22b), which exhibits an appositive containing a geneological specification, we receive more information about John's identity than in sentence (1.22a) in which we are simply made aware that a person named John exists and that he is tall. In his second article on LSD, Mathieu (2013) continues to defend this assumption about the IS value of the displaced element; however, in a similar fashion to their questioning of the relationship between the medieval French construction LSD and the Scandinavian construction known as Stylistic Fronting, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a) also put the information-structural value of LSD to the test. In their investigation of displaced past participles, they write: "…le participe antéposé peut correspondre à un focus informationnel, à l'information nouvelle apportée par la proposition ou à une partie de celle-ci… Il peut également s'agir d'une

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[34] Prince uses the term 'information packaging' to denote this concept.

[35] 'During the period when a choice was possible between *qui*-Object-Verb/*qui*-Verb-Object, the Subject-Object-Verb order appears to be preferred when its informational value is weak, i.e. when the object is an anaphor, with the opposite being true when the relative clause brings forth new information.'

information d'arrière-plan, déjà connue et non thématique. On trouve aussi des cas où le verbe non conjugué est un focus contrastif… ou anaphorique" (2014a, 13-4).[36]

If the clausal left periphery hosts elements in one projection or another based on the IS-value that it bears, then the variety of IS-values found by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2017) has concrete implications for the syntactic structures underlying LSD. Labelle and Hirschbühler's findings regarding the IS of LSD, despite their importance, remain largely anecdotal; this bespeaks the necessity of a systematic study of LSD from the perspective of IS, and this is precisely the approach that Rahn (2016) has taken in the only full-length study on leftward stylistic displacement performed on medieval French to date. Before we proceed with our analysis of her research, however, we find that it will be necessary to provide the reader with a review of the literature on Information Structure, as this will permit us to more easily discuss Rahn's research.

1.5.1- Basic Cognitive Concepts

Since we structure information in sentences according to what we can reasonably assume our interlocutors know, or don't, it will be useful to have a structure for talking about these assumptions. The first infrastructural element that should be laid out is the space in which information exists between the two interlocutors: Common Ground (CG). Early work, such as Stalnaker's (1978), tended to speak about Common Ground in terms of truth-values across possible worlds, drawing on modal logic. According to Stalnaker, the CG is the set of presuppositions about the world that is common to the interlocutors in the conversation. This set of presuppositions can be shifted through the use of assertions. Later work (Zubizarreta 1994; Krifka 2007) adds an additional dimension to this permanent set of presuppositions, which takes into account the ephemeral nature of discourse. As Zubizarreta (1994) writes, "…the Universe of Discourse (UD) includes the set of referents and properties that are shared by the speaker and the hearer in the instance of the utterance" (97). Krifka (2007) calls this CG management, noting: "[…] any ecologically valid notion of CG must also contain information about the manifest communicative interests and goals of the participants" (17); this terminology seems preferable since it more accurately captures the agentivity of the interlocutors in satisfying one another's conversational needs. Beyond the cognitive-discursive categories of presupposition and assertion, Lambrecht (1994) additionally describes two categories of consciousness (identifiability and activation) that are key players in CG management, since they form the basis of the IS categories to be discussed below.

Identifiability has to do with the listener/reader's ability to associate referents, or *designata*, in the proposition with the information that exists in her mind, that is, her ability to recognize what is being talked about.[37] Fully unfamiliar elements in the proposition are thus unidentifiable, but can become identifiable later. Activation deals with the accessibility of the file of identifiable referents' file folders. Common ground is multi-dimensional in that it includes the sum of identifiable referents for the interlocutors in question, all of which are hovering at different levels of activation, in the foreground of the collective cognitive-discursive space or waiting in the wings to be activated. Referents can be active, inactive, or accessible in Lambrecht's schema. It follows, then, that only identifiable referents are suitable to be brought into the common ground. Because the information in the common ground is constantly in motion, and the agent of this motion is the speaker/writer, it is

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[36] 'The fronted participle can correspond to an informational focus, to the new information brought forth by the proposition, or a part thereof… It can also present background information, already known and non-thematic. We also find cases where the non-conjugated verb is an anaphoric or contrastive focus' (Translation mine).

[37] *Designatum* is the term Lambrecht (1994) uses for discourse referent. His use of this term (lit.: 'a thing designated') is instructive in that it implies that only nominal elements can serve as discourse referents. We will employ this assumption throughout the study.

useful to distinguish, as does Chafe (1976), between common ground content and common ground management. The content of the common ground can be essentially divided into two sorts of information, old and new. This is at the heart of Lambrecht's categories of presupposition and assertion. Presuppositions, which can be simplistically called 'old information', is directly related to identifiability; that is the speaker/writer can assume that a representation of the referent at hand exists in the mind of the speaker, or is active in the common ground at the time of the utterance, either spoken or written. Assertions are the new information that arises in the common ground as a result of the utterance. With these abstract concepts having been spelled out, Lambrecht can offer the main categories of common ground management: topic and focus. He explains that "[the] topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about" (1994, 118). It is no stretch to understand why the notion of topic is key in the management of the common ground, as it might foreground certain portions of a proposition, so that the speaker can offer relevant information regarding that topic, or what is generally referred to as a comment. Focus is a bit more complex than topic, as it is the part of the proposition whereby new and old information differ. This can be used informationally, that is to supply details requested by the interlocutor, in which case the information is clearly new to the common ground, or in a corrective/contrastive manner, to directly alter the presupposition made by the interlocutor.

1.5.2- Information Status

Given the definitions of the information structure primitives discussed in the previous subsection, particularly the separation of common ground content versus common ground management (Chafe 1976), it follows that there should be some manner of classifying pieces of information in terms of their relation to the discourse in which they appear. One obvious way of laying out this classification is to sort information according to whether it has appeared in the foregoing discourse; this is, of course, the separation between old (given) and new information. Questions easily follow from this division, however: for example, is the distinction between given and new information a binary one, or is there some kind of continuum at play? Given the functionality of memory, just how long does a referent remain in the common ground, or stay nearby, for that matter? Is it possible to assume that a particular referent can be classed as given information based on commonalities in knowledge shared between participants in a discourse, even if that referent has not yet been mentioned? Various researchers have, of course, grappled with these questions and, in finding the old-new binary to be insufficiently explanatory, proposed a variety of information status categories to account for how things flow into the common ground, and the relative ease with which they can be brought there.

One of the first classifications of discourse referents in a more nuanced fashion than simply old versus new was provided by Prince (1981); her schematization can be found below in (1.23).

(1.23)   Adapted from Prince's schema of Assumed Familiarity (1981, 237)
                Least familiar
                [1] Brand New (Unanchored)
                [2] Brand New (Anchored)
                [3] New (Unused)
                [4] Inferrable (Noncontaining)
                [5] Inferrable (Containing)
                [6] Evoked (Textual)
                [7] Evoked (Situational)
                Most familiar

Prince's schema of information status subdivides the formerly binary categories of new and old information and offers clear definitions of what these new distinctions entail. For new information, there are three types of status. For the purposes of her study (1981, 235), the only category that can be marked as a discourse referent or discourse entity is an NP/DP. Item [1] above deals with totally unfamiliar referents that do not have any relationship to other referents in the discourse, and [2] with unfamiliar referents that are linked to other referents in the discourse; that is, they are anchored in the ongoing discourse by their relationship to pre-existing discourse elements. [3] deals with discourse referents that can be assumed to be in the model of the interlocutor, but that have not been used in the preceding discourse.[38] Further down the familiarity continuum, we find inferable referents, [4] and [5]. According to Prince (1981), these are "[…] the most complex type of discourse entity" (236). She explains, further, that "[a] discourse entity is Inferrable if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer it, via logical—or, more commonly, plausible—reasoning, from discourse entities already Evoked or from other Inferrables" (ibid.). So, for example, if we bring the NP 'the classroom' into the common ground, the NP 'the teacher' would be inferable based on world knowledge about classrooms, which generally contain teachers when they are being used. Containing inferable referents, [5], deal with set-member relationships like choir-chorister or class-student. The final two items in Prince's taxonomy deal with referents that are already in the discourse. This can be by dint of this referent having been actively brought into the discourse; that is, it has already been brought into the common ground as a new or inferred referent. In this case its previous mention makes the referent a 'textually evoked' referent [6]. Situationally evoked referents "represent discourse participants and salient features of the extratextual context, which includes the text itself" (236).

Whereas Prince's (1981) schema was developed for use with oral production, Götze et al. (2007) have devised a similar scheme for annotating parsed text corpora for information structure, one that also goes beyond the simple old-new dichotomy in information status. Their schema, which comprises the categories of New, Accessible, and Given, appears to be a hybrid of Prince's (1981) and Lambrecht's (1994) information status schemata in that it uses Lambrecht's cognitive categories of accessibility and activation, which deal with the ease with which a discourse referent can be brought into the common ground and the referent's distance from that cognitive space, respectively.[39] Besides being designed specifically for text-based corpora, Götze et al's (2007) division of discourse referents into these three categories offers a further advantage when compared to previous accounts of information status in its simplicity: it operates on a set of two binaries, new versus old in the general discourse and new versus old for the hearer. Discourse-new referents presented to new listeners are marked with new status and referents previously presented in the discourse to an old listener are attributed the status of given. Accessible status is used for situations where old information is presented for the first time to a new listener; this implies a reasonable assumption about the extent of the world knowledge of the listener in question.[40]

With these definitions in mind, the categories of given and accessible can be further specified into sub-categories that describe the relationship of the specific referent to the containing discourse in a more finely grained manner. Götze et al. (2007) divide the status of Given between Active and Inactive referents; active referents are those having occurred in either the same or the immediately

[38] In Lambrecht's (1994) terminology, such referents would be described as inactive, but accessible due to their familiarity.
[39] Lambrecht (1994, 109) schematizes information status as follows: [1] Unidentifiable (Unanchored/Brand New); [2] Unidentifiable (Anchored); [3] Identifiable (Inactive/Unused); [4] Accessible (Textual); [5] Accessible (Situational); [6] Accessible (Inferential); [7] Active.
[40] Of the three presented by Götze et al (2007), the category of accessible is undoubtedly the most difficult to pin down with a concrete definition; this is because it requires the greatest amount of judgment or inference on the part of the reader: what, indeed, can the interlocutor reasonably be expected to know? A more in-depth definition of this category follows below.

preceding sentence, and inactive referents are ones occurring before the immediately preceding sentence. Finally, we may turn to accessible status, which deals with discourse referents that have not been explicitly mentioned in the discourse, but that are connected to other referents that have already been mentioned in the preceding discourse (i.e. they have given status) by some manner of logical inference, recalling Prince's (1981) inferable categories. Götze et al (2007) mention four different types of inference that may permit an item to be marked with accessible status: situative, aggregative, inferable, and general. Instances of situationally accessible information include discourse referents that are expected to be present in a given situation. For example, imagine you are giving a class at university: most classrooms have a standard set of equipment, namely an assortment of chairs for the students, some sort of desk or lectern for the instructor, some sort of board for the instructor to write on, and the students, if the syllabus includes a physical textbook, will (ideally) have brought that textbook with them to class. If the instructor walks into the classroom and, after greeting the class, immediately says, "Ouvrez vos livres à la page 29," or, "Regardez le tableau," the underlined referents are accessible because their presence is expected based on the spatial or temporal location of the discourse.[41] Aggregate-accessible information is accessible based on groupings of given or accessible referents, and relies on a separation between the referent itself and its linguistic manifestation; a good example of this is any plural anaphor, such as the pronoun *ils*, during its first usage in the discourse. If one utters the sentence "Jonas et Pia sont allés au parc," all three of these discourse referents are new during the time that the sentence is being uttered.[42] As soon as the discourse moves forward to the following sentence, however, they become given referents, which are active, since they were mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence. The next sentence might be something such as "Ils y ont mangé du falafel." The pronoun *ils* cannot be construed as any form of given information because it has not been previously used in the discourse, nor can it be construed as a carrying new information, since its antecedents (ergo, its referents, as well) are old information; it therefore must be adjudged to exist in the interstice between these two informational poles. In their framework, the pronoun *ils* could only be construed as given information if we were to imagine a third sentence: "Ils en étaient contents".[43] The same logic would apply for other third person pronouns when first used for a specific referent. If we concern ourselves with the referent itself, and not the particular linguistic manifestations thereof, however, aggregate-accessible information can be subsumed under given information; this is the more economical option, since it elides one of these categories by diverting it into an existing one. For this reason, such pronouns will be here labeled as given information.

The final two categories of accessible information status, inferable and general, both deal with the listener's world knowledge. General accessible information deals with the sort of referents of whose existence one becomes aware simply by leading everyday life. In the sentences "Le ciel est bleu," and "La lune est belle," the referents *le ciel* and *la lune* are accessible because we know based on our daily lives that both a sky and a moon exist. Inferable referents are related to (given) referents in the preceding discourse by a wide variety of what Götze et al (2007, 158) call bridging relations. Recall that Prince (1981, 236) detailed one such semantic bridging relationship, from set to individual, in her discussion of containing inferables; one can imagine a variety of relationships such as this one, like from part to whole or from entity to attribute.

Let us consider some examples of this sort of relationship between referents. In the sentences "Ce canapé est sale. L'appuie-bras est très taché", the referent *ce canapé* is active given information as the discourse moves into the second sentence.[44] The second referent, *l'appuie-bras*, is accessible via

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[41] 'Open your books to page 172'; 'Look at the board'.
[42] 'Jonas and Pia went to the park'.
[43] 'They were happy about it'.
[44] 'This couch is dirty. The armrest is very stained.'

inference based on the activation of the previous referent, *le canapé*, because an armrest is a known part of certain types of sofas. Similarly, consider the sentences "J'adore <u>ce morceau de musique-là</u>. <u>Les accords mineurs</u> me hantent".[45] The second referent can be considered accessible in the discourse because chords are a key attribute of any sort of non-monophonous music; indeed, any referent that could be used to characterize a piece of music, for instance, rhythm, key, motif, bass line, descant, melody, or alto part, would fall into this same inferable relationship with the active given referent *ce morceau de musique-là*.

1.5.3- Topic

With a solid understanding of information status as it is applied to discourse referents, let us move on to another of the principal categories of information structure: topic. At its most basic level, we might define the topic of a sentence to be what the sentence is about. Reinhart (1981) astutely points out, however, that "[t]he linguists who define the topic to be what the sentence is about […] take this notion of aboutness as a primitive, without attempting to explain what it means for a sentence to be about (the referent of) one of its expressions" (58). In what follows here, we will dissect the notion of topic and separate it into more useful, and, as we will see in Chapter 2, more applicable concepts. As with the other information-structural values treated here, there are a variety of different definitions that exist in the previous literature for topic. Because we are ultimately concerned with whether leftward stylistic displacement, a syntactic construction, is sensitive to information structure, we will not further discuss here any syntactically driven accounts of topic (à la Rizzi 1997/Benincà 2004, 2006), except to mention that they are responsible for the creation of the model presented in (1.7a). We instead prefer to devote our attention to pragmatic definitions of this category.

Given Reinhart's (1981) indictment of scholars working on topic as taking far too much for granted, it seems only reasonable to offer a more formal definition of topichood: "An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E" (Gundel 1988, 210). The added information with respect to E in this definition would typically be understood as the comment. Gundel's definition falls in line with a number of standard tests for topichood illustrated in (1.24), where X is the topic.

(1.24)　　　Topic - Comment
　　　　　　Hobbits - love to eat.

　　　　　　Concerning X...
　　　　　　Concerning hobbits, they love to eat.

　　　　　　Y says of X that X...
　　　　　　Gandalf says of hobbits that they love to eat.

　　　　　　As for X...
　　　　　　As for hobbits, they love to eat.

In each of these sentences, extra information (a comment) is offered about the topic, which remains consistent across each of the sentences. It may not have escaped notice, however, that the contexts in which these tests might be applied are not quite identical. This is especially the case for the last of

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[45] 'I love that piece of music. The minor chords haunt me.'

these tests, in that it seems to imply a sort of shift in the discourse, detectable without further context. This shift is fully illustrated in (1.25).

(1.25)   Elves can survive a whole day on one mouthful of lembas bread. As
              for hobbits, they prefer to eat more often.

The likely underlying reason that we are able to intuit this difference is that there are, in fact, a variety of different types of topics. In the following section, we describe three different types of topic.

1.5.3.1- Types of Topic

Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) offer a useful taxonomy of topics that contains three sub-types of this information-structural value: aboutness topics, familiar topics, and contrastive topics. These are the same categories that are used by Götze et al. (2007) and Petrova and Solf (2009) for annotating written corpora, and, as such, will form the basis of our own methodology, presented in Chapter 2. We will discuss the first two in tandem because they appear to relate to information status in ways that are in some ways opposed to one another.

Following Givón (1983), Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) complicate the notion of aboutness as applied to topics. This is because, although all topics are in some way what the sentence is about, they note that this aboutness is used to accomplish different ends in the discourse. In their estimation, an aboutness topic when defined in this ends-driven pragmatic fashion, either bears discourse-new information status, being introduced into the discourse for the first time, or else is an accessible or given element to which we are returning as a topic. Familiar topics are given or accessible elements that are co-referential with the aboutness topic that precedes them. Thus, in their schema, aboutness topics are used to introduce or change topics, whereas familiar topics are used to ensure continuity in the discourse between utterances. An example of a familiar topic follows in (1.26).

(1.26)   *Context Sentence*: Last year, I lived with a guy named Lucien and a girl named Chloe.
              Example Sentence 1: <u>Chloe</u> is English.
              Aboutness Test: Let me tell you about Chloe: she is English.
              Example Sentence 2: <u>She</u> runs a popular blog.

In this example we have two referents, *Lucien* and *Chloe*, both of whom are introduced in the context sentence, which is the first in this utterance situation; they are presented as former flatmates of the speaker, and they would be marked with new information status. In the following two sentences, since they were both mentioned in the sentence immediately preceding this one, they both bear given information status. In these two example sentences, we shift the attention of the listener first to *Lucien*, and then to *Chloe*, and offer information regarding their respective nationalities. In each case, both of these referents pass a common topichood test. In the third example sentence, the topicalized referent is *She*, which is coreferential with the preceding aboutness topic, *Chloe*, and therefore is an example of a familiar topic.

These two types of topic are fairly straightforwardly described, whereas the third, contrastive topic, is somewhat more difficult to pin down. Büring (2007) gives the following pragmatic definition of contrasting topics: "The meaning of [contrasting topic (CT)] is discourse-related. It expresses that there is a set of questions in the discourse structure, which together form a strategy to answer a common super-question. These questions must be elements of the CT value, and the immediate question under discussion […] must be one of them" (459). In other words, contrastive topics are a

special subtype of aboutness topics (or familiar topics) used as multi-part answers to a larger question. An example of this type of topic can be found in (1.27).

(1.27)   *Context Situation*: A teacher is enquiring after missing confections to a group of three students, Iyonna, Alex, and Nina, who were alone in the classroom during recess.
Context Sentence: Who stole the cookies from the cookie jar?
Example Sentence: <u>Iyonna</u> stole the oatmeal raisin ones and <u>Alex</u> stole the chocolate chip ones.
Aboutness Test: Concerning Iyonna, she stole the oatmeal raisin cookies.
Aboutness Test: What about Alex? Alex stole the chocolate chip cookies.

In this particular situation, the referents *Iyonna* and *Alex* are situationally accessible, since they are physically present in the classroom where the question is being asked. If we were to ask two separate questions about the theft at hand, one for each type of cookie, these referents would need to be tagged as aboutness topics; however, since they both answer one overarching question, they are opposing responses, and must thus be tagged as contrasting topics.

1.5.4- Focus

Since the above sorting algorithm for topics refers in several places to a similar procedure for foci, it is to this information-structural value that we will now direct our attention. Götze et al. (2007) define this category broadly as "[t]hat part of an expression which provides the most relevant information in a particular context as opposed to the (not so relevant) rest of the information making up the *background* of the utterance." (170). Here, it will again be indispensable to define the basic pragmatic features that characterize this category and its sub-iterations. Petrova and Solf (2009) distinguish two types of foci, new information and contrastive, as do Götze et al. (2007); importantly, these categories can be applied to types of elements other than discourse referents, thus allowing us to look at LSD elements besides nominal ones. We investigate each of these two types of foci here, in turn, beginning with new information focus.

Although she uses different terminology to define them, Gundel (1999), too, recognizes the very same categories as the other researchers just mentioned.[46] Her semantic focus, which maps onto the concept of new information focus, is defined as "[…] the part of the sentence that answers the relevant wh-question (implicit or explicit) in the particular context in which the sentence is used" (295). We will prefer this terminology, since it offers certain advantages over the explanation of Götze et al. (2007), for example, in that it completely skirts the conflation that is invited by the similarity in terminology between focus and information status. Potential for confusion exists because new information focus can be just as easily applied to nouns as to categories beyond that of (nominal) discourse referent when a response is being supplied to fulfill a solicitation for information in a preceding sentence. A number of example sentences follow in (1.28).

(1.28)   *Context Sentence*: Who was the last King of France?
Example Sentence: <u>Louis-Philippe I</u> was the last King of France.

Context Sentence: To where did Louis XVI and his wife try to escape?
Example Sentence: They tried to escape <u>to Austria</u>.

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[46] Gundel (1999, 293-5) recognizes a third category, as well. Her notion of psychological focus seems largely analogous to what we have here been calling activation.

Context Sentence: When did they try to escape?
Example Sentence: They tried to escape <u>in 1791</u>.

Ordinarily, it is necessary for foci to carry some kind of explicit marking, whether that be morphosyntactic, or intonational, as is the case in the above English example sentences.[47] Petrova and Solf (2009) explain an obvious issue with the necessity of such special marking, however: "Another problem arises from the fact that the data to be analysed here is attested in written form only and thus provides no reliable access to prosodic information which is crucial to the detection of a number of phenomena related to information packaging as accent/de-accenting, phrasing and intonation. The previous literature gives sporadic accounts on indications drawn from the graphical representation of the manuscripts, though in sum, these basically concern the macro-structural dimension of text organization and episode subdivision, and less the level of prosody" (143). As discussed above, the only way to avoid the issue here is thus to rely exclusively on pragmatic definitions of these various information-structural tags; in defining new information focus, or semantic focus, we may rely solely on the presence of an explicit or implicit *wh-* question for which the response supplies "the new and missing information [that] serves to develop the discourse" (Götze et al. 2007, 172).

The other sort of focus identified by Steiner (2014), Petrova and Solf (2009) and Götze et al. (2007) is contrastive focus. This type of focus can be applied to any constituent that "[…] stands in a relation of contrast to another constituent in the discourse" (Petrova and Solf 2009, 149). Given that the concept of contrast is already treated above in the discussion of topic, it would behoove us to lay out the differences between contrastive topics and contrastive foci. Whereas the pragmatic purpose of contrastive topics is to offer sub-answers to a larger question under discussion, contrastive foci are used for an altogether different purpose. Krifka (2007) explains that, beyond being the locus of answers to explicit or implicit questions in the discourse, i.e. Gundel's (1999) semantic focus, "[o]ther pragmatic uses of focus are to **correct** and **confirm** [information, …to highlight] **parallels** in interpretations" (23-4).[48] Examples of each of these sorts of contrastive focus can be found below in (1.29):

(1.29)   Contrastive Focus: Corrective
           Context Sentence: Who was the last King of France? Louis XVI?
           Example Sentence: No, <u>Louis-Philippe I</u> was the last King of France.

           Contrastive Focus: Confirming
           Context Sentence: Did Louis XVI try to escape to Austria with his wife?
           Example Sentence: Yes, they tried to escape <u>to Austria</u>.

The first two of these examples, dealing with corrective and confirmatory focus are self-explanatory, in that the first sets right what may be a common misconception about the history of France, and the second provides corroboration for a requested piece of information. In Götze et al's (2007) typology, Krifka's (2007) corrective focus falls most nearly under their replacing subtype, whereas his confirming contrastive focus does not appear to have a specific subtype. The remaining subtypes of contrastive

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[47] Note that this is not the case for Topics.

[48] Krifka (2007, 24-5) also mentions another type of focus, which serves to delimit the utterance to the constituent in focus; he acknowledges that there is a certain amount of conflation between this type of focus and contrastive topics, which we have already discussed above. For this reason, any such delimitative marking will be treated as a topic, per the decision trees, rather than as a focus element.

focus that Götze et al (2007) describe are selectional and implicative; examples of these can be found in (1.30).[49]

(1.30)   Contrastive Focus: Selectional
               Context Sentence: Would you prefer to visit Spain or the Netherlands?
               Example Sentence: I would rather visit <u>the Netherlands</u>.

               Contrastive Focus: Implicative
               Context Sentence: What's the weather in Northern California doing today?
               Example Sentence: By <u>the coast</u>, it's raining.

In the first of these two illustrations, the context sentence offers an explicit set of alternatives from among which a choice is made; that choice is marked with selective focus. In the second set of sentences above, we are forced to appeal to categories of information status, since the referent in the response is not mentioned in the preceding discourse. As Götze et al. (2007, 181) detail, "[a]n utterance with this subtype of contrastive focus implies that the requested information holds true not for the information provided explicitly in the answer but for other alternatives that are <u>accessible</u> in the context" (emphasis mine). The referent *the coast* in this sentence is accessible, despite not having been mentioned in the previous discourse, because the preceding sentence mentions Northern California. From general world knowledge about the geography of this state, which accounts for a majority of the United States' Pacific coastline, *the coast* is an easily inferable referent, in the same way that a parallel sentence, "In <u>the Sierras</u>, it's snowing," contains an accessible referent. Moreover, this type of focus implies an implicit contrast between the referent that carries the implicative focus and some other accessible referent. In the case of the sentence containing *the coast*, the set of inferable referents would include referents denoting the major topographical features of Northern California, such as *the Sierras* and *the San Joaquin Valley*.

1.5.5- Frame-Setters

When compared to topics and foci, comparatively little ink has been spilled on the subject of frame setters, individually. As Steiner explains, "Frame-setting elements have long been grouped into the realm of topics as they may pattern like topics" (2014, 58). Since we are most concerned with a pragmatic approach to these information-structural values, however, we must ask whether these two IS values *do* the same thing. Whereas we established that topics fundamentally communicate "aboutness", irrespective of the specific type of topic in question, the same cannot be said of frame setters. According to Krifka (2007), "[... a] frame setter indicates that the information actually provided is restricted to the particular dimension specified" (50); put another way, frame-setters actively delimit the contexts in which the proposition contained in the utterances will obtain. There are a variety of ways in which this circumscription may occur; Carella (2015) separates frames into three categories: temporal, locative, and domain. Temporal frames specify the time at which the content of a proposition holds, whereas locative frames specify the place where the proposition is true. Carella's domain frames appear to deal principally with non-temporal and non-locative contexts: "[...] the so-

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[49] Götze et al. (2007, 181) describe a further type of contrastive focus partial, which "introduces a (new) part or subset of a previously mentioned entity". This concept may be familiar from the preceding section, as it most nearly resembles the incremental answers characteristic of a contrastive topic, rather than a form of focus. We will treat them as topics here, per Steiner's (2014) methodology.

called 'domain' frame, instead, refers to those cases in which the frame introduced by the topic limits the predication into a specific domain. Traditional grammars [...] attribute this function— usually introduced by such expressions as 'As concerns X' or 'as far as', etc. –to the subordinate clauses that are defined, indeed, 'limitative' (sic)" (2015, 371). An example of each of these types of frame-setter appears in (1.31).

(1.31)   Frame-setter: Temporal
                <u>On Wednesdays</u>, we wear pink.

                Frame-setter: Locative
                <u>In the Bay Area</u>, the rainy season runs from November to March.

                Frame-setter: Domain
                <u>While writing</u>, Guillaume makes no mistakes in English.

In each of the sentences in (1.31), the inclusion of the frame-setter implies an alternative set of circumstances where the truth-value of the proposition does not hold. For example, the temporal frame-setter *on Wednesdays* implies that on other days, the individuals denoted by the pronoun *we* do not wear pink; thus, the proposition *we wear pink* is not true except in the scope specified by the frame-setter. In the second example, if we were to substitute another frame-setter with a geographic referent located in the Southern Hemisphere, for instance, the truth value of the subsequent proposition no longer holds because the seasons are reversed. Similarly, if we consider Guillaume's English skills, the frame-setter *while writing* implies that, while performing other language tasks, such as reading aloud or speaking, his linguistic production is not error-free. These relationships between frame-setters and their accompanying propositions are succinctly summed up in a formal definition by Jacobs (2001): "In (X Y), X is the *frame* for Y iff X specifies a domain of (possible) reality to which the proposition expressed by Y is restricted" (656).

1.5.6- Information Structure in Practice: The Left Periphery

Having detailed the information-structural values themselves, let us return to the structure of the left periphery detailed by Rizzi (1997), which contains three types of node that play host to such elements: the frame phrase, topic phrase and focus phrase (FrameP, TopP, and FocP, respectively), which are those projections in the left periphery that are sensitive to the information structure of the discourse, that is, the way that word order, either in speech or in writing, is altered, based on assumptions that the speaker/writer makes about what his interlocutor/reader knows (or doesn't know). Although these positions may be occupied by other elements (Benincà 2006), for our intents and purposes, we will assume a pragmatic motivation for the appearance of elements in the left clausal periphery. With regards to topics, Lambrecht explains that "[the] topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about" (1994, 118). It is no stretch to understand why topics appear in the discursively sensitive left periphery, as they might foreground certain portions of a proposition so that the speaker can offer relevant information regarding that topic, or what is traditionally referred to as a comment, further down in the derivation (Rizzi 1997, 285). The same logic applies to frame setters in that we are foregrounding the limitation of the proposition to follow. Focus is a bit more complex than frame or topic, as understanding it requires something of a "diachronic" approach: it is the part of the proposition whereby a discrepancy between new and old information can be introduced or underlined. This can be used informationally, that is, to supply information requested by an interlocutor, in which case the information is clearly new to the discourse. It can also be used in a

corrective/contrastive manner in order to directly alter the presupposition made by the interlocutor. Examples of topic and (contrastive) focus can be found in (1.32a-b).

(1.32a)   Paul, je l'aime.
            'Paul, I like him.'

(1.32b)   C'est Paul que j'aime.
            'It's Paul that I like (and not Pierre).'

The sentence in (1.32a) is an example of topicalization, here manifested in the form of a clitic left dislocation (CLLD), a frequently used construction for this purpose in both French and Italian. In order for this structure to appear, one might imagine a certain Michel walking up to a group of his colleagues who are talking about Paul. In joining the conversation, Michel wishes to explain that he, too, enjoys Paul's company, and since Paul is already at the forefront of the mind of each participant in the discussion, he is an easily accessible topic, leading to his appearance in that TopP position. In order for (1.32b) to be uttered, one might imagine the same Michel walking into a conversation about a certain Pierre; one of his colleagues says, "Michel, I heard that you liked Pierre". Wishing to correct the error, Michel uses the cleft structure in (1.32b) to say that it's Paul that he likes, not Pierre, resulting in contrastive focus and the filling of the FocP projection.[50] Without this additional context, it would be more or less impossible to conclude for certain whether we are dealing with topics or foci. As the present study progresses, it will be important to take stock of this type of context, as it is crucial to understanding the information-structural values borne by elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement, and, in turn, the positions in the derivation where these elements eventually reside.

1.5.7- The Information Structure of Subordinate-Clause Leftward Stylistic Displacement: Rahn (2016)

With these definitions in mind, let us at last consider Rahn's (2016) contribution to the study of leftward stylistic displacement. Despite the categorical nature of predictions about the behavior of subordinate clauses made on the basis of the syntax of main clauses (den Besten 1983), the behavior of subordinate clauses, when considered on its own, has been seen as a fertile ground for study a variety of scholars (Adams 1987; Vance 1997; Benincà 2004, 2006; Mathieu 2006; Labelle 2007; Ledgeway 2007; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2017; Salvesen and Walkden 2017; Wolfe 2019), at least with respect to the extent that main clause verb-second phenomena are licensed in subordinate clauses. Rahn's (2016) research on leftward stylistic displacement leaves the question of embedded main clause phenomena aside and seeks to investigate fronting at the left edge of comparative and relative clauses, where V2 effects are assumed not to be possible (Heycock 2006; Haegeman 2012). Given the

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[50] Benincà (2006) writes, interestingly: "…the relations between syntactic phenomena of the left periphery and their pragmatic interpretation are not obvious" (54). We must, it would seem, then, disavow a semantically driven approach to these phenomena, whereby pragmatics and semantics map neatly onto the syntax that bears them. It cannot escape notice, however, that these functional projections were posited for Italian based on the information structural values they carried. In spite of this, she writes that she "[uses] these labels only as a way of referring to syntactic positions, bearing in mind that their pragmatic and semantic interpretation is in certain respects language specific" (ibid). Because of the close relation between French and Italian, we at present see no reason to drastically alter the nomenclature for use in the present study, particularly given the fact that Benincà (2006) proposes a uniform CP structure for all of medieval Romance at least partly based on pragmatic values. For example, she writes regarding preverbal elements in V2 syntax: "When no XP intervenes between the preposed object and the verb, the structure is ambiguous, and the pragmatics determines where the object is located in the structure" (ibid, 67).

indecision of other scholars working on leftward stylistic displacement (Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013) on the matter, she finds that information structure is a crucial component. Hers is also the only study (to her knowledge and to ours) that studies the information structure of embedded clauses in a systematic fashion.

In order to pursue these questions, Rahn constituted two subcorpora of remission letters from Normandy, dating from 1357 to 1360 and from 1423 to 1433, which pardoned the individuals to whom they were granted of a wide variety of crimes. The subordinate clauses in these two corpora were annotated manually for the complementizer, the type of embedded finite verb, and the type of subject, along with that subject's position in relation to the finite verb. Of the 1219 subordinate clauses found in Rahn's corpus, a total of 321 exhibit some form of fronting, whether to the left of the overt subject, to its right, or in the presence of a null subject. Her results are reproduced here in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1- Types of Fronting, Rahn (2016, 84)

| | 1357-1360 | | | 1423-1433 | | |
	RC	CC	Other	RC	CC	Other
XV[51]	56 (91.8%)	9 (33.3%)	28 (38.3%)	61 (83.6%)	9 (30%)	21 (38.1%)
XSV	5 (8.2%)	14 (51.9%)	37 (49.3%)	8 (11%)	18 (60%)	25 (45.5%)
SXV	0	2 (7.4%)	5 (6.7%)	4 (5.5%)	1 (3.3%)	2 (3.6%)
Other	0	2 (7.4%)	6 (6.7%)	0	2 (6.7%)	7 (12.7%)

In her results, we see that null subject clauses (XV) are most frequent in relative clauses (RC) in both the earlier and the later subcorpora, accounting for 91.8% and 83.6% of the results, respectively. In comparative clauses (CC), we find that configurations where the displaced element is to the left of the subject (XSV) is most frequent in both subcorpora, at 51.9% and 60% relative frequency, respectively. Miscellaneous type clauses (Other) show similar distributions to the comparative clauses in both periods. Across all periods, word orders where the displaced element is to the right of the subject (SXV) are less frequent than those where the displaced element is to its left (XSV).

With respect to the prior literature on the syntax of medieval French reviewed in Sections 1.0.1 and 1.0.2, these results are significant simply on the basis of the variation that they bring to light. Firstly, these data show a high relative frequency of null subject clauses across all clause types (though the outsized frequencies for relative clauses may be due to the presence of subject relative clauses, which intrinsically obviate the possibility for an overt subject to appear). Secondly, they show that displaced elements show up in a variety of positions, both to the left and the right of the subject; on the basis of the choice of complementizer, we know that none of these word order configurations can be attributed to embedded V2 phenomema. This illustrates that the syntactic variability of medieval French is considerably more robust than previously theorized. This notion is explored further in Section 1.2.2 and Chapters 3 and 4.

In order to assess the information-structural value of the subordinate clause, Rahn employs a series of decision trees, closely following Steiner (2014), which permits her to systematically sort the 312 clauses containing leftward stylistic displacement that she found across her corpus. It is our finding, however, that there are several glaring issues with the methodology as it has been applied. Although these decision trees are equipped to deal with individual components of clauses, as we shall

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[51] This is the type of annotation that we will use in our own study. SXV is analagous to Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) LSD$_{Right}$ and XSV is analagous to their LSD$_{Left}$. A description of their most recent findings regarding leftward stylistic displacement follows in Section 1.2.2.

see in Chapter 2, Rahn (2016, 50ff) tends generally to tag entire embedded clauses with a particular information structural value. The basis offered for this decision is that "[the] IS of the whole complement clause has previously been analysed as a member of the main clause [and the] clause is considered as one discourse referent." (50). If the aim, however, is to determine a pragmatic motivation for the leftward stylistic displacement of a particular element in a clause, as hers seems to be (142), this clausal approach has few advantages because the level of granularity achieved with respect to IS renders it impossible to make such a determination. In an apparent recognition of this issue, Rahn opts to analyze the displaced element through the concept of givenness, here referred to as discourse referent status. According to Prince (1981, 235) and Steiner (2014), the only category that can be marked as a discourse referent or discourse entity is an NP/DP, and therefore only NPs/DPs can have discourse referent status;[52] recall, also, that a wide variety of morphosyntactic categories can undergo leftward stylistic displacement. This methodological choice clearly presents an issue since the theoretical apparatus that underpins it is not designed to classify elements other than nominals. In order to address this, Rahn (2016, 53) modifies her decision tree to include verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The modified portion of the tree appears in (1.33).

(1.33) (28) Is the fronted element a verb, an adjective or an adverb and was the same element or a semantically near element used in the previous discourse ?
• Yes, the same element was used already: label element as given (giv)
• Yes, a semantically near element was used already : label element as accesible (acc)
• No, label element as new

Leaving aside the issues just raised about the applicability of this concept to elements other than nominals, this choice is questionable for other reasons, namely the way that it paradoxically negates the discursive relationships between the fronted element and the larger text in which it is contained. The fact that the sorting mechanism for all elements depends on whether an element has already appeared in the discourse reduces that discourse to nothing more than a string of words placed one by one in the lexicon of the text, with little heed paid to the way that those elements relate to one another. Assuming that the displaced elements can themselves bear an information-structural value, it is conceivable to imagine that a displaced element might bear one IS value at one point in the discourse, and a different one at a later point in the discourse; this possibility is not accounted for by the procedure in (1.33). Further, the concept of 'semantically near' is nebulous, and is left without a formal definition in Rahn's (2016) methodology.

Upon completing her analysis of the information status of the displaced elements, Rahn (2016, 147) sets these aside as less useful than originally thought, and applies a new information-structural analysis following the basic definitions for the categories of topic, focus, and frame-setter provided by Krifka (2008); the results of this reanalysis appear in Table 1.2.

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[52] In Prince's and Steiner's framework, discourse referents can be new, given, or accessible. New discourse referents are those that have never before been mentioned in the discourse. These contrast with given discourse referents, which have already appeared in the discourse. Accessible referents are ones which have not been mentioned in the discourse, but whose use remains felicitous on account of general world knowledge, for example.

Table 1.2- Distribution of Information-Structural Values, Rahn (2016, 187)

	Adverbs	Frame-setters: Prepositional Phrase	Noun Phrase
Time	56	56	4
Cause	0	37	0
Passive Agents	0	20	0
Space	3	12	0
Manner	26	13	0
		n = 227	

	Relative Clauses	Other IS Values: Comparative Clauses	Other Subordinate Clauses
Topics	4	1	20
New Information Focus	1	1	1
Contrastive Focus	1	0	1
Verum Focus	7	2	10
Metalinguistic	2	2	4
Other	3	0	1
		n = 61	

As was the case with Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 13-14),[53] Rahn (2016) found that the LSD elements in her corpus, too, bore a wide variety of IS values. Among the 312 tokens of LSD found in her corpus, Rahn appears to have been able to assign an information-structural value to the displaced elements in 288 of them, though we do not receive any explanation regarding the absence of the remaining 33 tokens from her figures. In spite of this variability, directly after presenting these figures, Rahn appears to reject all but 17 tokens from her data out of hand: "[...] it will be suggested that stylistically fronted elements indeed bear a consistent informational role, namely that of a (verum) focus. Hence, frame-setters are not considered as stylistically fronted elements, but those fronted adverbs assumed to bear verum focus are" (2016, 187-8). In so doing, Rahn appears to concentrate her energies on that part of LSD which is purely stylistic, introducing a new division in the study of this family of constructions. It is unclear, in our view, what the theoretical advantage of eliminating 271/288 (94.1%) of the data is in the pursuit of "new insights into the composition of the left edge in subordinate clauses in Medieval French" (ibid., 1), especially when the grounds for the excision of such a large portion of the data appears to be quite arbitrary.

Although we take Rahn's (2016) conclusions about the nature of leftward stylistic displacement to be incorrect on the basis of this peculiar and arbitrary methodological turn, there are a number of

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[53] For ease of reference, the relevant citation is repeated here: "…le participe antéposé peut correspondre à un focus informationnel, à l'information nouvelle apportée par la proposition ou à une partie de celle-ci… Il peut également s'agir d'une information d'arrière-plan, déjà connue et non thématique. On trouve aussi des cas où le verbe non conjugué est un focus contrastif… ou anaphorique" ; In English: 'The fronted participle can correspond to an informational focus, to the new information brought forth by the proposition, or a part thereof… It can also present background information, already known and non-thematic. We also find cases where the non-conjugated verb is an anaphoric or contrastive focus' (Translation mine).

positive outcomes of this study that ought to be highlighted. Firstly, we know that LSD, at least as Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) have defined it can easily be found in administrative texts, making the study of LSD according to domain a potentially fruitful avenue of research in general, since the question of what makes LSD stylistic remains, from our perspective, open. Secondly, the variability attested in the information-structural values borne by the LSD element in both Rahn's and Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2014a) studies, which cover broad swathes of time ranging from ~1150-1580 bespeak the potential value of a systematic diachronic study that explores the way these information-structural values may vary, especially as the family of constructions passes into obsolescence. We lay out the methodology for such a study in Chapter 2.

1.6- LSD and Discourse Type: *Oral Représenté*

Beyond the morphosyntactic variation that might be detected in leftward stylistic displacement according to the textual domain in which it occurs and the information-structural values that it might be used to encode, there may be other relevant and as-yet-uninvestigated variables according to which the appearance of leftward stylistic displacement might vary. In fact, there is one such variable that past corpora have been unable to explore: whether LSD varies morphosyntactically according to the type of discourse in which it occurs within an individual text.

    Although speech is generally held to be important across all periods in linguistic research, the proximity of writing to speech holds a special place as a concern for scholars working on the medieval period. Since Ong (1982) published his seminal book connecting the loss of (primary, i.e. total) orality with the advent of new writing technologies, thus setting orality against literacy, the antipode towards which all societies using these technologies must inexorably march, there has been a deluge of scholarly work on the subject of orality in medieval culture. This wave of scholarship can be attributed to the fact that the Middle Ages finds itself squarely in between these two poles; indeed, as Fleischman (1990) succinctly stated, "[it] is now commonly accepted that the European Middle Ages were 'oral,' insofar as writing was dictated and reading was carried out viva voce" (20). Further, many texts are held to have circulated orally before being written down, as with troubadour lyric (see Gaunt 1999) and a variety of other narrative genres in medieval French (see Boutet 2012, Spetia 2012, and Vitz, Regalado, and Lawrence (eds.) 2005). Thus, as Reichl (2012) explains, "[…] the central question is: how can we be sure where to place a text, in the world of oral tradition or of written literature?" (16). Given that audio recordings were not to be invented for several centuries after the production of these texts, and thus that we can never know with perfect certainty where in this intermediate gray area a text falls, it follows that we ought to pose the following question: what particular access we might be afforded to past speech, if any? By way of a half-answer, DuBois (2012) promisingly mentions how literary scholars speak of the oral texts that they treat: "[Those] describing oral-derived texts often refer to the language of poems or other genres as a special form of diction or register […which might] encompass more than merely lexical items […] Phrasing, syntax, and even morphology can take on distinct forms […] creating generic expectations that help audiences recognize and evaluate the new performances they hear" (213-4). Although he does not wade any more deeply into what these 'distinct forms' might entail, his opinion on the subject is nonetheless suggestive of the potential existence of linguistic factors that might help to locate these texts along the oral-literate continuum.

    One way that scholars have attempted to provide a sort of cartography to respond to questions like Dubois' (2012) is to theorize the relationship between oral and written communication, placing episodes of linguistic production on a multidimensional stylistic continuum. Since a simple division between the written and phonic codes does not accurately appreciate the (stylistic) context in which the communication occurs, Koch and Oesterreicher (2001) make a crucial addition to how we

conceive of linguistic production.[54] Instead of focusing on the physical realities of transmission, that is via acoustic waveform or penstroke, they choose to focus on the socio-contextual realities of the communicative event, noting: "[…] qu'une lettre personnelle entre amis, quoique réalisée par «écrit», n'est pas un spécimen typique du langage «écrit»" (585).[55] Their approach takes familiar distinctions such as formal/informal speech and writing and expands on them, adding several situational factors that such dichotomies do not explicitly take into account, and offers what they call a 'conceptional' schematization of written and spoken linguistic production; the new axis that overlays graphic versus phonic linguistic production opposes what they call communicative immediacy with communicative distance.

1. Private communication	Public communication
2. Familiar interlocutor	Unknown interlocutor
3. Strong affect	Weak affect
4. Situational embeddedness	Situational detachment
5. Referential embeddedness	Referential detachment
6. Spatio-temporal co-presence	Spatio-temporal separation
7. Heavy communicative cooperation	Minimal communicative cooperation
8. Dialogue	Monologue
9. Spontaneous communication	Prepared communication
10. Free choice of topic	Fixed topic
Etc.	Etc.
Reproduced and translated from Koch and Oesterreicher (2001, 586)	

As Oesterreicher (1997) explains, "[there] is a great affinity between conceptional immediacy and speech, on the one hand, and conceptional distance and script, on the other" (195). In the table at left, we see a list of factors characterizing the language of immediacy in the left-hand column, and on the right we see characteristics that typify communicative distance. It should be noted that they make no claims about the exhaustive nature of the list of parameters given, having closed these lists with 'etc.'; this allows the list to be adapted to the specific communicative contexts that may arise diachronically across different languages. These various parameters formalize the sorting of different types of communication according to their immediacy or distance. For instance, a wide-ranging face-to-face conversation between friends or family members represents maximal phonic immediacy, whereas a transcription of this same conversation represents maximal graphic immediacy. If the selfsame conversation were to take place via text message, this would constitute a shift toward communicative distance, as the two interlocutors are no longer co-present in the same space.

The realities of studying the medieval period, however, entail that we as researchers are communicatively distant from the subjects that we aim to study, since all our sources are written and, moreover, are several centuries away from them, a separation that would seem irremediable. Oesterreicher (2007, 205), however, notably highlights a type of graphic immediacy whose purview does not operate between individual texts, but rather within those individual texts themselves: mimesis of immediacy or simulated orality. He includes an obvious caveat in his description, cautioning: "[…] such a mimesis of the language of immediacy can never match *authentic immediacy*. The essential point is that we have to accept that it is always a matter of *simulation*. The author of the text, actually the linguistic consciousness of the author, will select specific linguistic elements, forms, and constructions of the universal or idiomatic type that are considered particularly characteristic of conceptional orality" (205-6). In full awareness of its apparent shortcomings as a simulation of communicative immediacy,

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[54] This article is a re-presentation of their previous work (Koch 1993; Koch and Oesterreicher 1985).

[55] 'a personal letter between friends, although realized in writing, is not a typical example of 'written' language'.

one of the principal methods that has been used to reach backward in time to investigate oral production is through comparison of narrative passages with such simulations, in the form of directly reported discourse.[56]

The importance of different speech reporting strategies has been most notably underlined for French by Marnette (1998, 2005, 2013); however, in the quest to increase our understanding of the linguistic production of people so long silenced by time, it is direct discourse that has received the greatest attention. In the spirit of Oesterreicher's (2007) cautionary words, direct discourse cannot, of course, offer us a completely unclouded view of the linguistic usage of such individuals; despite this, as Marchello-Nizia (2014, 167) points out, it does offer several distinct advantages, not least of which is that the same hand is responsible for the production of two different types of discourse (narration and DD), and has carefully set the two apart from one another using the markers described above. The presence of this cautious separation motivates the theoretical jump from calling these portions of text direct discourse to calling them instances of *oral représenté*, or represented orality. This shift, she explains, "[…]met l'accent sur la volonté auctoriale de simuler, de mettre en scène du parlé, distingué du narré par des balises spécifiques, et sur le fait que cela se passé à l'écrit. Cela permet également de donner à ce type de discours rapporté, *uniquement «direct» et uniquement à l'écrit*, une autonomie par rapport aux autres types de discours rapporté (discours direct rapporté dans un discours oral, discours indirect ou indirect libre)" (ibid.).[57]

Recent research has justified the separation between narration and *oral représenté* by illustrating clear linguistic differences between these two styles of speech on the morphosyntactic plane. In her survey of a plurigeneric corpus of 40 texts, Marnette (2006, 40-1) found six characteristics that distinguish DD from other discourse among which we find transposed pronouns and tenses and increased use of the subjunctive. Similarly, taking this idea even further by quantitatively justifying the difference between direct discourse and narration, Guillot et al. (2013) find a total of seventeen morphosyntactic categories that have a less than a 0.001% chance of occurring as frequently as they did in direct discourse when compared to their frequency in non-DD contexts; these categories include expected ones such as interjections and personal pronouns (especially those in the first and second person), but also unexpected ones that merit the interest that the authors hint at in the conclusion of their article, like infinitival constructions governed by modal verbs (ibid., 35). In the context of the present study, the fact that personal pronouns are more frequent in direct discourse in Guillot et al's corpus is quite interesting, since we know that leftward stylistic fronting tends to occur most frequently in the absence of an overt subject (note, however, that this says nothing about the frequency of null subjects in the same texts).

Similarly, recent work on *oral représenté* has illustrated that differences between direct discourse and narration extend into the domain of syntax. Using one of the texts from the *SRCMF* corpus (Prévost and Stein 2013), Glikman and Mazziotta (2013) illustrate that the frequencies of certain syntactic phenomena that are innovative in the context of the history of French are higher in instances of direct discourse than in the surrounding narration. These characteristics, which "correspondent au movement de l'évolution du [français, sont les suivants :] 1/ le passage de formes verbales simples à advantage de forms complexes […] 2/ la généralisation de l'expression du sujet obligatoire […] 3/ et

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[56] For a recent collection of essays on the subject of orality in medieval literature, see Reichl, ed. (2012).

[57] 'places the emphasis on the author's wish to simulate, to set the stage of spoken language that is distinguished from the narration by specific markers, along with accenting the fact that all this is happening in writing. This permits us to give to this type of reported discourse, uniquely direct and uniquely written, a certain autonomy as compared to the other types of reported discourse (Oral DD or (Free) Indirect Discourse)'.

dans une moindre mesure […] la généralisation de l'emploi du forclusif dans la négation" (56).[58] Donaldson (2014) takes another syntactic change in the history of French, the loss of V2 effects (vis-à-vis preposed embedded clauses), and interrogates it from the point of view of *oral représenté*, following previous work on the subject in Old French and Old Occitan (Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner 2010). He finds that, across the four types of initial subordinate in question studied in the same four prose texts utilized in his previous work, represented speech tends to heavily favor the innovative SV structures which are familiar from contemporary French, at the expense of archaizing V2 structures (16).[59] Finally, Glikman and Verjans (2013) performed a study on variation between overt and null complementizers, wherein they discuss the high frequency of the paratactic construction in *chansons de geste*, namely *Le chanson de Roland*.[60] As their analysis progresses, Glikman and Verjans find that null and overt complementizers are not in complementary distribution based on their syntactic environments; thus, they reason, there must be some extrasyntactic factor that is playing a role in the manifestation of these null complementizers. They eventually hypothesize that the distinction between oral and written modalities of expression can account for the differences between texts like *Le chanson de Roland* and others in terms of the prevalence of this asyndetic construction due to its high frequency in direct discourse (2013, 257).

The fact that these studies are able to present concrete quantitative evidence of variation between narration and *oral représenté* regarding syntactic and morphosyntactic characteristics that often disfavor the expression of leftward stylistic displacement is suggestive of the value of exploring its distribution along the same lines. Along with the questions raised above regarding the syntactic structure of leftward stylistic displacement and the multiple avenues presented for examining intertextual variation in how this phenomenon presents itself, investigating its presence using the approaches described in this section offers a look at how LSD can vary intratextually. This multi-faceted, description- and text-driven approach offers a contextually sensitive understanding of how this construction works; such a wide-ranging approach to leftward stylistic displacement represents the potential for a marked enrichment of our understanding of this construction, a possibility that we explore fully in Chapter 5.

1.7- Conclusion

In this chapter, we laid the groundwork for the study that comprises this dissertation, beginning by putting leftward stylistic displacement in the context of medieval Romance on the whole. After discussing the verb-second grammar of medieval Romance, we delved into looking at studies of medieval French, specifically, with a particular eye toward the work of scholars who are skeptical of a verb-second analysis for medieval French. We then moved on to discussing leftward stylistic displacement itself, beginning with the debate over our construction's connection with the Scandinavian construction known as Stylistic Fronting. After detailing the ways in which medieval French LSD does not follow the rules set forth for Stylistic Fronting (Holmberg 2000), we described the current state of research on leftward stylistic displacement, finding three avenues of research that merited further investigation: LSD and domain, LSD and information structure, and LSD and *oral*

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[58] 'correspond with the direction of the evolution of French are the following: 1/ the transition from synthetic to analytic verb forms; 2/the generalization of the obligatory expression of the subject; 3/ and, to a lesser extent, the generalization of the use of the *forclusif* in instances of negation' .

[59] Interestingly, Donaldson (2014, 16-7) finds that representations of women's speech in his corpus are more conservative than representations of men's speech, *contra* Anipa (2012), who opined that we should refrain from considering the speech of literary characters as demographically representative, in the Labovian perspective (Weinreich Labov and Herzog 1968; Labov 1972a, 1972b).

[60] Null complementizers are a familiar phenomenon from English: "I know __ he's tall" vs. "I know that he's tall".

représenté. Finally, we offered a review of the literature on each of these three topics, settling on a theoretical apparatus for each. In Chapter 2, we mobilize this theoretical apparatus to create a methodology for conducting our own study on leftward stylistic displacement.

Chapter Two:
Methodology

2.0- Introduction

The present chapter presents the methodology for the study undertaken here. The first section of the chapter treats the makeup of the corpus itself, giving a brief description of each of the texts selected for inclusion in the corpus, as well as a justification for their presence therein. Section 2.2 presents the full typology of word order strings that are of interest to the study and defines the morphosyntactic variables at play. Section 2.3 describes the tagging processes used to code each token found in the corpus for the variants of these morphosyntactic variables; it also describes the procedure used to categorize the tokens according to the information-structural value of the displaced element along with the type of discourse in which the tokens occur.

2.1- Scaffolding the Corpus

The corpus that we have put together for the present study tracks leftward stylistic displacement in three domains, administrative, historical, and literary (verse and prose, tracked separately), across three time periods, Pre-1220, Post-1220, and Middle French. Where possible, for each of these twelve domain-time combinations, we selected a single text to serve as the exponent of that combination; the use of single texts was not possible for the administrative corpus in both the pre-1220 and post-1220 periods, due to low token counts. In the discussion that follows in sections 2.1.1-2.1.2, we offer our rationale for the choice of domains and periods, along with the texts that we have chosen to serve as our data sources.

There are two main thrusts that have guided the construction of the corpus used here. Firstly, in response to current trends in the field of historical French linguistics encouraging its practitioners to increase the number of domains from which they source the data fueling their historiographies (Ayres-Bennett and Rainsford 2014, 13-4), this corpus aims to track the distribution of Leftward Stylistic Displacement (LSD) diachronically across a variety of textual domains. Whereas previous work on Leftward Stylistic Displacement has almost exclusively sourced its data from literary texts, this pluridomanial corpus expands on the recent body of research published on this construction by Marie Labelle and Paul Hirschbühler (2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2017; Labelle 2007) precisely by including an increased variety of domains. Notably, this corpus engages with other recent work on medieval French morphosyntax, more specifically regarding null subjects (Balon and Larrivée 2016; Capin and Larrivée 2017), by utilizing the collection of medieval Norman legal texts assembled by Pierre Larrivée (Université Caen-Normandie).[1] The selection of these particular domains also mirrors the construction of Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner's (2010) corpus, which also fruitfully employs a small number of literary, historiographical, and legal prose texts to study how fronted clauses affect word order in medieval French. The present study, then, takes this fertile ground, and digs for evidence that textual domain may also be a relevant factor conditioning the appearance of leftward stylistic displacement.

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[1] This database, *Français Légal Ancien de Normandie* (*FLAN*) can be found at <http://www.crisco.unicaen.fr/Francais-legal-ancien-de-Normandie.html> and will be used in the present study. Given the nascent nature of linguistic studies conducted on administrative texts, we found it desirable to hew as closely as possible to successful studies already conducted on such texts. It will, however, be at times necessary to supplement this corpus with additional documents, namely when the word count of its texts are deemed to be of insufficient size to extract a sample for comparison with the other domains.

The corpus used for this study is further designed to confront an issue noted by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) as it pertains to the texts populating the MCVF corpus (Martineau, et al. 2010). In the wake of Mathieu's (2006, 225; 248) passing remarks regarding the elevated frequency of this construction in verse, Labelle (2007) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013; 2017) have paid close attention to whether a text's modality of composition is a significant factor in its production, with this serving as their main extra-linguistic line of inquiry. They have been unable, however, to trace the phenomenon over time, explaining: "Versification exploits the possibilities of the language and we thus might expect a higher percentage of LSD in verse than in prose texts for metrical reasons. The present corpus does not allow us to estimate this effect since this factor is confounded with time" (2017, 150). Indeed, in their corpus, the earlier texts from which they have taken data are more heavily skewed toward verse compositions, and the body of later source texts is more heavily populated with prose texts. We have sought to alleviate this problem by selecting a reasonably contemporary literary prose text for each of the verse texts across the three time slices that we have chosen to study, along with an accompanying historical and administrative text, though this is a secondary concern of our study. In this way, even in view of the modest number of texts employed, it is possible to offer a unified account of the diachrony of this construction as it is reflected across these twelve texts.

2.1.1- The Texts

As discussed above in Section 1.0.1, there is a trend towards steadily less flexible syntactic structure in the evolution of French from Latin. Certain such reductions occurred in medieval French, as reflected, for example, by the eventual impossibility of V1 orders (and thus the inoperability of the Tobler-Mussafia Law, which prohibited clitics from appearing in sentence-initial position); this change occurred in the period between 1200-1220 (Skårup 1975; Rouveret 2004). The corpus is thus divided into three sub-corpora, one pre-1220, one post-1220, and one "Middle French", dating from the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries.[2] The division between the pre-1220 and post-1220 subcorpora is designed to measure the impact of this syntactic sea change, and the Middle French subcorpus is meant to allow us to track LSD's evolution into a later period. An outline of the corpus, along with an approximate word count for the portion of each of the texts that we searched (~225,500 words) can be found below in Table 2.1. It was our aim to collect 100 tokens from each cell of this table, for a target total of 1200. The resulting length of each cell's subcorpus can also be found in Table 2.1.

Let us begin the discussion of the corpus's construction with the earliest *tranche* of texts. The *Roman de Merlin en prose*, composed in approximately the first decade of the thirteenth century, offers a rough temporal *terminus a quo* to begin our own study, since it is the earliest surviving example of literary prose in French (Woledge and Clive 1964). This lesser-known and studied member of the Arthurian tradition, dating from approximately 1200-1210 recounts the story of Merlin from his conception, the result of a demonic insemination, to the beginning of King Arthur's reign, and exists in over fifty exemplars, divided into two main manuscript stemmata. Despite the obvious disadvantage of this text being reworked from an earlier verse version, attributed to Robert de Boron, which means it may be structurally influenced by the text that served as its inspiration, its status as a temporal outlier makes it an invaluable source of data.

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[2] It is possible that selecting Pre-1220 texts so close to the time when this change occurred will introduce a certain amount of noise into the data. It would have thus been desirable to select the early subcorpus from texts dated prior to 1200, for example. Because we aimed to ensure the comparability of literary verse and prose, however, the *terminus a quo* was imposed on us by the earliest surviving prose text of reasonable length (Woledge and Clive 1964), the *Roman de Merlin* (ca. 1200-1210).

Table 2.1- Subdivisions of Corpus [3]

	Literary Verse	Literary Prose	Historiographical Prose	Administrative Prose
Pre-1220	*Tristan de Thomas* (~19,000 words)	*Le Roman de Merlin* (~26,000 words)	*La conquête de Constantinople* (~18,000 words)	*Lois de Guillaume de Conquérant* & selections from Woledge and Clive (1964) (~8,000 words)
Post 1220	*La châtelaine de Vergy* (~4,500 words)	*Le mort le roi Artu* (~16,000 words)	*Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle* (~19,000 words)	*Établissements et coûtumes, assises et arrêts de l'Échiquier de Normandie au XIIIe siècle* (~37,000 words)
Middle French	*Le débat des deux amans* (~4,500 words)	*Mélusine* (~19,000 words)	*Chroniques des règnes de Jean II et Charles V* (~24,000 words)	*Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI* (~30,500 words)

We have selected Thomas' version of *Tristan et Iseut* as the verse text to accompany *Merlin*. This text, as is the case with several others comprising the present corpus, has been selected on the basis of its inclusion in another frequently used corpus, the *Base de Français Médiéval* (*BFM*).[4] Whereas the text itself dates to 1173, thus placing it prior to *Merlin* on the timeline, the other verse romances in the *BFM* from approximately the same time period were written by Chrétien de Troyes, and would represent an uneasily questionable choice since Chrétien's well-known ludic and inventive proclivities make it unlikely that any text bearing his name would be particularly representative of the period in which he was writing. This, of course, is not the earliest verse text to which we have access, and it merits saying that, in describing the evolution of leftward stylistic displacement through time, there are indeed certain advantages to scouring even earlier verse texts, like *La vie de Saint-Alexis*, for examples of leftward stylistic displacement, as Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) do. Selecting such texts for inclusion in the corpus of the present study would only serve to perpetuate the issue of conflating the factors of time and domain, however, and it is precisely this issue that we have sought to avoid. Since we aim to track through time the interaction of leftward stylistic displacement with the modality of composition, the earliest point in time where an extant prose text coincides with a verse texts seems an excellent, if not obligatory, temporal constraint for me to have imposed on this corpus.

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[3] Though we will not be concerned with it in the present study, we would be remiss in not mentioning the dialects of the texted employed for the present study: *Tristan*: anglo-normand; *Vergy*: normand; *Deux Amans*: francien; *Merlin*: picard?; *Artu*: francien; *Mélusine, Constantinople, Reims, Chroniques*: unknown; Administrative texts: normand, anglo-normand. We do not believe this admixture to be particularly relevant, however, given the absence of information regarding word-order variation between dialects of medieval oïl dialects in a number of consulted grammars (Foulet 1919; Schwan and Behrens 1932; Buridant 2000).

[4] Although several of the texts used in this study mirror texts that are included in the *Base de Français Médiéval* (ICAR 2016), the actual TXM corpus search engine was not used to mine the data because it is not sufficiently well adapted to searching for the variety of strings that are under examination in the present study. This is due to the fact that the raw data is tagged morphosyntactically tagged, rather than being tagged for syntactic structures, which would be required to perform a study on a construction such as this one.

For the historical text from the pre-1220 corpus, we have chosen Villehardouin's chronicle, *La conquête de Constantinople*, penned between the sacking of the Byzantine capital at the end of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the death of the author early in the second decade of the same century. The question of choosing a legal text for this period is altogether more difficult, owing to the small size of the texts contained in the *FLAN* database. Woledge and Clive (1964) give a handy list of 15 such texts that can, in their estimation, be reasonably dated to before 1210, which places them squarely in the range of time that is of interest for the earliest sub-corpus. To remedy the paucity of data for this period situation, in addition to investigating the larger of the two versions of the *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant* Larrivée's database hosts (3,204 words), we will investigate several additional administrative texts: ten documents regarding the transfer of money or property, one document detailing an official inquiry regarding tolls in the Pas-de-Calais, a list of laws from the County of Hainaut, a list of usage fees owed to the Abbey of Saint Vaast in Arras, and the *Coutumes de Londres*. If the total number of words across this collection cannot hope to equal the amount of content that other texts across the corpus do in terms of the quantity of raw data that they offer, the variety that they offer presents a distinct advantage: the wider the variety of texts sampled, the more it can be said that the results across these texts can be called representative of the domain as a whole for this period.

For the later tranches of the corpus, since the number of extant texts increases with the passage of time, we were able to simply use one text, in lieu of multiple, to collect our target number of tokens (100). For the post-1220 corpus, the verse text that we have chosen is *La Châtelaine de Vergy*. This short octosyllabic text dates from ca. 1288 and recounts a cautionary tale about keeping one's secrets closely guarded. The edition from which we have pulled the tokens for the present study was performed by Joseph Bédier, who is famed for being such a champion of single-manuscript editions that the school of editors who follow this methodology call themselves Bédieristes.[5] It is thus assured that this edition comes from a single physical copy, which is to be desired since it ensures that we are not tracking leftward stylistic displacement as it appears in a modern editorial invention. The literary prose text that we have selected for the second of the three subcorpora is *La mort le roi Artur*, written around 1230, which offers the final chapter in the series of Arthurian romances to which *Le roman de Merlin* also belongs. The editor of this text, Hult (2009) does indeed describe his work as "[…] bien plus interventionniste que ce qui est souvent la norme de nos jours".[6] The reality, however, is that Hult has based his edition on one single manuscript (UCB BANC 073), and has only supplied alternate readings or emendations when the manuscript in question appears clearly corrupt. In order to maintain the integrity of the data for the present study, we use the critical apparatus supplied by Hult and reject any cases of leftward stylistic displacement that contain an emendation. The historical text that we have selected for the post-1220 subcorpus is the *Récits d'un ménéstrel de Reims*, which dates from precisely 1260, according to its editor (de Wailly, xxxiv). Like *La conquête de Constantinople*, the *Récits* recount the exploits of crusaders; in this case, however, we are offered tales of the Third Crusade, as opposed to those of the Fourth that comprise the *Conquête*. This text, too, is party to some editorial interventions as it presents the text of a single manuscript; however, according to de Wailly, these interventions are limited to orthographical changes (xxix). Such changes should not unilaterally disqualify this text from use in the present corpus, since modifications in the orthography do not interfere with the syntactical structures that are of greatest interest to this body of research. Finally, the administrative document that we have chosen for the post-1220 subcorpus is the *Établissements et coûtumes, assises et arrêts de l'échiquier de Normandie au XIIIᵉ siècle*, which dates from between 1220-1270 and is part of the *FLAN* corpus. This text, which, according to its editor, is a faithful reproduction of a manuscript housed in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, apart from the addition of punctuation, contains a list of customs

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[5] See Bédier (1928).
[6] '…rather more interventionist than is often the norm, currently'.

from the Duchy of Normandy as well as judgments handed down in cities such as Rouen, Falaise, and Caen. For this sub-corpus, too, the dialect of the text is Norman; however, this is something of a necessity, since for this period in other regions of present-day French, the language of administration appears to remain Latin.

The later Middle French corpus also contains four texts. The verse text that we have chosen for the present study is Christine de Pizan's *Le débat des deux amans*, dating to around 1400. The text, as the title of the work suggests, presents a debate between a young squire and an embittered knight as the vehicle to consider the many complexities and different forms that love might take. The editor of this text again has based his edition on a single set of four manuscripts, whose production was apparently overseen by Christine herself, and is careful to note in his critical apparatus those places where he has emended the text. Since this is the case, for the present study, we are again obligated to rely on this critical apparatus as a guide to rejecting tokens that may be the result of an editorial emendation. The prose text that we have selected for the middle French corpus is Jean d'Arras' *Mélusine*, composed ca. 1392. This text, which recounts the tale of a half-fay woman who has been cursed by her fairy mother to take the form of a serpent from the waist down once a week, and of the construction of the poitevin Château de Lusignan. Due to its fantastical content and connection with the mystical *au-delà*, *Mélusine* also falls within the bounds of the *matière de Bretagne*, although it does not directly treat the Arthurian subject matter contained in the other two literary prose texts contained in the present corpus. The historical text for the middle French subcorpus is the *Chroniques des règnes de Jean II et Charles V*, completed in 1381, the year following Charles' death. Again, the editors of this text have taken care to base their edition on a single manuscript, which offers a better picture of the actual linguistic production of the period in question, even as they are able to offer a critical apparatus that contains variants from the entire manuscript tradition. Finally, the administrative document that we have selected for middle French corpus is the *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI concernant la Normandie sous la domination anglaise*. This document, which was composed between 1422 and 1435, contains detailed accounts of crimes committed in Normandy as well as pardons for the criminals they mention, in certain cases. This text has been included in the present study based on its inclusion in the *FLAN* corpus, as well as its dialectal similarity to the other texts that make up the administrative subcorpus.

Before moving forward to talk about leftward stylistic displacement itself, we would like to acknowledge certain potential limitations regarding the comparability of the texts that we have selected, or the representativeness of the corpus and describe the ways that we have attempted to address them. It is certainly true that one might look at the set of historiographical prose texts, or any of the other domain categories that we have chosen to include here and raise questions about whether these could or should be used because of the differences that exist between them. In order to address this particular concern, we have chosen to avoid using terms like genre or text type in the present study. Such terms, useful as they may be in other contexts, are simply too nebulous to be used for the present study; such attention to detail on this particular front thus sits squarely beyond the scope of this project. Centering the discussion on domain, which is more general, thus has the effect of maximizing comparability between the particular texts that we have chosen to study. The potential representativeness of our texts is also a clear limitation of the study as it is presently designed, given the generalized presence of only representative for each textual domain in each period. It is thus clear that the choice of individual text will clearly affect the results that our study obtains, and very possible that such choices might serve only to obscure curious manifestations of leftward stylistic displacement that could be present in other texts that we might have chosen. Given the aim of the present study, which is to catalog and describe LSD and its morphosyntactic variation across different domains when the relevance of this variable to such variation is unclear, the benefits we might reap from conducting a limited study like this one far outweigh the caveats we describe here. Future studies on leftward stylistic displacement using an expanded corpus may of course show that certain among these texts

are outliers regarding their use of leftward stylistic displacement (and this, too, may eventually be instructive), but at such an early stage of research on the construction, splitting hairs to such a degree seems better left to future research.

2.2- A Typology of Leftward Stylistic Displacement

With our corpus in hand, let us now turn the discussion to how we will define the LSD construction itself. In contrast with the analysis provided by Mathieu (2006, 2013), which presented a unified account of what he called Stylistic Fronting for both matrix and embedded clauses, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2014b, 2017) have instead recognized that the phenomenon known as Leftward Stylistic Displacement is an atheoretical umbrella term encompassing three separate syntactic structures, which they call V2, LSD$_{Left}$, and LSD$_{Right}$, and which can be found in both matrix and embedded clauses. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2014b, 2017) do devote considerable energy to deriving the specific syntactic structures that underlie each of these three sub-types of construction. If, however, it is our aim to descriptively investigate all of them together, it is desirable to adopt a framework for categorizing them that is not driven by syntactic theories, but rather uses description as its primary guiding principle; typologizing the construction according to the various moving parts that comprise it is a natural way to proceed. The collected data can then be compared with existing theories regarding the syntax of medieval French. Laying down this typology takes on even greater importance since the entirety of the data collection for this study is occurring manually, without the aid of a digitized corpus. In the following sections, we offer the typology used while performing the present study.

2.2.1- Three Separate Constructions

Following the descriptive and typological methods that have been used by such monuments in the historiography of the French language as Foulet (1919), and more recently, Marchello-Nizia (1995), we break leftward stylistic displacement into its constituent variable parts: subjects overt and null (S/Ø), verb (V), and complement (X/Y); subordinate clauses require the additional variable of complementizer (C). Recall that the nomenclature of these constructions depends on the position of the displaced element relative to the preverbal subject. A full typology of these constructions using the above variables, reproduced from Chapter 2, can be found in (2.1), with the displaced elements displayed in italics, and the subject displayed in bold, when it is overt.

(2.1)   Matrix Clauses

              ØXV(S) (Indistinguishable from V2)
              Ensinc est **la chose** atornee…
              'Thus the thing (the hunt) was set…'

                                                                (*Erec et Enide*, ll. 67-8)

              SXV (LSD$_{Right}$)
              Eüstaces *mot* ne savoit…
              'Eustache didn't know a word…'

                                                (*La vie de Saint Eustache par Pierre Beauvais*, ed. Fisher)

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XSV (LSD_{Left})
Prendre si tost **je** vus defent…
'I forbid you to take it (the water) right away…'

(*Voyage de Saint Brendan*, l. 647)[7]

XYV (LSD_{Double})
Apres la biere venir voient une rote…
'Behind the coffin, they see an escort coming…'

(*Le chevalier à la charrette*, ll. 560-1)

Embedded Clauses

CØXV (LSD_{Right})
…que *le cervel* li fet del chief voler
'(He struck such a blow) that he made his brain fly forth from his head'

(*La prise d'Orange*, l. 833)

CSXV (LSD_{Right})
…que **Dex** *sauvé* avoit ses effanz

(*La vie de Saint Eustache par Pierre Beauvais*, ed. Fisher)[8]

CXSV (LSD_{Left})
…qu'*esleüs* **xij. homes** seroient qui le païs gouverneroient
'(They made a decree) that twelve men would be elected who would govern the country'

(*La prise d'Alexandrie, ou Chronique du roi Pierre Ier de Lusignan*)[9]

CXYV (LSD_{Double})
…qui *de ce riens* ne savoit
'(They brought the girl,) who knew nothing about this'

(*Roman de Thèbes* 1, l. 466)

It will be useful to define the diverse variants of each of these variables; this information is presented hereafter in subsections 2.2.2-2.2.4.

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[7] Taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 165), their example 77.
[8] Foulet (1919, §361), using the same sort of typology, identifies four principal groupings of subject, complement, and verb in medieval French. Interestingly, he notes later (§372) that construction II, or subject-complement-verb, is used with particular frequency in subordinate clauses, which corroborates Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) data.
[9] Taken from Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 156), their example 33.

2.2.2- Complementizers: Variable "C"

The typology used in 2.2.1 is an elaboration on the system that Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) have used to talk about the variety of constructions that fall under the umbrella of leftward stylistic displacement. In the majority of their work, they have been principally concerned with the positional relationship between elements V (Verbs) and X; elements labeled X in their typology are small adverbs or non-finite verbs (infinitives or past participles). In the opening salvos of the debate regarding stylistic fronting, however, Labelle (2007) offers a discussion of the structural difference between main and embedded clauses and shows that embedded clauses governed by all types of complementizers can play host to LSD constructions.

There has been a litany of studies, however, postulating that the structure of embedded clauses can vary depending on the type of complementizer governing it. The demonstrable effect that the governing context has on the syntactic structure of the embedded clause thus motivates a vested interest in the type of complementizer as it pertains to leftward stylistic displacement. Whereas Labelle (2007) illustrated that all clause types can host non-subject elements to the left of the verb in earlier iterations of the language, Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 153-7) discussion of this matter focuses principally on the presence of LSD in subject relative clauses and clauses headed by other complementizers where no overt subject is present. They conclude that there is no direct causal correlation between null subjects and LSD, despite an elevated level of co-occurrence, but do not circle back to consider the role of the complementizer by itself in leftward stylistic displacement.[10] In short, the diachronic interplay between complementizer type and LSD type has been largely unexplored, leaving a gap in the existing description of the construction.

In order to fill this gap, we examine how leftward stylistic displacement behaves in the presence of different complementizers through time, defining an inventory of five complementizers to investigate. Subject relatives are an obvious class of complementizers to include here, given their importance in the prior literature on this construction (Mathieu 2006, 2013). Clauses headed by a subject relative pronoun do not contain an overt subject, and Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) data regarding the frequency of leftward stylistic displacement's high level of co-occurrence with clauses containing null subjects further suggest this is an important syntactic environment to consider. The typology in Section 2.2.1, however, contains variants of LSD that do indeed co-occur with overt subjects, and so we must include a number of complementizers that will allow for a representative sample of these iterations of the construction. Object relatives and conjunctional complementizers, both with the form *que*, enjoy a very high rate of occurrence in our corpus, which makes them another evident choice for inclusion here. We have chosen the final two complementizers, *quand* and *si*, following Foulet (1919, §374), who says that these two conjunctions co-occur frequently with the LSD_Right order detailed above, and Imbs (1956). The same holds true for Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner (2010, 308), who note that, among the variety of complementizers they have chosen to test for, *quand* and *si* generally occur more frequently in their corpus, which also comprises literary, historical, and administrative texts; although Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner (2010) focus on cases where these subordinate clauses precede the matrix clause, we assume that *quand* and *si* occur similarly frequently across all subordinate clauses, no matter their positional relation to their matrix clause. An

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[10] Since null subjects are licensed in V2 contexts, instances of null subjects in embedded clauses may be explained by the type of verb governing the subordinate clause, which, in turn, can indeed license V2 syntax in these contexts (Salvesen and Walkden 2017). A simple accounting for the type of governing verb in these contexts would serve to illustrate whether instances of LSD with null subjects are indeed LSD, or instances of V2.

example of each of the complementizers under investigation in the present corpus can be found below in (2.2).[11]

(2.2)   Subject Relative *qui* [12]
Molt a fait cil esperital sostenance, <u>qui</u> *por home salver* est venus en terre…
'He has brought great spiritual support, he who came to earth to save mankind…'
(*Merlin*, p. 128, ll. 33-5)

Object Relative *que*
L'anel de sun dei saché ont <u>qu</u>'**Isolt** *al jardin* lui dona…
'They took off the ring that Yseut had given him in the garden'
(*Tristan*, ll. 393-4)

Conjunctional *que*
Et il faisoient samblant <u>que</u> **nostre torment** *point* ne leur grevoit…
'And they pretended that our torment did not weigh upon them at all…'
(*Merlin*, p. 128, ll. 17-8)

Quand
E <u>quant</u> **ele** *nostre amur* oblie, de li ne me deit menbrer mie…
'And when she forgets our love, I will no longer have to remember her…'
(*Tristan*, ll. 154-5)

Si
<u>Se</u> **ele** *mun voleir* ne fait, ne sai quel mal gré en ait…
'If she doesn't do as I desire, I do not know what ill will she might have…'
(*Tristan*, ll. 74-5)

2.2.3- Complements: Variables "X" and "Y"

As has been apparent from the very beginning of scholarly enquiries into the construction known as leftward stylistic displacement (Mathieu 2006), there are a great variety of elements that can be displaced; in the present typology, these elements are signified by the variables X and Y, where Y is the second displaced element in an instance of double LSD. In their own research, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2014b, 2017) have preferred to focus their attention on small adverbs, infinitives and past participles.[13] The present study, which is not being conducted with the aid of a corpus search engine, will not follow suit, instead opting to investigate the full panoply of displaced elements as they occur. This broader inventory of potential elements to be examined permits us to offer as full a description as possible of the construction as it is manifested in the pages of the present corpus. A

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[11] During data collection, we found LSD under other complementizers, such as *où* and *comme*; a decision was made, however, to limit the number of complementizers to 5 on the basis of the elevated frequency of these 5 in our corpus. A future study, however, may seek to investigate LSD occurring under other complementizers.

[12] Only forms of *qui* that function as the subject of the clause they head will be accepted as forms of *qui* for the purposes of this study. For a justification and brief discussion of forms of <*qui*> that do not qualify for inclusion, see §3.3.1.1 below.

[13] Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 146) offer the following inventory of small adverbs as relevant to their corpus: *pas*, *point*, *molt*, *mie*, *mult*, *mut*, *bien*, *ben*, *tant*, *trop*.

full typology of displaced elements for the variable X, which contains each of the several morphsyntactic categories brought to light by Mathieu (2006, 2013) and our own previous research (Imel 2014), follows below, in (2.3).

(2.3)   Displaced (Possessive) Adjective
               Ço que *mien* fu ore est suen…[14]
               'What was mine is now hers…'

                                                        (*Tristan*, l. 22)

               Displaced Adverb
               Con il li est mesceü en peu de tans, que *encore* n'a gaires que il estoit
               uns des plus riches homes de cest païs.
               'How quickly things deteriorated for him, such that only a very short
               while ago, he was one of the richest men in this country.'

                                                        (*Merlin*, p. 138, ll. 19-20)

               Displaced Complementizer Phrase
               Sachiez, et itant vous en di, que *se je sui par vous trahi* vous en recevrez
               la mort...
               'Know this, and I'll tell you as much, that, if I am betrayed by you, you
               will be put to death for it...'

                                                        (Vergy, p. 84)

               Displaced *Forclusif*
               Mar fu vostre biau cors qui *ja mais* n'aura joie tant que vos soiés en sa
               compaignie !
               'Woe betide your beautiful body that will never know joy so long as
               you should be in his company!'

                                                        (*Merlin*, p. 142, ll. 19-20)

               Displaced Infinitive
               S'*aveir* ne puis mun desir…
               'If I cannot have my desire…'

                                                        (*Tristan*, l. 68)

               Displaced Intensifier
               Ysolt en sa chamber suspire pur Tristan que *tant* desire…
               'Yseut pines in her bedchamber after Tristan, whom she so desires'
                                                        (*Tristan*, ll. 650-1)

               Displaced Proper Noun
               Et si ceste *Ysolt* ne fust…
               'And if this one weren't called Yseut…'

                                                        (*Tristan*, l. 310)

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[14] Note that, here, orthographically, the complementizer appears not to be a subject relative. This type of variance seems to disappear in the later texts in the corpus, suggesting that the orthography (and perhaps pronunciation) of these pronouns had not yet crystalized at the time the manuscripts were penned..

Displaced Bare Noun
…ne li enfes n'y a pas mort deservie comme cil qui *pechiés* n'a fais ne deservis.
'…nor does the child deserve death, just like one who has not committed sins or proven himself unworthy.'

<div align="right">(Merlin, p. 162, ll. 77-9)</div>

Displaced Determiner Phrase
…quant jo *la meschine* requis a ses parenz, a ses amis.
'…when I asked her parents and her friends for the maiden's hand in marriage.'

<div align="right">(Tristan, ll. 420-1)</div>

Displaced Demonstrative Pronoun
Et celes qui *ce* oïrent se saignerent et dient…
'And those ladies that heard this crossed themselves and said…'

<div align="right">(Merlin, p. 158, l. 28)</div>

Displaced Prepositional Phrase
Molt sera grans damages de vostre biau cors que *por tele creature* sera ars !
'What an unhappy lot for your beautiful body, that will be burned on account of this creature!'

<div align="right">(Merlin, p. 170 ll. 21-2)</div>

Displaced Past Participle
Ço que *amé* ad ne deit hair…
'What one has loved, one ought not hate…'

<div align="right">(Tristan (Sneyd), p. 346, l. 132)</div>

Despite the obvious question of economy at play in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) continued choice of a restricted set of LSD elements for which to query their corpus, it is entirely possible that their results might have been skewed by the inclusion of data from any of the other categories listed above, some of which are quite numerous, such as the prepositional phrase. Thus, despite the fact that the data are far less neatly packaged into a small number of categories, the present approach is to be preferred in the present study, especially since it is only the broadening of datasets that permit us to advance our knowledge.[15]

2.2.4- Subjects: Variable "S"

The final variable to be typologized in this study is that of subject. It is possible in the present corpus to define three different manifestations of this variable. Given the prior discussion of the debate over leftward stylistic displacement, it should come as no surprise that the first variant to be mentioned here is the null subject. As for the remaining percentage of instances of LSD, the present study introduces a further grain of distinction vis-à-vis Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2014a, 2014b, 2017) study. As Prévost (2015) details, "[si] le sujet nominal et le sujet pronominal ont connu une évolution

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[15] The category X/Y is an open category and may accommodate types of elements beyond those listed in this section.

similaire, en termes de fixation en position préverbale, celle-ci n'en relève pas moins de motivations et de mécanismes en partie différents" (2).[16] Following this example, as well as that of Balon and Larrivée (2016) and Capin and Larrivée (2017), we will also divide the overt subjects found in our corpus into the categories of nominal and pronominal. Examples of each of these three manifestations of the subject variable follow in (2.4).

(2.4)   Nominal Subject
Mal ne bien ne rien ne fist que **mis cuers** *tost* nel sentist…
'She did nothing bad, nor anything good, nor anything at all that my
heart did not feel immediately…'
(*Tristan*, ll. 58-9)

Pronominal Subject
Car, s'**ele** *en sun coer plus* m'amast, d'acune rien me confortast.
'For, if, in her heart, she loved me more, she would comfort me in
some small way.'
(*Tristan*, ll. 86-7)

Null Subject
Et cele li otroie que ____ *tot ensi* le fera, et si fist ele…
'And this one consents to him (the devil) that she will do just that,
and, accordingly, she did it…'
(*Merlin*, p. 146, ll. 8-9)

Given the progressive cliticization of subject pronouns through the history of French, which was not yet complete during the periods here in question, it is a worthwhile endeavor, if only a secondary one, to track the types of elements that can intervene between the subject and the verb as the process of reparametrization is underway; the notion that this process may differ between nominal and pronominal subjects, highlighted by Prévost (2015), speaks to the fact that these classes should indeed be kept separate for the purposes of the present study as well.

2.3- Data Collection

Although there are a growing number of digitized corpora available to serve the needs of researchers whose interests are extremely wide ranging, such as the *MCVF* Corpus (Martineau et al. 2012), the *BFM* Corpus (ICAR 2016), and the *Nouveau Corpus d'Amsterdam* (Stein et al. 2013), none of these corpora were, from our perspective, particularly well suited for researching leftward stylistic displacement. The reason for this mismatch is that the TXM queries needed to find instances of LSD in such corpora do not seem particularly well adapted to the variable length of the LSD element. The data collection for the present study will thus be carried out by hand, using paper editions of the texts in Table 2.1. Since our aim is to investigate leftward stylistic displacement as it occurred when the relevant texts were copied, we will rely heavily on the critical apparatus of the respective editions to ensure that the tokens we collect do not involve a modern editorial intervention; potential tokens involving such interventions will be rejected out of hand. In order to collect the target 1200 tokens, we will read the texts and select the tokens according to the procedure laid out in Section 2.4. Instances

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[16] 'If the nominal subject and the pronominal subject have followed a similar path of evolution, in terms of their settling into pre-verbal position, this trajectory does not reveal fewer motivations or mechanisms that are, in part, different'.

of leftward stylistic displacement found during data collection will be recorded in a spreadsheet, and then tagged manually for all the variables with which we will be concerned here: complementizer type, subject type, displaced element type, word-order configuration (LSD$_{Left}$ versus LSD$_{Right}$, etc.), IS-value, and discourse type (DD versus narration).

2.4- The Present Study

In light of the definitions offered in the foregoing sections for the variables C, X/Y, and S, it is possible to present the decision tree employed to collect the tokens which will comprise the object of our study. All tokens were tagged by using the series of decision trees that follows below according to their typological configuration. Since, like Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017), the intent here is to offer a portrait of the distribution each of the types of leftward stylistic displacement found in (2.1) as they appear in the present corpus, and their typology hinges on the presence of a displaced element and its position in relation to the subject, this juxtaposition serves as the starting point for the investigation, after identifying whether the clause is main or subordinate. The following decision tree was drawn on the basis of instances of LSD discussed by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017).

1. Is the clause in question a main clause or a subordinate clause?
   a. Main: Proceed to 2.
   b. Subordinate: Proceed to 5.
   c. Ambiguous: Reject this clause.
2. Does the clause have a null subject or a post-verbal subject?
   a. Yes: Reject this clause.
   b. No: Proceed to 3.
3. Is there a non-subject element preceding the verb in the clause?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 4; this is an instance of LSD.
   b. No: Reject this clause; this is not an instance of LSD.
4. Is the non-subject element in the clause to the left or the right of the overt subject?
   a. Left: Tag as Main Clause, XSV.
   b. Right: Tag as Main Clause, SXV.
5. Is the complementizer heading the subordinate clause in question *qui*, *que*, *quand*, or *si*?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 6.
   b. No: Reject this clause; it is too infrequent in our corpus for inclusion here.
6. Does the clause contain a null subject?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 7.
   b. No: Proceed to 8
7. Is there a non-subject element preceding the verb in this clause?
   a. Yes: Tag as Subordinate Clause, CØXV.
   b. No: Reject this clause; this is not an instance of LSD.
8. Is there a non-subject element preceding the verb in this clause?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 9.
   b. No: Reject this clause; this is not an instance of LSD.
9. Is the non-subject element in the clause to the left or the right of the overt subject?
   a. Left: Tag as Subordinate Clause, CXSV.
   b. Right: Tag as Subordinate Clause, CSXV.

By way of illustrating this process, let us take a few extracts from Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* and from *Le Roman de Merlin*. In the explanation that follows, for simplicity of reference, a number in brackets precedes each clause in (2.5a-d). Since it would be impractical to illustrate this process on a clause-by-clause basis, we have chosen to treat the data as a whole set, applying each step of the algorithm to arrive at those sentences that will proceed through further tagging. Let us begin by locating the main clauses in these three examples. Once these have been located, we can begin by applying step 2 of the decision tree, which eliminates main clauses that have either null or postverbal subjects. The only clauses that contain an overt postverbal subject are (2.5c) [4], which has a postverbal nominal subject, *li quens*, and (2.5d) [1], which contains a postverbal pronominal subject, *nos*, both displayed in red below. Further, there are several main clauses that can be eliminated because they have null subjects, indicated in orange below: (2.5a) [5] and [6], (2.5b) [2], [6], and [7], and (2.5c) [1] and [3]. We can then apply the third step of the decision tree, which eliminates all main clauses that do not contain a preverbal non-subject element. The sentences that fall out of consideration after the application of this step appear in green below. Only one main clause from these extracts remains to be processed by step 4, (2.5d) [2], displayed in gray below. Because this clause contains the pronominal element, *ce*, to the left of the pronominal subject, *vos*, this sentence is categorized as XSV, an instance of main clause LSD~Left~.

(2.5a)   [1] Cil atendirent jusques au jour [2] que il leur ot mis. [3] Il entrerent ou palés [4] qui moult iert riches et biaus, [5] et trouverent le duc et son conseil en une chambre, [6] et dirent leur message en tel maniere…
'These men waited until the day that he had appointed them. They entered the palace, which was very rich and beautiful, and found the duke and his council in a room, and delivered their message thus…'
(*Constantinople*, §18)

(2.5b)   [1] Et quant cele noise remest, [2] si i ot si grant pitié [3] que onques nus hom ne vit plus grant. [4a] Et li bons dus de Venice, [5] qui moult estoit sages et preuz, [4b] monte au leteri [6] et parla au pueple [7] et leur dist…
'And when the din settled, the compassion was such that no one had ever seen greater. And the good duke of Venice, who was wise and brave, climbed behind the lectern and spoke to the people, saying…'
(*Constantinople*, §29)

(2.5c)   [1] Moult i ot de ceuls [2] qui mauvesement le tindrent, [3] et moult en furent blasmé. [4] Une autre partie conmanda li quens de son avoir a retenir pour porter en l'ost et por departir la [5] ou l'en verroit [6] qu'il seroit miex emplié…
'There were many of those men who badly kept their promise, and for this they were greatly criticized. The count commanded another part of his wealth be held back to be carried with the army and divided up when one could see that it would be put to the best use…'
(*Constantinople*, §36)

(2.5d)   [1]...et jou meïsmes l'ai veü certainement ausi con uns de vos autres. [2] Et ce vos n'aves dit. [3] Mes se vos me volés croire, [4] en ce metrons nos bien conseil, [5] des que nos en savons tant devant nos mors.
'And I myself saw it just as certainly as you did. And you did not say so. But if you believe me, we will reach an agreement regarding this matter, as soon as we are made aware of it before our deaths.'

(*Merlin*, ll. 37-42)

This leaves us to consider the subordinate clauses contained above. Step 5 asks us to eliminate clauses that are not headed by the complementizers that are of importance to this study due to their frequency; this process eliminates none of the subordinate clauses above, since they all are headed by *qui*, *que*, *quand*, and *si*. The clauses are then sorted by Step 6 according to whether they contain a null subject or not. The overt subject subordinate clauses appear in blue above, and the null subject subordinate clauses appear in purple. Step 7 considers whether these null subject subordinate clauses contain a pre-verbal element. On the basis of this step, we admit the underlined clauses (2.5a) [4] and (2.5b) [5], both with the displaced element *moult*, along with (2.5c) [2], with the displaced adverb *mauvesement* as examples of LSD$_{Right}$, configuration CØXV, and set them aside as tokens for further tagging. Step 8 considers whether there are preverbal non-subject elements in those subordinate clauses that do contain overt subjects. We can thus reject the clauses (3.5a) [2], (2.5b) [1], and (2.5c) [6], since they do not contain the elements we are looking for. This leaves us with one remaining clause, (2.5b) [3], which is underlined above; because the displaced element *onques* is to the left of the overt subject *nus hom*, we classify this as an instance of LSD$_{Left}$ (CXSV), and can proceed to further manual tagging, according to the variables listed above (complementizer type, subject type, and displaced element type).

Before proceeding to a discussion of how these variables were tagged, it must be said that, in the present corpus, there were configurations of the LSD construction for which the above decision tree is not able to give a proper tag. This occurred for the 79 tokens where there either are two LSD elements on either side of the subject, giving the configurations (C)XYSV or (C)SXYV, LSD elements on both sides of the overt subject, (C)XSYV, or two displaced elements co-occurring with a null subject, (C)XYV. Since these configurations are caught by the decision process in the above tree, but would otherwise be rejected by a fully mechanized tagging process, we found it best to offer the foregoing *ad hoc* tags that illustrate them. This subset of tokens receives a full discursive treatment in Section 3.2.3, since it does not fall into the categories already defined by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017).

2.4.1- Specific Tagging Protocols for Morphosyntactic Variables

It will be useful to lay down certain formal definitions that permit each of the variable categories expressed by the data selected via the decision tree in the previous section to be more straightforwardly tagged, since in some cases it may not be immediately clear how to categorize a given element. Generally speaking, exponents of the LSD element variables X/Y were manually sorted according to the categories in (2.3). Exceptions to this include intensifiers, which were condensed into the adverbial category and NPs, DPs and pronouns, which were condensed into a nominal category. Overt subject types were categorized according to whether they were nominal or pronominal. During the tagging process, however, additional clarifications became necessary while categorizing strings for both complementizer type and certain X/Y elements.

2.4.1.1-Tagging Complementizer Type

Although we are able to present the neat schematization of complementizers displayed above in Section 3.2.2 as representative of the entire system of complementizers, at least as far as reflexes of QUIA (*que*) and QUI (*qui*) are concerned, this picture diverges slightly from the reality manifested in the corpus in two key ways. Firstly, there exists another reflex of QUI besides those descended from the nominative and accusative forms that give rise to the subject and object relative pronouns listed in the present typology, namely that of the dative form CUI, which gives a prepositional form *cui*, reminiscent of the modern Italian relative pronoun that has the same form. Foulet (1919) explains the situation: "Après les prépositions, le vieux français employait une troisième forme, qui servait surtout, sinon exclusivement, pour les personnes, c'est *cui*… La forme *cui* se rencontre surtout après la préposition *a*, pour exprimer le complément indirect du verbe. Il est à remarquer que dans cet emploi la preposition n'est pas indispensable et que *cui* à lui tout seul peut avoir la valeur de *a cui*… Il est beaucoup plus rare de trouver *cui* tout seul au sens de « dont », « duquel »" (§185-7).[17] In addition to the restricted contexts in which this complementizer can be found in the larger medieval French corpus, Buridant (2000) explains that "[la] réduction phonétique de [kwi] à [ki], plus precoce dans certaines aires regionales, peut entraîner des formes en *ki*" (§491.2).[18] Foulet (1919) also remarks on this confusion: "La pronunciation de *cui* s'est de bonne heure confondue avec celle de *qui*, si bien qu'au XIIIe siècle on ne semble plus distinguer bien nettement entre les deux formes : les manuscrits offrent continuellement *qui* pour *cui*" (§189).[19] Examples of this pronoun follow in (2.6).

(2.6)   Prepositional *cui*
Car il avoit .II. perils : de ce que il estoient pou, et cil estoient assez a
cui il aloient conbatre…
'For there were two dangers, that they were few and those against
whom they were going to fight were rather numerous…'
                                                         (*Constantinople* 1, §431)

Prepositional *cui*, spelled *qui*
Et il fist son tref tender en mi l'ost et le marchis de Montferrat le sien
delez en **qui** main et en **qui** garde li rois Phelippes d'Alemaingne qui
sa sereur avoit a fame l'avoit comandé.
'And he had his tent pitched in the midst of the army and, next to his,
so did the Marquis of Montferrat, in whose hands and in whose care
King Phillip of Germany had placed the emperor's son, whose sister
was his wife.
                                                         (*Constantinople* 2, §112)

Cui, in the sense of *dont*
Li rois Evrains, **cui** niés je sui, m'adoba, voiant maint prodomes,
dedenz cest vergier ou nos somes.

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[17] 'After prepositions, old French employed a third form, which was used generally, if not exclusively, for people: *cui*. The *cui* form can be found most frequently after the preposition *a*, and expresses the indirect object of the verb. It should be remarked upon that in this use, the preposition is not obligatory, and that *cui* alone can carry the value of *a cui*… Further, it is far rarer to find *cui* alone with the meaning of « *dont* » or « *duquel* » (of which/whose)'.

[18] 'the phonetic reduction of [kwi] to [ki], which happened earlier in some regions, can lead to the appearance of this pronoun as *ki*'.

[19] 'The pronunciation of *cui* became quickly confused with that of *qui*, such that in the 13th century no further distinction is made between the two forms: manuscripts continually offer *qui* in place of *cui*'.

'King Evrain, whose nephew I am, knighted me, in the sight of many
brave men, in this very same orchard where we presently stand'

(*Erec*, ll. 6062-4)

Further, according to Buridant (2000, §479) this phonetic confusion coupled with its functional redundancy in that it could appear with a preposition make it a marked residual form. Given its early date of confusion and infrequent appearance after 1200, *cui* is unlikely to be a complementizer that merits separate investigation in the context of the present study. Thus, as concerns the tagging procedure presented above, every instance of <*cui*> and all instances of <*qui*> where the sense is that of *cui*, as in the second above example, will be rejected. We view the consequences of such rejection to be minimal due to the infrequency with which these complementizers are held to occur.

We apply a similar function to another unclear point as regards the set of complementizers that are of interest to us here. In his discussion of complementizers, Buridant (2000) details a peculiar form of *que*: "Une tendance se décèle en ancien français à employer un *que* relative universel, avec décumul partiel de valeurs : *que* reste subordonnant et représentant, mais n'indique pas la fonction, phénomène comparable au *che* italien…" (§480).[20] He goes on to detail several particular types of this quirky *que*, one of which in particular concerns our data: subject *que*. An example of this phenomenon can be found in (2.7).

(2.7)   Ma suer est si pensive de ces mesaventures **que** avenues nos sont
               qu'ele ne fait biele chiere n'a moi ne a autrui…
               'My sister is so preoccupied by the misfortunes that have befallen us
               that she cannot put on a happy face for me or for anyone else…'

(*Merlin*, p. 142, ll. 14-6)

In this example, we see that, orthographically, we are dealing with what appears to be an object relative; however, upon further examination, it is clear that this relative pronoun has a subject function, with the antecedent *ces mesaventures*, which is echoed by the feminine plural agreement of the displaced past participle, *avenues*, along with the 3rd person plural form of the accompanying auxiliary, *sont*. As example (2.7) illustrates, this "universal relative *que*" can co-occur with leftward stylistic displacement, and so we must account for it; if the guiding principle for tagging the complementizer is indeed its function, then this is as simple as grouping such tokens with the larger body of subject relatives that are spelled <*qui*>, as expected.

2.4.1.2- Tagging Adverbs

The business of categorizing and tagging elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement is generally straightforward, even in spite of the numerous different types of elements that can undergo this process. It is necessary to discuss the adverbial categories, however, since these might be divided into diverse subcategories. In the former case, this can be attributed to the set of adverbs under investigation in the present study being broader than the restricted number of 'small adverbs' that have held the attention of Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2014b, 2017) in their descriptions of the syntax of LSD.

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[20] 'A tendency to use a universal relative *que* reveals itself in medieval French, with a partial offloading of its values: *que* remains a subordinator and represents its antecedent, but gives no clue as to its grammatical function, which is comparable to the situation found with Italian *che*'.

As it pertains to the adverbial category, recall that Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a, 2014b, 2017) included only the following 'small' adverbs in their corpus query: *pas*, *point*, *molt*, *mie*, *mult*, *mut*, *bien*, *ben*, *tant*, *trop*. With the exception of *bien/ben*, all of these adverbs fall into either the category of intensifier or that of *forclusif*. The present corpus contains examples of displacement of all of these, along with a variety of other longer adverbs, such as *encore*, *onques*, or *gaires*. Although our own previous work (Imel 2014) has divided these adverbs into three separate categories, given the fact that intensifiers function the same way as adverbs in that they can modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs, and the only interest in keeping them separate is the elevated frequency with which they occur in the corpus (which likely led Labelle and Hirschbühler to limit their search to only this "subclass"), they will be considered adverbs for the purpose of this study.

The same cannot be said for the group of *forclusifs*, however. These words, *pas*, *mie*, *point*, etc., which have been grammaticalized from nouns to adverbial negation particles, deserve separate treatment by simple dint of their shifting functionality during the period in question. Schøsler and Völker (2014, 127) note that, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, simple *ne-Ø* negation and negation reinforced by the *forclusif* particles were in competition with one another, locating the situation along the continuum between preverbal and postverbal negation synthesized from Jespersen's (1917) sweeping crosslinguistic survey of negation. This change was already underway even in the eleventh century, as illustrated by Mosegaard Hansen (2009), who is able to produce convincing examples of variation between *ne-Ø* and *ne-pas/ne-mie* from the *Chanson de Roland*. This instance of grammaticalization and the construction that is the center of the present study's attention interact with each other in that, as the process of these *forclusifs'* transformation from nouns into postverbal particles of negation progresses, they should become less and less susceptible to leftward stylistic displacement. It will thus be of interest to the larger historiography of medieval French to categorize these particles as separate entities as they appear across the pluridomanial corpus used in the present study.

2.4.2- Tagging Elements for Information-Structural Values

As noted by Steiner (2014, 29) in her dissertation on the role of Information Structure and the decline of verb-second constructions in the history of French, the abstract nature of the concepts falling under the aegis of Information Structure has led to a great deal of terminological fluidity in this field. Because this portion of the study aims to trace the inventory of information-structural roles that elements undergoing leftward stylistic displacement can play as it shifts through time, it is necessary to pin down exactly what the full inventory of roles looks like. As discussed in Chapter 1, there are several ways that information structural roles can be defined: prosodically or intonationally, syntactically, and pragmatically. Naturally, because these are historical texts, we do not have access to information regarding the way instances of leftward stylistic displacement did or did not receive particular prosodic marking, especially in prose contexts.[21] This leaves us with a syntactic definition or a pragmatic one; however, it seems as though the pragmatic definition for these categories will be the most useful, since it is the information-structural values that correspond to this form that is the most interesting. Indeed, prior research on this construction has not been able to satisfactorily describe the relation between the three subtypes of leftward stylistic displacement and the pragmatic context in which it occurs, leaving the pragmatic value of the construction as the dependent variable that remains to be investigated. This aim presents a particular difficulty, as pragmatic definitions, especially those dealing with information structure, tend to be the subject of intense debate; however, this can be avoided if we develop a system of features according to which each LSD element can be classed. Despite the

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[21] See, however, Rainsford (2011), who makes use of constructed lines of poetry from prose in order to discuss the shift from word stress to group stress in medieval French.

fact that "[l]iterally every notion or feature that has been proposed as relevant to information structure is subject to debate and exhaustive discussion in the literature, and [that] there is no agreement on the definition of any category that has been proposed to capture information structural segmentation," (Petrova and Solf 2009, 132) there are certain threads of commonality that justify this approach, along with its use in current research (e.g. Krifka 2007, Steiner 2014).

This study will generally follow Steiner's (2014) methodology for classifying elements in the discourse. Although her work classifies the entire sentence according to these categories instead of focusing on individual elements, the methodology should still be useful for investigating interactions between leftward stylistic displacement and information structure. Whereas many scholars do not insist on neat divisions between topic and focus (e.g. Lambrecht 1994 or Petrova and Solf 2009), or only use these two categories (e.g. Erteschik-Shir 2007), Steiner's step-by-step feature-driven decision tree approach permits a careful approach to a variety of different types of structures. The following sections detail the information-structural features that LSD elements might carry. Section 2.4.2.1 describes information status, which deals loosely with the newness of nominal referents to the discourse. Section 2.4.2.2 builds on the previous section to talk about different types of topic that might occur in this corpus. Section 2.4.2.3 talks about frame-setters, which temporally and geographically delimit the content of the discourse, and section 2.4.2.4 details the independent category of focus. Finally, Section 2.4.2.5 describes the possibility for information structural marking on LSD elements to be absent.

2.4.2.1- Information Status

Recall from Section 1.5.2 the insufficiencies of the old-information/new-information binary, and subsequent attempts to define categories that are more in line with how discourse referents appear and are used in discourse. The categories of new, accessible, and given, used by Götze et al. (2007) and Steiner (2014), will be the ones used in the present study. Given information status is accorded to referents that have previously been mentioned in the discourse, whereas new information status is given to referents that have not been mentioned in the discourse. Accessible information status designates referents that have not been mentioned in the discourse but are accessible based on their relationship to other referents in the discourse or general world knowledge. On the basis of the definitions in Section 1.5.2, it is possible to offer a procedure for classifying discourse referents according to their information status. Because this category only applies to discourse referents, and thus only to nominal categories (Prince 1981), the first step in assigning information status is to set aside all instances of leftward stylistic displacement that do not contain such an element.[22] With the remaining tokens, the following sorting and tagging procedure, adapted slightly from Steiner's (2014, 91-2) decision trees to further include a narration of each step, can be followed. Recall that "referent" in the context of the present study is meant to refer to any instance of LSD where the displaced element is nominal:

1. Has the referent been mentioned explicitly in the preceding discourse?
    a. Yes: Tag in spreadsheet as *Given*.
    b. No: Proceed to 2 (Is the referent accessible or new?).

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[22] Non-nominal instances of LSD are treated in subsequent sections, and indeed may not have an information structural value at all (see § 3.6.5).

Steps 2 through 5 exhaust the different types of accessibility that might explain the presence of a given referent that has not been mentioned in the preceding discourse before settling on tagging that referent as an instance of new information (Step 5).

2. Does the referent fall under the category of general world knowledge, that the interlocutor can be assumed to have?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Accessible- General.*
   b. No: Proceed to 3.
3. Does the referent share some kind of relationship with the discourse situation, such that it can be assumed to be present in or pertinent to that situation, for example, based on the people present, the location, or event taking place during the utterance?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Accessible- Situational.*
   b. No: Proceed to 4.
4. Can the referent be inferred from a *given* referent based on a relationship such as set-individual, part-whole, or entity-attribute?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Accessible- Inferable.*
   b. No: Proceed to 5.
5. The referent is neither given, because it has not been mentioned in the preceding discourse, nor accessible, because it is not inferable from the utterance situation or other given or accessible referents.
   a. Tag as *New.*

If, in tagging a discourse referent, the referent cannot be confidently tagged as new, the above procedure should be followed again to verify the validity of such a tag. Further, all instances of nominal LSD must undergo this procedure, since all discourse referents must have information status.

2.4.2.2- Topic

With a mechanism in place for assigning information status (new-accessible-given), it is possible to discuss the most closely related information-structural value, topic. These two are most closely related because, following Steiner (2014), the only elements that can be permitted as topics are discourse referents, with the added specification that they should be verbal arguments. Since this is the case, and since leftward stylistic displacement is a process that can only be applied to non-subject elements, this category can only apply to object arguments in the present study. As discussed Section 1.5.3, there are three sorts of topic that ought to be distinguished: aboutness topics, contrastive topics, and familiar/continuing topics (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007). Certain scholars, such as Götze et al. (2007), identify a specific sort of topic that couches the discourse in a certain spatio-temporal context known as a frame-setter; following Steiner (2014), based on the differing discourse function of these elements, along with their tendency to include other parts of speech, they are treated as a separate IS entity in Section 2.4.2.3, which is devoted to describing them. Recall from Section 1.5.3 the definitions for the three types of topic: aboutness topics, which carry discourse-new information status and designate what the sentence is about, familiar topics, which also designate what the sentence is about, but have given information status, and contrastive topics, which serve to shift what the sentence is about from one referent to another. These definitions having been established, it is again possible to proffer a mechanism by which discourse referents can be classed according to their topic type:

1. Is the discourse referent an argument of the verb?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 2.
   b. No: Apply the frame-setter procedure in Section 2.5.3.
2. Has the referent received a *New* information tag upon following the procedure in the preceding section?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 3 (Aboutness Topic or New Information Focus?).
   b. No: Proceed to 4 (Given/Accessible Information)
3. Is the referent at all related to an entity that could be construed as accessible or given information?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 4.
   b. No: The referent is not a topic; apply the frame-setter procedure in the following section.
4. Is the referent indefinite? (Petrova and Solf 2009)
   a. Yes: The referent is not a topic; apply the focus procedure in the following section.
   b. No: The referent is [+definite]; proceed to 5 (aboutness tests).
5. Does the sentence in which the referent is contained pass an aboutness test, such that the remainder of the sentence provides information about the referent in such a way that it might serve as a natural continuation to sentences such as "Concerning X," or "Let me tell you about X"?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 6 (Is the referent an aboutness topic or a contrastive topic?)
   b. No: The referent is not a topic; apply the focus procedure in the following section.
6. Does the referent either contrast with another topic in a parallel construction (syntactically or semantically speaking), or a portion of a multi-part answer to a larger question under discussion, as illustrated above in (3.12)?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Contrastive Topic.*
   b. No: Tag as *Aboutness Topic;* proceed to 7 for possible modification.
7. Is the referent co-referential with the most recent Aboutness Topic in the discourse?
   a. Yes: Modify *Aboutness Topic* tag to *Familiar Topic.*
   b. No: Retain *Aboutness Topic* tag.

2.4.2.3- Frame-Setter

In the event that the element does not pass any of the tests on the information status and topic trees, we apply the frame-setter tree. As discussed in Section 1.5.5, in many treatments of information structure (and its relation to the left periphery), frame-setters are treated together with topics, whether those explanations are syntactically driven, e.g. Beninca (2004), or pragmatically driven, e.g. Carella (2015). In one such pragmatically driven explanation, which forms the basis of both our and Steiner's (2014) treatment of frame-setters, Götze et al. (2007) note: "Frame setting topics constitute the frame within which the main predication of the respective sentence has to be interpreted. They often specify the time or the location at which the event/state denoted by the rest of the clause takes place/holds. Temporal or locative PPs, adverbial phrases and subordinate clauses denoting (sets of) spatial or temporal locations are therefore typical [frame-setters] crosslinguistically" (167-8). Recall from Section 1.5.5 that there are three types of frame-setters: temporal, locative, and one dealing with domain, which we will call evaluative, following Götze et al. (2007). Following these definitions, we can present the third of the decision trees for information structure by which LSD elements are sorted in the present corpus. The process below, which again hews closely to the one set forth by Steiner (2014), should be applied to all instances of leftward stylistic displacement that are left unsorted by the procedures detailed for information status and topic.

1. Does the LSD element under consideration specify either the time or place of occurrences in the surrounding discourse?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Frame-Setter*. These elements automatically restrict the truth value of the proposition.
   b. No: Proceed to 2.
2. Does the truth-value of the proposition depend on the truth value of the LSD element under consideration?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Frame-Setter*.
   b. No: Proceed to 3.[23]
3. Does the inclusion of the LSD element affect the truth-value of the utterance such that it depends on the previous discourse?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Frame-Setter*.
   b. No: Proceed to the Focus decision tree in Section 2.4.2.4

2.4.2.4- Focus

Since the above sorting procedure for topics refers in several places to a similar procedure for foci, it is to this information-structural value that we will now direct our attention. Götze et al. (2007) define this category broadly as "[t]hat part of an expression which provides the most relevant information in a particular context as opposed to the (not so relevant) rest of the information making up the *background* of the utterance." (170). Recall from Section 1.5.4 that there are two types of focus with which we are concerned here: semantic focus (also known as new information focus) and contrastive focus. Given these definitions, we may again provide an algorithm for determining whether a given element carries focus. This algorithm, as with those for information status, will generally follow Steiner's (2014) decision trees, but differs slightly in that we will have an ampler definition of contrastive focus that includes repeated elements (Step 4), which requires a larger number of steps in the algorithm than in the four-step process that she proposes. This decision tree can be applied to all referents that are sent there from the decision process for frame-setters. In the event that the instance at hand involves two LSD elements, because multiple foci can occur in a single sentence (as opposed to a single topic), both elements will have to proceed separately through this decision tree. Elements that are not assigned a label by this process ostensibly do not bear any information status. We briefly discuss this possibility in the Section 2.4.2.5.

1. Does the instance of LSD occur in a main clause?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 2.
   b. No: Proceed to 3.
2. Does the referent of the LSD element under consideration match a *wh*-element in a question that would elicit the statement as a response?
   a. Yes: Proceed to 2.
   b. No: This element may not have an IS value. Restart the procedure to check.

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[23] In the same way that Steiner (2014) does not list the full panoply of types of contrastive focus in her decision tree for that information-structural category, for frame-setter, we do not make any specifications regarding the types of truth-value domains according to which the propositional content of the utterance might be judged. We judge the broad question in step two of the FS algorithm to be a sufficient catchall for the other steps that she lists.

3. Does the LSD element serve to replace or correct an element in the preceding discourse?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Contrastive Focus*.
   b. No: Proceed to 4.
4. Does the LSD element serve to confirm or repeat an element in the preceding discourse?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Contrastive Focus*.
   b. No: Proceed to 5.
5. Is the LSD element part of an explicit list of alternatives in the preceding discourse, from which the element has been selected?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Contrastive Focus*.
   b. No: Proceed to 6.
6. Has any nominal portion of the LSD element, for example a noun contained within a prepositional phrase, been classed as *Accessible* while following the above information status procedure?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Contrastive Focus*.
   b. No: Proceed to 7.
7. Does the LSD element provide additional solicited information to the preceding discourse that further specifies an element in that discourse or develops the discourse?
   a. Yes: Tag as *Semantic Focus*.
   b. No: Proceed to 8.
8. Is the LSD element new to the discourse, "especially new information with respect to the topic?" (Steiner 2014, 94).[24]
   a. Yes: Tag as *Semantic Focus*
   b. No: Return to 1; the LSD element may not carry any form of focus. If, after checking, the element cannot be assigned an IS-value, assign a value of Ø.

2.4.2.5- Zero IS Value

After applying the entire set of algorithms described in sections 2.4.2.1-2.4.2.4, some elements may not be able to be tagged according to the definitions that we have laid out here: they are not topics, nor foci, nor frame-setters. This is a point of special significance; because the present study seeks to understand the factors motivating the appearance of leftward stylistic displacement, one of which is hypothesized to be information structure, it is important to take note of the instances of LSD where this factor is not at play. An elevated percentage of LSD-elements that bear no IS value (versus ones that do carry IS value) would allow us to conclude that information structure is not one of the driving forces behind this phenomenon, as would a distribution that showed even frequencies across all these categories. Such results would, for example speak to leftward stylistic displacement being a process driven by some other factor besides information structure.

2.4.3- Tagging Discourse Reporting Types

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[24] The definition of Götze et al. (2007) for this category, which they call unsolicited new information focus, serves to illuminate this otherwise dense formulation: "With *non-initial sentences*, pay attention to the relation between given and newly established information, the latter being the domain of [*unsolicited new information focus (nf-unsol)*]. In order to determine *nf-unsol*, try to formulate the *most general* question for each sentence on the basis of the given material, according to specific discourse types and the (probable) intention of the speaker to highlight that information which is able to develop the discourse" (177). For example, this type of focus applies to new information contained in the predicate, and provides the rhematic information that follows "Concerning X…" in the canonical topic test described above.

Since the present study investigates different forms of discourse reporting types, it will be of interest to put forth formal definitions of the categories that concern us here: direct discourse versus narration. Phenomenologically speaking, direct discourse can be defined as "[…] du discours rapporté se donnant comme l'exacte reproduction de paroles ayant été prononcées oralement" (Marchello-Nizia 2012, 248); this description accomplishes little, however when it comes to defining direct discourse from a structural point of view. Fortunately, as Marchello-Nizia (2014) explains, "[la] mise en discours direct est encadrée par des termes et des expressions qui la séparent soigneusement du récit[;] ces episodes hétérogènes sont donc faciles à identifier" (167).[25] What, then, are these terms and expressions that serve as the indicators of direct discourse? Marnette (2005, 2006, 2013) refers to *verba dicendi* or *sentiendi* that herald a shift into DD, as do Glikman and Mazziotta (2013). This description points us in the right direction toward looking for instances of DD, but lacks information about the form that these speech and thought verbs might take.[26]

Marchello-Nizia (2012, 2014) identifies three forms that demarcate instances of DD, and classifies them according to their composition and their location with regards to the *prise de parole*. The first is the *annonce*, which consists of a *verbum dicendi*, like *dire*, *respondre*, or *demander*, which introduces the speech as a sort of indication that a *prise de parole* is about to occur by one of the characters interior to the narrative. The second of these markers is the *incise*, which is a presentational interjection that interrupts the flow of the discourse, or otherwise is placed at the end of the *prise de parole*; frequently, the *incise* uses the verb *faire*. Both an *annonce* and an *incise* can co-occur surrounding and within the same speech event, which, as Guillot, Prévost, and Lavrentiev (2014, 261) point out, may cause redundancy due to their similar function, if not their form. Marchello-Nizia (2012, 2014) also enumerates a third device, the *rappel*, which does not generally contain a *verbum dicendi* or *sentiendi*; this serves to mark the transition back to narration from the represented speech introduced by the *annonce* or signaled by the *incise*. She explains that "[le] rappel se situe immédiatement après la fin du DD, il comporte toujours une anaphore à l'un des protagonists du DD, locuteur ou allocutaire ou auditeur […] il peut comprendre également un pronom ou un nom résomptif résumant le contenu sémantique du DD…" (2012, 249-50). Examples of each of these types of signaling devices from the present corpus can be found in (2.8).

(2.8)   *Annonce* and *Rappel*
             (*Annonce*) <u>Et uns autres dist</u> : « Il a tel de nos qui bien puet prendre samblance d'ome et habiter a fame, mes il le face au plus priveement qu'il porra ! » (*Rappel*) <u>Et ensi ont enpris qu'il engendront a home qui aprendra les autres</u>.
             '<u>And another one (a demon) said</u>: "There is someone among us who can indeed take the appearance of a man and afflict a woman, but may he do so in as much secrecy as possible!" <u>Thus, they undertook it to sire a man who would teach their ways to everyone else</u>.'
                                                          (*Merlin*, p. 132, ll. 4-7)

             Incise
             –En quel maniere ? <u>fet li dus</u>. –En toutes les manieres, <u>font li message</u>, que vous leur sauroiz loer ne conseiller que il fere ne soufrir puissent.[27]

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[25] 'Entry into direct discourse is framed by terms and expressions that carefully separate such instances from the rest of the text; these heterogeneous episodes are thus easy to identify.'

[26] See, however, the edited volume of Parussa, Colombo Timelli, and Llamas-Pombo (2017) for such information.

[27] Note the quotative usage of the verb *faire*, which remains common even in contemporary spoken French.

"'In what way?,'" asked the duke. "In any way," said the messengers, "that you might be able to counsel them, provided that they can bear such a task, and complete it.'"

<div align="right">(Constantinople 2, §19)</div>

Although they are admittedly rare, as noted by Marchello-Nizia (2014, 167), there are cases of direct discourse presentation that are not signposted by *annonces* or *incises*. These are cases of what is known as free direct discourse. An example of this, taken from Marnette (2013) can be found in (2.9). Note that there is no explicit marking in the narration to indicate a *prise de parole* by someone other than the narrator.

(2.9) Ele le voit, cel recognuct molt bien. « Dont viens, amis, por le cors saint Richiel ? »
'She sees him and recognizes him easily. "Where are you coming from, friend, by the body of Saint Riquier?"

<div align="right">(Marnette 2013, her ex. 2)</div>

There are, of course, other ways of detecting these shifts in the discourse besides relying on the explicit bookending of *annonces* or *rappels*, or *incises* in the middle. Marnette (2006, 40-1) gives a list of six morphosyntactic and enunciative markers that can assist in distinguishing between narratorial text and the instances of directly reported discourse that punctuate it. For example, she notes, certain shifts, such as changes in personal pronouns from third to first or second person, or in time or space deictics are generally a safe indicator of a transition into DD.[28] Similarly, there are certain words with a discursive function, such as *oui* or *non*, or vocative use of titles, that also bespeak this sort of shift.

Given these definitions, following Guillot et al. (2013) and Glikman and Mazziotta (2013), it will be possible to classify the type of discourse that the instances of leftward stylistic displacement found after following the decision trees detailed above in Section 2.4.2. Since the principal methodological basis of studying the characteristics of *oral représenté* is to distinguish narration from direct discourse, these are the only two categories that will concern us here.[29] As such, all discourse that cannot be satisfactorily classified as an instance of directly reported speech using the following procedure will receive the label of narration. For the present study, we employ a two-step process to categorize and then confirm the type of discourse in which each occurrence of leftward stylistic displacement occurs. Although it may seem an obvious solution to the problem, the first step for determining the type of discourse will be to refer to the punctuation in the editions that we have used to build our corpus. This offers a quick and straightforward way to sort our tokens into the groups DD and Narration. Notably, this is the strategy that was used to annotate the *Base de Français Médiéval*: "Le discours direct [dans la *BFM*] a été annoté de manière semi-automatique dans chaque texte du

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[28] It should be mentioned that, at certain moments in medieval texts, the narratorial voice breaks with relating the story, using first person pronouns and speaking to readers (or an audience) directly. Such instances are assuredly interesting and form the basis of much scholarship on the orality of medieval texts, but to the extent that they occur in this corpus, they will not be treated as instances of directly reported speech. Donaldson (2014, 319) similarly codes such authorial or narratorial address as narration.

[29] These are the two categories used by Guillot et al. (2014) and Glikman and Mazziota (2013) to produce their analysis of the morphosyntax of direct discourse. We are following their lead in not considering other discourse types, though a future study might find these a relevant factor to the way LSD varies morphosyntactically.

corpus […] grâce aux balises <q> et </q> insérées là où les éditions de référence contenaient des guillemets ouvrants et fermants" (Guillot et al. 2013, 18).[30]

Once the token has been coded according to the editorial punctuation, we confirm this information with information coming directly from the text, so as not to rely exclusively on the intuitions of minds whose temporal separation from the works in question renders them more fallible than the scribes themselves, despite their expertise in the matter of editing texts. Such a double indication of the reporting status of the discourse in which a given element of leftward stylistic displacement is located can be obtained by scanning the containing discourse for a connected *annonce*, *incise*, or *rappel*. This holistic approach to annotating discourse status allows for a wider variety of instances of DD to be selected than if we were to simply locate all the aforementioned *verba dicendi* or *sentiendi* and investigate the following discourse; in the case that the DD were marked only with an *incise*, this strategy would result in the omission of the preceding portion of the discourse and thus an incomplete picture of the *tour de parole* in question. Further, in the event that the editorial subdivision of the discourse cannot be not confirmed by any of these three explicit markers, we confirm the editorial punctuation via the presence of at least one marker belonging to Marnette's (2006) list of indices described in this section. Finally, any editorial discursive subdivisions of the text that remain unconfirmed by the criteria above are rejected as instances of direct discourse, and are thus classified as instances of narration.

2.5- Conclusion

The foregoing chapter lays out a three-pronged approach to determining the factors that condition the way leftward stylistic displacement appears in the discourse, as determined by the avenues of research on this construction that have been hitherto left unexplored due to the novelty of work that concerns it (see Chapter 1). We detail the construction of the corpus and the texts that comprise it, as well as the subdivisions in the corpus. We offer a typology of leftward stylistic displacement, define the variables that are at play in that typology, and develop a procedure for selecting tokens to be analyzed through the course of the study. We then describe the tagging procedure for these tokens, and offer discussion for some of the sticking points encountered during the tagging process for certain variables. For the *oral représenté* study, we develop a procedure for separating direct discourse from narration. Finally, in our examination of leftward stylistic displacement through the lens of information structure, we develop a series of algorithms according to which LSD elements can be tagged for IS values. In the following chapter, we will present and discuss the results from the first of our three approaches to leftward stylistic displacement, that of domain.

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[30] 'All direct discourse [in the *BFM*] has been annotated in a semi-automatic manner for each text in the corpus […] thanks to the tags <q> and </q> inserted where the reference editions of the corpus texts containing opening and closing angle quotes: « »'.

Chapter Three:
A Diachronic View of Leftward Stylistic Displacement across Textual Domains

3.0- Introduction

In this chapter, we will present a descriptive analysis of Leftward Stylistic Displacement, as it appears in the texts from our corpus, which range in date from the last quarter of the twelfth century to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Since the central interest of the present study is to offer a more wide-ranging description of the LSD family of constructions than has been offered in previous research, here, we will be concerned with the specific typological manifestations of the phenomenon, along with how these appear through time and across different domains. The other two external or discursive variables under consideration, information structure and *oral représenté*, will be treated in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

3.1- General Overview of the Data

Table 3.1: Corpus Dimensions [1]

	Literary Verse	Literary Prose	Historiographical Prose	Administrative Prose
Pre-1220	~19,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 190 words	~26,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 260 words	~18,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 180 words	~8,000 words 55 tokens 1 per 145 words
Post 1220	~4,500 words 100 tokens 1 per 45 words	~16,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 160 words	~19,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 190 words	~37,000 words 34 tokens 1 per 1088 words
Middle French	~4,500 words 100 tokens 1 per 45 words	~19,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 190 words	~24,000 words 100 tokens 1 per 240 words	~30,500 words 100 tokens 1 per 305 words

After applying the selection and tagging procedures detailed in Chapter 2 to each of the twelve subcorpora selected for inclusion in the present study, we obtained a total of 1089 tokens of LSD.[2]

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[1] A list of the texts comprising this corpus can be found in Section 2.1.2.

[2] For reasons of economy, a decision was made to halt data collection in the administrative texts from both the Pre-1220 and Post-1220 subcorpora. In the Pre-1220 subcorpus this was due to a low number of available texts, and in the Post-

The distribution of these tokens across the corpus can be found in Table 3.1, along with the word count for each subcorpus. It should be noted at the outset of this chapter, however, that, during the data collection process, clauses not containing LSD were not counted; thus, none of the data should be construed as being indicative of the percentage of clauses that show leftward stylistic displacement.[3] It is possible, however, based on the size of each subcorpus, to offer an approximation of how frequent instances of leftward stylistic displacement are. For example, in the verse subcorpus, we would expect to find one token every 190 words for the pre-1220, and one token every 45 words for both the post-1220 and Middle French subcorpora. Excepting the literary verse subcorpus, and the outsized infrequency of leftward stylistic displacement in the post-1220 administrative subcorpus, the general trend over time is for leftward stylistic displacement to become less frequent, in absolute terms, from the pre-1220 period to the Middle French one. Given the eventual obsolescence of this construction, it is unsurprising that we should find that instances of leftward stylistic displacement are growing fewer and further between with the progression of time; importantly, however, this transition appears to be happening at different rates across the domains with which we are concerned here. We investigate this variation throughout the present chapter.

3.1.1- Raw Counts for LSD in Main versus Subordinate Clauses

Table 3.2 offers the raw frequency counts for main versus subordinate clause occurrences of Leftward Stylistic Displacement in the present corpus.

Table 3.2: Raw Distribution for Clause Type of Leftward Stylistic Displacement

Main Clause LSD	Subordinate Clause LSD	
55 (5.05%)	1034 (94.94%)	n = 1089

Several things become immediately apparent from these data. Firstly, looking at Table 3.2, the overwhelming majority of instances of leftward stylistic displacement found in the present corpus occur in subordinate clauses, accounting for approximately 95% of the tokens. Importantly, these frequencies closely mirror Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 155) findings; in their data, excluding cases that might be confused with verb-second order, 209/2133, or 9.7% of tokens occur in main clauses, and 1924/2133, or 90.3% of tokens occur in subordinate clauses. Recall from Section 1.0.2 that previous research on medieval French syntax has tended to ignore subordinate clauses since the prevailing model of medieval French syntax treats assumes their word order is less variable than that of main clauses (Salvesen and Walkden 2017, 172-3). Our data suggest forcefully that subordinate clauses in medieval French do not follow the law, so to speak, quite so carefully as has previously been postulated. The significance of such a high percentage of subordinate-clause tokens in our data cannot thus be understated, as it permits us a pointed look at these neglected clauses.

1220 subcorpus, this was due to the relative scarcity of instances of LSD, indicated by their low rate of occurrence when compared to the other texts in our corpus.

[3] Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 154-6) track LSD vs. non-LSD clause frequency from the tenth to the mid-sixteenth century. We will make reference to their data where it is relevant to the present study.

3.1.2- Raw Counts for LSD According to Typological Configuration

Recall that the variables C, S, X, Y, V stand in for the following values: C: Complementizer; S: Subject; X/Y: Non-subject/non-finite-verb displaced element; V: Verb. Examples of each of these configurations follow in (3.1), with the displaced element in italics.

(3.1) SXV
Li emfant, *por la covoitise de l'éritage*, ocirroient leur einz né frère...
'The children, on account of greed for the inheritance, would kill their eldest brother...'
(*Établissements*, p. 11)

SXYV
Quar ainz jor aler l'en covint, et s'amie *o lui a l'uis* vint...
'For he had to go before daybreak, and his lover came with him to the door...'
(*La châtelaine de Vergy*, p. 66)

XSV
Par lequel traictié, le dit roy de Portigal renonça aux aliances qu'il avoit aveques les diz Anglois...
'By way of this treaty, the aforementioned King of Portugal renounced the alliances that he had with the aforementioned Englishmen...'
(*Chroniques des Règnes de Jean II et Charles V, Tome 3*, p. 19)

XYV
Quant li dus vit clorre l'uisset, *tantost a la voie* se met...
'When the duke saw the little door close, he immediately set out...'
(*La Châtelaine de Vergy*, p. 66)

CØXV
Moult i ot de ceuls qui *mauvesement* le tindrent, et moult en furent blasmé.
'There were many of those who kept (their oath) badly, and for this reason, they were very much criticized.'
(*La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 56, §36)

CSXV
Car si ço *fin'amur* fust, la meschine amé ne oüst…
'For, if it had been true love, he would not have loved the (other) girl…'
(*Tristan*, ll. 320-1)

CSXYV
Toute la nuit, endementiers que la dame et li chevaliers *dedenz la chambre en un lit* furent...
'The whole night, while the lady and the knight were in the room in bed...'
(*La châtelaine de Vergy*, p. 62)

CXSV

...mes tant vos di ge tres bien veraiement que *jamés* Lanceloz del Lac n'avra a moi pes.

'...but I will tell you this much most truly, that Lancelot of the Lake will never have peace with me.'

<div align="right">(<i>La mort du roi Artur</i>, p. 270)</div>

CXYV

Elle s'i consenty par tel couvenant que *jamais nue* ne la verroit...

'She consented to this by such an agreement that he should never see her naked...'

<div align="right">(<i>Mélusine</i>, p. 118)</div>

CXSYV

Ensi fu cele damoisele bien .ii. ans ou plus, c'*onques* diables *engignier* ne le pot...

'The maiden remained thus for two years, or indeed longer, such that the devil could never ensnare her...'

<div align="right">(<i>Le roman de Merlin</i>, p. 150, ll. 16-7)</div>

CXYSV

Et je vous jure, par le peril de l'ame de moy, que *jamais celui jour* je ne feray ja chose qui vous puist estre atournee fors a toute honneur...

'And I swear to you, on my soul, that on that day, I will never ever do anything that could subject you to anything but the highest honor...'

<div align="right">(<i>Mélusine</i>, p. 166)</div>

With these examples in hand, we can now turn to the counts of each of these types as they appear in the present dataset. Table 3.3 shows main and subordinate clause tokens sorted according to the variable typology illustrated in Example (3.1) and discussed in Section 2.2.

<div align="center"><i>Table 3.3: Raw Distribution for Clause Type of LSD, Typologized</i></div>

	Main Clauses		
SXV	SXYV	XSV	XYV
25	2	19	9
(45.5%)	(3.6%)	(34.5%)	(16.4%)

			Subordinate Clauses			
CØXV	CSXV	CSXYV	CXSV	CXYV	CXSYV	CXYSV
795	91	11	80	51	3	3
(76.9%)	(8.8%)	(1.1%)	(7.7%)	(4.9%)	(0.3%)	(0.3%)

Here, among main clause configurations, we see a slight preference for LSD$_{Right}$ orders (here, labeled SXV) versus LSD$_{Left}$ (here, labeled XSV). The difference in frequency of these two orders is decidedly less pronounced than the one to be found in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) data, where, across the three LSD-element types their study set out to investigate, SXV configurations are preferred approximately 87% of the time; here, SXV configurations account for around 45% of the main clause tokens in the present study, whereas XSV accounts for 35% of this portion of the data. This difference

may be attributable to the reduced number of LSD element types that were under consideration in their study, which could ultimately skew their configurational data in one direction. Exploring this question in the present study, however, exceeds the capabilities of the small amount of data that we have collected, and should thus figure heavily in a future study of leftward stylistic displacement.

The remaining twenty percent of the main clause tokens have no direct comparand in the frequency data offered by Labelle and Hirschbühler (ibid.). The null-subject XYV configuration, which has been discussed in the previous literature on the subject of this umbrella of constructions (Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014b, 2017), was not targeted by Labelle and Hirschbühler's corpus queries, likely because it would be difficult to design a query that targets multiple elements (whence the necessity of collecting the data for this study by hand). The SXYV construction that co-occurs with an overt subject, of which we were able to find two instances in the present corpus, does not receive any particular consideration in Labelle & Hirschbühler's work.

Other main clause V4 orders do receive brief mention by Labelle and Hirschbühler, however; they note one example of an XP-X°-X°-V order in a *faire causatif* construction (2013, 24), though this construction does not exhibit an overt subject.[4] Such descriptive word order configurations where the verb is in third or fourth position are easily accounted for using the expanded CP model proposed by the cartographic school of syntacticians (Rizzi 2007, Benincà 2004, 2006, *inter alios*). Because these particular examples of LSD$_{Double}$ co-occur with an overt subject (SXYV), they seem to strongly motivate the existence of multiple positions at the left edge of TP/IP capable of hosting elements that have undergone leftward stylistic displacement, as proposed by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 162-163).

Regarding the subordinate clause data from Table 3.2, we can see that leftward stylistic displacement co-occurs with null subjects quite frequently, accounting for 77% of the total number of tokens with a single displaced element; this percentage increases slightly if we consider the instances of CXYV, which also do not contain an overt subject. Recall from Section 1.1.1 that Mathieu (2006, 2013) insisted on the existence of a null-subject parameter for medieval French in his description of Stylistic Fronting; our own data would seem to shed light on his insistence. The remaining 23% of the tokens, however, which do contain an overt subject, illustrate that there are indeed empirical issues that should dissuade us from calquing the Scandinavian construction onto the medieval French one, as Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) have shown. As with the main clause data, there is a slight preference for LSD$_{Right}$ (labeled CSXV) vis-à-vis LSD$_{Left}$ (labeled CXSV); however, in view of the much higher number of subordinate tokens as a whole, this slight difference is negligible (8.8% for LSD$_{Right}$ versus 7.7% for LSD$_{Left}$).

These data again largely reproduce the findings of Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) regarding the distribution of various types of Leftward Stylistic Displacement, for whom LSD$_{Right}$ and LSD$_{Left}$ represent 9% and 4% of the total number of subordinate clause tokens, respectively.[5] Since other configurations of LSD were not queried for in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) corpus study, it is the types of Leftward Stylistic Displacement that appear not to be documented in the previous literature that are of the greatest interest, not just as it pertains to our understanding of the LSD family of configurations, but also, perhaps, to our knowledge of the structure of the embedded clause in medieval French. Beyond the three types of LSD discussed by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) and the null subject double LSD iterations mentioned by Mathieu (2006, 2013) and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014b), the present corpus brings to instances of LSD where two elements are displaced on both the right (CSXYV) and the left (CXYSV) sides of the subject. Although it may go without

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[4] No such triple orders were attested in the present corpus.
[5] Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 155) include embedded verb-second clauses (with post-verbal subjects) in their count of embedded clauses. Such clauses are rejected in the present study following the protocol defined above in Section 2.3.

saying, that such cases exist is evidence of projections being available to host multiple displaced elements. By the same token, several instances of LSD where a displaced element lands simultaneously on either side of the subject came to light as a result of our search. Because these atypical LSD structures are of a certain novelty to the formal descriptions contained in the previous literature on this family of constructions, they receive more in-depth treatment below in Section 3.2.3.

3.1.3- Raw Counts for Displaced Element Type

As first illustrated by Mathieu (2006), a wide variety of types of non-subject and non-finite elements can undergo leftward stylistic displacement. The data from the present study corroborate this finding, as shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Raw Distribution for Type of LSD Element

Adjective	Adverb	Forclusif	Infinitive	Nominal	Prepositional Phrase	Past Participle	Complementizer Phrase
26	427	25	39	212	310	43	7
(2.4%)	(39.2%)	(2.3%)	(3.6%)	(19.5%)	(28.5%)	(3.9%)	(0.6%)

These data are intriguing when viewed in the light of Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2014a, 2014b, 2017) data. Of the 2133 tokens from their dataset that are uncontroversially instances of leftward stylistic displacement (i.e. excluding those tokens that could be instances of V2 order), there were 576 infinitives, 706 past participles, and 851 adverbs. The higher number of displaced adverbs versus the counts of infinitives and past participles seen in their data is unsurprising when compared to the data from the present study, since this category also contained the highest number of tokens. Given the number of infinitives and past participles that Labelle and Hirschbühler were able to mine from their corpus, however, it is unexpected to see that these categories comprise such a minute portion of the dataset: infinitives here account for 3.6% of tokens, whereas past participles make up 3.9% of the data.[6] Further, it should not escape notice that the next two largest categories of displaced elements, nominals (19.5%) and prepositional phrases (28.5%), were not included in Labelle and Hirschbühler's study. This is likely attributable to the particular design of the query used to search through the corpus they were using, which was perhaps designed to account for only instances of LSD comprised of single words. As the longer examples of LSD in Section 3.1.2 illustrate, however, this sort of query may overlook a wide variety of instances of the phenomenon question. This simple fact alone illustrates the value of the holistic, descriptive of the present study and renders its results a necessary complement to Labelle and Hirschbühler's own recent work to accurately define the phenomenon of leftward stylistic displacement, since, unconstrained by a corpus query, it gives us a more direct understanding of the variation intrinsic to LSD.

3.1.4- Raw Counts for Subject Type

As discussed above in Section 3.1.2, although there is a general tendency for leftward stylistic displacement to co-occur with null subjects, there is no constraint that mandates this co-occurrence, as with similar constructions in Scandinavian languages. Table 3.5 shows the raw count for the type of subject with which the tokens in this corpus appeared.

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[6] The outsized number of infinitives and past participles in Labelle and Hirschbühler's data is likely due to their use of a large electronic corpus, which they could query for specifically these types of elements. It appears, thus, that the quantity of infinitives and past participles in their data is not reflective of their general distribution in LSD configurations overall.

Table 3.5: Raw Distribution of Subject Type Co-occurring with LSD

Null	Nominal	Pronominal
851 (78.1%)	99 (9.1%)	139 (12.8%)

Recall from the discussion in Section 2.2.4 that the progressive cliticization of pronominal subjects in the history of French (along with the general fixing of word order) motivates an interest in tracking cases where elements of the sentence might intervene between the verb and the subject, when it is overt. As time goes onward, we might expect the number of orders like SXV and all orders where non-subjects might appear between the subject and the verb to make up a steadily smaller percentage of the study sample, especially in the presence of pronominal subjects. For this reason, it is surprising for there to be an overall higher proportion of LSD occurring in configurations containing a pronominal subject. We explore the diachronic evolution of these distributions in Section 3.2.5.

3.1.5- Raw Counts for Subordinate Clause Type

Since Labelle's (2007, 293-5) first foray into the debate on this family of constructions, it has been known that leftward stylistic displacement can occur in a wide variety of subordinate clauses governed by different complementizers; recall, however, that in later work on the construction by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017), the question of the effects that these complementizers have on the production of the construction does not belong to the list of concerns that they have subsequently chosen to address. As a first step toward answering this particular question, and thus providing another complement to our understanding of how leftward stylistic displacement functions, Table 3.6 records the distribution of cases of leftward stylistic displacement according to the type of complementizer with which it co-occurs.

Table 3.6: Raw Distribution of Complementizer Types Co-occurring with LSD

Conjunctional *Que*	Relative *Que*	*Qui*	*Quand*	*Si*
340 (33.1%)	56 (5.5%)	539 (52.5%)	36 (3.5%)	55 (5.4%)

Table 3.7: Null versus Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses

	Conjunctional *Que*	Relative *Que*	*Quand*	*Si*
Null Subject	232 (72.3%)	37 (11.5%)	22 (6.9%)	30 (9.3%)
Overt Subject	125 (65.4%)	26 (13.6%)	15 (7.9%)	25 (13.1%)

If we return to the question of the type of subject with which LSD co-occurs, there is a direct connection between LSD subject type and LSD subordinate clause type. In clauses headed by *qui*, which functions as the subject of the clause in which it occurs, the presence of this complementizer obviates the possibility of another overt subject occurring as it might in clauses headed by the other complementizers listed here. On account of this, the elevated frequency of both LSD occurring in null-subject clauses is in large part attributable to the elevated frequency of LSD occurring in subordinate clauses headed by the subject relative pronoun *qui*. If we truly wish to get at the relative

frequency of null versus overt subjects in subordinate clauses in LSD configurations, it is necessary to section the data by removing the conflating data. Ultimately, as Table 3.7 illustrates, when null subject clauses co-occurring with *qui* are set aside, the distribution of null versus overt subjects in each subordinate clause type is fairly equal, with the notable exception of conjunctional *que*.

These results are of particular interest for two reasons. In Section 1.0.2, we discussed the lively debate surrounding the question of whether verb-second effects can be seen only in main clauses, or in both main and subordinate clauses. Although the general consensus in the literature is that medieval French is an asymmetrical V2 language, this asymmetry is not a categorical one, since there are certain subordinate contexts in which verb-second effects, such as the licensing of null subjects might be seen (Adams 1987; Vance 1997; Salvesen and Walkden 2017; Wolfe 2019, *inter alios*), namely in subordinate clauses governed by so-called bridge verbs, like *penser*, *dire*, *croire*, and others, whose complements are subordinate clauses headed by conjunctional *que*. It is thus no surprise to see an elevated number of null-subject clauses headed by this complementizer in our data. The subordinate clauses headed by the other complementizers in our data, however, are not considered anywhere in the previous literature, at least to our knowledge, to license null subjects. For this reason, the presence of these 66 tokens in our dataset has clear ramifications for the uniformity of the dominant account of the syntax of subordinate clauses in medieval French, and perhaps beyond. We give these data an extensive theoretical treatment in Section 4.3.1.4.

3.2- Leftward Stylistic Displacement: Domain and Diachrony

Section 3.2 presents both synchronic and diachronic views of the current dataset according to the four domains that were under investigation in the present study: literary verse, literary prose, administrative prose, and historical prose. These data are presented according to the same descriptive variables detailed in section 3.1: main vs. subordinate clause, LSD configuration, displaced element type, subject type, and subordinate clause type. Each of these variables are treated in turn, first synchronically according to domain, then diachronically without regard to domain; finally, since domain and time are not truly divorceable from one another, all variables are examined as they pattern diachronically in each domain.

3.2.1- Main Versus Subordinate Clauses Across Domains

Table 3.8 represents the subdivision of the raw-count main and subordinate clause data from Table 3.2 as these data occurred in each of the four subcorpora examined here.

Table 3.8- Clause Type Distribution of Leftward Stylistic Displacement According to Domain

	Main Clause LSD	Subordinate Clause LSD
Administrative	17 (9%)	172 (91%)
Historical	4 (1.3%)	296 (98.7%)
Literary Prose	9 (3%)	291 (97%)
Literary Verse	26 (8.7%)	274 (91.3%)

Given that the overwhelming majority of the data from the sample in Table 3.2 also occurred in subordinate clause contexts, it comes as no great surprise that this trend should be borne out by the data when sorted according to domain: there is a strong cross-domanial tendency for leftward stylistic

displacement to occur in subordinate clauses, though it is not totally absent from main clauses in any of the domains selected for study here. Looking at the percentages in Table 3.8, it appears that, from a synchronic perspective, the administrative and literary verse subcorpora pattern together, with a markedly higher percentage of main clause occurrences of LSD when compared to the historical and literary prose texts. This is an unexpected result; following the narrative of Balon & Larrivée (2016) regarding innovative versus conservative text types as it pertains to null subjects, which treats literary texts and administrative texts as being polar opposites of one another in terms of their relative innovation and conservatism, it is odd that they should exhibit similar characteristics with regard to their preference for main clause occurrences of LSD. It is unclear what potential explanations for this similarity might be offered at present; we will thus withhold judgment until all the variables have been fully considered.

If we subdivide the data for main versus subordinate clauses according to the period in which they occurred, it is interesting to note that the percentage of leftward stylistic displacement in main clauses which is relatively stable between the Pre-1220 and Post-1220 periods for all the domains under investigation, takes an unexpected turn between the Post-1220 and Middle French subcorpora. Since leftward stylistic displacement is a family of constructions which eventually slides into obsolescence, it is reasonable to expect that the construction would begin to be isolated in certain types of constructions (Hopper & Traugott 2003; Haspelmath 2004; Hansen 2017; Rudnicka 2019). The data collected for the present study do not reflect such a progressive isolation: on the contrary, in what is assumed to be the most innovative domain of the four from which data was gathered (administrative texts), the clausal contexts in which leftward stylistic displacement may occur appears to be diversifying, rather than shrinking. We see this movement reflected in Table 3.9 in the increase in Main Clause LSD for administrative texts.

Table 3.9: Diachronic Percentage of Main versus Subordinate Clauses According to Domain

	Pre-1220 Main	Post-1220 Main	Middle French Main
Administrative	0.0%	2.9%	16.0%
Historical	0.0%	1.0%	3.0%
Prose	1.0%	4.0%	4.0%
Verse	9.0%	11.0%	6.0%

	Pre-1220 Subordinate	Post-1220 Subordinate	Middle French Subordinate
Administrative	100.0%	97.1%	84.0%
Historical	100.0%	99.0%	97.0%
Prose	99.0%	96.0%	96.0%
Verse	90.0%	89.0%	94.0%

Chart 3.1a: Diachronic Percentage of LSD Occurrences in Main Clauses — Administrative, Historical, Prose, Verse

Chart 3.1b: Diachronic Percentage of LSD Occurrences in Subordinate Clauses — Administrative, Historical, Prose, Verse
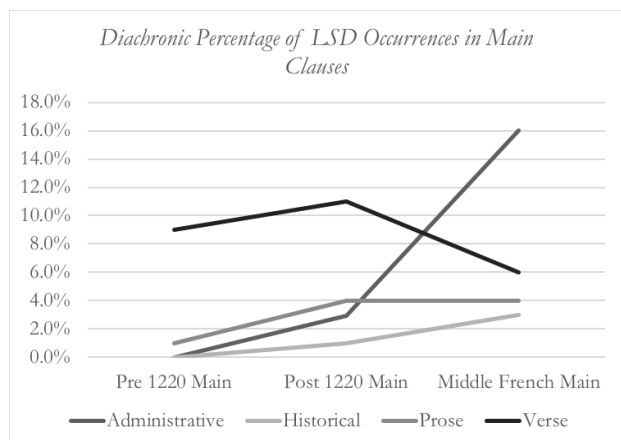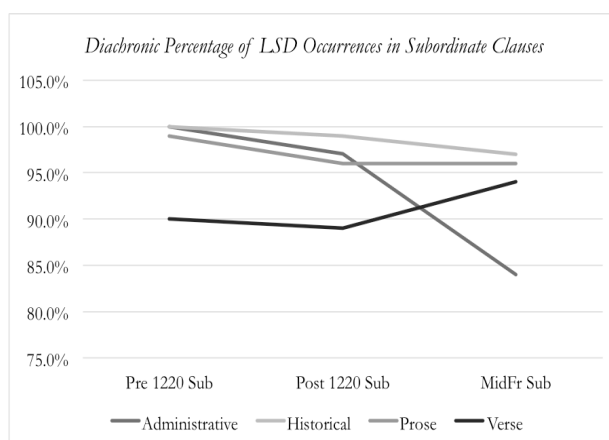
As shown in Table 3.9, and graphically in Charts 3.1a-b, the data for the historical, literary prose, and literary verse subcorpora appear to converge on a single point in the Middle French period, exhibiting around 5% main clauses and 95% subordinate clauses. The data for administrative subcorpus, on the other hand, display the opposite trend: a five-fold increase in the number of main clauses in our sample when compared to the data from the same domain in the earlier corpus, jumping from 2.9% in the post-1220 period to 16% in the Middle French period. Interestingly, this percentage exceeds slightly the percentage of main clauses in any domain for any of the periods in question, including the next highest percentage of main clauses, found in literary verse in the preceding post-1220 period (11%).

In Chart 4.1a, we can see that the administrative subcorpus is unique among all the domains under investigation, since its trendline diverges sharply from those of the other three domains; it is natural to offer some sort of explanation for this divergence. One very tempting possible justification for the behavior of this subcorpus lies in the dialect of the text here under review. All of the administrative texts considered in the present study were taken from Pierre Larrivée's *Français légal ancien de Normandie* (*FLAN*) corpus. For the latest of these three subcorpora, especially, the *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI* (1422-1435), it would be reasonable to bear in mind the political power responsible for these pardons and records of crimes, which date from the period of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. In the wake of the Battle of Agincourt (1415), which was a major victory for the English, large swathes of formerly French territory fell under English administration. This might lead us to believe that the dialect of Gallo-Romance in which the rule of this territory was undertaken was likely to be heavily influenced by Anglo-Norman, if this was not the dialect used outright for these documents. Lusignan (2004, 249), too, entertains this possibility, if only very fleetingly: "On aurait pu s'attendre à ce que [les officiers anglais] utilisent l'anglo-français pour la rédaction des documents administratifs normands. Il n'en fut rien".[7] If dialect is not a factor conditioning the sudden explosion of main-clause leftward stylistic displacement, it is entirely possible that some other factor which we have not considered in the present study may be responsible for this shift in frequency.

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[7] 'We might have expected for English officials to use Anglo-Norman to write Norman administrative documents. This did not occur.'

3.2.2- LSD Configurations Across Domains

More light can be shed on the question of how leftward stylistic displacement appears in each of the domains investigated by looking at the distribution of individual configurations of the phenomenon. Table 3.10 presents the totals for each configuration such as they appeared in each of the four domains in the present study. Yet again, several trends are evident from these data, the first of which is that the most robustly represented configuration in the full sample from the raw count data in Section 3.1.2, CØXV, remains so in each of the four domains from the present corpus; this, again, echoes Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 155) data, where, *mutatis mutandis* to exclude clause types that are not considered in this study, such CØXV clauses account for approximately 78% of their data, which range in date from 1175 to 1575, approximately. Secondly, it appears that, of all the subcorpora, the literary verse and literary prose domains exhibit the widest variety of configurations, with examples of all but one clause type each that appeared in the data from the present corpus, a clear indication of their relative conservatism. These clause configurations also include several that are "atypical", in the sense that they do not form part of the canon of configurations presented by Mathieu (2006, 2013) Labelle (2007), and Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) in previous work on leftward stylistic displacement. The historical prose domain presents several examples of these "new" types of LSD, as well. A representation of the distribution of LSD configurations, exempting cases of CØXV for ease of reading due to scale, can be found below in Chart 3.2.

Table 3.10: Specific LSD Configurations Across Domains

	Main Clauses			
	SXV	**SXYV**	XSV	XYV
Administrative	9 (4.7%)	0 (0%)	8 (4%)	0 (0%)
Historical	1 (0.3%)	0 (0%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)
Prose	1 (0.3%)	0 (0%)	5 (1.7%)	3 (1%)
Verse	14 (4.7%)	2 (0.7%)	3 (1%)	7 (2.3%)

	Subordinate Clauses						
	CØXV	CSXV	**CSXYV**	CXSV	CXYV	**CXSYV**	**CXYSV**
Administrative	129 (68.3%)	14 (7.4%)	0 (0%)	23 (12.2%)	6 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Historical	241 (80.3%)	13 (4.3%)	0 (0%)	31 (10.3%)	9 (3%)	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)
Prose	229(76.3%)	29 (9.7%)	3 (1%)	18 (6%)	9 (3%)	2 (0.7%)	1 (0.3%)
Verse	196 (65.3%)	35 (11.7%)	8 (2.7%)	8 (2.7%)	26 (8.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.3%)
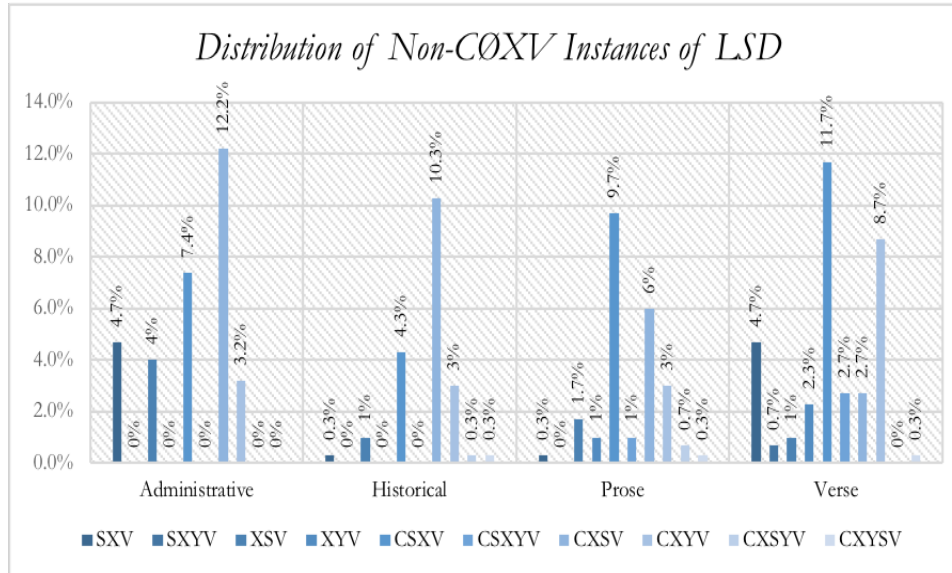
Leaving aside the most frequent configuration of leftward stylistic displacement, CØXV, there are other observations that might be made regarding the distribution we see represented in Chart 3.2. Let us begin by discussing the main clause configurations SXV and XSV, also known respectively as LSD$_{Right}$ and LSD$_{Left}$ in Labelle and Hirschbühler's work (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017). As it pertains to the SXV order, the sample from the administrative and literary verse subcorpora demonstrated that this order appears in 4.7% of cases, whereas the historical and literary prose corpora both contained one example of this configuration, each, totaling 0.3%. This is a markedly lower level of relative frequency than appears in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 155) data, where SXV occurred in approximately 8.6% of instances of leftward stylistic displacement across their corpus. This difference may be attributable to the types of LSD elements that Labelle and Hirschbühler included in their corpus, assuming that certain elements occur more frequently in some configurations than others. Returning to our own data, the aforementioned similarities between the administrative and literary verse subcorpora, in conjunction with the resemblance of the historical and literary prose subcorpora, would appear to lend further credence to the hypothesis that these domains pattern together generally as suggested above in Section 3.2.1. This is where the direct similarities between these pairs of domains stop, however. If we turn to the relative frequency of XSV, the administrative subcorpus exhibits a somewhat larger relative frequency of this configuration (4%) than the other three domains, whose relative frequency of XSV occurrences ranges between 1%-1.7%; this again closely mirrors Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 155) data, where instances of XSV account for 1.6% of their data. Although when viewed in the context of all types of leftward stylistic displacement, the 4% relative frequency of XSV configurations may seem of little note, when viewed in the context of XSV occurrences alone, this frequency is, in our estimation, significant, since it represents a value between two and four times higher than that seen in other domains considered here and in other research on leftward stylistic displacement. This fact would seem yet again to set the administrative subcorpus apart from the other domains considered here.

Turning, then, to so-called typical varieties of leftward stylistic displacement in subordinate clauses, the domains are again evenly split with regards to the most frequent configuration, once cases of CØXV are removed from consideration. In this case, however, it is the historical domain with which the administrative subcorpus appears to pattern: here, instances of CXSV are most frequent.

These clauses occur in 12.2 % of cases in the administrative subcorpus, and 10.3% of the historical subcorpus. This is a particularly interesting result, given that this clause type occurs in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 155) data in only 3.4% of cases. If we consider the fact that their results account for the fronting of only three types of displaced elements, this might seem to offer a potential explanation for why the frequencies found in the present study and those from Labelle and Hirschbühler's vary to such an extent; if we turn to the literary prose and literary verse subcorpora, however, we find that the CXSV configuration accounts for approximately 3% of the data, on a par with their findings.[8] Shifting focus to the other typical subordinate clause configuration, occurrences of CSXV account for 8.7% of Labelle and Hirschbühler's (ibid.) data; this relative frequency perfectly matches that found in the literary verse corpus, and hovers in the middle of the frequencies of this configuration found in the administrative (7.4%) and literary prose subcorpora (9.7%). Interestingly, however, the frequencies found in these three subcorpora and Labelle and Hirschbühler's study far exceed that found in the historical subcorpus, where CSXV configurations only account for 4.3% of the data. This reduced number of occurrences may be due to the high frequency of occurrence of CØXV configurations, which make up 80.3% of the tokens in this subcorpus.

It is possible at this point to gesture toward how the domains ultimately pattern together. Perhaps the most important result to be seen in the distribution in Chart 4.2 is the relative lack of diversity of configurations attested in the administrative subcorpus as compared to the other subcorpora, this despite the fact that, when comparing the frequencies of individual configurations, this subcorpus appears to pattern with the literary verse subcorpus. Unlike the historical and literary prose and verse subcorpora, the administrative subcorpus exhibits only typical configurations of leftward stylistic displacement. On the basis of solely this metric, it is possible to offer a sort of stylistic continuum with regards to the liberality with which configurations of leftward stylistic displacement are employed, with the administrative subcorpus being the least liberal, followed by the historical and literary prose texts. The literary verse texts, which exhibit the most even distribution of configurations, are thus the most liberal. If we take into account the fact that leftward stylistic displacement is a construction that will eventually fall into disuse, such diversity should likely be interpreted as conservatism. This means, perhaps counter-intuitively, that the lower number of configurations present in the administrative subcorpus should be taken as an indication of its innovatory status.[9] In order to corroborate this hypothesis, it will be necessary to turn to diachronic analysis.

3.2.2.1: LSD Configurations Viewed Diachronically

Returning to the question of obsolescence, it is logical to assume that time is a factor that might condition the configurations of leftward stylistic displacement that occur in our corpus. To that end, Table 3.11 offers a view of the diachrony of leftward stylistic displacement such as it appears across the three periods that we have chosen to investigate here.

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[8] This similarity is possibly attributable to the composition of their corpus, which consists largely of literary texts.
[9] Administrative texts appear to be innovative when compared to literary texts with regards to the rate with which they exhibit medieval French's shift away from its previous status as a *pro*-drop language. See Balon and Larrivée (2016).

Table 3.11: Specific Configurations of LSD Through Time

Main Clauses

	SXV	SXYV	XSV	XYV
Pre-1220	4 (1.1%)	1 (0.3%)	2 (0.6%)	3 (0.8%)
Post-1220	8 (2.4%)	1 (0.3%)	2 (0.6%)	5 (1.5%)
Middle French	13 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	15 (3.8%)	1 (0.3%)

Subordinate Clauses

	CØXV	CSXV	CSXYV	CXSV	CXYV	CXSYV	CXYSV
Pre-1220	276 (77.8%)	41 (11.5%)	4 (1.1%)	7 (2%)	15 (4.2%)	2 (0.6%)	0 (0%)
Post-1220	247 (73.9%)	30 (8.9%)	6 (1.8%)	13 (3.9%)	22 (6.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Middle French	272 (68%)	20 (5%)	1 (0.3%)	60 (15%)	14 (3.5%)	1 (0.3%)	3 (0.8%)

Chart 3.3a: Diachronic Relative Frequency of CØXV

Diachronic Relative Frequency of CØXV
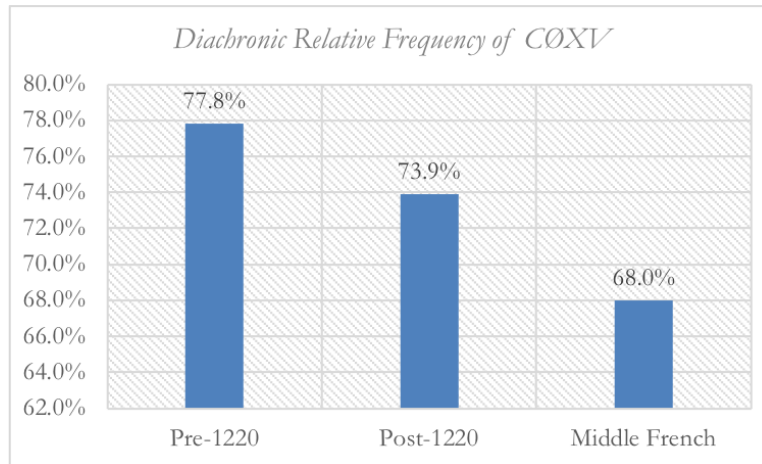
Chart 3.3a shows the relative frequency of the LSD configuration CØXV, which is the most frequently occurring of all LSD types brought to light here.[10] Although instances of CØXV predominate in all the subcorpora individually, this configuration quite evidently makes up a steadily smaller share of the total occurrences of leftward stylistic displacement in the present corpus as time moves onward. This marked, but not precipitous, decline in the productivity of this configuration seems to follow the general evolution of the language. Recall that, although subordinate clauses may exhibit verb-second syntax in clauses governed by certain verbs (Adams 1987, Salvesen and Walkden 2017), it is certainly not unwarrantedly that great numbers of works on the subject of medieval French syntax (Vance 1997, principally among these) have argued for the inability of subordinate clauses to license null subjects. Labelle (2007, 314) finds, however, that "[Early Old French] freely allows null subjects in embedded clauses…" and that "[…] this is no longer the case in later Old French". Because this value is a relative frequency, which shows only what percentage of the sample exhibits CØXV order, the decline of this configuration, in turn, means that the total share of configurations other than this one increases

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[10] The configuration CØXV is displayed in Chart 3.3a separately from the other LSD configurations in Chart 3.3b for ease of viewing.

through time. Chart 3.3b shows the percentage share of these non-CØXV configurations across the three periods investigated here.

Chart 3.3b: Diachronic Relative Frequency of Non-CØXV Configurations
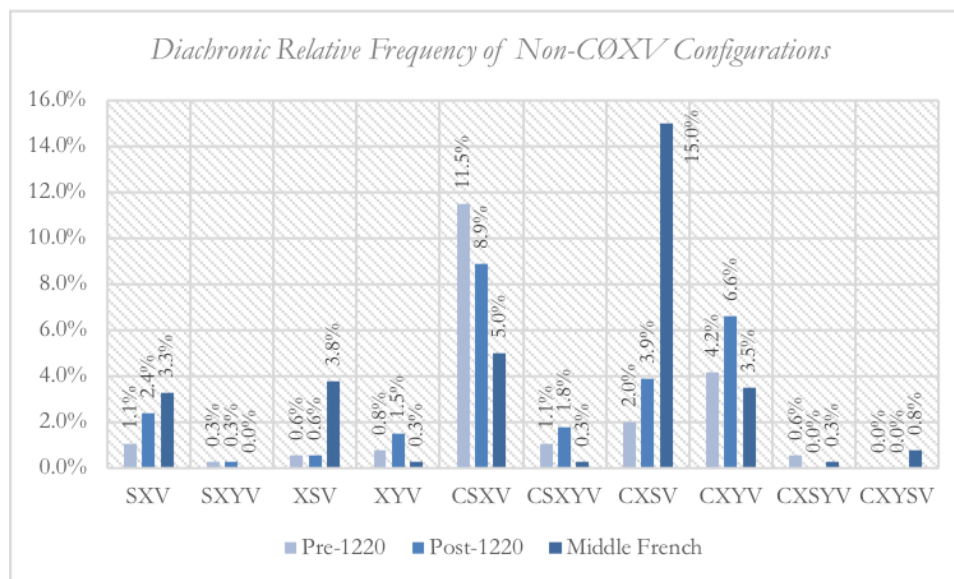
The decline in frequency of the CØXV configuration from the Pre-1220 to the Middle French Period translates directly into the rise of several other configurations, notably those where the displaced element appears to the left of the subject (XSV, CXSV, etc.). Turning to Chart 3.3b, this rise occurs in both the main clause configuration XSV, which jumps from a 0.6% share of the total data in both the Pre- and Post-1220 periods to 3.8%, a six-fold increase, and the subordinate clause variety CXSV, which climbs from 2% in the Pre-1220 period to 15% in the middle French period, a seven-fold increase. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 156) recorded a similar increase in XSV and CXSV configurations for the period 1350-1399, particularly for the subordinate CXSV order; given the fact that the texts from the Middle French subcorpus in the present study date from between ca. 1380-1425, it is reasonable to assume that both our data and theirs reflect the same trend. Moreover, this suggests that this increase in the XSV/CXSV share of the data is not due to the selection of a particular text for inclusion in the corpus, but rather is reflective of a general trend in the language at this time.

The increase in CXSV order from the Pre-1220 period to Middle French also occurs as the CSXV configuration loses considerable ground. In their own study, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 156) continue to track leftward stylistic displacement through the sixteenth century; after the marked increase found in their data from the period 1350-1399, the number of occurrences drops off precipitously. For the entirety of the 16th century, they were only able to find 1 occurrence of XSV and 3 instances of CXSV. Both SXV and CSXV were absent from their data for this period, which bespeaks the loss of intermediate positions in the underlying syntax between the subject position and that of the verb. Extending this trend backward in time, it is within reason to hypothesize that we are seeing the beginning of the demise of these positions through the progressive fixation of French word order, which had begun in the thirteenth century and continued through the Middle French period here in question (Marchello-Nizia 1995, Combettes 1988), and beyond.

3.2.2.2: LSD Configurations Viewed Through Domain and Time

Whereas the foregoing data in this section are able to show us quite clearly that period is a solid predictor of the configuration of leftward stylistic displacement, the aim of the present study is to determine to what extent domain, too, might be a determining factor in the ways in which this family of constructions manifests itself. To that end, it will be useful to combine these two factors in order to gain a more solid perspective on how they interact. Table 3.12 and Charts 3.4a-d thus show the diachronic evolution of Specific LSD configurations in each individual domain, beginning with the administrative domain.

Table 3.12: Diachronic LSD Configurations, Administrative Domain [11]

	Main Clauses			Subordinate Clauses				
	SXV	XSV	Other	CØXV	CSXV	CXSV	CXYV	Other
Pre-1220	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	40 (73%)	12 (22%)	0 (0%)	3 (5%)	0 (0%)
Post-1220	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (85%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
Middle French	8 (8%)	8 (8%)	0 (0%)	60 (60%)	0 (0%)	22 (22%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)

Chart 3.4a: Diachronic LSD Configurations, Administrative Domain
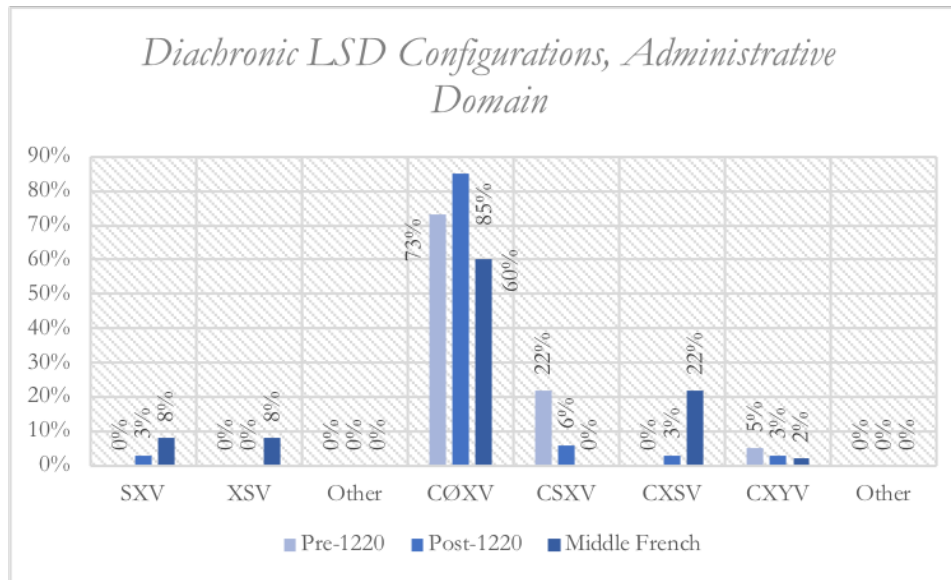
As detailed above in the discussion of Chart 3.2, the administrative subcorpus demonstrates the lowest variety of configurations of leftward stylistic displacement; the insight that Chart 3.4a, which shows the same information graphically, is able to offer is that this trend is reflected in all periods here in question, since no instances of so-called "atypical" configurations of LSD were able to be found in the present sample. These configurations are here listed as "Other". As with the other domains under investigation in the present study, CØXV is the most robustly represented configuration from the

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[11] Percentages are listed next to each of the totals here, as above, to offset problems of data legibility that might arise due to the unequal size of the subcorpora. For Charts 4.4b-d, the total number of tokens collected for each period totals 100; therefore only the percentage is displayed, as displaying both the total and the percentage would be redundant.

Pre-1220 period to the Middle French period. Interestingly, however, if we define a trendline for this configuration, based on the average relative frequency of CØXV across all domains, which moves from 77.8% in the Pre-1220 period, to 73.9% for the post-1220 period, and finally to 68.0% for the Middle French period, we can observe that this configuration peaks at a later date than the average, and declines more quickly from the Post-1220 period to the Middle French period. Since this tracks a trend away from null subjects in these clauses documented elsewhere (Labelle 2007, Balon and Larrivée 2016, Capin and Larrivée 2017), it seems reasonable to assume that the administrative domain is indeed the fore-runner of the group in terms of how it demonstrates the evolution of the language. Further, the administrative domain exhibits the rise of CXSV configurations seen in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2014, 156) data, to within one percent of the highest relative frequency attested for this configuration, seen in the Historical domain (23%). The same holds true regarding the decline of CSXV configurations, which, by the Middle French period, are unattested in the present sample for the administrative domain.

Leaving aside the absence of non-typical configurations of leftward stylistic displacement, there is one additional way in which the administrative domain data differs from the other subcorpora: whereas the other domains show a reasonably stable manifestation of instances of SXV and XSV configurations across the three periods, as we will see in Charts 3.4b-d, the administrative subcorpus shows a sudden spike in frequency for these configurations in the Middle French period, jumping from 3% to 8% for the SXV configuration, and increasing from 0% to 8% for the XSV configuration. Given the stability in the relative frequency of these configurations in the other domains, it would appear that the increases in the relative frequency of these configurations in the administrative domain are indeed anomalous, since they are well above the average relative frequencies found across all four domains. If the administrative domain is indeed the most innovative, then the concentration of LSD configurations seen in this domain into fewer categories than the other domains investigated in the present study is likely to be indicative and a direct result of this construction's slide into obsolescence.

Chart 3.4b: Diachronic LSD Configurations, Historical Domain
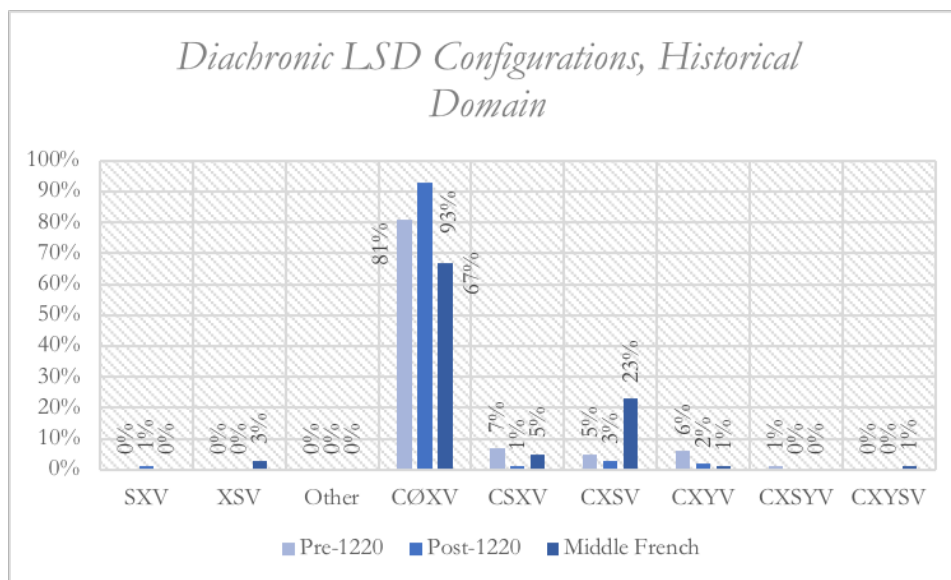
Let us now examine the relative frequency distributions of the other three domains in question for the present study, beginning with the Historical domain, for which the data is represented in Chart 3.4b. Upon comparing the values obtained from the historical subcorpus with those appearing in the

administrative one, it is possible to note several marked similarities, along with a small number of differences. Firstly, the historical domain shows a much lower relative frequency of occurrence for main clauses, particularly for instances of SXV, which increased sharply in the administrative subcorpus in the Middle French period, and of which only one example was attested for the post-1220 period in the historical subcorpus; however, as it pertains to the XSV configuration, the general trend towards higher frequency in the Middle French period is still borne out, albeit not quite so dramatically as in the administrative subcorpus. These two subcorpora, are similar, moreover, in that they do not exhibit any instances of two elements being simultaneously displaced (SXYV or XYV). We take this to be further evidence of their relative innovatory status when compared to the literary subcorpora.

Regarding subordinate clause configurations of LSD, the CØXV construction follows the same curve in both subcorpora, increasing from Pre-1220 to Post-1220, and then falling precipitously from the Post-1220 period into Middle French. Interestingly, of all the domains, the Historical subcorpus appears to track the average relative frequency of CØXV configurations the most closely with regards to these values from Pre-1220 to Middle French (77.8% > 68% on average versus 81% > 67%), excepting, of course, the peak from the Post-1220 period. Similar trends are evident in the administrative and historical subcorpora for the configurations CXSV, which increases dramatically from Pre-1220 to Middle French, and CXYV, which slowly decreases in relative frequency across the periods here under investigation, beginning at 5-6% in the Pre-1220 period and tapering off to 1-2% in the Middle French subcorpus.

The principal differences between the administrative and historical subcorpora as it pertains to subordinate clauses are the marked difference in the relative frequency of CSXV and the presence of cases of "atypical" configurations of LSD. Whereas the relative frequency of CSXV in the administrative subcorpus fall from 22% in the Pre-1220 period to zero in the Middle French period, the frequency of occurrences of CSXV in the historical subcorpus experiences a much gentler decline: from 7% in the Pre-1220 period to 5% in the Middle French period; this permits us to postulate that the historical subcorpus is somewhat less innovative than the administrative corpus. The "atypical" configurations of LSD, listed in Table 3.12b and Chart 3.4b under the headings CXSYV and CXYSV, do not appear at all in the administrative subcorpus; although they are extremely infrequent when viewed in the context of the far more numerous "typical" configurations of LSD, their presence in the historical corpus is indicative of a slightly increased flexibility in this domain with regards to the types of leftward stylistic displacement that it might manifest, assuming that this sample is indeed representative. Moreover, if we take into account the fact that French (along with the rest of Romance) is evolving away from the flat and flexible informationally determined syntactic structures of Latin towards a more rigid constituent structure where syntactic function governs word order (Vennemann 1976; Ledgeway 2011, 396 ff.; Prévost 2015), along with the attested conservatism of subordinate clauses (Bybee 2001), it is, again, reasonable to posit that the historical domain is slightly less innovative than the administrative domain in its maintenance of such constructions, albeit in a decidedly minority fashion due to the extremely small number of examples of such constructions. This assumption finds further support in the fact that the historical domain shows most of the same trends over time as the administrative domain, though these seem to be less drastic in the historical subcorpus, such as the close tracking of the average rate of occurrence of the CØXV configuration from the Pre-1220 to the Middle French period.

How, then, do the other two domains here under investigation, literary verse and prose, pattern through time with regards to leftward stylistic displacement, and how does this differ from the way that LSD appears in the administrative and historical texts from the present corpus? Let us begin by examining the category that has hitherto served as the benchmark according to which it was possible to postulate relative conservatism or innovation with regards to leftward stylistic

displacement: CØXV. As displayed above in Chart 3.3a, which details the average relative frequency of the CØXV configuration across all four domains through time, this configuration is at its highest levels in the Pre-1220 period, accounting for approximately 78% of the total cases of leftward stylistic displacement found in the present corpus; the frequency of this configuration then declines to approximately 74% for the Post-1220 period and falls further still to 68% in the Middle French period. If we compare these average values to those found in the literary prose subcorpus, which can be found in Table 3.12c and Chart 3.4c we can see that this domain lags behind the general downward trend from the Pre-1220 to Middle French periods.

Chart 3.4c: Diachronic LSD Configurations, Literary Prose Domain
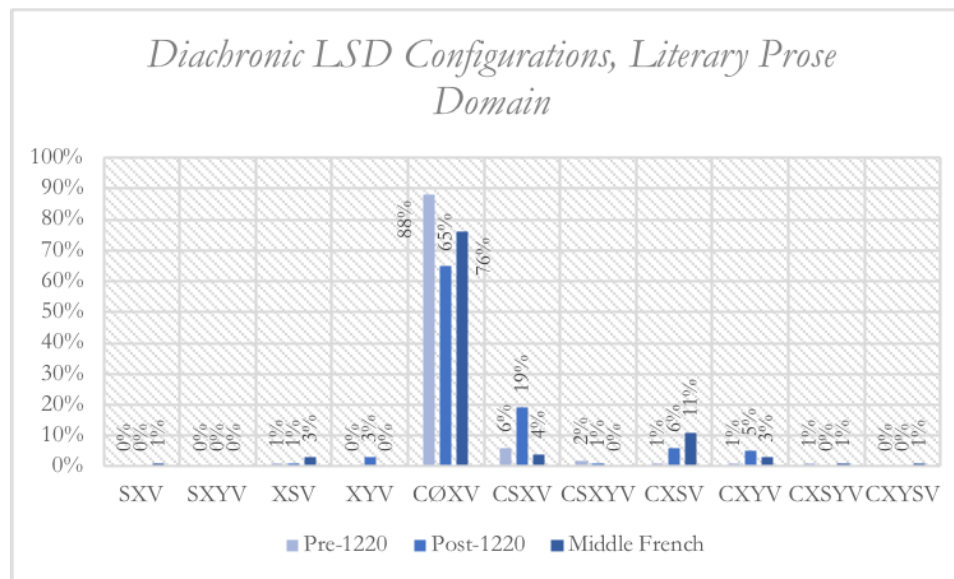
The pre-1220 frequency of CØXV, 88%, is ten percent higher than the average frequency of 78%, and the Middle French frequency, 76%, remains eight percent higher than the average value of 68%, which passes only slightly beneath the average frequency prevalent in the corpus approximately 200 years earlier. Puzzlingly, the literary prose subcorpus demonstrates a 23% decline from the Pre-1220 period to the Post-1220 period; although it is unclear to what factors this may be attributed, it appears that the majority of the share of LSD lost to CØXV during this period was gained by the CSXV configuration. Indeed, this is the only domain in which this particular type of LSD spikes in frequency in any period, since the general trend appears to be for this configuration to disappear. This occurrence is certainly anomalous, as it seems difficult to imagine that conditions requiring the expression of the subject could shift so dramatically in one direction for one period, and then even more dramatically in the other direction for the following period, the result of which is the resumption of the general decline in the relative frequency of CSXV configurations over time. It is unfortunately impossible to offer a concrete explanation for this unexpected behavior without a broadening of the corpus, which would further broaden the extensive scope of the present study. This would, however, permit us to ascertain whether this behavior is a direct result of the particular texts selected for inclusion in the corpus for the present study.

The other configuration of leftward stylistic displacement for which we already have an established timeline is Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017: 156) LSD_Left, which carries the labels XSV and CXSV in the present study. Recall that LSD_Left increases dramatically in their data during the period 1350-1399 (ibid.), in both main and subordinate clause contexts, and that a similar increase can

be seen in the overall average frequency data from the present study. As in the case of the CØXV configuration, it appears that the literary prose domain is somewhat slower than the administrative and historical domains to manifest this change: while the prose subcorpus does closely track the overall average frequency of the XSV configuration, it shows a lower-than-average percentage of CXSV in the Middle French subcorpus, demonstrating an 11% relative frequency compared to the overall average of 15% for this period. Based on these factors, it is possible to posit that the literary prose subcorpus is likely (and unsurprisingly so) more conservative than the administrative and historical subcorpora.

This assumption also once more finds support in the fact that the relative frequency of "atypical" configurations of LSD is also more elevated in literary prose than it is in the other two subcorpora. Where the administrative subcorpus demonstrates no instances of the configurations SXYV, CSXYV, CXSYV, or CXYSV, and the historical subcorpus exhibits one instance of CXSYV in the pre-1220 period, and another of CXYSV in the Middle French period, the literary prose subcorpus contained examples of all three of the atypical subordinate-clause configurations CSXYV, CXSYV, and CXYSV. Further, the literary prose corpus contains a small number of examples of XYV, whereas this configuration is absent from both the administrative and historical subcorpora. Though the relative frequency of these types of leftward stylistic displacement is admittedly quite small, accounting for only 1-3% of the examples contained in the present sample across all time periods, these frequencies equal, or even surpass those of typical configurations of leftward stylistic displacement: the SXV and XSV configurations, for example, do not breach 3% relative frequency in this subcorpus or the historical one. This higher level of variation in the distribution of LSD configurations is a manifestation of a greater level of flexibility in terms of what constructions are possible, and, it bears repeating, that, in the context of the evolution of the French language toward a more rigid word order, such flexibility can be attributed to the relative conservatism of the literary prose subcorpus.

Similarly to the literary prose subcorpus, almost all "atypical" varieties of leftward stylistic displacement can be found in the literary verse subcorpus, for which the relative frequency distributions can be found in Chart 3.4d. It is intriguing to note where the discrepancies between these two subcorpora lie in terms of the types of non-typical varieties of leftward stylistic displacement they manifest. The literary prose subcorpus contains at least one example of all three attested varieties of "atypical" LSD that can occur in subordinate clauses: CSXYV, CXSYV, and CXYSV. The literary verse subcorpus, however, contains only two of these: CSXYV and CXYSV. Despite the reduced total number of configurations found there, the literary verse subcorpus exhibits the highest relative frequency for any of these "atypical" varieties, reaching 5% in the Post-1220 period (CSXYV).

The presence of this variety of configurations places the verse subcorpus on the conservative side of the spectrum, alongside literary prose. What would seem to set the two apart, however, is the presence of the configuration SXYV in the literary verse corpus, at least in terms of "atypical" configurations. This SXYV configuration, which is attested in none of the other subcorpora, appears in one instance in the verse subcorpus in both the Pre-1220 and Post-1220 periods, and then disappears there in the Middle French period. If we follow, then, the logic of Bybee (2001), who explains that main clauses are cross-linguistically more innovative than subordinate clauses, the fact that this main-clause configuration, whose trajectory is toward obsolescence, should appear only in the literary verse subcorpus indicates that we should take this to be the most conservative of all the domains under investigation here.
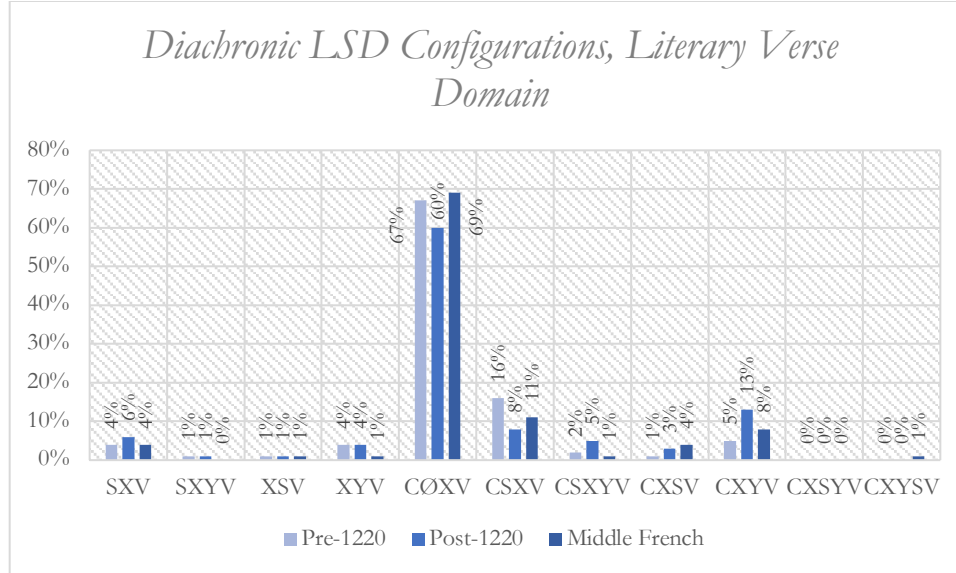
Further motivation for the assumption that the literary verse subcorpus is the most conservative one can be found in the way the relative frequencies for the other configurations of leftward stylistic displacement vary from the Pre-1220 period to the Middle French period. Let us begin with the configuration that is most frequent on average: CØXV. Although this configuration is the most frequent one in the literary verse subcorpus, just as it is in the other individual domains with which we have been concerned in the present study, the CØXV configuration in verse does not follow the same course of evolution as in the other three subcorpora. Recall that the trend for this construction from the earliest to the latest period as seen above in Chart 3.3a is one of decline. This downward trend is not reflected in the literary verse domain, where the relative frequency for this configuration stays fairly stable from the earliest to the latest period here in question, moving from 67% in the Pre-1220 period, to 60% in the Post-1220 period, to 69% in the Middle French period. This stability (including the slight upward trend seen between the latter two periods in our corpus) in the face of the downward shifts present in the other three domains clearly cements, in our view, the fact that the literary verse subcorpus behaves differently from the other domains that we have investigated.

Similar stability in the verse subcorpus can be seen through time for the other "typical" configurations of leftward stylistic displacement where clear upward or downward trends are present in the other three domains. In main clause contexts, the rise of SXV and XSV configurations seen in the overall average frequency data (driven by the large percentage seen in the administrative domain in the Middle French period) are unattested in the verse subcorpus: the SXV configuration begins at 4% in the Pre-1220 period, climbs to 6% in the Post-1220 period, and then retreats back to 4% in the Middle French period, whereas the percentage of XSV configurations remains stable at 1% across the entire verse subcorpus. These results are of particular note, since the literary verse subcorpus is the only one to manifest any instances of SXV configurations in the Pre-1220 period, which sets it apart from the subcorpora studied here, an indication of the increased flexibility with which leftward stylistic displacement manifests itself in this domain. This flexibility, it should also be noted, is reflected in the generally lower-than-average frequency for the most common configuration of LSD, vis-à-vis the other domains. Similar static trends also appear in the subordinate configurations CSXV and CXSV.

For the first of these configurations, which sees a reduction of over half in the average frequency data, a more moderate diminution is sustained in the verse subcorpus, where it falls from 16% in the pre-1220 period to 11% in the Middle French period. The second of these, which moves from 2% in the pre-1220 period to 15% in the Middle French period in the general dataset, barely moves at all in the verse subcorpus, accounting for 1% of the data in the Pre-1220 period and 4% of the data in the Middle French period.

3.2.2.3- LSD Configurations through Domain and Time: A Summary

Based on the analysis in Sections 3.2.1-3.2.2.2 regarding the distribution of the full variety of configurations of leftward stylistic displacement found in each of the four domains under consideration for the present study, and how these are distributed according to the period that originated them, it is possible to draw some measured conclusions. Firstly, when the whole corpus is viewed synchronically, domain is not a factor that allows us to make any sort of complete generalizations as it pertains to what configurations will appear or not, though some rough patterns do appear. For example, the fewest number of unique configurations of leftward stylistic displacement can be found in the administrative domain, with somewhat more variance in the historical domain, and the greatest amount of variance in the literary prose and verse domains.

Since the interest in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) most recent work seems to have been distributed between refuting prior claims regarding the nature of leftward stylistic displacement (Mathieu 2006, 2013) and offering a diachrony of the construction, which had not been previously undertaken, it was necessary to offer further data on this front in order to test the validity of their results. It is possible to say with confidence that the results of the present study regarding the diachronic evolution of leftward stylistic displacement closely mirror those of Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017). The movement of the average relative frequencies that came to light as a result of this study for SXV (upward), XSV (upward), CSXV (downward), and CXSV (upward) from the Pre-1220 period to the Middle French period match the trends reflected in their data (2017, 156). We were also able to confirm (at least indirectly) one of Labelle's (2007, 314) conclusions regarding trends in the evolution of medieval French with regards to the presence of null subjects in subordinate clauses in earlier medieval French versus later medieval French, as our data show the frequency of CØXV instances of leftward stylistic displacement declining steadily from the Pre-1220 subcorpus to the Middle French one. These clear trends allow us to clearly say that time is an excellent predictor for the frequency with which certain configurations of LSD appear, if not for the appearance of these configurations, *tout court*.

Because the aim of this study was explicitly to determine what role, if any, the specific domain of the texts exhibiting leftward stylistic displacement had to play in the way the phenomenon manifests itself, it was also necessary to look at how the frequency of the various configurations of LSD changed through time in each of the individual domains here under investigation. By using the average relative frequency values found by looking at the dataset diachronically, it was possible to identify which domains manifested the general trends more or less quickly than on average; the result of this was the ability to establish which domains were innovative and which ones were conservative with regards to how leftward stylistic displacement appears there. Thus, it is possible to say that, among the four domains studied here, the administrative subcorpus is the most innovative, followed by the historical subcorpus and the literary prose subcorpus. The literary verse subcorpus appears to be the most conservative, since, in counterpoint to the clear trajectories that can be seen in each of the other three domains, the trend seems generally to be one of stability with regards to the relative frequency with which each of the configurations of leftward stylistic displacement appears there. The sorting of these respective domains according to their relative conservatism or innovation indirectly would seem to

indirectly corroborate the results of Balon and Larrivée (2016) and Capin and Larrivée (2017), which posit that administrative texts are the ones that lead the way with regards to how syntactic changes in the history of French appear. It must be clearly stated, however, that the results of a future study using the same methodology may not be 100% identical, a clear motivation for further study of the relationship between leftward stylistic displacement and textual domain.

We are at present unaware of any study comparing the relative conservatism of literary verse and prose texts for this period; however, in a plurigeneric corpus containing texts from the 16th to the 18th centuries, Tristram and Ayres-Bennett (2012) were able to generate a continuum of text types as it pertains to the spread of plural agreement with *la plupart*. In their results, they found that literary verse was indeed more conservative than literary prose. Although there is a clear temporal separation between their results and those from the present study, they would appear to support the notion that literary verse in French is generally conservative with regard to how quickly it manifests evolutions taking place in the language broadly construed. This is important to note, due to the open nature of the question of how modality of composition affects LSD, which has been present since the first forays into the study of leftward stylistic displacement (Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013). It is now possible to offer a data-driven response to this question, rather than an anecdotal one. While it is certainly true that instances of leftward stylistic displacement occur more frequently in verse than in prose, with one occurrence approximately every 93 words, on average, versus every 203 words in prose, we can firmly say that, synchronically speaking, modality of composition is not an exceptionally good predictor for whether or not a given configuration of LSD might appear. In our view, this suggests that another factor is largely responsible for the presence of LSD in medieval French. This is less the case when the question is viewed from a diachronic perspective, as literary verse appears to be more stable with regards to any given construction through time, whereas prose does manifest many of the same trends as the other two more innovative domains; this is likely to be an artefact of the literary verse domain's relative conservatism.

3.2.3- "Atypical" LSD

The foregoing analysis focused generally on those configurations of leftward stylistic displacement that we have called "typical", that is, those that figure specifically into Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) most recent work on the subject: SXV, XSV, CØXV, CSXV, and CXSV. This approach, has yielded a better understanding of the way leftward stylistic displacement patterns according to domain, as well as diachronically; it does not, however, give a full picture of LSD as a phenomenon. In order to remedy this lacuna, the following section is devoted to one of these two groups of configurations, which we have called "atypical", since they do not figure in the canon of configurations already discussed by Mathieu (2016, 2013) or Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017). These configurations are SXYV, CSXYV, CXSYV, and CXYSV. The remaining group is (Null Subject) Double LSD, which pertains to the configurations XYV and CXYV. Because the greatest amount of interest in these two configurations lies in typologizing the elements that undergo leftward stylistic displacement, these will be treated below in Section 3.2.4.1.

It will be useful to display all the examples of the relevant configurations in order to better discuss them. Two instances of each of these are contained in Example (3.2). All remaining instances can be found in the Appendix.

(3.2)

SXYV

E il *pur ço assaier* volt quel delit avra od Ysolt...
'And he, for that reason, wishes to try whatever pleasure he might have with Iseult of the White Hands'

<div align="right">(Tristan et Iseut, ll. 212-3)</div>

Quar ainz jor aler l'en covint, et s'amie *o lui a l'uis* vint...
'For he had to go before daybreak, and his lover came with him to the door...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 66)</div>

CSXYV

Et si vos di veraiement que il ne demore pas por ce, ainz gist malade ou navré, se ge *onques rien* conui de la plaie que Boorz ses cosins li fist el costé au tornoiement de Wincestre...
'I tell you truly that it is not for that reason that he is delayed, but rather because he is ill or wounded, if I ever recognized anything about the wound his cousin Bohort inflicted in his side at the tournament of Winchester...'

<div align="right">(La mort le roi Artu, p. 268)</div>

Toute la nuit, endementiers que la dame et li chevaliers *dedenz la chambre en un lit* furent...
'The whole night, while the lady and the knight were in the room in bed...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 62)</div>

CXYSV

Et je vous jure, par le peril de l'ame de moy, que *jamais celui jour* je ne feray ja chose qui vous puist estre atournee fors a toute honneur...
'And I swear to you, on my soul, that on that day, I will never ever do anything that could subject you to anything but the highest honor...'

<div align="right">(Mélusine, p. 166)</div>

Après les dictes choses faites dessus dictes, fut parlé... de par le Roy, du scisme qui est en L'Eglise, et leur dist on que *onques, puis qu'il creurent en Berthelemi*, bien ne vint à eulx ne au pais, et qu'il convenoit qu'il creussent comme le Roy...
'After the aforementioned things were done and said, it was said by the King, regarding the Schism that there is in the Church, and we said to [the Yprois], since they believed in Bartolomeo (Urban VI), no good would come to them or their country, and that it was fitting that they should believe as the King did (supporting the Avignon claimant)...'

<div align="right">(Chronique des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V, vol. 3, p. 29)</div>

CXSYV

Et les navies... furent si riches et si beles que *onques* nus hons crestiens *plus riches ne plus beles* ne vit.
'And the ships... were so rich and so beautiful that no Christian man had ever seen richer or more beautiful ones'

<div align="right">(La conquête de Constantinople, §56, p. 66)</div>

> Ensi fu cele damoisele bien .ii. ans ou plus, c'*onques* diables *engignier* ne le pot...
> 'The maiden remained thus for two years, or indeed longer, such that the devil could never ensnare her...'
>
> (*Le roman de Merlin*, p. 150, ll. 16-7)

In the context of research on leftward stylistic displacement, very little has been said about these constructions at all, and this is especially true for the subordinate clause configurations listed in example (3.2). While both Labelle (2007, 308-13) and Mathieu (2013, 341) offer more or less similar accounts of the syntax of subordinate clauses exhibiting V3 word orders, which in the nomenclature of the present study fall under the configuration CXYV, no such account is offered for V4 orders such as CSXYV, CXYSV, and CXSYV. These configurations appear to be unattested in the previous literature on leftward stylistic displacement: Mathieu writes, "it is predicted that V4 orders will not be possible. We have found no such examples in my corpus" (ibid.). The new data found in example (3.2) and in Appendix 1, though they form the smallest portion of examples from the present corpus, appear to controvert Mathieu's statement about whether such orders are possible.

It is tempting to explain away such examples by alluding to their provenance from verse texts, which can produce orders that seem altogether fanciful and ludic, such as the one seen here in (3.3).

(3.3)   CXYZV(?)
           ...Et qu'*a son gré du tout de sa maistrece* il soit amé, qui lui tiegne promesse et loiaulté...
           'And (supposing) that, as he wishes, he should be completely loved by his mistress, who keeps promises and holds loyalty to him'

                                           (*Le débat des deux amants*, ll. 537-9)

In this example, which comes from Christine de Pizan's *Le débat des deux amants*, which appears to have the verb in fifth position, preceded by three separate prepositional phrases, *a son gré*, *du tout*, and *de sa maistrece*. The author is likely conscious of the syntactic capabilities of the language in which she is writing and has decided to purposefully stretch those capabilities with her versification, preserving the rhymes *gré*, *amé*, and *loiaulté*, which would otherwise be obscured by a word order where these complements would fall in the postverbal zone. Such an attempt to explain these examples away by alluding to modality of composition does not hold water, however, as several of these V4 tokens appear in prose texts, which means that it is not possible to disqualify them on this basis; moreover, the configuration CXSYV is not attested in the verse subcorpus, but rather can only be found in the literary prose and historical subcorpora.

Given the continuum that we have laid out here regarding the relative conservatism and innovation exhibited by each of the domains that made up the corpus for the present study, it is also tempting to say that these are constructions that will simply disappear as time goes on; however, there is evidence from the present corpus that this may not necessarily be the case, at least into the late-fourtheenth century. Indeed, there is at least one example of each of these "atypical" subordinate clause configurations in Middle French subcorpus, spread across the historical, literary prose, and literary verse domains. Although these constructions are admittedly infrequent when viewed relative to configurations CØXV, their presence in both the pre-1220 subcorpus and the Middle French one is likely indicative of their presence, despite their infrequency, throughout the whole period within the purview of the present study. Further, given the size of the sample, which only encompassed a portion of each of the works consulted in most cases, it is reasonable to believe that a greater number of cases exist than that attested in the present dataset.

Finally, and what is perhaps most interesting with respect to existing research on subordinate clauses in medieval French, certain of these examples do not appear to occur in the contexts that allow for V2 grammar, *id est* the generation of a rich left periphery in subordinate clauses (Salvesen and Walkden, 2017), namely under conjunctive instances of *que* governed by certain classes of verb. For example, both of the instances of CSXYV that appear in (3.2) fall under different categories: the first occurs in a clause governed by the conjunction *si*, 'if' and the second appears in a clause headed by *endementiers que*, 'while'. This raises the question of whether or not these are the only contexts where a rich left-peripheral structure is present in subordinate clauses. Further, as Labelle reminds us: "Vance found embedded V3 clauses only when the first of the two preverbal constituents was a pronominal subject. The situation is different in EOF. Apart from the type Pronominal Subject-XP-V, one also finds the order Nominal subject-XP-V, XP-YP-V, [and] XP-Nominal Subject-V" (2007, 309). Similarly, these V4 orders appear with both nominal and pronominal subjects in the present corpus, with the displaced non-subject elements capable of occurring both on the subject's left or right, or on either side of the subject.[12] With regards to the specific predictions of the syntactic model for subordinate clauses necessary to accommodate such clauses, then, this suggests that there must be a full phrasal projection on either side of the subject in order to accommodate elements undergoing leftward stylistic displacement. This would seem to fit with Labelle and Hirschbühler's contention that displaced elements in the configuration CXSV (and by extension, CXYSV) fall squarely in the left periphery. Finally, the presence of the configuration CXSYV, where one displaced element apiece appears on either side of the subject, appears to motivate the simultaneous presence of both of these projections. All of these considerations combined appear to present a serious challenge to the typical narrative of the syntax of subordinate clauses in medieval French, from their structure to their diachrony. Our challenge to the dominant model is, however, hampered by the relatively small number of unaccounted-for examples that our investigation has brought to light. A future study looking specifically at these rare word orders, though it would likely be difficult to conduct due to the very rarity of the configurations in question, is necessary to assess the extent to which these examples pose a problem for the dominant model of the subordinate clause in medieval French, and perhaps beyond.[13]

3.2.4 - Displaced Element Type

Having presented a sweeping description of the various positions where elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement might occur throughout the four domains chosen for investigation in the present study, it will now be necessary to describe the nature of those elements. The structure of this section follows that of the preceding one, giving a synchronic view of the relative frequency of each LSD element type in each of the domains, then a general overview of these elements across the three periods here in question, followed by a look at how LSD elements pattern in each domain through time. Finally, the section will conclude with investigations of what elements occur in each configuration of leftward stylistic displacement along with what sorts of elements are displaced together in SXYV, XYV, CXYV, CSXYV, and CXYSV configurations.

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[12] See Appendix for relevant tokens.

[13] Although her methodology deals with rare syntactic forms to be found in tape recordings, rather than in the written records, Carruthers (1999) offers an exemplary way forward in developing a methodology specifically tailored to looking at such rare forms as the *passé surcomposé*.

3.2.4.1- Displaced Elements Across Domains

Chart 3.5, displayed below, illustrates the distribution of each type of element that has undergone leftward stylistic displacement in each piece of data mined from the present corpus. These frequencies do not include instances where two elements undergo leftward stylistic displacement together, as these are examined separately in Section 4.2.4.5. As noted briefly in Section 3.1.3, it is interesting to compare the categories of elements that are most frequently attested in an LSD configuration in the present study with the type of elements that Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014b, 2017) have chosen to investigate in their own research on this family of constructions. Whereas their own research centered on occurrences of adverbs, infinitives, and past participles, among these three element types, only adverbs exhibit consistently elevated relative frequency across the four domains under investigation in the present study.

Chart 3.5: Displaced Element Type vs. Domain
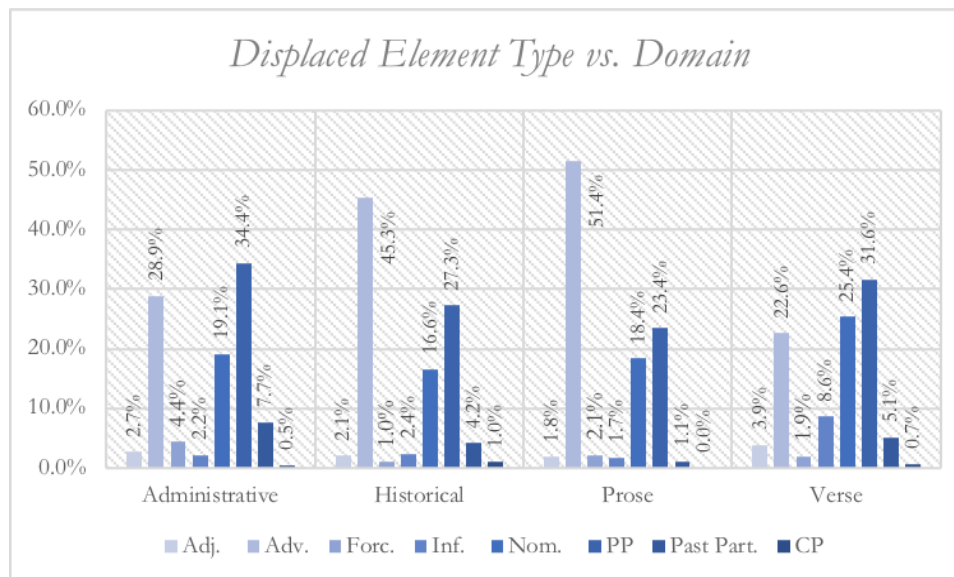
The data presented in Chart 3.5 show that, in the administrative, historical, and literary prose subcorpora, the adverbial category is one of the two most frequently attested types of elements that undergo leftward stylistic displacement. Perhaps most interesting with regards to previous data collected on this construction is the abundance of displaced prepositional phrases, which are the most frequent in both the administrative and the literary verse subcorpora, and second most frequent in the historical and literary prose subcorpora; this is of particular interest because Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) study notably does not include this category. Across all domains, the non-adverbial categories that Labelle and Hirschbühler have worked with, infinitives and past participles, consistently rank among the most infrequent categories to undergo leftward stylistic displacement, with infinitives displaced in 3.7% of cases, on average, and past participles displaced an average of 4.5% the time across all configurations. This is important to note, simply on the basis of their centrality to Labelle and Hirschbühler's (ibid.) analysis and is indicative of the value of performing a study where all types of LSD are ultimately considered.

It is intriguing to note, further, that there is little variation in the relative frequency with which many of the non-adverbial elements appear in LSD configurations across the prose domains under consideration here. For instance, adjectives are displaced in 1.8 to 2.7% of cases, *forclusifs* are the

displaced element between 1.0 and 4.4% of the time, infinitives occur in LSD positions between 1.7 and 2.4% of the time, and nominals occur between 16.6 and 19.1% of the time. Past participles are slightly more variable across domains, ranging in frequency between 1.1 and 7.7%. The most frequently attested non-adverbial category, prepositional phrases, occurs between 23.4 and 34.4% of the time, exhibiting a larger variance according to domain. The level of consistency attested in the relative frequencies with which these elements occur in the present corpus again suggests that, from a synchronic perspective, domain is not a salient predictor of the categories of elements that occur across configurations of leftward stylistic displacement, at least as far as the prose domains in the present corpus are concerned. This suggests that some other factor is at work in selecting elements to undergo leftward stylistic displacement, such as information structure, discussed in Chapter 4, or discourse type, discussed in Chapter 5.

Perhaps the most consequential finding that stems from the distribution of LSD element types attested in the present corpus is that found in the verse subcorpus, since it is apparent that there is more variation in terms of what types of elements can be displaced by this phenomenon. This variety can be seen in the fact that there are three categories that exceed 20% relative frequency in this subcorpus, coupled with an increased level of frequency for adjectives, infinitives, and past participles, when compared with the average frequency of these categories across all domains. For modality of composition to be a significant factor leading to a wider variety of categories to be displaced is a finding whose importance cannot be overstated, especially when viewed in the light of the present study's findings regarding the minor synchronic effects of domain on which configurations of LSD appear in the present corpus. This is illustrative of a fairly stable syntax across all of the domains under investigation in the present study, including in verse texts, although the diachronic data show a clear trajectory of evolution at varying rates across domains.

The clear separation between verse and prose texts in the way that LSD elements appear in these configurations, however, adds a further layer of interest, since it shows that the syntactic possibilities that are available across domains are likely to be mobilized in varying ways according to the modality of composition. It should be noted, further, that, although the verse domain is the most conservative with regards to the relative frequency of various configurations of leftward stylistic displacement attested in the present corpus, which might manifest itself in a greater ability to select for different types of elements to participate in this phenomenon, there is no element type that is totally absent from any of our domains, with the exception of displaced CPs in literary prose. If the question of whether poetry is syntactically distinct has hitherto been raised in the previous literature, we are able to clearly say that it is not, at least with respect to leftward stylistic displacement. In his manual on versification, Aquien writes that, even for contemporary poets whose expression occurs in free verse, there remain strictures imposed by the syntax of the language in which the poet is writing (2014, 92-3). What the poet chooses to do within the realm of these syntactic obligations, however, is, of course, another question entirely. It appears that the writer(s) of these particular texts have made conscious stylistic choices that, when compared to other textual domains, might even be construed as archaizing. The question of whether the notion of 'style' can be extended into the realm of syntax is open, but we would submit that what a stylistician might see as archaizing style, a diachronic linguist might view as the survival of fossilized forms of language that have more quickly fallen into disuse in other domains.

3.2.4.2- LSD Elements Viewed Diachronically

Chart 3.6: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Elements
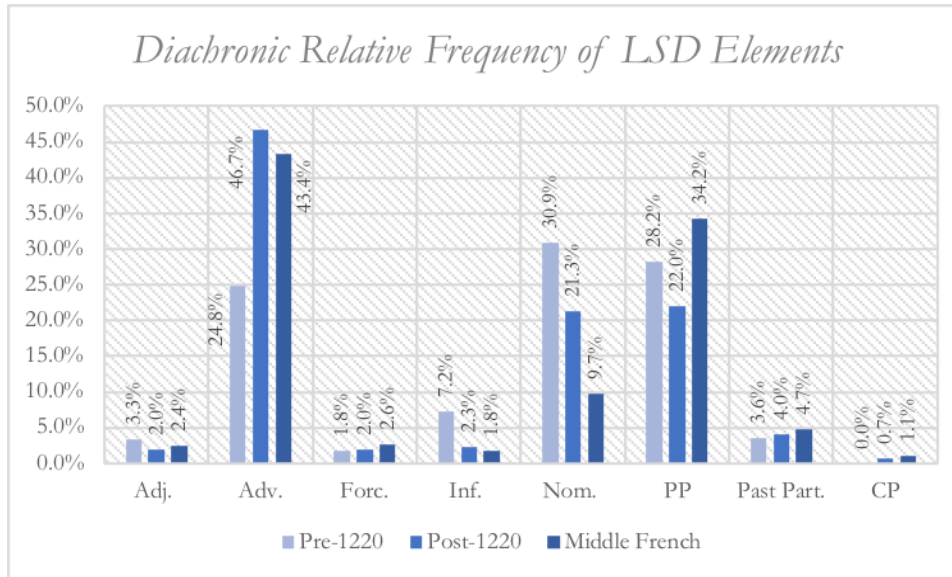
Chart 3.6 displays the distribution of LSD elements through time, irrespective of the domain in which they occur. Again, where a number of clear sea changes were visible in similar data on the various configurations of leftward stylistic displacement, the main trend in this data is again diachronic stability. This stability can be seen most clearly for adjectives, *forclusifs*, and past participles, and, to a lesser extent, for prepositional phrases and infinitives. The greatest amount of variation occurs in the adverbial category, where we see an 88% increase in the share of leftward stylistic displacement containing this type of element; we also see a 69% drop in the relative frequency of nominal elements involved in this phenomenon. That the overarching trend through time is one of greater or lesser stability would seem to suggest that for the period in question, namely between 1175-1450, the factor that is driving the selection of an element to undergo leftward stylistic displacement is one that is not in overt transition. If we class these elements according to the sorts of typologies used by such scholars as Foulet (1919), Vennemann (1976), and Marchello-Nizia (1995), which deal more with syntactic function, instances of LSD where the displaced element is a noun or noun phrase are classed as objects. As French evolves from the flat, non-configurational syntactical system of Latin toward the hierarchical and configurational structures familiar from contemporary French, syntactic functions (i.e. subject vs. object) are signaled more by relational position than by other mechanisms, such as the case system, which was a significant factor permitting the signaling of such syntactic relationships in both Latin and earlier iterations of medieval French, where, to a certain extent, there remained a reduced subject-oblique case system. Since leftward stylistic displacement involves the appearance of elements in the pre-verbal zone, it would appear that we are able to see that displacing direct objects from their developing post-verbal position is becoming less and less possible. The growing inability of leftward stylistic displacement to select for nominal elements may also be the first casualty of the construction's slide into obsolescence and is almost certainly in large part responsible for the sharp rise in the relative frequency of adverbial cases of LSD. Given that the foregoing illustrations show that the contributing factor is neither time, nor domain, there are two hypotheses relevant to the present study that remain to be tested, namely whether discourse type or information-structural values

are at play in the selection of these elements for displacement. These possibilities are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

Despite the fact that they only account for a total of seven instances in the entirety of the dataset, complementizer phrases merit their own separate discussion alongside the other sorts of leftward stylistic displacement attested in this corpus, an example of which is displayed below in (3.4).

(3.4)   Sachiez, et itant vous en di, que *se je sui par vous trahi*, vous en recevrez la mort.
             'Know, and I'll tell you as much, that, if I am betrayed by you, the penalty will
             be death.'

                                                                    (*La Châtelaine de Vergy*, p. 84)

Although the inclusion of these tokens in the present dataset might be interpreted as a controversion of the opinions of other scholars regarding the syntactical nature of intervening complementizer phrases as mere interruptions or asides that do not play a role in the syntax of the containing clause, as such (Grad 1961, Skårup 1975, Vance 1997, Donaldson 2012), they may function like instances of leftward stylistic displacement in two important ways. Firstly, when they do occur, they tend to occur in between an overt subject and the verb, in a descriptive position that is frequently occupied by elements that have undergone LSD. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly to the present study, we hypothesize that they may have an information-structural value similar to the LSD elements that occur in this position, when these do not constitute an interruption in the syntax of the clause in which they are contained. The information-structural value of these complementizer phrases is specifically discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2.4.3- LSD Elements Viewed through Domain and Time

Chart 3.7a: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Elements, Administrative Domain
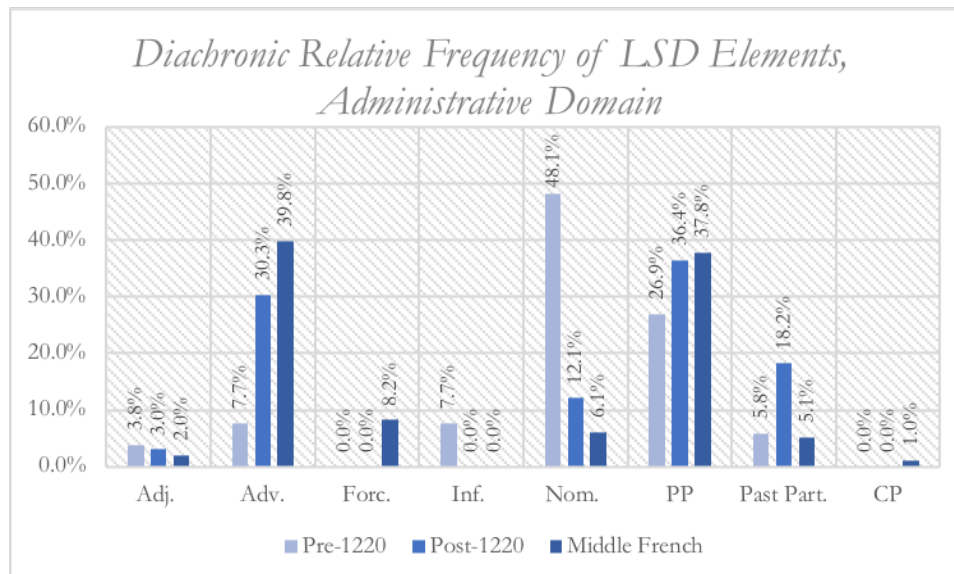
In similar fashion to the above discussion of the various configurations of leftward stylistic displacement and how these pattern through time in each of the individual domains under investigation in the present study, Charts 3.7a-d display the relative frequency data for each LSD element type as it patterns diachronically in each of the domains, as well, beginning with the

administrative domain. As was the case in the above discussion of LSD configurations, if we compare these data to those reflecting the average overall relative frequency it is again apparent that the administrative domain tends to reflect these trends in a more dramatic fashion than the average. We have taken this to signal its status as the most innovative domain, upon comparison with the other domains under consideration in the present study. For example, whereas the nominal category falls from 30.9% to 9.7% from the Pre-1220 to the Middle French period in the overall data, the same category falls even more precipitously across the same span of time in the administrative subcorpus: plunging from 48.1% of the total share of data to just 6.1%. Similarly, the loss of productivity of the displacement of nominal elements results is mirrored by a sharp rise in the share of the data that is comprised by adverbial elements, jumping from 7.7% in the Pre-1220 period to 38.9% in the Middle French period. There are, however, some quirks in the data from the administrative subcorpus that merit a direct treatment, foremost among them the anomalous spike in the share of leftward stylistic displacement that contains a past participle; it is unclear why this spike appears in our data. These elements constitute 5.8% of the administrative data in the pre-1220 period, rising to 18.2% in the post-1220 period, and finally receding back to 5.1% in the Middle French period. This same sort of anomalous behavior in the data can also be seen in the historical domain, whose data are displayed below in Chart 3.7b.

Chart 3.7b: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Elements, Historical Domain
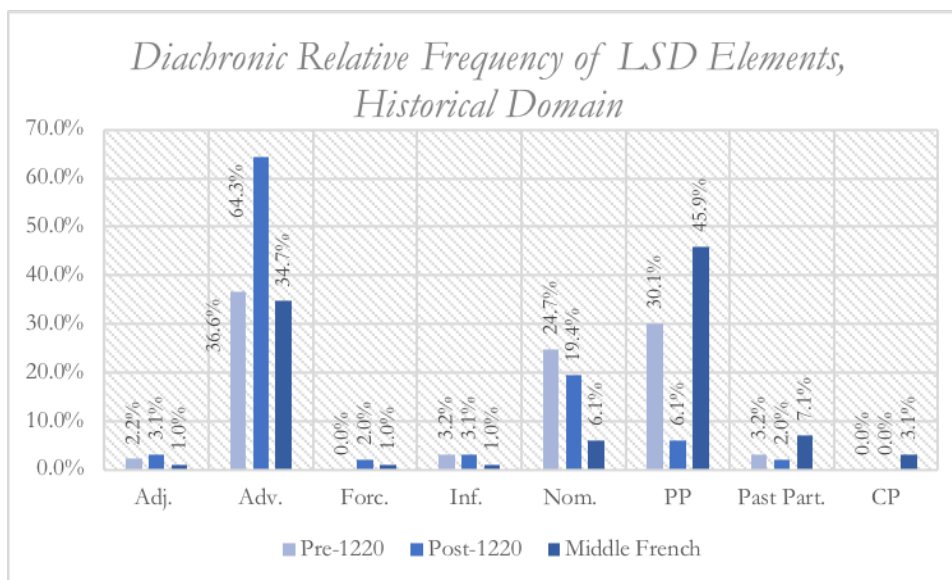
Although it is possible to see the same trends in the nominal category as those reflected in the overall average data, the other two large categories that comprise the elements that most frequently appear in instances of leftward stylistic displacement, adverbs and past participles, manifest a mirror-image peak and valley in the post-1220 period: the share of prepositional phrases inexplicably plummets to 6.1% while the proportion of adverbs nearly doubles, climbing from 36.6% to 64.3%. In both cases, the data recede or recover to levels consistent with the overall trend in the Middle French period, which suggests a certain level of noise in the Post-1220 data. These anomalous cases remain of particular interest, however, when we consider the optional nature of leftward stylistic displacement—it is just as possible, as Mathieu (2006, 222; 2013, 334) has stated, to encounter each of the categories of elements that can undergo leftward stylistic displacement in a "typical" post-verbal position that would be more or less recognizable from contemporary iterations of French. In the

absence of other hitherto undiscussed factors motivating each occurrence of this phenomenon, such optionality once more begs the question that served as the principal motivating factor for the present study: to what extent might leftward stylistic displacement indeed be stylistic, given the fact that these instances must generally be seen as operating within the confines of what is syntactically possible. These instances must also be seen as operating within the confines of what is pragmatically possible, both in terms of how information-structural values might be encoded in medieval French, and what can be said to characterize oral discourses, to the extent that written discourse can mirror characteristics of oral discourse. Thus, it is necessary, in the absence of a clear explanation for these anomalous values, to assume that factors other than domain are at play when a given text does not follow the overall trend found in the present corpus. Such potential factors are explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

Table 3.7c: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Elements, Literary Prose Domain

Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Elements, Literary Prose Domain

Legend: Pre-1220, Post-1220, Middle French

Adj.: 5.2%, 0.0%, 0.0%
Adv.: 31.3%, 54.0%, 68.4%
Forc.: 4.2%, 1.1%, 1.1%
Inf.: 4.2%, 0.0%, 1.1%
Nom.: 30.2%, 16.5%, 8.4%
PP: 21.9%, 27.5%, 21.1%
Past Part.: 3.1%, 0.0%, 0.0%
CP: 0.0%, 0.0%, 0.0%
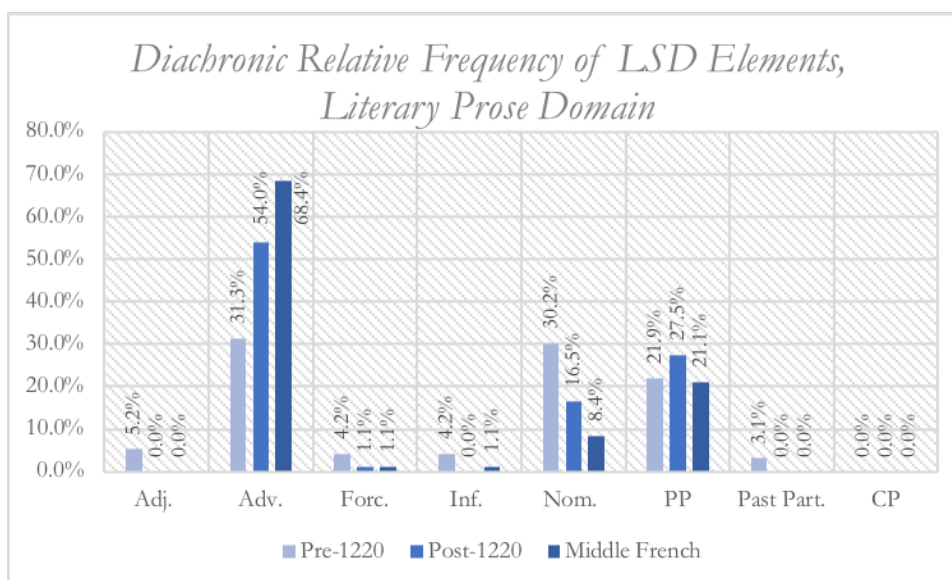
The anomalous diachronic peaks and valleys seen in the historical subcorpus are not attested in the remaining subcorpora to be discussed: literary prose and literary verse. Chart 3.7c shows the diachronic relative frequency of displaced elements in the first of these two domains. If we again focus our attention on the two main trends that we have highlighted as important as this construction evolves through time, adverbs and nominals, the same trends appear to be borne out as in the average data, with the share of nominal displaced elements tracing the average data very closely. The question of stylistics may once more be relevant, however, if we look to the other categories of elements. Assuming the continuum of conservatism versus innovation established in Section 3.2.2 is correct, literary prose represents the second most conservative of the domains that form the present corpus. If we also assume that steadily fewer types of elements might be candidates for selection as the construction moves toward obsolescence (Rudnicka 2019), then it is perplexing to see that the distribution of elements involved in this phenomenon seems to be more concentrated in fewer categories when compared to the more innovative domains discussed in the previous section. This would again seem to suggest that there is some kind of variable at play beyond those of time and domain that is causing elements to appear or not appear, whether this variable is "stylistic", or not.

As discussed above, stylistic concerns are most likely at play in the literary verse domain, for which the distribution of LSD elements can be found in Chart 3.7d.

Table 3.7d: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Elements, Literary Verse Domain
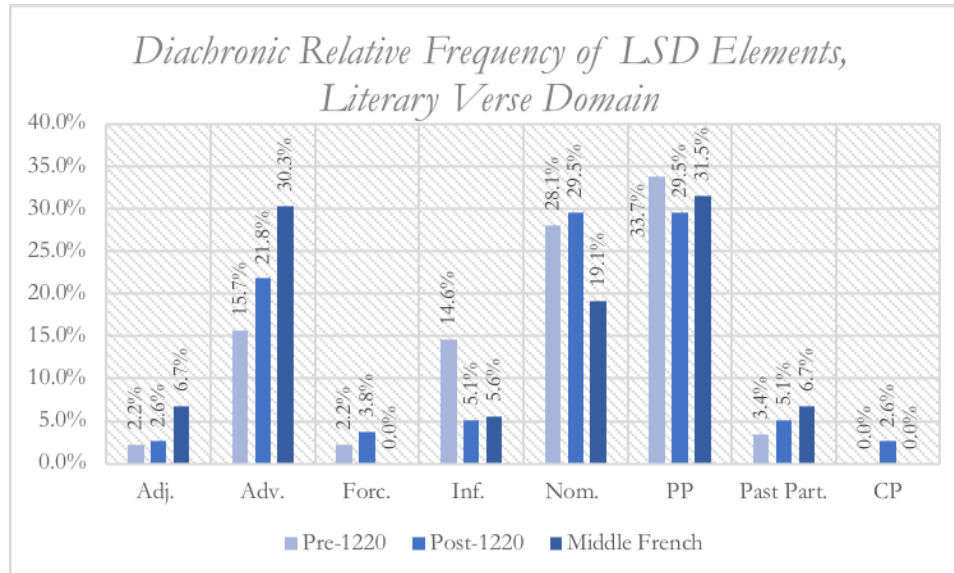
The literary verse subcorpus contains the most even distribution of different elements undergoing leftward stylistic displacement, with three robustly represented categories across all three time periods: Adverbs, Nominals and Prepositional Phrases. The relative frequency of prepositional phrases is fairly stable in the literary verse subcorpus from the Pre-1220 to the Middle French period, accounting for approximately one third of the total number of tokens collected here, which is similar to the other domains investigated in the present study. The trends attested in the overall data regarding displaced elements also are attested in the verse subcorpus, albeit to a lesser extent: whereas adverbs appear in 24.8% of cases in the Pre-1220 period and grow their share to 43.4% in the Middle French period, verse lags behind. Here, the portion of adverbs moves from 15.7% to 30.3%. The relative frequency of displaced nominal elements also follows the same downward trend as in the average data, as well, though the percentage stays stable around 30% between the Pre-1220 and Post-1220 periods, and then falls to 19.1% in the Middle French period, remaining twice as frequent as the average. Perhaps the most interesting information, though, comes from the less represented categories, just as in the literary prose subcorpus. Here, a comparison with the overall average frequency data shows that these smaller categories—adjectives, *forclusifs*, infinitives, and past participles—make up a larger share of the occurrences of leftward stylistic displacement in the literary verse subcorpus, further indication of this domain's relative conservatism.

3.2.4.4- XYV and CXYV: Double LSD

There remains one pair of LSD configurations, which falls at the junction of the foregoing discussions of both the various configurations of this phenomenon and the different types of elements that are involved in it, and which merits special attention; these are instances which have been variously called Double LSD (Mathieu 2006, 2013), or, to use the nomenclature of the present study, (S)XYV and C(S)XY(S)V. Recall from Chapter 2 that, in his own writings on this subject, Mathieu (2006, 2013) explained these instances of displacement by positing a special topic position called Top+P; however, further investigation by other scholars (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017; Salvesen 2011, 2013) found empirical issues with his account, particularly with regards to the order in which

the two constituents land once they have been displaced. Labelle and Hirschbühler (op. cit.) account for their data, which principally contain past participles and infinitives, which may be followed by direct objects or any other sort of complement, by proposing that these non-finite verbs and their complements are simultaneously displaced into a higher phase of the sentence. Labelle and Hirschbühler call this Remnant VP movement, following Salvesen's (2011, 2013) findings regarding medieval French, along with Poletto's (2006a) with respect to medieval Italian and Martins' (2011) on medieval Portuguese. These elements may then undergo a further optional process called short scrambling, whereby the relative position of these elements is inverted.[14] An example of this process, adapted from Labelle and Hirschbühler's work (2017, 160) appears in (3.5a), along with an attested example of the optionality of scrambling for illustration from Martins' (2011) corpus in (3.5b).

(3.5a)　　　　Cele dame une fee estoit, qui *l'anel doné* li avoit....
　　　　　　　'The woman who had given him the ring was a fairy'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, ll. 2357-8)

　　　　　　...[qui [$_{VP1}$ doné [$_{VP2}$ l'anel]] [$_{TP}$ li avoit [$_{VP1}$ ~~doné~~ [$_{VP2}$ ~~l'anel~~]]]]

　　　　　　...[qui [$_{VP2}$ l'anel [[$_{VP1}$ doné [$_{VP2}$ ~~l'anel~~]]] [$_{TP}$ li avoit]]
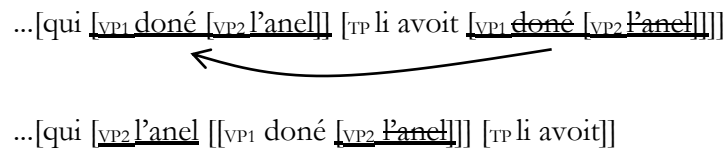
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Adapted from Labelle and Hirschbühler 2017, 160)

(3.5b)　　　　...nẽ por tanto que nos *outrẽ por ela* de...
　　　　　　　...nẽ por tanto que nos *por ela outrem* de...
　　　　　　　'...we will not sell it for the same price to anybody else...'
　　　　　　　　　　(Legal documents from 1305; taken from Martins 2011, 147)

Example (3.5a) displays the surface order of a sentence having undergone both remnant movement of a VP and scrambling, and the operations proposed by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017) as necessary to the derivation of that surface order. The first of these operations is the displacement of the VP that contains both the past participle, *doné*, and its object complement, *l'anel* to a position preceding the auxiliary verb and its clitic *li avoit*, as indicated by the first arrow. The second of these operations, scrambling, entails the inversion of the surface order at the end of the first step by moving this object complement into a position higher in the derivation than the past participle, denoted by the second arrow. We might imagine, given the optionality of scrambling, that this operation might not have occurred, leaving both constituents in a displaced position, but with an order identical to that of the base generated sentence. This optionality is modeled by the Portuguese example in (3.4b), where the displaced elements *outrẽ / outrem* and *por ela* have changed positions.

　　　　This VP-movement-scrambling explanation is a convincing way to account for instances of leftward stylistic displacement involving either a past participle, as in (3.5a), or an infinitive. It is unclear whether this same mechanism can be deployed in order to account for the full breadth of instances

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[14] Recall, further, that Mathieu (2006, 2013) had proposed strict ordering constraints on the syntactic nature of the elements that could be simultaneously displaced, namely that X° constituents could not precede XP constituents. These constraints were shown to be inoperable by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2014a).

where two elements are displaced however, as not all of these involve a non-finite verb, and thus, there are no VPs to be moved and scrambled. In the data collected during the present study, 76 of the 1089 tokens were instances where two elements were simultaneously displaced. Of these, 56 contained no verbal elements, accounting for a full 5% of the corpus. Although past participles and infinitives make up an admittedly small portion of the overall data, and this, by extension, means that there will also be numerically few instances of (S)XYV and C(S)XY(S)V where X or Y is one of these, they represent a clear minority with regards to the types of elements that appear in these configurations. Table 3.13 shows the full panoply of co-occurrences from the perspective of the second element, Y, since these are the significant elements in situations where both VP movement and scrambling apply.

Table 3.13: Two-Element LSD: Y Element versus X Element

Y: Adjectives	n = 3				Y: Infinitives	n = 13	
X: Adv.	Forc.	PP			X: Adv.	Nom.	PP
1	1	1			4	3	6

Y: Adverbs	n = 11				Y: Nominals	n = 15	
X: Adv.	CP	Forc.	Inf.	PP	X: Adv.	Forc.	PP
5	1	1	1	3	7	1	7

Y: CP	n = 1				Y: Prep. Phrase	n = 23		
X: Adv.					X: Adv.	Nom.	PP	PPtcpl
1					14	3	5	1

Y: Forclusifs	n = 5				Y: Past Part.	n = 5	
X: Adv.	PP				X: Adv.	Nom.	
4	1				1	4	

It would appear, then, based on the data in Table 3.13, that the operation responsible for the fronting of these elements is one that is capable of targeting categories beyond the VPs that figure most heavily in Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) account of leftward stylistic displacement, and in fact do so in a majority of cases. And while it is not the intent of the present study to wade so deeply into the territory of generative syntax, and do not dispute the validity of Labelle and Hirschbühler's account with regards to instances of LSD that involve past participles or infinitives, it would simply seem that this explanation does not account for the full breadth of the data presented here. Taking into consideration the configurations in which these instances of so-called Double LSD occur, (S)XYV and C(S)XY(S)V, the clearest way to account for these data is to postulate that there are a variety of projections where displaced elements might land, and that these positions are perhaps generated in medieval French (for the periods that concern us here) at the left edge of the IP phase, especially those appearing to the right of the subject; this is also Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 163) assessment of the situation. Similar projections are seen in the CP phase, as in the model postulated by Rizzi (1997), and at the left edge of the VP phase (Belletti 2004). For such projections to appear in all phases would be theoretically unsurprising, given the great syntactic flexibility of Latin, of which medieval French inherited a certain measure, as illustrated by the existence of leftward stylistic displacement. The question remains open, however, as to what might be causing these operations to occur. Within the context of domain, we, like Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 159) are

agnostic with regards to the cause of this movement. Chapter 4, however, which deals with information structure, sheds additional explanatory light on what drives these transpositions.

3.2.4.5- Summary: LSD Elements

Whereas it was possible for us to discern a clear level of innovation or conservatism with regards to how the variety of LSD configurations patterned through each domain, this endeavor was much less feasible for the variety of elements that falls into those constructions. It was, however, possible to note a clear distinction between the literary verse subcorpus and the other subcorpora, which were composed in prose, since the verse subcorpus contained a distribution of LSD elements that was less strongly dominated by one or two categories; this trend was also borne out diachronically. These clear trends were contrasted with more puzzling ones, such as the anomalous spikes and dips attested in the historical subcorpus. For this reason, it was possible to arrive at the conclusion that, at least for prose texts, neither time nor domain is an exceptionally good predictor of the types of LSD element that will appear, and that the trends, solid though they may seem in the overall data, may vary wildly from text to text within the same subcorpus. Thus, it is necessary to reason that some other factor besides time or domain is at play in the choice of elements to undergo leftward stylistic displacement.

3.2.5- LSD Subject Type

We now turn to addressing the types of subjects that occur in instances of leftward stylistic displacement. This section will follow a structure now familiar from the preceding sections, looking first at subject type through the lens of domain. It then offers an examination of this factor diachronically, before moving on to combine both of these factors.

3.2.5.1- LSD Subject Type Across Domains

Chart 3.8 displays the relative frequency of null, nominal, and pronominal subjects appearing in configurations of leftward stylistic displacement as they appear across the domains studied in the present corpus. As one might intuit from looking at the raw count data above in Section 3.1.5, the most readily apparent characteristic of the data is that it is clearly dominated by null-subject occurrences of leftward stylistic displacement. The insight that this chart is able to add, again rather predictably, based on the extent to which LSD prefers to co-occur with null subjects, is that this preference extends to all four of the domains studied here. There is one point of variation in this distribution, however, that merits a brief comment: the administrative subcorpus exhibits the lowest percentage of instances of LSD co-occuring with null subjects. This is likely an effect of the general dispreference of this text type for null subjects in all types of clauses, as illustrated by Balon and Larrivée (2016), an indication of this domain's status as innovative when compared to the other domains considered here. This analysis is further supported by the presence of the highest relative frequency of pronominal subjects (19.0%) in our corpus.

*Chart 3.8: LSD Subject Type vs. Domain*
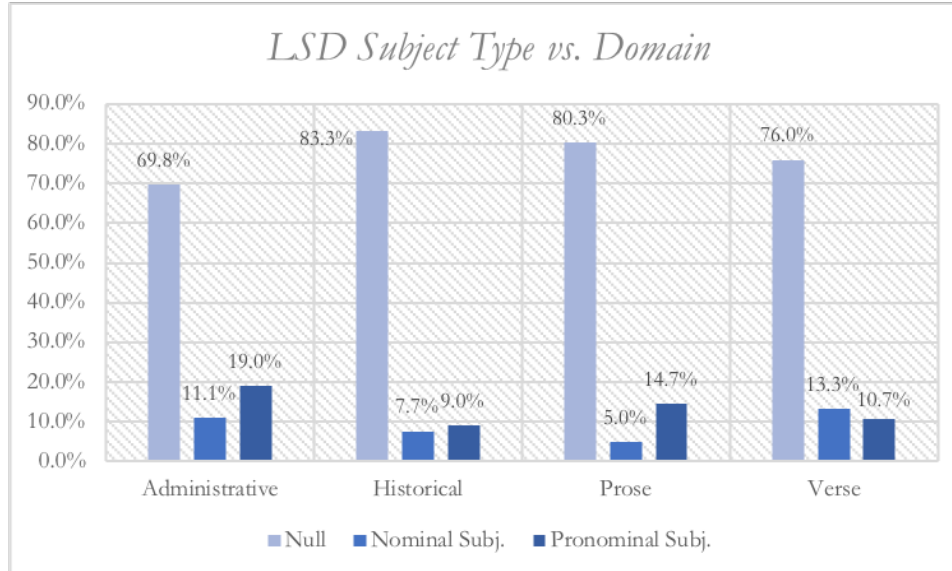
Notably in Chart 3.8, there is a thirteen-percent spread, synchronically, between the domain containing the lowest percentage of LSD co-occurring with a null subject, the administrative subcorpus, and that with the highest relative frequency of such clauses, the historical subcorpus. It cannot escape notice, however, that this is likely an artifact of an overall lower percentage of null subjects in administrative texts, with this domain being the vanguard in the transition away the status of medieval French as a *pro*-drop language (Balon and Larrivée 2016). It is further interesting to note that, when viewed synchronically, the literary verse subcorpus exhibits the second lowest frequency of leftward stylistic displacement containing a null subject. While it is true that there are other factors that constrain the choice of an LSD element, within these constraints, any available option can be instrumentalized to achieve the ends of the speaker, or in this case, writer. Capin and Larrivée (2017) have shown that there are certain constraints governing the expression or omission of the subject, particularly with regard to the accessibility of the referent.

3.2.5.2- LSD Subject Type Viewed Diachronically

Turning now to the evolution of the subject types that occur in instances of leftward stylistic displacement, Chart 3.9 displays the relative frequency of each of these across the three periods with which the present study was concerned. There are a few other things that ought to be noted with regards to the data in Chart 3.9, as well. Firstly, null subjects remain the most frequent type of subject that occurs in instances of leftward stylistic displacement across all three periods studied here. Between the Post-1220 period and the Middle French period, this percentage declines, however, from 82% to 71.5%. This is likely reflective of general trends in the language as a whole, where null subjects were falling into disuse from the mid-thirteenth century, according to Prévost (2011), among others.[15]

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[15] See Balon and Larrivée (2016) for an alternative timeline using administrative texts.
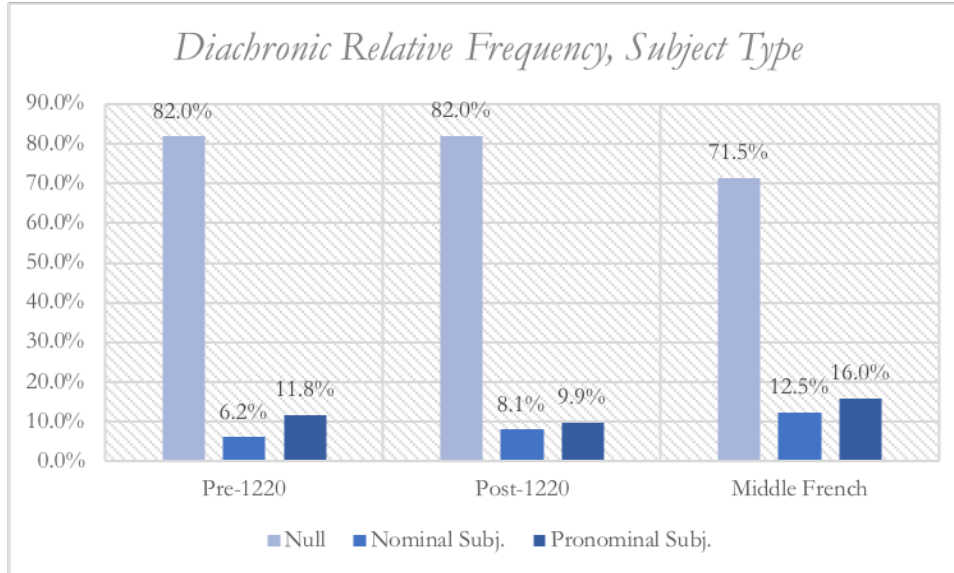
Given the intervention between the subject and the verb of elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement, and the eventual cliticization of pronominal subjects in the history of French, held to take place in earnest starting in the fifteenth century (Dufresne 1995), we hypothesized in Section 2.2.4 that it may be possible to see a growing dispreference for such subjects through time in the present data. This prediction is not supported by this dataset, since pronominal subjects consistently make up a slightly larger portion of the data than do nominal ones. The reason that this hypothesis is not borne out by the present corpus, however, may simply be that the selected texts do not extend far enough into the fifteenth century, since they range in date from 1381-1435. A further study including texts further into the fifteenth and perhaps sixteenth centuries may remedy this issue, though the steadily fading number of tokens to be found may render this quite a difficult task.

3.2.5.3- LSD Subject Types Viewed through Domain and Time

Let us now shift our focus to look at how diachrony operates in each of the domains individually with regards to subject type. Chart 3.10a displays the diachronic relative frequency of null, pronominal, and nominal subjects in the administrative subcorpus. It is perhaps in these data where we see the strongest support for the hypothesis mentioned in Section 3.2.5.2 regarding pronominal subjects. In both the Pre-1220 and Post-1220 periods, the share of pronominal subjects is approximately four times larger than that of nominal subjects, irrespective of the fluctuation in the share of null subjects, which swells from 77.4% to 88.2% across these two periods. In the Middle French period, however, as the share of null subjects falls to 61%, the ratio of nominal to pronominal subjects seen in the previous periods is no longer respected: pronominal subjects account for 22% and nominal subjects make up 17%. If we eliminate the null-subject cases and only consider the instances of leftward stylistic displacement that manifest overt subjects, pronominal subjects appear in 56.4% of cases, and nominal subjects represent the remaining 43.5%. Thus, by the Middle French period, if pronominal subjects are not dispreferred, as originally hypothesized, they appear in almost equal proportion to nominal subjects. This marks a stark difference in comparison with the earlier periods here under consideration, and if, indeed, administrative texts are the forerunners with regard to how subjects appear there, as has been demonstrated by Balon and Larrivée (2016), then it is logical to assume that the hypothesized trend is

occurring, but has not progressed enough for the assumed dispreference to occur, which suggests the necessity of a broader follow-up study to test this hypothesis.

Chart 3.10a: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Subject Type, Administrative Domain
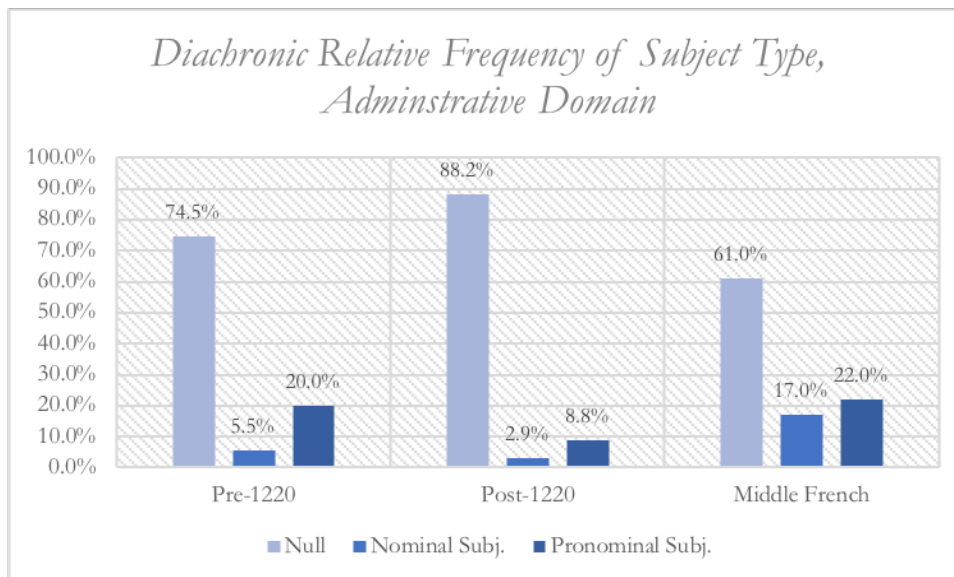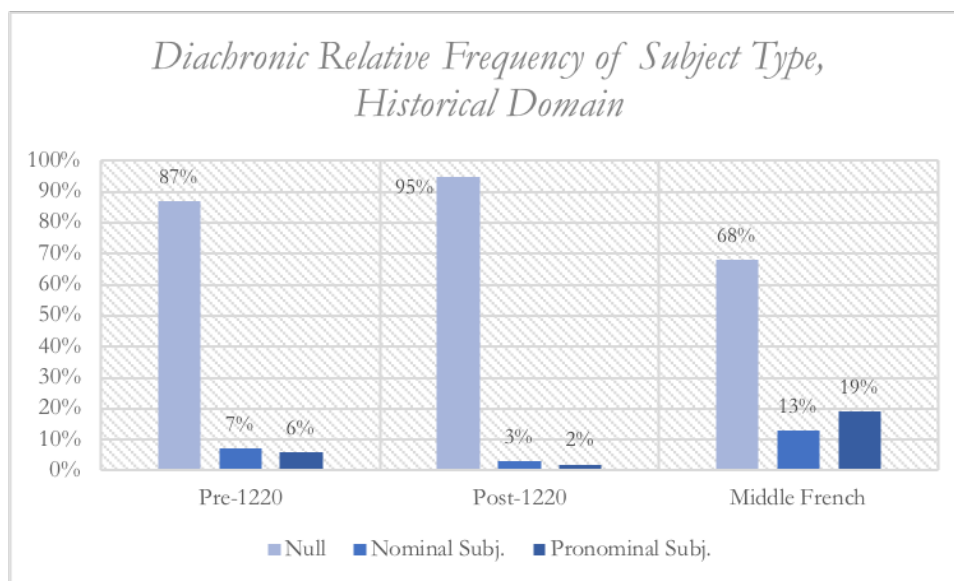

Chart 3.10b: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Subject Type, Historical Domain

If we compare the data in Chart 3.10b to those in Chart 3.10a concerning the administrative domain, we are able to see at least one similar trend: just as the percentage of null subjects increases from the Pre-1220 period to the Post-1220 period, and then decreases from the Post-1220 period to the Middle French one in administrative texts, so too do null subjects follow this pattern in the historical corpus. The two subcorpora diverge, however, with regards to the distribution of nominal versus pronominal subjects.

Whereas the share of pronominal subjects in the administrative subcorpus was multiple times larger than that of nominal subjects in the first two periods under consideration here, in the historical subcorpus, nominal and pronominal subjects tend to occur at approximately the same rate as one another in each of the 3 periods under investigation. With the decline in the number of null subjects overall, overt subjects rise in the Middle French period. Here, nominal subjects account for 40.6% of cases exhibiting an overt subject, and pronominal ones make up the remaining 59.4%. This distribution is slightly more unequal than the one attested in the administrative subcorpus, perhaps an indication of the historical domain's higher level of conservatism.

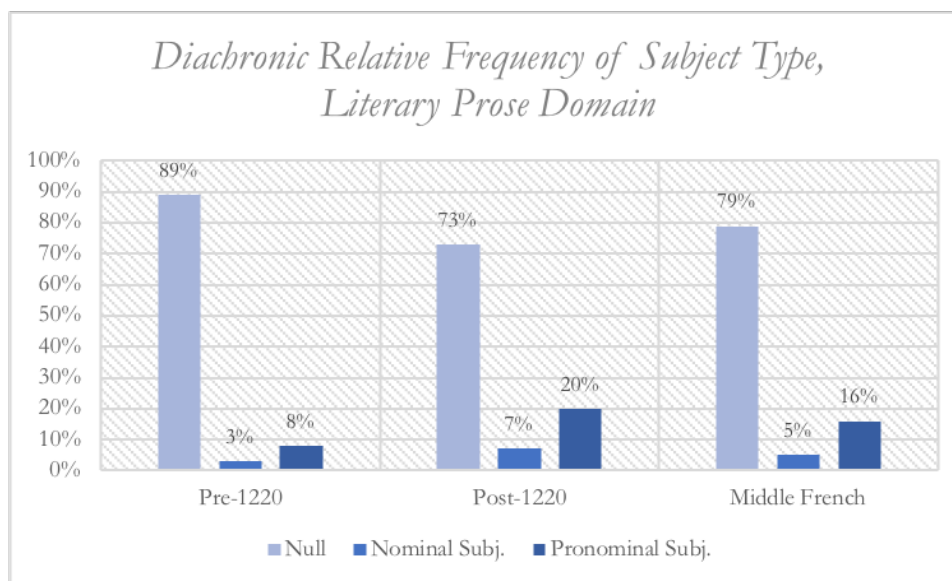*Chart 3.10c: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Subject Type, Literary Prose Domain*

Chart 3.10c contains a view of the same distribution as it appears in the literary prose subcorpus. There are again relatively few things that merit lengthy discussion as it pertains to the subject types that occur in instances of leftward stylistic displacement in this particular domain. When compared with the average overall diachronic frequency of null subject occurrences in Chart 3.9, the literary prose domain appears to lag somewhat behind the administrative and historical domains with regard to their decline, as predicted by the data regarding LSD configurations discussed in Section 3.2.2. The literary prose subcorpus appears also to lag behind the administrative and historical domains with regards to the balance of nominal versus pronominal subjects. Where there appears to be a balance gaining ground in those two domains between nominal and pronominal subjects, pronominal subjects remain between 2-4 times more frequent than nominal subjects in configurations of LSD in the literary prose domain.

In contrast with the other domains, where there is not much to say with regard to subject type is in the literary verse domain, for which the data can be found in Chart 3.10d. As is likely unsurprising when comparing these data with those for the LSD configurations discussed above, the number of instances containing a null subject is fairly stable across all three periods under consideration in the present study, ranging from 74% in the Pre-1220 period to 78% in the Middle French period. If we look at the data regarding overt subjects, however, the situation becomes somewhat more intriguing. In the Pre-1220 period, the relative share of occurrences of nominal and pronominal subjects mirrors that seen in the other domains. Differences arise and remain, however, in the Post-1220 and Middle

French periods, where the share of nominal and pronominal subjects are totally inverted, with nominal subjects accounting for twice as many occurrences as pronominal subjects in both periods.

Chart 3.10d: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Subject Type, Literary Verse Domain
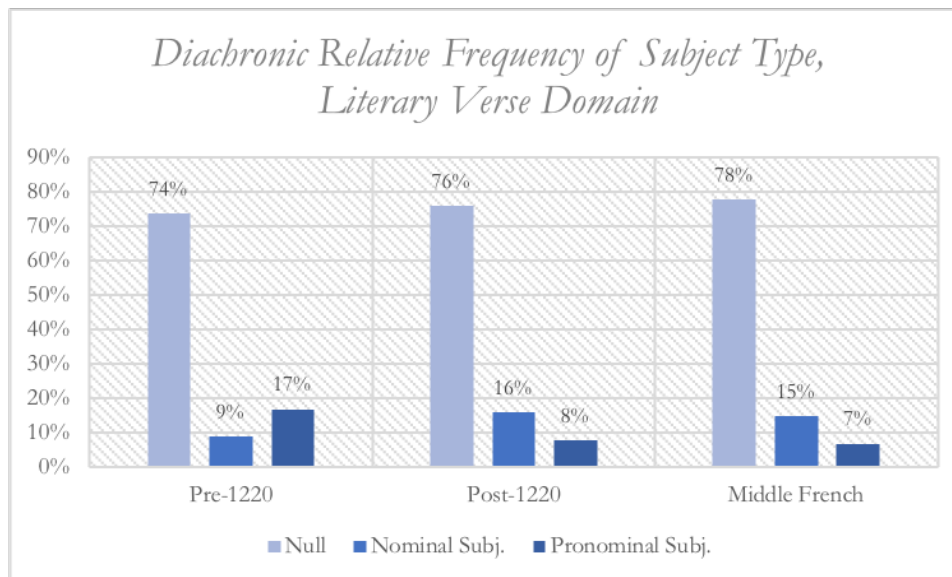
Recall that, with regards to the configurations of leftward stylistic displacement discussed in Section 3.2.4, the literary verse subcorpus is the most conservative, as it does not exhibit many of the trends that are seen in the overall data, and in the other subcorpora, individually. For such a reversal to be seen here is thus particularly intriguing, given that the assumed diachronic trend away from null subjects and toward obligatory ones is reflected in these supposedly conservative sources; we might thus expect such trends to manifest themselves to a lesser extent, if at all, as with the null subject data. Why, then, might there be such a quick shift away from pronominal subjects toward nominal ones in this conservative domain? The answer is, at present, unclear. What is clear, however, is that, in the Middle French period, the literary verse domain exhibits a higher relative frequency of null subjects than in either of the other two periods considered and contains the lowest percentage of pronominal subjects in any domain in the Middle French period. This again appears to further cement the literary verse domain's status as the most conservative of the domains investigated in the present study.

3.2.6- LSD Complementizer Type

The final morphosyntactic variable according to which all instances of leftward stylistic displacement collected from the present corpus were tagged is the type of complementizer, investigated based on findings by Labelle (2007) and Salvesen and Walkden (2017). The five complementizers tracked were conjunctive *que*, relative *que*, *qui*, *quand*, and *si*. This section will follow the same format of the previous two sections, first looking at the data synchronically according to domain, then diachronically, irrespective of domain. The factors of domain and time are then examined together. This section concludes with an examination of the Conjunctional *que* data, with the aim of investigating whether these tokens might exhibit embedded V2.

3.2.6.1- LSD Complementizer Type Across Domains
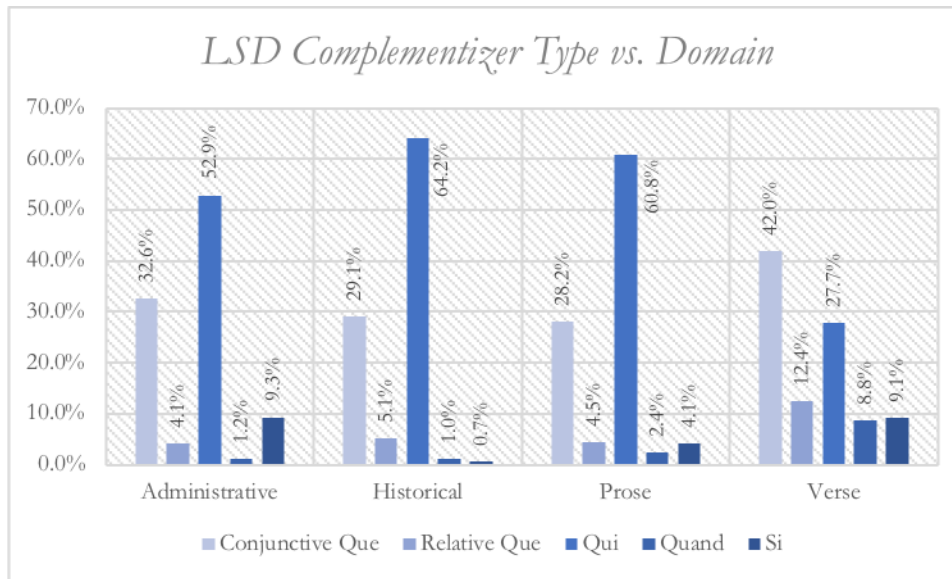
Chart 3.11: LSD Complementizer Type vs. Domain

Chart 3.11, which appears above, shows the distribution of the different types of complementizers under which leftward stylistic displacement occurred in our corpus. Among the first three domains, there is relatively little variation: *qui* is the most numerous complementizer, which is unsurprising given the history of research on this construction (Mathieu 2006, 2013).[16] Conjunctive *Que* is the second most frequent complementizer in each of these domains, and the other three complementizers make up between 6-15% of the remaining cases, here. The clear outlier, however, as was the case for LSD element type, is the literary verse subcorpus. Here, besides the reversal of *qui* and conjunctive *que* as the most frequent complementizers, the distribution of complementizer types is again more equal when compared to the other domains under consideration in the present study; for example, the frequency of each of the three minority complementizers in the literary verse subcorpus is more robust than in the other subcorpora. Here, just as with the various configurations of LSD and the types of elements that are involved in this phenomenon, it appears that the literary verse subcorpus is taking the syntactic capabilities of the language and using them to the fullest.

Leaving aside the particularities of verse texts, however, the fact that instances of leftward stylistic displacement occur across all domains under consideration here, and in clauses headed by a variety of complementizers, is significant. Recall that the dominant narrative regarding the word order of subordinate clauses in medieval French is that it is rather more rigid than that of main clauses. This rigidity is due to these clauses lacking the same articulated CP domain as their matrix clauses; the C° position is occupied by the complementizer, blocking other elements from raising into this domain (den Besten 1983; Adams 1987; Benincà 2006; Vance, Donaldson and Steiner 2014; Steiner 2014). According to this explanation, medieval French is an asymmetrical V2 language, since, from a purely syntactical point of view, a verb must raise through IP to the CP phase in order for V2 syntax to apply. This V-to-C movement is what licenses null subjects in main clauses, and, ostensibly, should prohibit

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[16] Recall that, in Mathieu's (2006, 2013) account, for stylistic fronting to be licensed, overt subjects could not be present. This made subordinate clauses headed by *qui* an ideal locus for his investigation, since subject relative clauses never contain an overt subject.

them in subordinate clauses. Exceptions to this prohibition, along with other intervention effects, are held to be permissible in subordinate clauses governed by certain classes of verbs called bridge verbs (Vance 1995; Adams 1987; Salvesen and Walkden 2017). These occurrences are subsumed under the category of Conjunctive *que* in the present data.

Since the phenomenon of leftward stylistic displacement as conceived of here exclusively involves instances where constituents appear to the left or the right of the subject, and LSD occurs in clause types beyond those governed by bridge verbs, it would appear that, from a synchronic perspective, such a restrictive account of these scrambling phenomena is simply inconsistent with the data. Table 3.10 shows the distribution of LSD configurations occurring under each complementizer type.

Table 3.10: Synchronic Distribution of LSD Configurations per Complementizer Type

Conjunctional *que*:

CØXV	CSXV	CSXYV	CXSV	CSXYV	CXYV
191	41	6	69	6	27

Quand:

CØXV	CSXV	CSXYV	CXSV	CXYV
21	12	1	1	1

Relative *que*:

CØXV	CSXV	CXSV	CXYV
35	18	8	2

Si:

CØXV	CSXV	CSXYV	CXSV	CXYV
26	19	4	2	4

Qui:

CØXV	CXYV
523	16

Although it is in differing numbers, since the complementizers themselves were not attested in the present corpus in even numbers, it is possible in each of these categories to find configurations that, according to this restrictive V-to-C movement account of medieval French, should be absent from the corpus. For example, the V-to-C model predicts that null subjects cannot be licensed in subordinate clauses, except in bridge-verb contexts. While it is true that a great majority of the instances of Conjunctional *que* LSD exhibiting null subjects found in this corpus does indeed occur in such bridging contexts, thus making them instances of "Embedded V2", there are a number of occurrences that do not appear to fit into this category, as shown in example (3.5).

(3.5)   [M]es nous ne somes mie tant de gent que *par nostre passage paier* puissiens le leur atteindre, et ce est par la defaillance de ceuls qui sont aus autres porz.
'But we are not at all so many people that, by paying our passage, we might be able to acquit ourselves of (our debts to the Venetians), and this is on account of the loss of those who are at the other ports.'
(*Conquête de Constantinople*, §69)

Quant il furent hors de Camaalot et il se furent mis el droit chemin a aler a Wincestre, et il chevauchierent tote la nuit en tel maniere que *onques* ne se reposerent.

111

> 'Once they were outside of Camelot and had gotten underway on the road that leads directly to Winchester, they galloped all night in such way that they never took rest.'

<div align="right">(La Mort du roi Artur, p. 198)</div>

In both of these examples, instead of a bridging verb, like *penser*, *dire*, or *jurer*, we see an adverb or an adverbial locution that signifies intensity. In the first case, the intensifier is *tant* and in the second case, the locution *en tel maniere* takes up this mantle. In the present dataset, these instances account for the remaining instances of null-subject clauses governed by conjunctional *que*. Although it is heartening to find a unifying theme that ties these clauses together, such consecutive locutions unfortunately do not fall into any of the categories that have been used to account for atypical word orders in the clause they govern; as such the syntax underlying these surface orders is decidedly mysterious.

Similar unexpected configurations are attested in clauses governed by each of the remaining types of complementizers: relative *que*, *quand*, and *si*. Besides the cases attested in clauses headed by *qui*, where their absence is mandated by the functionality of the complementizer, it is again surprising, given the dominant account of the syntax of medieval French, to find that null subjects appear in such clauses, alongside with the types of intervention seen in the configurations CSXV and CXSV.[17] Although it is not the intent of this dissertation to wade into the extremely turbulent waters of generative discussions of the structure of medieval French clauses, it is difficult to give credence to models that postulate a rigidly regular subordinate clause, given the fact that this account appears not to be particularly well reflected in the synchronic data from the present corpus.

3.2.6.2- LSD Complementizer Type Viewed Diachronically

<div align="center">Chart 3.12: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Complementizer Type</div>


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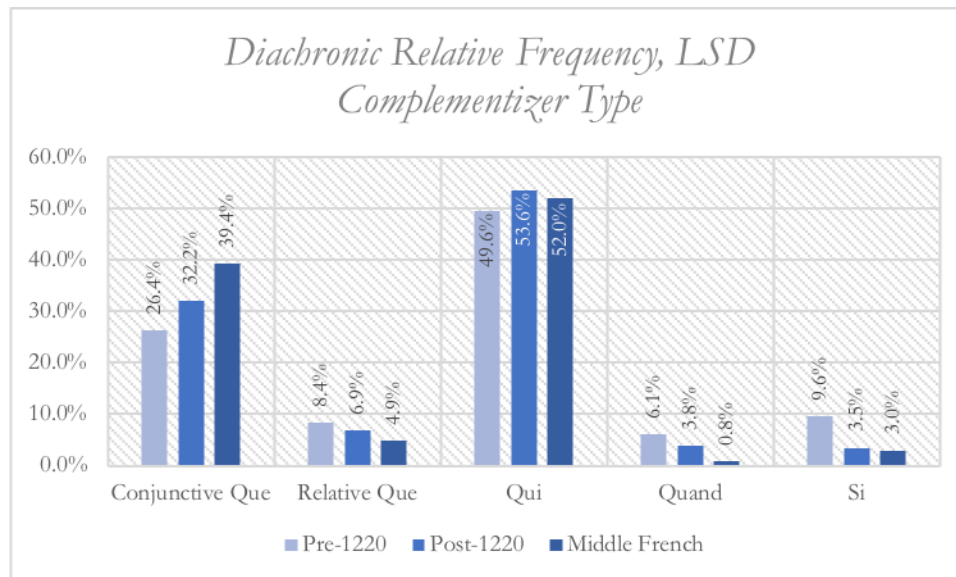
[17] According to the prevailing syntactic model, in which null subjects are licensed by V-to-T-to-C verb movement (Vance 1997), the presence of a complementizer makes it impossible for the verb to move into this higher position in the derivation (den Besten 1983). For this reason, null subjects should theoretically not appear in subordinate clauses.

A strict account of the syntax of subordinate clauses in medieval French does not appear to obtain diachronically, either. Chart 3.12 shows the diachronic trends with regards to the types of complementizers occurring with leftward stylistic displacement. There are a number of important trends here. The first of these is the relative stability of instances of LSD occurring with the complementizer *qui*. This reliably high frequency is unsurprising, given that this phenomenon was once thought to require a subject gap, which is obligatory in clauses headed by this pronoun, since it functions as the subject. Secondly, it appears the relative frequency of those instances of leftward stylistic displacement occurring under the minority complementizers (relative *que*, *quand*, and *si*) declines as time advances. It is perhaps here where we are able to see the most direct signs of the impending obsolescence of LSD, since it appears that these complementizers are less and less able to license configurations of leftward stylistic displacement. This decline is coupled with a rise in the relative frequency of clauses headed by instances of conjunctional *que* governed by a bridging verb or one of the consecutive constructions discussed in the previous subsection. If these clause types always license a recursive CP in the subordinate clauses they govern, it is unremarkable that, as other complementizers no longer co-occur with leftward stylistic displacement, these clause types increase their share of the construction. This does not, however, provide an adequate explanation for the elevated share of leftward stylistic displacement occurring in clauses governed by *qui*, or, indeed, by the less frequent complementizers. In short, although many scholars have been able to convincingly motivate models that allow for very little variation in the syntax of subordinate clauses, our data would seem to muddy the waters considerably.

3.2.6.3- LSD Complementizer Type Viewed Through Domain and Time

Let us now to consider each of the domains individually. Chart 3.13a displays the diachronic relative frequency of complementizer types occurring in LSD configurations from the administrative subcorpus.

Chart 3.13a: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Complementizer Type, Administrative Domain
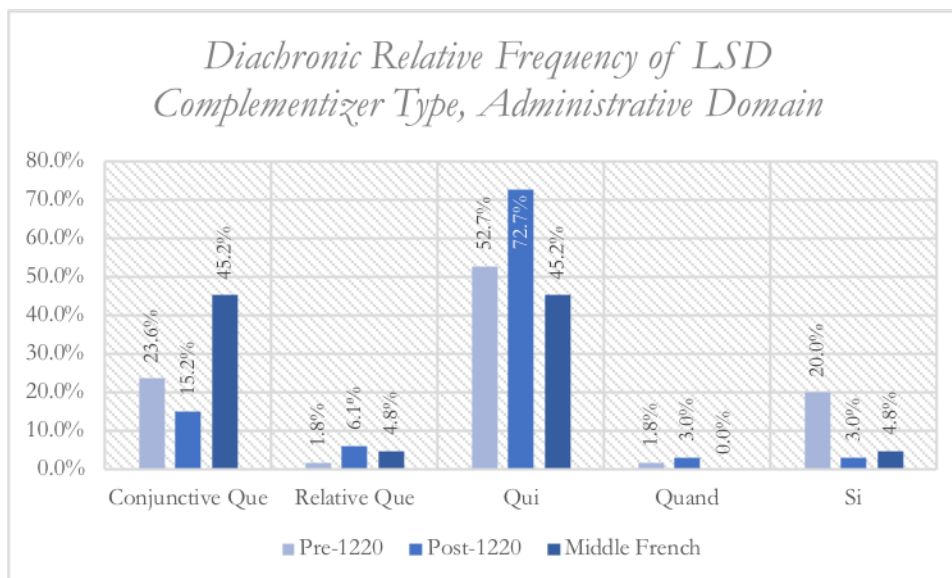

Here, we are generally able to see the diachronic trends that appear in the overall data, despite some anomalously high or low frequencies in the Post-1220 period. The relative frequency of conjunctive

que nearly doubles from the Pre-1220 to the Middle French period, a testament to the vigor with which this complementizer continues to license clausal structures permitting leftward stylistic displacement to occur. Although there is a slight increase in the percentage of cases of LSD occurring in clauses headed by relative *que*, these, like clauses headed by *quand*, make up a minute portion of the data. Interestingly, it is possible to see a decline in the percentage of cases of leftward stylistic displacement that occur in clauses governed by the relative pronoun *qui*, which was not the case in the overall data. This mirrors Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017, 154) data, which show a steady decline in the number of subject relative clauses containing instances of LSD. Finally, let us shift our focus to the final complementizer under consideration in the present study, *si*. For the Pre-1220 period, the share of tokens containing this complementizer reaches a full 20%, which is double the average rate of occurrence. This outsized level of occurrence can be easily attributed, however, to the nature of the texts making up this subcorpus. The main component of the Pre-1220 administrative texts is the *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant*. Because these laws stipulate a variety of torts and crimes which result in the imposition of a monetary or corporal penalty as a consequence, it is unsurprising that this corpus would exhibit an unusually large quantity of clauses containing the complementizer *si*, as in the conditional, "If you commit this crime, this will be the penalty".[18]

No such anomalies with regards to the type of complementizer co-occurring with LSD can be seen in the historical subcorpus, for which the data appear in Chart 3.13b.

Chart 3.13b: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Complementizer Type, Historical Domain
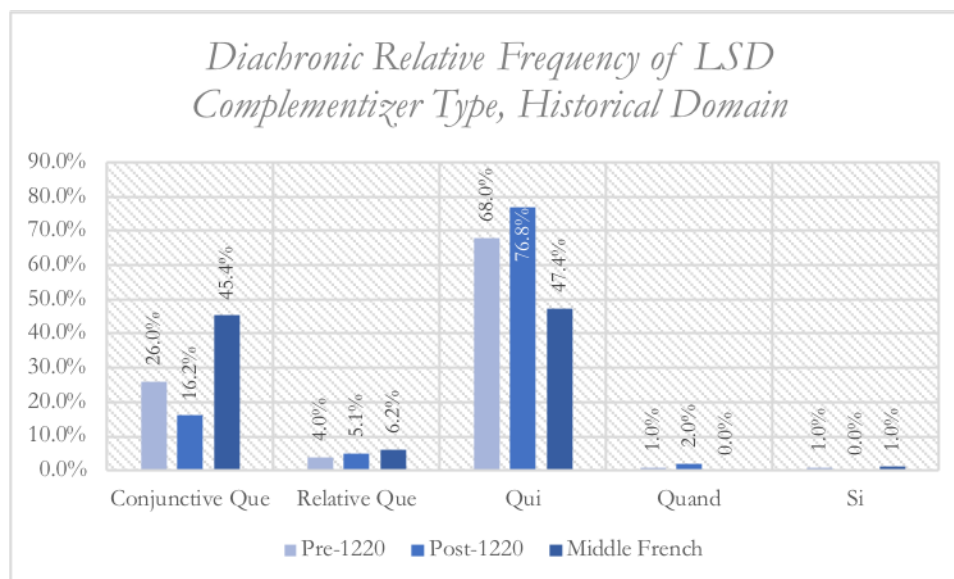
Here, too, conjunctive *que* and *qui* are dominant across all three periods, and their relative frequencies rise and fall in line with the data collected from the administrative subcorpus; moreover, the conjunctive *que* data for the historical subcorpus matches the average data collected across all subcorpora. The three minority complementizers remain fairly stable across all three periods, though

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[18] We have rarely, if ever, alluded to the effect that an individual text might have on the way that LSD appears in our corpus. This clear explanation for the presence of so many tokens with *si* in the administrative subcorpus is an indication that a broader study ought to be conducted, using more than one exemplar per domain in each period. In this way, our conclusions regarding the effect of domain on LSD might become all the more robust and the random effect of individual texts might be minimized.

it is possible to see a slight increase in the share of subordinate clauses containing an instance of LSD that are governed by relative *que*. In short, the historical subcorpus appears to be rather unremarkable with regards to the types of clauses in which leftward stylistic displacement tends to occur, and particularly so, if we take into account the proximity of the match between the average data and the sample collected from this subcorpus.

Chart 3.13c: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Complementizer Type, Literary Prose Domain
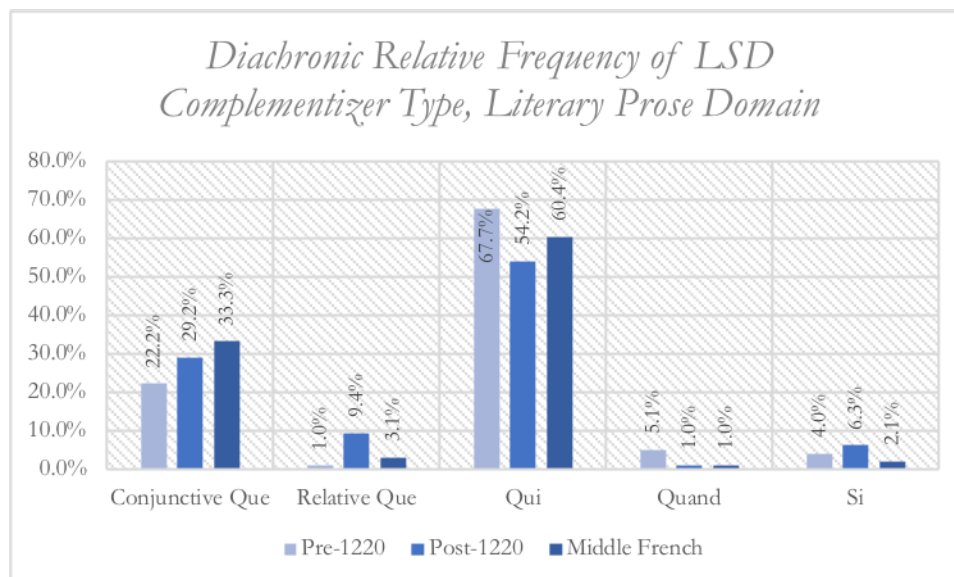

Chart 3.13c displays the same data as it appears in the literary prose subcorpus. It is possible to comment on several characteristics of this dataset. Firstly, as it pertains to conjunctive *que*, although the share of leftward stylistic displacement indeed steadily grows from the Pre-1220 to the Middle French period, this growth trails behind the benchmark set by the average data; this is in line with previous assumptions that have been made regarding the relative conservatism or innovation exhibited by each subcorpus. Thus, in this domain, even in the Middle French period, over 65% of cases of leftward stylistic displacement occur in subordinate clause types that do not allow for CP recursion. There appears to be a slight anomaly in the literary prose data for relative *que*, with the Post-1220 subcorpus exhibiting this complementizer in 9.4% of instances of leftward stylistic displacement that occur in subordinate clauses. This number does, however, fall back to a level of 3.1% in the Middle French period, which is more in line with the data from the administrative and historical subcorpora just discussed. A similar rise and fall from period to period can be seen for the complementizer *si*. The factors might be at work in suddenly generating a higher number of cases of clauses governed by these obsolescing are unclear, however.[19] Because of the nature of how the data was collected, namely as a representative sample, elevated levels of one complementizer automatically entail lower levels of the others. This is likely what is behind the fall and rebound of the complementizer *qui* from the Post-1220 to the Middle French period. The downward trend of this complementizer, although reflected to a certain extent, lags behind the steeper downward trends reflected in the other two domains; we hold this to be reflective of this domain's more conservative nature.

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[19] The specter of text choice again looms here; there are no textual explanations similar to that proposed for the *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant* which are apparent for the literary prose subcorpus.

Let us turn, finally, to the data on complementizer types collected from the verse subcorpus. This data appears below in Chart 3.13d. Here, the results are the most anomalous when compared to the overall average relative frequencies displayed in Chart 3.11. Whereas the majority of subordinate clauses containing leftward stylistic displacement is concentrated in clauses governed by the complementizers conjunctional *que* and *qui*, this is not necessarily the case for all periods in the verse subcorpus. For the Pre-1220 period, there is a surprising amount of equilibrium between all five of the complementizers under consideration here, suggestive of the possibility that all complementizers may be able to license leftward stylistic displacement. If we take into account the fact that this is the most conservative domain as it pertains to how it reflects the other variable features of leftward stylistic displacement, as well as the flexible, non-configurational syntax of Latin from which medieval French is descended, then it seems to require little courage to postulate that, at a certain stage of the language, this sort of syntactic flexibility was possible in all sorts of subordinate clauses.

Chart 3.13d: Diachronic Relative Frequency of LSD Complementizer Type, Literary Verse Domain
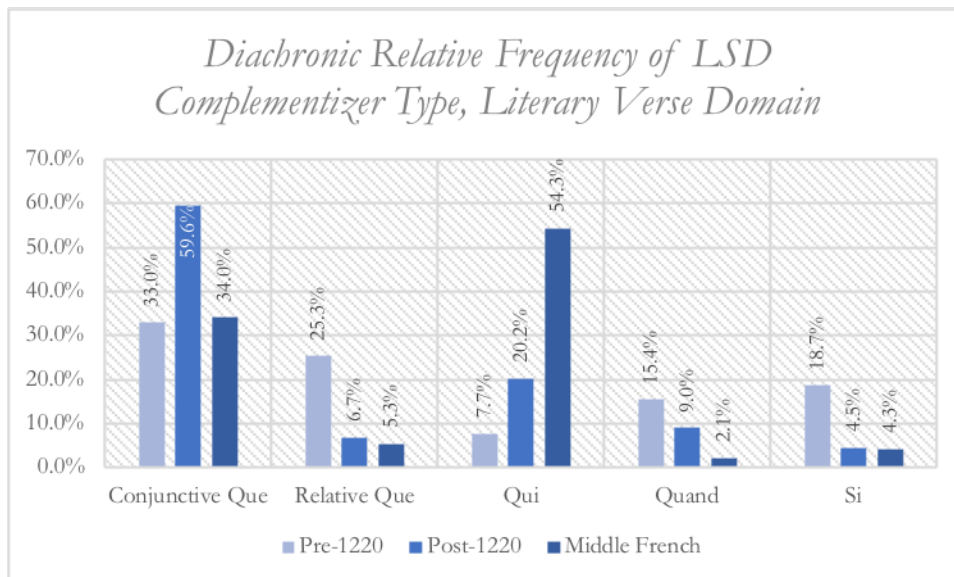
Moving, then, into the Post-1220 and Middle French periods, the data look somewhat more like those collected from the other subcorpora. For example, the relative frequencies of the complementizers *quand* and *si* exhibit a decline that is reminiscent to that attested across all three subcorpora. Relative *que* also exhibits a steep decline; whereas the relative frequency of this complementizer appears to be relatively stable across the other three subcorpora, the overall average relative frequency for this complementizer exhibits a downward trend, likely attributable to the contribution of the literary verse subcorpus. Perhaps the most dramatic trend exhibited by this subcorpus is the meteoric rise of the complementizer *qui*, which rises from 7.7% in the Pre-1220 period to 54.3% in the Middle French period. This rise is again easily explained if we recall that this is generally one of the more frequent complementizers in the other domains, along with the fact that its rise is reflected in the decline of other types of complementizers. Finally, if we examine the data for conjunctive *que*, notwithstanding an extremely high reading in the Post-1220 period, its relative frequency is stable from the Pre-1220 period to the Middle French period.

If we consider, again, that these conjunctional *que* clauses are instances of embedded V2 due to the fact that they occur in clauses governed by bridging verbs, and that these occur in 34% of cases

in the Middle French period, this means that the other 66% of cases occur in clauses that are not capable of generating the recursive CP structure required to assume that verb-second syntax is at play. Moreover, if we take into account the fact that, for the most part, LSD is attested to some extent in all of these clause types, and that the distribution of these non-V2 subordinate clauses is the most even in this subcorpus, there are two conclusions at which we might arrive: firstly, and chiefly, the flexibility of the syntactic system reflected in the verse texts under consideration in the present study is not unique to this domain, but rather applies, albeit more or less frequently (as shown by the variation in how the panoply of variables appear and in the frequency with which LSD occurs in general), to all the domains under consideration from the earliest texts comprising our corpus to the latest ones; with very few exceptions, there was at least one example of leftward stylistic displacement under each of the complementizers across all of the domains considered in this study. Although it may seem mundane to state given the myriad charts nested in the foregoing discussion, this is a prime example of a syntactic system in variation.

3.3- Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the relationship between leftward stylistic displacement, in all of the many ways that it might vary, and the variables of domain and time. Given the fact that this family of constructions eventually slides into obsolescence as medieval French evolves, it was unsurprising to find that time was an excellent predictor for the way an instance of leftward stylistic displacement was configured. Domain on its own was not an exceedingly strong predictor of how LSD appears. By comparing the data collected from our corpus with the findings of Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017), along with current research regarding the appearance of null subjects in different text types (Balon and Larrivée 2016) it was, however, possible to triangulate the relative conservatism and innovation of each of the domains considered here. We found that the administrative domain is the most innovative, followed by the historical domain, the literary prose domain, and the literary verse domain. Although it is tempting to explain the behavior of the literary verse texts by claiming that verse texts are inherently exceptional with respect to their syntax, we submit that their variability with respect to leftward stylistic displacement can, in general, be straightforwardly explained using the concept of linguistic conservatism; this is a preferable course of action since such an explanation requires decidedly less hand waving. Any instances of leftward stylistic displacement that result in a rhyme with a preceding or following line should thus be treated as happy coincidences. With respect to the question of whether leftward stylistic displacement is stylistic in any way, this matter is subject to interpretation based on one's definition of 'stylistic'. If we tie the notion of style to that of domain, leftward stylistic displacement is not, in and of itself, stylistic; however, insofar as these domains once involved a choice between more or less conservative or innovative variants, as seen at a multi-century remove, these choices are indeed stylistic.

We are also able to shed new light on the structure of leftward stylistic displacement, extending the purview of our conclusions beyond such nomenclatural concerns as the one just described. Firstly, with respect to the morphosyntactic category of the displaced element in our corpus, we have demonstrated that a robust ability to displace all types of element investigated in the present study is present from the late-twelfth to the mid-fifteenth centuries. Notably, this is true of categories other than the adverbs, infinitives, and past participles that formed the basis of Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) most recent study. We have also brought configurations of LSD to light that were previously unattested in research on this family of constructions (Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle 2007; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017; Rahn 2016), namely instances where LSD results in subordinate V3 and V4; as it stands, in the predominant syntactic model of the subordinate clause, which involves a bottleneck in CP (den Besten 1983), and thus should be uniformly SVO given

the inability of the verb to raise into the CP phase, these structures are illicit, and should not be licensed. Further issues for this model are posed by the nearly 100 null-subject LSD clauses headed by complementizers other than *qui* and conjunctional *que* in predicates containing bridge verbs (Adams 1987; Salvesen and Walkden 2017) seen in Table 3.10.

In the following chapter, we turn the study's focus to look at another factor that has been only nominally present in previous considerations of this family of constructions, but which has never been fully investigated, information structure (IS), both in terms of the information structural value of the displaced element itself and the impact of these values on their containing clauses' underlying syntactic structures.

Chapter Four:
Leftward Stylistic Displacement
and Information Structure

4.0- Introduction

We now shift our attention to external, discursive variables and how they pattern with the instances of leftward stylistic displacement forming the corpus for the present study. In this chapter, we will offer a further descriptive analysis of leftward stylistic displacement, this time with respect to this family of constructions' relationship with the full variety of information-structural values set forth in Chapter 3 for use in the present study. Here, we employ largely the same approach as that used in the preceding chapter, whereby the information-structural values can be compared with certain aspects of our dataset that were highlighted there, namely the diachronic distribution of the IS-values that LSD elements might carry, the specific configurations in which the construction occurs, and the complementizers under which the subordinate clause occurrences of leftward stylistic displacement arise; the ultimate goal of this portion of the study is to chart the relation between information structure and the morphosyntax of medieval French as it pertains to LSD. The final external variable, discourse-reporting status, or *oral représenté*, is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1- Synchronic Overview of the Data

Each of the 1,089 tokens detailed in the previous chapter were passed through the series of decision trees described in Section 2.5; the resulting synchronic distribution appears below in Table 4.1, followed by an example-in-context of each attested value in Example (4.1).[1]

Table 4.1: Attested Information Structural Values, Raw Count[2]

Topics:			Foci:		Frame-Setters:	
Aboutness	Contrastive	Continuing	Contrastive	Semantic		
1 (.09%)	0	0	763 (70.1%)	0	325 (29.8%)	n = 1089

(4.1)　　　　　Aboutness Topic
Et jou vos dirai tant que je voel que vos m'en crées qu'il n'i a celui de vos tos qui n'ait veü qu'il doit par cel enfant morir, et jou meïsmes l'ai veü certainement ausi con uns de vos autres. Et *ce* vos n'avés dit.
'I will tell you something that you ought to believe: there is not one among you who hasn't seen that he must die on account of this child (Merlin); I have seen it just as surely as any of you. And this, you have kept secret.'
(*Merlin*, p. 206, ll. 36-40)

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[1] For definitions of these IS categories, see section 1.5; for the procedure used to tag the collected data, see section 2.5.
[2] Recall from Section 2.4.2.5 the preparations laid for the possibility that there might be no IS-value associated with the displaced element. We were unable to find any elements that did not have an IS value when sorting them according to the decision trees in Section 2.4.2.

Contrastive Focus
E si il auient dedenz cele quinzeine ke li uns de ses testemonies murge, celui
qui *uiff* est, pruuera son testimonie par serrement…
'And if it should happen within that fortnight that one of the witnesses die,
the surviving one shall prove his testimony by oath…'

(*Coutumes de Londres*, p. 1902, §5)

Frame-Setter
Par foy, dist ly contes, sire chevaliers, pouez dire a vostre demoiselle que *cy* n'a
nul besoign de merciements, car je suis tenus de faire a mon cousin honneur.
'By my faith, said the count, sir knight, you may tell your maiden that, here,
there is no need for thanks, for I am obligated to do honor to my cousin.'

(*Mélusine*, p. 196)

Recall that, in previous research on the subject of leftward stylistic displacement in medieval French, there has been little consensus regarding the information-structural values borne by the displaced elements: for Mathieu, the element having undergone what he called stylistic fronting was "a shifted defocalized element with the semantics of an asserted background topic[, which] cannot be contrastive or presupposed" (2006, 221); for Labelle and Hirschbühler (2013, 10), leftward stylistic displacement has no single consistent informational role.[3] The data from the present study, displayed in Table 4.1, contradict these assumptions in that the majority of the data are contrastive in nature, and that there are indeed certain IS values that the LSD element tends to manifest, if the family of constructions does not manifest a single IS value. These values are Contrastive Focus and Frame-Setter, which account for 70.1% and 29.8% of the data, respectively, or all but one token found in the corpus. These two IS values tend, as they have been here, to be treated in the literature as separate entities performing separate informational roles.[4]

There are certain ways, however, in which these two categories bear a striking resemblance to one another, particularly when considered from a pragmatic point of view, which is the approach that has formed the basis of the decision trees used to classify them. Here, Lambrecht's (1994) definition of focus is instructive: "[…] the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context, is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ" (207). Naturally inherent in this definition of focus is the notion of contrast, and, when considered pragmatically, this entails conversational acts such as correcting something erroneous said by an interlocutor, and thereby excluding the incorrect information from the new proposition. Although they tend to be linked to topics (Krifka 2007; Carella 2015; Frascarelli 2017), frame-setters, too, perform contrastive work. Carella (2015) explains that frame-setters, or what he calls limiting topics, "[have] the function of limiting the validity of the main predication (comment) to a precise and well-defined context (frame)" (364). If we apply this definition to the frame-setter example in (5.1), the adverb *cy*, which has undergone leftward stylistic displacement, has the function of delimiting the place or situation where thanks are not necessary: in the context of family relations which oblige the speaker to behave in a certain way. The clear corollary to this, of course, is that there are indeed times and places where the exigencies of politeness are such that explicit thanks would indeed be necessary; the frame-setter thus serves the exclusive purpose of implicitly contrasting these two situations. If it is

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[3] "In our data, the LSD constituent has no consistent informational role. It may correspond to the information focus of the clause (or part of it), […] or to already known background information […]. In addition, in main clauses, the LSD element may be strongly (contrastively or emphatically) focalized…" (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 10).
[4] See Section 1.5 for further discussion of these IS values.

indeed, then, the case that the family of LSD constructions is not monolithic in the information-structural roles that it manifests, as the data in Table 4.1 clearly show, the same cannot be said for the macro-pragmatic purposes which it serves, which are, in our view, quite uniformly contrastive.[5]

4.2- A Diachronic Overview of LSD's Information Structural Values

Given this synchronic distribution, how, then, do the information-structural values borne by leftward stylistic displacement pattern across the three periods considered in the present study? The diachronic distribution of IS values manifested in the corpus is displayed in Table 4.2.

*Table 4.2: Diachronic Distribution of Information-Structural Values Exhibited
by Instances of Leftward Stylistic Displacement*

	Contrastive Topic	Aboutness Topic	Continuing Topic	Frame-Setter	Contrastive Focus	Semantic Focus	Multiple	
Pre-1220	0	1 (0.3%)	0	70 (19.7%)	276 (77.7%)	0	24 (6.7%)	N = 355
Post-1220	0	0	0	75 (22.4%)	225 (67.3%)	0	34 (10.2%)	N = 334
Middle French	0	0	0	144 (36%)	249 (62.3%)	0	7 (1.8%)	N = 400

There are several aspects of this table which merit explicit commentary, the first of which is the single attested example of an aboutness topic in the Pre-1220 period. In order to be classified as a topic according to the present schema, an element must be able to be assigned a discourse referent status, which would allow it to be passed through the topic portion of the decision tree used to sort tokens; only referring DPs, i.e. nouns, can be assigned discourse referent status (Steiner 2014, 91). Given that leftward stylistic displacement deals specifically with preverbal, non-subject elements, such displaced elements must necessarily be objects of some sort. In the history of French, such preverbal object configurations become steadily rarer as time progresses, as Marchello-Nizia explains in her description of medieval French main clause word order: "Au 12ème siècle, en vers, on peut facilement placer en tête d'énoncé l'objet nominal ou l'attribut. En effet, […] on trouve [objet nominal-verbe-(sujet) dans ¼ des déclaratives à [objet nominal…] Mais au 13ème siècle, c'est 97% des declaratives qui offrent l'ordre VO[…]" (1999, 44).[6, 7] Although Marchello-Nizia says little about the relative position of the subject here, either preverbal or postverbal, her data allow us to say that the presence of a non-subject preverbal topic in the Pre-1220 period in our own data, coupled with the absence of such elements in later periods, is not anomalous, but rather reflective of overarching trends in the language broadly conceived. This, it would seem, is a good explanation for why we find just one example of an aboutness topic only in the earliest of our three subcorpora.

Shifting our attention to instances of contrastive focus, if we consider the general numerical preponderance of instances of LSD exhibiting this IS value in the overall data, it should come as no surprise that the predominance of such instances is, in fact, reflected across each of the three periods. As time progresses, however, there is a clear decline in the average relative frequency of instances of

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[5] By using the term macro-pragmatic, we aim to underscore a difference between the information-structural values themselves and the overarching communicative aim of employing these values, which is contrastive.

[6] 'In the 12th century, in verse, one could easily place a nominal object or attribute at the beginning of an utterance. Indeed, one finds nominal object-verb-(subject) in ¼ of the declarative sentences with a nominal object. But in the 13th century, it is the order verb-object that is attested in 97% of declarative sentences.'

[7] The main clause nature of this token is of no little import, and will be treated below in Section 4.3.1.1.

leftward stylistic displacement exhibiting contrastive focus, from 77.7% of tokens in the Pre-1220 period to 62.3% in the Middle French period. There is a variety of explanations that one might proffer with regards to this downward trajectory, and, in this case, Steiner's (2014, 170-9) data, which track the preferred position of different information-structural values from the late 12th to the mid 16th century, are quite illuminating. According to her findings, across the entirety of the period in question, contrastive focus, along with new information focus (here, known as semantic focus), develops a growing dispreference for appearing in preverbal position, and instead tends to show up in postverbal position. Although we are dealing exclusively with data of a preverbal nature, it does not seem to require any great leap of faith to assume that the modest decrease seen across the periods here under investigation could again be reflective of underlying shifts in preferences or possibilities for how contrastive focus might be encoded; indeed, multiple options for encoding contrastive focus, be they via fronting, via clefting, or *in situ*, via intonational means, were present in medieval French (Steiner 2014; Rouquier 2014).[8] Clefting and *in-situ* strategies remain possibilities for this IS-value in contemporary French (Carter-Thomas 2009; Blanche-Benveniste 1996), whereas left-peripheral focus-fronting positions are no longer licensed (Paoli 2003). Although it remains conjectural to connect the dots in such a manner, so to speak, the decline in leftward movement for the expression of focus in both Steiner's (2014) and the data from the present study would together seem to illuminate a portion of the left-peripheral focus position's slide into obsolescence in the evolution of French.

As the relative frequency of contrastive focus declines through time, so rises the relative frequency of the other predominant information-structural value borne by elements having undergone leftward stylistic displacement: frame-setters. Such elements, which serve to delimit the time, place, or set of circumstances for which the truth value of a proposition holds, are, in certain regards, present in both medieval and contemporary French, in contrast with the fronting strategies just described for focus; there are, however, certain key differences, and here the examples in (4.2a-c) will be illustrative.

(4.2a)   Et maint le firent bien qui *a cele mellee* furent.
           'And many did it well (fought valiantly) who were at that battle.'
                                                        (*Constantinople*, p. 124, §169)

           C'est le fiex d'une feme qui *onques* ne sot qui l'avoit engenré…
           'He is the son of a woman who never found out who had sired him…'
                                                        (*Merlin*, p. 210, ll. 98-9)

           Or oez une des plus granz merveilles et des plus granz aventures que vous
           onques oïssiez...
           'Now hear one of the greatest wonders, the greatest strokes of luck that you
           will have ever heard tell of...'
                                                        (*Constantinople*, p. 72, §70)

(4.2b)   Et *tantost après* ledit Raoulin chey a terre et ala de vie a trespassement.
           'And, immediately afterward, the aforementioned Raoulin fell to the ground
           and quickly left this life.'
                                                        (*Actes Henri VI*, 27)

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[8] Such focus fronting was also possible in Latin. See Spevak (2010, 41) and Pinkster (2015); For a broad discussion of changes in the way certain pragmatic categories are encoded from Latin to Contemporary Romance, see Manoliu (2011).

Et quant icellui suppliant, estant audit lieu d'Ivry, vit et apperceut que *a icellui lieu* grain se vendoit chierement et plus que en autre place…
'And when the supplicant, being in the aforementioned place, Ivry, saw and perceived that, in that place, grain was being sold expensively, and even more so than anywhere else…'

(*Actes Henri VI*, 30)

(4.2c)   Et, *immédiatement après avoir été frappé*, Raoulin tomba par terre et mourut.
'And, immediately after having been hit, Raoulin fell to the ground and died.'
(Example mine)

Ce n'est pas difficile à constater qu'*à l'aéroport*, tous les produits se vendent plus chers que nulle part ailleurs.
'It's not difficult to notice that, at the airport, every product for sale is more expensive than anyplace else.'

(Example mine)

The first two examples in (4.2a) contain frame-setters from the earliest subcorpus, which exhibit a temporal and a locative delimitation, respectively. Although there is no overt subject to serve as a diagnostic in sentences such as these, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 146) assume that displaced elements occupy a position not in the left clausal periphery, but rather in an unnamed position below the canonical subject position in SpecTP, as would seem to be the case in the third example in (4.2a), where the frame-setter *onques* appears to the right of the overt subject *vous*. Recall from Section 3.2.2.1 that configurations such as these, where the displaced element appears with a null subject or to the right of an overt subject, are on average quite frequent among instances of leftward stylistic displacement in the earlier two periods, but suffer a decline in favor of configurations where the displaced element appears on the left of the overt subject, which are modeled in (4.2b). It should be noted that these configurations bear a strong resemblance to contemporary French constructions such as those in (4.2c), where, in both main and subordinate clauses, it is possible to place a frame-setter to the left of the subject, which must now be overt. This shift in preference appears to also be reflected in Steiner's (2014, 179-83) assessment of frame-setters, wherein orders with the frame-setter is immediately preceding the verb (as in (4.2a)) decline in frequency diachronically at the same time as the frequency of orders where there are one or more intervening constituents between the frame-setter and the verb are on the rise. Here, too, then, it would appear that we are able to glimpse the trajectory of French toward a more "modern" placement of its frame-setters.[9]

The final information-structural value that remains to be discussed from Table 4.2, multiple, deals with configurations such as SXYV or CXYSV, where there are two displaced constituents; these account for 6% of the total corpus data, and vary broadly in terms of their composition: Frame-Setter-Contrastive Focus, Contrastive Focus-Contrastive Focus, Frame-Setter-Frame-Setter. With the exception of two examples of Contrastive Focus-Frame Setter found in our corpus, which can be found in the Appendix, each of these instances of multiple displaced elements respects the order for such displaced constituents postulated by Benincà (2006), including those found in subordinate clause contexts. Although it would, of course, be of great interest to track how these instances of multiple displaced elements evolve through time, the breadth of variation in the fronted constituents coupled

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[9] We do not wish to wade into any lengthy discussion about the specific position in the derivation that these elements occupy, not least of all because surface orders can be unreliable as a diagnostic for these positions (see Donaldson 2016 for an example of such issues in medieval Occitan).

with the small number of examples attested across the three periods here under investigation make this a task that is simply beyond the scope of the present study, since the population of each category is too small to achieve the same level of legibility as for the other unitary categories attested in the corpus.

4.3- The Information Structure of LSD Configurations

Having discussed the general presence of the information-structural values attested throughout the present corpus, along with how they shift through time in line with demonstrated trends in the word order of medieval French, let us now shift our attention to treating the specific configurations in which these elements occur.

4.3.1- IS and LSD Configurations in Synchrony

We will first investigate synchronically the way IS appears in each of the attested LSD configurations in our corpus. Given the general consensus in the literature about the inherent differences between the syntax of main and subordinate clauses (Adams 1987; Vance 1997; Steiner 2014; Wolfe 2019, *inter alios*), we will treat them here separately, beginning with main clauses, since this is where the bulk of research on medieval French syntax has been concentrated.

4.3.1.1- Main Clause LSD in Synchrony

Table 4.3a displays the distribution of the attested information-structural values across all main-clause configurations where only one element has been displaced, either to the left or to the right of the subject, whereas Table 4.3b does the same with multiple elements.

Table 4.3a: Synchronic Distribution of Single Displaced Elements in Main Clause LSD

<u>Main Clauses</u>

	SXV	XSV
Contrastive Focus	20 (74.1%)	7 (41.2%)
Frame-Setter	7 (25.9%)	9 (52.9%)
Aboutness Topic	0	1 (5.9%)
	n = 27	n = 17

Table 4.3b: Synchronic Distribution of Multiple Displaced Elements in Main Clause LSD [10]

	(S)XYV
FS + Cont. Foc.	6 (54.5%)
Cont. Foc. x 2	4 (36.4%)
FS x 2	1 (9.1%)
Cont. Foc. + FS	0
	n = 11

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[10] FS = Frame-Setter; Cont. Foc. = Contrastive Focus.

There are three main clause configurations with which we are concerned here: SXV, XSV, and XYV; although these V3 orders are frequently cited as evidence against the verb-second nature of medieval French (Rinke and Meisel 2009; Kaiser and Zimmerman 2010), the orders XSV and XYV are easily accounted for given an articulated left periphery, as proposed by Rizzi (1997) and elaborated upon by Benincà (2004, 2006) for medieval Romance, broadly conceived. In this model, there are a variety of positions that allow for multiple elements to be land there; these projections are sensitive to the discourse in which they exist, whence their predisposition toward hosting elements whose movement (or base generation) there is motivated by information structure. A digested version of Benincà's (2004) model of the left periphery can be found in (4.3) and is discussed in full in Section 1.0.1.

(4.3)   [ForceP[FrameP[TopicP[FocusP[FinitenessP[TP/IP[...]]]]]]]

Unlike in subordinate clauses, there is no complementizer that can block the appearance of elements in the left periphery (den Besten 1983); it would seem to be unsurprising that we should see topics, foci, and frame setters represented among the data in Table 4.3a, since access to the full left periphery is unrestricted.[11] There are certain types of IS values that we would not expect in certain contexts, however; if our definition of "strict" verb-second syntax entails that both the specifier and head positions of Finiteness be filled for a sentence to be grammatical, we should not find any focus elements above this position. This is because focus elements are held to land in their fronted positions via movement, which requires an open path through the bottom of the left periphery, and elements occurring in FinP would thus block this movement operation.[12] Our data, however, contain an example of putatively illicit contrastive focus in clause initial position in a V3 clause, exemplified in (4.4a).

(4.4a)   Tristran quida Ysolt gurpir// E l'amur de sun cuer tolir ; // Par espuser l'altre Ysolt, // D'iceste delivrer se volt ; // E si ceste Ysolt ne fust, // *L'altre* itant amé ne oüst...
              'Tristan thought he was getting rid of Yseult, and removing love from his heart. By marrying the other Yseult (Yseult aux Blanches Mains), he wished to deliver himself from this one, but if the first one hadn't been named Yseult, he wouldn't have loved the second one so much...'

                                                                    (*Tristan*, ll. 306-11)

(4.4b)   Et en la saison de l'esté dessus dit mil CCCIIII^XX et deux, le dit roy de Castelle entra oudit royaume de Portigal, si fort et si puissant de gens d'armes, que lez diz roy de Portigal et Anglois furent contrains de faire traictié aveques lui. *Par le quel traictié*, le dit roy de Portigal renonça aux aliances qu'il avoit aveques les diz Anglois...

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[11] It is further interesting to note that Information Focus is not attested among the preverbal elements in the main-clause data collected for the present study, as is predicted by a wide variety of scholars (Marchello-Nizia 1995; Vance 1997; Zimmerman 2018; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018b; Wolfe 2019).

[12] For a more technical explanation of this reasoning, see Steiner (2014, 72-3).

'And in the aforementioned summer in the year 1382, the aforementioned King of Castile entered the aforementioned Kingdom of Portugal, so strong and powerfully equipped with soldiers that the King of Portugal and the English were obligated to treat with him. With this treaty having been signed, the King of Portugal renounced the alliances that he had with the English...

<div align="right">(Chroniques, t. 4, p. 19)</div>

In (4.4a), from *Tristan et Yseult*, Tristan has decided that the best way to relieve himself of heartache stemming from his separation with his royal paramour is by marrying another girl with precisely the same name. Although it is tempting, in this case, to assume that the direct object *l'altre* is simply a contrastive topic, which would fit within the theoretical confines postulated by Poletto (2002) and Roberts (2004), it does not appear to pass the topichood test in the decision trees used in this study, nor is it a frame setter; this leaves focus as the only possible IS value left. Given the contrast between Yseuts, this is a clear case of contrastive focus. Conversely, in (4.4b), from the *Chroniques des Règnes de Jean II et Charles V*, the prepositional phrase *par le quel traictié* is not an argument of the verb, and therefore similarly fails the topichood tests in our decision trees. It does, however, seem to affect the truth-value of the following proposition in the sense of the "domain" frame setters proposed by Carella (2015, 371). Because the saturation of FrameP is not hindered by the presence of a complementizer, this construction is not illicit. If indeed our reading for (4.4a) is the correct one, it would appear that, despite the extremely infrequent level of occurrence of clause-initial foci in V3 configurations, the presence of such elements, which are illicit per the predictions of the theories proposed by Poletto (2002), Roberts (2004), and Steiner (2014), would seem to suggest that the strictness of the model may need to be adjusted.[13]

Whereas seas of ink have hitherto been spilled on the subject of the left clausal periphery in medieval French and other varieties of medieval Romance, very few studies with the same syntactic methodology have focused on constructions of the type SXV. If the subject in such configurations is indeed in its canonical position at the left edge of the TP domain in SpecTP, then displaced elements in SXV configurations must necessarily be located somewhere lower in the derivation, as suggested by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017). The interest of the present approach, then, is not simply to suggest that positions exist in the derivation to welcome displaced constituents, since it has been demonstrated that a variety of positions exist in the TP domain (Larson 1988; Pollock 1989) which can, for example, host direct objects (Vance 1997; Zaring 1998, 2010; see also Martins 2011 for Portuguese examples), but to illustrate the potential of these projections to host constituents of differing information-structural values. Examples of contrastive foci can be found in (4.5).

(4.5)　　　　Quar ainz jor aler l'en covint,// et s'amie o lui a l'uis vint// [...] Iluec ot ploré mainte lerme, // et si oï prendre le terme // du rassambler iluec arriere. // Li chevaliers *en tel maniere* // s'en part et la dame *l'uis* clot...
　　　　　　'For, before daybreak, it was required of him to leave, and his lover came to the door with him [...] There, many tears were shed, and he (the eavesdropping duke) heard them decide the time of their next meeting there. The knight left in this way, and the lady closed the door'

<div align="right">(Vergy, p. 66)</div>

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[13] It is obviously undesirable to suggest that a model should be modified on the basis of one example; further research with an expanded corpus may prove that this example is simply a fluke. We are, at present, aware of no other scholars who have questioned the strictness of this model.

In this example, from the *Châtelaine de Vergy*, the narrator is describing the end of the first meeting (to which we are privy) between the duke's niece and one of his knights, all while the duke looks on. The first focus, *en tel maniere*, refers to the teary manner of the knight's departure, and the contrastive reading is fortified by the inclusion of the intensifying adverb *tel*: the knight left in this particular state, and not another one. The second focus, the direct object, *l'uis*, is a repetition from a preceding line, and can therefore be marked as a contrastive focus since it involves confirmation of elements previously mentioned in the discourse. Interestingly, among the instances of SXV bearing contrastive focus, 7 out of 20 (35%) appear to be straightforwardly accounted for as instances of object shift (Zaring 1998, 2010), in that they involve leftward movement of a direct object; it remains, however, unclear whether the same mechanisms theorized as responsible for object shift or IP scrambling (Martins 2011; Poletto 2006a, 2006b, among others) in medieval Portuguese and medieval Italian, respectively, can be used to account for the phenomenon attested in medieval French. The result of these transformations is the appearance of displaced constituents between the auxiliary and the past participle, as in (4.6a).

(4.6a)   Non crederei che fosse *per voi* rotto...
            'I will not believe that it was broken by you'
                                            (Taken from Poletto 2006a, 213; her (10b))

(4.6b)   *Non crederei che quello *per voi* fosse rotto...
                                            (Example mine)

(4.6c)   Ainsi le las *son paradis terrestre //* a fait de ce qui son cuer plus empestre...
            'Thus, the miserable one has made his earthly paradise out of that which most
            shackles his heart...'
                                            (*Deux Amans*, ll. 517-8)

Although such structures are, of course, attested in medieval French (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2017, 159), the structure of interest to the present study is that represented by the inclusion of the subject *quello* in the hypothetical Italian example in (4.6b); a similar medieval French example in (4.6c), from *Le debat de deux amans*, illustrates that the position targeted by this particular variety of leftward stylistic displacement is higher than that targeted for the auxiliary *a*. The relevant question, then, is not whether there is a focus position between the auxiliary verb and its past participle, but whether a similar position exists between the subject's position in SpecTP and the position in the Tense phase that plays host to auxiliary verbs; the presence of strings in the corpus such as the one in (4.6b) are at the very least most suggestive of the existence of such a position.

        This position also appears to be able to host frame setters, as illustrated in example (4.7), though these are far less frequent than focus elements in our data.

(4.7)   ...lesquelz musniers estoient en l'ostel dudit suppliant, demenderent ausdis
            suppliant et sa femme qui vendoient cidre, qu'ilz alassent querir un pot de sidre
            pour eulx boire. Laquelle femme dudit suppliant *tantost* ala querir ledit pot de
            cidre et le bailla ausdis musniers.

'The aforementioned millers were in the hotel of the aforementioned supplicant and his wife, who were selling cider, and asked them to go and fetch a jug of cider for them to drink. The aforementioned wife of the supplicant immediately went to fetch the requested jug of cider and gave it to the aforementioned millers.'

<div align="right">(Actes Henri VI, 20)</div>

In this example, the adverb *tantost*, which describes the alacrity with which the lady of the house goes to fetch the cider ordered by the millers, delimits the time elapsed between the two actions and thus qualifies it as a frame setter. For such a position to be licensed is quite curious given the status of French as a language with V-to-T-(to-C) movement, whereby the prototypical postverbal position for adverbs in (contemporary) French is derived (Emonds 1978). As such, it is reasonable to assume that the preverbal position of *tantost* is determined not by the upward movement of the verb, nor by normal adjunction processes, but rather on account of the information-structural value that it bears.

4.3.1.2- Subordinate Clause LSD in Synchrony: IS and Complementizer Type

We may now shift our attention to subordinate clauses. In full view of the morphosyntactic variation inherent in leftward stylistic displacement presented in Chapter 3, subordinate clauses assuredly represent a neglected field of research, as suggested by Salvesen and Walkden (2017); this is especially true given the restrictive nature of the theoretical fetters imposed on subordinate clauses by scholars working on main clauses (Vance 1997, Steiner 2014, *inter multos alios*). Though Salvesen and Walkden (ibid.) are right to finally shine light on these understudied clauses, and though their investigation is indeed fruitful, their approach, which studies root phenomena in subordinate clauses, is largely informed by what we know about those root clauses, rather than an aim to understand what is happening in subordinate clauses on the whole; this is problematic since, as the data here and elsewhere (e.g. Hirschbühler 1989, 1995) have shown, these clauses are far more flexible than the predictions made by scholars whose ultimate goal has been explaining the nature of main clause phenomena in medieval French (Adams 1987; Vance 1997; Steiner 2014, *inter multos alios*); it is thus important that we consider subordinate clauses in their own right, as we do here. For ease of reference, as well as to illustrate once more the diversity of different subordinate-clause configurations found in the present corpus, an example of each one is reproduced in (4.8). In the following sections, we will adapt Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) terminology LSD$_{Left}$ and LSD$_{Right}$, proposing instead the terms CP-oriented and TP-oriented, since these highlight differences that are central to the present analysis.

(4.8)   CØXV
           Moult i ot de ceuls qui *mauvesement* le tindrent, et moult en furent blasmé.
           'There were many of those who kept (their oath) badly, and for this reason,
           they were very much criticized.'

<div align="right">(La conquête de Constantinople, p. 56, §36)</div>

           CSXV
           Et quant li dus *couchier* se vint a un part du lit s'est traite...
            'And when the duke came to bed, she (his wife) pulled herself to the other
           side of the bed...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 76)</div>

CSXYV

Toute la nuit, endementiers que la dame et li chevaliers *dedenz la chambre en un lit* furent...

'The whole night, while the lady and the knight were in the room in bed...'

(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 62)

CXSV

...mes tant vos di ge tres bien veraiement que *jamés* Lanceloz del Lac n'avra a moi pes.

'...but I will tell you this much most truly, that Lancelot of the Lake will never have peace with me.'

(La mort du roi Artur, p. 270)

CXYV

Elle s'i consenty par tel couvenant que *jamais nue* ne la verroit...

'She consented to this by such an agreement that he should never see her naked...'

(Mélusine, p. 118)

CXSYV

Ensi fu cele damoisele bien .ii. ans ou plus, c'*onques* diables *engignier* ne le pot...

'The maiden remained thus for two years, or indeed longer, such that the devil could never ensnare her...'

(Le roman de Merlin, p. 150, ll. 16-7)

CXYSV

Et je vous jure, par le peril de l'ame de moy, que *jamais celui jour* je ne feray ja chose qui vous puist estre atournee fors a toute honneur...

'And I swear to you, on my soul, that on that day, I will never ever do anything that could subject you to anything but the highest honor...'

(Mélusine, p. 166)

How, then, can we account for the variety of different word orders attested in our corpus when the theoretical machinery that has historically been used to do so is unable to accurately capture the variability found as a result of the present study? Perhaps the most puzzling consideration with respect to subordinate clause configurations of leftward stylistic displacement is the fact that these displaced elements do not generally have full access to the left clausal periphery as they do in main clause configurations, at least when the displaced constituents land in a position to the left of the subject; indeed, it has been theorized that, in subordinate clauses, if we assume a non-articulated CP layer, the presence of the complementizer creates a bottleneck that prevents other elements from reaching positions outside of the TP phase (den Besten 1983).[14] Moreover, if the subject of the subordinate clause (when it is overt) moves out of vP to land at the very left edge of the TP phase, in SpecTP, its canonical position, we should reckon that it is impossible for displaced elements to appear in a position between the complementizer and the subject, yet such configurations (CXSV, CXSYV, and CXYSV)

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[14] The syntactical implications of the displaced element appearing to the left of the subject versus to its right are different, and as such, these must be treated separately, as with main clauses.

represent a non-negligible portion of the total data: 8.3%. The information-structural values borne by the constituents in these positions, both single and multiple, appear in Tables 4.4a-b.

Table 4.4a- Synchronic Distribution of Single Displaced Elements in CP-Oriented Subordinate Clause LSD

		CXSYV	
	CXSV	X	Y
Contrastive Focus	33 (40.7%)	1 (25%)	2 (50%)
Frame-Setter	47 (58%)	3 (75%)	2 (50%)
Aboutness Topic	1 (1.2%)	0	0
	n = 81	n = 4[15]	

As was the case with main-clause instances of leftward stylistic displacement to the left of the subject, discussed in Section 4.3.1.1 so too is there a slight preference for frame-setting elements in CP-oriented subordinate clause LSD, both with one displaced element and with two; contrastive foci remain robustly represented in both cases, however.

Table 4.4b- Synchronic Distribution of Multiple Displaced Elements in CP-Oriented Subordinate Clause LSD[16]

	CXYSV
FS + Cont. Foc.	1 (20%)
Cont. Foc. x 2	1 (20%)
FS x 2	2 (40%)
Cont. Foc. + FS	1 (20%)
	n = 5

In order to accurately discern where the LSD elements in CP-oriented configurations lie in the derivation, it is necessary to eliminate all ambiguating factors, one of which is embedded verb-second. Recall from Sections 1.1.1-1.2 that certain putative configurations of LSD are generally excluded from studies specifically treating this construction on the basis of their identity with V2 configurations. Recall, also, from Section 1.0.2 that verb-second phenomena may occur in embedded clauses governed by certain predicates, typically called "bridge verbs". Given the fact that a portion of the subordinate clauses exhibiting CP-oriented LSD may indeed be accounted for as being instances of embedded verb-second phenomena, whereby CP recursion is permitted in complement clauses (headed by conjunctional *que*) under certain classes of verb, it was necessary to subdivide the CP-oriented subordinate-clause LSD into Embedded-V2 and True LSD categories. This was done by following Salvesen and Walkden (2017) and Hooper and Thompson (1973) in tagging all 78 tokens of CXYV, CXSV, and CXSYV under conjunctional *que* according to a typology of factive and non-factive verbs in order to see the extent to which embedded V2 phenomena might be present in the data from the present corpus. This typology is reproduced in (4.9).

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[15] We encountered 4 instances of the configuration CXSYV. This table shows the respective distribution of the elements preceding and following the subject, i.e. there were three frame-setters and one contrastive focus in the pre-subject position and two of each in the post-subject position.

[16] These abbreviations should be parsed as follows: FS + Cont. Foc. = frame-setter followed by contrastive focus; Cont. Foc. x 2 = two contrastive focus elements; FS x 2 = two frame-setting elements; Cont. Foc. + FS = contrastive focus followed by a frame-setting element.

(4.9)   *Nonfactive*

Type A: say, report, exclaim, assert, claim, vow, be true, be certain, be sure, be obvious

Type B: suppose, believe, think, expect, guess, imagine, it seems, it happens, it appears

Type C: be (un)likely, be (im)possible, be (im)probable, doubt, deny

Factive

Type D: resent, regret, be sorry, be surprised, bother, be odd, be strange, be interesting

Type E: realize, learn, find out, discover, know, see, recognize

(Hooper and Thompson 1973, 473-4)

Type V: volitives

(Salvesen and Walkden 2017, 175)

In their study of embedded verb-second effects in medieval French, Salvesen and Walkden (ibid.) found that these effects were only present in clauses that were complements of verbs of types A, B, E, and V. With respect to our own data, 31 of these 78 tokens, or 39.7% of the total, occur in contexts that license embedded V2, i.e. in clauses governed by verbs of one of these four verb classes. An example of each of these from the present corpus follows in (4.10).

(4.10)   Type A
A quoy respondirent que *tres voulentiers* ils croiroient et feroient tout ce que le roy et le conte [...] vouldraient...
'To which they responded that they would most voluntarily believe and do everything that the king and the count asked...'
(*Chroniques*, t. 4, p. 29

Type B
Et ausi con je serai oscurs fors devers cels ou je me voldrai esclairier, ensi sera tes livres celés, et poi avendra que *ja* nus t'en face bonté.
'And just as I will be obscure except toward those for whom I should want to clarify things, so too will your books be obscure, and it will rarely happen that any should thank you for this.'
(*Merlin*, pp. 190-2, ll. 32-4)

Type E
Et saiches de certain que *sans moi ne mon conseil* tu ne pués venir a chief de t'emprise...

'And know verily that without me or my advice, you will never bring this affair of yours to a close...'

<div align="right">(*Mélusine*, p. 164)</div>

Type V
...le roy voult que *des lors en avant* il eust en chascun mestier un ou plusieurs visiteurs, pour visiter les dites marchandises...
'...the king wished that henceforth he should have for each craft one or more visitors to visit the aforementioned products...'

<div align="right">(*Chroniques*, t. 4, pp. 45-6)</div>

If these tokens can be accounted for using a recursive complementizer phrase, or simply by merging the complementizer in ForceP, high in the left periphery, as hypothesized by Salvesen (2013), tokens occurring in these contexts are unconstrained by the complementizer bottleneck described by den Besten (1983); the remaining 47 such tokens cannot, however, be accounted for via the same mechanism, and thus some other proposition regarding the underlying structure of these clauses must be advanced. Given the way that we have chosen to account for multiple elements to the left of the subject in main clauses, that is, with an articulated complementizer phrase, it is natural to wonder whether such an articulated phase might be available in such subordinate clauses, as well.[17] If we assume that the subject lies in its canonical position in SpecTP, beneath an articulated complementizer phrase, it follows that we should enquire as to the position of the complementizer within that articulated CP, as Rahn (2016) has suggested, with the understanding that the traditional bottleneck analysis would locate the complementizer at the right edge of the CP phase, in FinP.

A number of researchers have postulated, however, that complementizers do not necessarily appear in this particular position; for example, Vance (1997, 162) has suggested that CP recursion may occur in all subordinate clauses headed by conjunctional *que*, a theory that has also been advanced by Labelle (2007, 292). A unified account of many of these positions has been offered by Benincà (2006, 76) and Benincà and Poletto (2004, 61), and is reprised here from Section 1.0.1 as (4.11).

(4.11)   [ForceP   [FrameP   [TopicP   [FocusP   [FinitenessP   [InflectionalP[...]]]]]]][18]
             | | | |
             Relative- Scene-   Left   Contrastive
             wh in C°; Setting   Dislocated Focus;
             Force C°   Topics;   Topics;   Informational
                        Hanging   List   Focus;
                        Topics   Interpr.   Interrogative *wh*

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[17] Mathieu (2006, 253) appears to hint the availability of an articulated CP in subordinate clauses by locating a special phrase (Top+P) between the complementizer in Force° and the subject and verb in SpecTP and T°, respectively. With respect to Germanic languages, Nyvad, Christensen, and Vikner (2017) write: "Hrafnbjargarson et al (2010) examined *wh*-extraction from V2-clauses in Danish, Faroese, Icelandic and Swedish and confirmed the conclusions reached in part by Holmberg (1986) and Vikner (1995): Extraction out of embedded clauses generally possible, but it is subject to restrictions when the embedded clause is V2. [...] Danish and Swedish allow neither *wh*-argument nor *wh*-adjunct out of embedded V2 clauses, Faroese and Icelandic allow both, whereas only *wh*-argument extraction is allowed in Norwegian. Hrafnbjargarson et al. (2010) view this variation as possible support for the idea that there is no single V2 position in the clause, but rather an articulated left periphery along the lines of Rizzi (1997).

[18] Adapted from Benincà (2006, 76) with additional precision added to FocusP from Benincà and Poletto (2004, 61). Relative *wh* are relative complementizers; scene setting topics are things like time adverbials; list interpretation involves ordinals; informational focus, again, supplies requested information to an interlocutor; interrogative *wh* are interrogative adverbs.

This cartographic model sheds light on the positions where several of the complementizers with which we are concerned in the present study reside (relative *wh- qui* and *que* and interrogative *Wh- quand*), and is thus of great value to our analysis, as we shall see. It does not, however, locate *si*, nor does it situate those instances of conjunctional *que* that cannot be imputed to embedded verb-second effects. In the following discussion, therefore, we will compare our data with the findings of previous studies for our own analysis regarding the location of each complementizer, and its ability to welcome displaced elements bearing the information-structural values attested in the present corpus, beginning with relative *que*.

Among the 59 instances of embedded CP-oriented LSD that cannot be accounted for as instances of embedded V2, eight, or 13.6%, were found in clauses governed by relative *que*. Among these tokens were attested both frame-setters and contrastive foci, of which an example of each appears in (4.12).

(4.12)   Frame-Setter
              ...et fet m'avez le plus haut servise que *onque* gent feïssent a home
              crestien.
              '...and you have done for me the greatest service that has ever been
              done for a Christian man.'
                                                        (*Constantinople*, p. 138, §194)
              Contrastive Focus
              '...durant ce temps ilz avoient empeschié par pluseurs fois le prevost
              de Paris à faire justice, jusques ad ce qu'il sceurent la victoire, que *par
              le plaisir de Dieu* le Roy avoit eu en Flandres...'
              '...during this time, they had prevented the Provost of Paris from
              executing justice, until they discovered the victory that, by the pleasure
              of God, the king had won in Flanders...'
                                                        (*Chroniques*, t. 4, p. 52)

Of these eight tokens, two (25%) were found to exhibit contrastive focus, and the remaining seven (75%) were found to carry frame-setter status. Interestingly, for both types of token, at least in the absence of other data, the possibility exists that these may be set phrases, as both instances of contrastive focus carry the meaning of 'as was the will of God' (*par le plaisir de Dieu* vs. *au plaisir Dieu*), and all but one of the attested frame-setters made use of the adverb *onques*; the remaining frame-setter was *cestuy jour*, 'this day'. It is useful, before moving on to the next complementizer in the present dataset, to acknowledge the likely curiosity with which a contrastive focus reading might be met for phrases such as *par le plaisir de Dieu*: these tokens were coded in this way based on both the assumed accessibility and uniqueness of the noun *Dieu*, even if the name had not previously been pronounced in the discourse, and an implicit contrast between *plaisir* and a term such as *desplaisance*. Should these grounds be unsatisfactory, there is perhaps an argument to be made for the tagging of such tokens as frame-setters under the truth-value condition; the adjunctive nature of the displaced element, however, would seem to belie this reading, as would its failure to meet the domain criteria proposed by Carella (2015, 371) for tagging as a frame-setter. It would thus appear that projections must be available to host both types of element, despite the minority status of contrastive focus tokens in the data, lending credence to the placement of the object relative pronoun *que* to the left of both FocusP and FrameP, in ForceP, as Benincà (2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) have surmised, at least for the periods here in question. Given the small number of datapoints on which we might base our assumptions, however, further research is almost certainly needed in order to solidify the validity of this conclusion for medieval French for the period in question.

After winnowing out those instances of leftward stylistic displacement that could be uniformly accounted for using the same style of analysis for bridging contexts espoused by Salvesen and Walkden (2017) and Hooper and Thompson (1973), we were left with 47 tokens out of 59 total; 46 of these tokens contain a single intervening element between the subject and the verb, which accounts for 77.9% of the LSD$_{\text{Left}}$ data. As was the case with relative *que*, we can again see both contrastive foci and frame-setters represented among those instances containing a single element to the left of the overt subject. A sample of each of these is offered in (4.13).

(4.13)   Frame-Setter
          Et atant le laissa et retourna a ses compaignons, qui estoient dans l'ostel, lesquels demanderent que *tantost* on leur baillast a boire et mengier...
          'And immediately he left him and returned to his (burglar) companions, who were in the house, and they demanded that the owners of the house give them something to drink and to eat straight away...'
                                                             (*Actes Henri VI*, 4)

          Contrastive Focus
          A la matire n'afirt mie, // nequedent boen est quel vos die // que *niz a cestui* cist esteit //qui la barbe aveir voleit // del rei...
          '(This tale) doesn't have anything at all to do with our story; however it's good that I tell you that this one (the giant) was the nephew of the one who wanted to take the beard of the king...'
                                                             (*Tristan*, ll. 730-4)

With respect to these 46 tokens, 26 (56.5%) exhibit frame-setters and 20 (43.5%) contain contrastive foci. The frame-setter illustrated in (4.13) falls straightforwardly into this category, as it limits the time between the burglars' demands for victuals and their assumption regarding the speed with which their unwilling hosts are going to comply. As regards the contrastive focus example, it will perhaps be useful to offer a bit more context than the text of the example itself provides, so that the reader may be better equipped to judge the validity of the information-structural value attributed to the displaced constituent, *niz a cestui*. At this juncture in the text, the narrator has gone off on a long digression regarding a giant who unsuccessfully challenged King Arthur's honor by saying that his beard would make an excellent collar for a coat he had been constructing from the facial hair of his defeated adversaries. At the beginning of the example cited in (4.13), the narrator *revient à ses moutons*, explaining that Tristan, who is the protagonist of the main story, has had a quarrel with the beard-snatching giant's nephew. The syntax itself is equally convoluted: the displaced element, *niz a cestui* has been displaced, stranding the subject relative clause *qui la barbe aveir voleit*.[19] In this particular part of the text, then, the narrator is shifting our attention from the giant, resumed by the demonstrative pronoun *cestui*, to his nephew, the antecedent of *cist*. Given what we assume to be the felicitous use of the pronoun *cestui* in its prepositional phrase, we may suppose that its referent is accessible to the listener, and, thus we might classify it as an instance of contrastive focus.

When compared to the data occurring in clauses headed by relative *que*, which made up only a small portion of the tokens of LSD$_{\text{Left}}$ in the present corpus, the non-V2 conjunctional *que* data

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[19] A rendering without stranding in contemporary French might resemble the following: 'C'est bien de vous le dire, que cet homme était le neveu de celui qui voulait voler la barbe du roi...'.

would seem to allow us to make a firmer conclusion, relatively speaking, regarding the shape of the CP domain in these clauses. The presence of contrastive focus, and especially of frame-setters, would seem to suggest that conjunctional *que*, too, lies at the left edge of the left periphery, in ForceP. Recall that Vance (1997, 162) and Labelle (2007, 292) have both postulated CP recursion for clauses governed by this complementizer; what is not clear, however, is whether their data can uncomplicatedly be accounted for by the simple location of the complementizer in ForceP, along with examples of embedded V2 occurring in the complement clauses of the types of verbs detailed in earlier in this section. Indeed, perhaps the best evidence for the complementizer being situated in this position in the present corpus is the single attestation of elements to the left of the subject in a clause governed by a verb that does, in fact, fall among categories that permit embedded V2, which appears in (4.14).

(4.14)   CXYSV, Embedded V2 Licensed
            Et sachiez que *onques plus orgueilleusement* port ne fu pris.
            'And know that never more proudly was a port taken.'
                                          (*La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 56, §36)

Although the verb in the main clause in (4.14), *sachiez*, would license subject-verb inversion in the subordinate clause, an order illustrated in a roundabout fashion by the English translation, the subject of the relative clause, *port*, remains in preverbal position. It is then preceded by the frame-setter *onques*, whose tagging with this information-structural value can be justified in the same manner as other uses of this adverb, and the contrastive focus element *plus orgueilleusement*. Here, whereas there is nothing inherently contrastive about the adverb *orgueilleusement*, the inclusion of the comparative adverb *plus* immediately reinforces such a reading, since the pride with which the port was taken is construed as being at the highest heights possible; this reading is reinforced by the presence of the frame-setter *onques* and the negation following the subject.[20] Although we are understandably quite hesitant to base our assumption on the presence of one token in our corpus, by the selfsame token, it stands to reason that our theorizations regarding the underlying structure of the medieval French subordinate clause should be able to account for even one seemingly odd occurrence, such as the one in (4.14). Again, further research that focuses exclusively on subordinate clauses will be necessary to either confirm or refute the suggestions we offer here about the shape of the left edge of these clauses.

Taken together, relative *que* and non-V2 conjunctional *que* represent 55 out of 59, or 93.2%, of the LSD_{Left} tokens, which leaves a total of four remaining tokens to account for. These tokens are equally distributed between the remaining two complementizers, *quand* and *si*. The two tokens in clauses headed by *quand* tokens appear in (4.15); discussion of the two *si* tokens follows.

(4.15)   LSD_{Left}, *Quand*
            Vous avez mal fait quant *cellui qui vous avoit engendrees* vous avez ainsi pugny par
            vostre faulx et orguilleux couraige...
            'You did a bad thing when you thus punished the man who sired you, on
            account of your false and prideful hearts...'
                                                                 (*Mélusine*, p. 134)

            Et Achillès aussi pour Polixenne, // ne morut il quant *en promesse vaine* // il
            se fia, dont mort lui fu prochaine ?

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[20] An argument may also be made for the entire sequence, *onques plus orgueilleusement*, to be considered as one XP that bears contrastive focus, which would make this an example of CXSV.

> 'And Achilles too, for Polyxena. Did he not die when, in vain hope, he confessed (his only vulnerability to her), for which his death was close at hand?'
>
> (*Deux Amans*, ll. 693-6)

In the first of the two examples containing the complementizer *quand*, which comes from *Mélusine*, the eponymous character's mother, Présine, is chastising her daughters for having taken justice into their own hands by punishing their father, who is resumed in the displaced direct object, *cellui qui vous avoit engendrees*; the displaced element is followed by the overt subject *vous*. If we consider the model for the embedded left periphery given by Benincà (2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), interrogative elements such as *quant* are meant to lie in FocusP, comparatively lower in the derivation than relative or conjunctional *que*. This would mean that the only projection available to host the displaced element should be FinP; from the previous literature that we have reviewed, it is unclear whether this position is capable of hosting such elements. What is clear, however, is that the information-structural value of the displaced element would seem to match a projection higher even than FocusP, where the complementizer ostensibly lies; we are thus forced to postulate that subordinating *quant* behaves differently than an interrogative *quant* and resides in a different position in the derivation. Like the first example in (4.1), it would appear that the displaced element is a hanging topic, since the displaced direct object is not resumed by any sort of clitic pronoun lower in the derivation, as it might be in a canonical case of clitic-left dislocation. To illustrate the element's topichood, we excerpt in (4.16) the conversation in which the example occurs.

(4.16)   Mélusine : « Mes chieres seurs, or regardéz la grant griefté et misere ou nostre pere a mis nous et nostre mere qui eussiemes esté en si grant aise et en si grant honnour. Or n'en est il bon a faire ? Quant a moy, de ma partie je m'en pense a vengier, car aussi pou de soulaz qu'il a empetré a nostre mere par sa faulseté, je lui pense a faire. »
'My dear sisters, look now on the great grief and misery that our father has put us and our mother in, when we would have been so honored and had things so easy. Is now not a time for action? For my part, I think I'll avenge myself, for I want him to have as few comforts as our mother did on account of his treachery.'

The sisters agree on a plan of action. They quickly travel to Scotland via magical means, and imprison their father in a mountain. They then return to recount to their mother what they had done:

> Mélusine : « Mere, il ne te doit chaloir de la desloyauté de nostre pere s'il la t'a faicte, car il en a son paiement, car jamais n'ystra de la montaigne de Brumbloremllio ou nous l'avons encloz et la usera son temps en doulour. »
> 'Mother, you need not care any more about the disloyalty of our father toward you, for he now has his punishment for it : he will never leave the mountain of Brumbloremlion, where we have imprisoned him, and where he will live out the rest of his days in suffering.'
>
> Présine : « Haa, (dist Presine, qui bien le savoit) faulses et mauvaises et tresameres et dures de cuer ! Vous avez mal fait quant *cellui qui vous avoit engendrees* vous avéz ainsi pugny par vostre faulx et orgueilleux couraige... »

'Ah! (said Présine, who knew everything already) You are false and bad and bitter and hardhearted! You did a bad thing when you thus punished the man who sired you, on account of your false and prideful hearts...'

(*Mélusine*, pp. 132-4)

Here, in the first block of conversation, Mélusine discusses her plan to avenge their mother's honor with her sisters, who agree to follow her plan, since she is the oldest. Upon their return, they tell their mother what they have done; here, we must assume the content of conversational common ground (Chafe 1976) to be more or less empty, unless we assume that the omniscience of Présine entails that the common ground cannot be empty, and therefore no topic can be infelicitously used as concerns her. The daughters, however, seem to be bound by the same pragmatic constraints as normal speakers, and therefore must be mindful of the felicity of their statements. The first topic, the disloyalty of their father is accessible from the previous conversation that Présine and her daughters had had, while looking out over their would-be home from a mountaintop, and would seem to pass a canonical topic test, à la *Concerning X, ...*; the same holds true for the father himself, as the conversation shifts to the just desserts he has received from his daughters. It follows, then, that the direct object in the clause headed by *quant* should, by all rights, be considered a continuation of the topic from the end of Mélusine's preceding intervention.

If the model given by Benincà (2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) is the correct representation of the left periphery, and elements should generally be situated in the projection which corresponds to their information-structural value, the appearance of a hanging topic would seem to indicate that, at least for the example considered here, the complementizer cannot be situated in such a low projection as FocusP; as with relative and conjunctional *que*, the proper placement would seem necessarily to be in ForceP, as this is the only projection to the left of the position that hanging topics are held to occupy.[21] Moreover, despite the relative paucity of examples of LSD$_{Left}$ under this complementizer, such a model would allow us to straightforwardly account for instances of CP-oriented leftward stylistic displacement bearing other information-structural values, such as the second example featured in (4.15). This token has been classified as an instance of contrastive focus, given the likely accessibility of the term *promesse*, coupled with the inclusion of the adjective *vaine*, which points to an implicit contrast with another adjective to the effect of Achilles' hopes having been well placed. Again, if the complementizer *quant* indeed resides in ForceP, such a reading would fall well within the ability of the proposed underlying syntax to accommodate it.[22]

Example (4.17) exhibits the two instances of CP-oriented LSD occurring in clauses governed by *si* attested in our corpus, one occurring in the *Actes Henri VI*, and another from Christine de Pizan's *Le debat des deux amans*.

(4.17)   LSD$_{Left}$, *Si*

...iceulz supplians lui vendirent tout le droit que ilz avoient en la rente contenue es lettres annexées parmi, que ilz lui promisent garentir, *se par leur fait* il y avoit empeschement...

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[21] It should, of course, be noted that these projections do not always host elements that bear the corresponding information-structural value.

[22] As with the contrastive focus in (4.12), arguments may be made for tagging this prepositional phrase as a frame-setter; this status poses no more of a problem than does a contrastive focus reading, since ForceP is higher in the derivation than both FrameP and FocusP.

'These supplicants sold him all the rights which they had to the annual income contained in the attached letters, which they promised to guarantee him, if, on account of something they did, there was a problem (with collecting the income)...'

<div align="right">(Henri VI, 35)</div>

...et je qui l'aperçoy// le regarday, mais, s'*onques* nul bien soy, // me fus avis // a son regart et au semblant du vis// qu'il aperceut que tout son maintien vis...

'...and I, who spied him, looked upon him, but, upon seeing his expression and the figure of his face, I was of the opinion that, if ever I was sure of anything, he had seen that I saw all of his behavior…'

<div align="right">(Deux Amans, ll. 290-4)</div>

In the first of these examples, an elderly couple has been bullied into selling their rights to an annual income on a small parcel of land, guaranteeing to the buyer that they would pay this annual income if, through any fault of their own, the income wasn't brought in. We have coded this token as an instance of contrastive focus; for the validity of this reading, one need look no further than the scope of the sellers' guarantee: they agreed to make up the difference if they, and no one else, were at fault (*par leur action à eux, et pas par celle d'autrui*). If this reading is correct, the corollary remains, as was the case with the other complementizers treated here, that the complementizer *si* ought be in a position to the left of the FocusP projection that ostensibly hosts the prepositional phrase *par leur fait*.[23] In the same vein, the second example also seems to suggest a high position for the complementizer, especially when we consider the presence of two elements. As with the other instances of displacements of this adverb, we consider *onques* to be a frame-setter; the complementizer *si* should therefore be located to the left of this position, falling once again into ForceP.[24] This reading is supported by the presence of an additional element, which we have read as an instance of contrastive focus in light of the negative indefinite pronoun *nul* modifying the direct object *bien*. Finally, and in a turn that would at first blush seem to invalidate use of such a token, the *si*-clause in Christine de Pizan's poem seems to be part of a set phrase; regardless of the nature of this token, however, we must bear in mind that every inherited set phrase whose syntax seems odd when compared to other ways of knitting words together might be interpreted as relatively strong evidence for a past state of the language where such gymnastics were indeed possible. We discuss the diachrony of LSD through the lens of information structure in Section 4.3.2.

      In this section, we offered an analysis for embedded CP-oriented LSD, that is, for those instances where displaced elements fell between the subject, located at the extreme left edge of the TP domain, and the complementizer, located somewhere above the subject in the CP layer. By utilizing the model of the embedded CP set forth by Benincà (2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), we were able to posit a location in that model for all of the complementizers based on the information-structural values of the displaced element(s). When viewed synchronically, at least, it appears that clauses under each of the complementizers with which we were concerned in the present study are able to host both contrastive foci, and even more crucially, frame-setters. Given that the position for hosting frame-setters is the second projection in the articulated CP model used here, we assume that

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[23] There are similarly convincing arguments that could be made about this complementizer phrase as representing a pause in the syntax of the containing sentence; should we choose to interpret it in such a way, the CP in question is not "displaced" in the same way, as it does not occupy a place in the derivation of the larger clause in which it occurs.

[24] See Ledgeway (2010b) for similar reasoning applied to Neapolitan.

the complementizer must be located at the left edge of that model in ForceP. Making such assumptions allows us to straightforwardly account for the positions where these displaced elements land. We do, however, stop short of making any sort of claims regarding the actual underlying syntactic processes that lead to the appearance of these elements in the positions in which they are manifested, that is, whether they are copied and merged or base generated in these positions, preferring to leave this question squarely in the realm of future research.

4.3.1.3- CP-Oriented LSD and Verum Focus: Rahn (2016)

We have thus far endeavored to provide as uniform an account as possible of the syntactic structures we believe to be at play in instances of leftward stylistic displacement. As we explained in Chapter 1, there is one other full-length account of leftward stylistic displacement that has been published as of this writing: that of Rahn (2016). In what follows here, we compare our own data with hers, and ultimately reject her conclusion that LSD can be accounted for exclusively with a type of focus not considered here: verum focus.

On the basis of a methodology that differs minimally from that of Steiner (2014) and applied to 321 tokens of CP-oriented LSD in relative clauses and what she terms 'comparative clauses', headed by conjunctions such as *tant que* or *plus que*, she explains that, among the cases of fronting attested in her corpus, "[topic and focus] represent a large majority of all cases, namely 80%" (186), with the remaining tokens being attributable to frame-setters. Having also used a methodology based on Steiner's (2014), it is likely unsurprising to the reader that the relative frequencies for the IS values found in our own study are at least nominally similar to those in Rahn's (2016) study. In an extraordinarily curious turn, however, she suddenly classifies the vast majority of her own data as instances of other phenomena, namely frame-setting or topicalization. By doing this, she centers her argument on the 'stylistic' part of stylistic fronting (her preferred terminology for this family of constructions) and greatly narrows her definition to apparently include only those instances of displacement that cannot be explained by other known fronting operations, such as topicalization or focus fronting. In this way, she attempts to get at what is unique to this phenomenon. She explains:

> "[...]he syntactic properties attributed to this type of fronting such as clause-boundness (sic) locality constraints, and the subject gap have been challenged. Therefore, these properties are not considered [...] For the analysis of the "Stylistic Fronting" type, one mainly concentrates on the relative clauses in order to prevent interferences with Main Clause Phenomena. Additionally, the focus is rather on constituents of VP than on non-constituents of VP, i.e. those fronted items that are neither arguments of the verb, nor infinite (sic) forms of the verb itself. [...i]t will be suggested that stylistically fronted elements indeed bear a consistent informational role, namely that of a (verum) focus. Hence, frame setters are not considered as stylistically fronted elements but those fronted adverbs assumed to bear verum focus, are."
> (Rahn 2016, 187-8)

Though her work does represent a step forward in terms of our knowledge of what CP-oriented LSD might look like, the wholesale rejection of all but 18 (5.6%) of the collected tokens, and the subsequent advancing of any narrow theory based on such a minute quantity of the data does little to lengthen our strides towards understanding what motivates occurrences of LSD when broadly conceived, as it is in the present study.

With regard to the verum focus that Rahn (2016) assumes instances of stylistic fronting to have, there is a lack of consensus in the literature on what it entails, as with the myriad other information-structural values discussed and employed here. Steiner (2014) writes that verum focus "is

a specialized type of focus that only falls on the verb and serves to reinforce the truth of the predicate" (56). Steiner's position implies that it would be impossible for leftward stylistic displacement to exhibit verum focus, since the main verb is never directly involved in this process, instead serving as one of the fixed positions around which displaced elements might land in the derivation. Not all authors situate this focus on the verb itself, however. Cruschina and Remberger (2017), for example, offer examples of verum focus that occur on past participles and direct objects. They describe it, however, as a secondary focalizing effect for non-contrastive types of focus (517-8). Assuming that our own tagging procedure has been correctly applied, whereby we found that all of the focus instances of leftward stylistic displacement in our corpus were, in fact, contrastive, we would accordingly not expect to find any instances of underlying verum focus.

Despite this, it may be the case that something resembling the parameters described by Rahn (2016) might be found in the version of the IS decision tree used in the present study, namely the question excerpted in (4.18).

(4.18)   3.   Does the LSD element serve to confirm or repeat an element in the
                  preceding discourse?
           a.   Yes: Tag as Contrastive Focus.
           b.   No: Proceed to 4.

Because verum focus can involve some form of confirmatory repetition, it is within the realm of possibility that some cases of verum focus (per her definition of this category) in our corpus have been coded as contrastive focus; it remains the case that, throughout the present study, we have, to our knowledge, come across no examples where the polarity of the proposition hinges on the LSD element itself in the same way that it does for displaced elements in research like that of Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal (2009), on which Rahn (2016) has drawn quite heavily for her definitions for this category. As such, *pace* Rahn (idem), we remain confident in our own analysis of leftward stylistic displacement with regards to its propensity toward encoding contrastive focus.

4.3.1.4- LSD, Information Structure, and Complementizer Type

The subject relative *qui* merits special and separate treatment among the complementizers investigated in the present study for several reasons, not least of which is its extremely high relative frequency among the instances of leftward stylistic displacement attested in our corpus: it appears in 531/1033, or 51% of the total data. It was, of course, a similarly elevated frequency of occurrence that led Mathieu (2006) to postulate a direct relationship between these medieval French constructions and Scandinavian-style stylistic fronting (Holmberg 2000; Hrafnbjargarson 2004, *inter alios*), given the absence of an overt subject inherent in all subject relative clauses. It is now abundantly clear that leftward stylistic displacement can occur in the presence of overt subjects, as our study and many others have illustrated (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017; Rahn 2016). The lack of an overt subject in SpecTP, however, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the displaced element(s) fall(s) in the embedded left periphery, above SpecTP, as was the case in the foregoing subsections, or below this position, somewhere below this position in the TP domain, in an identical manner to the TP-oriented LSD discussed in Section 4.3.1.1.

Table 4.5 shows the distribution of the different information-structural values that were attested in our corpus under the complementizer *qui*, with an example of each in (4.19).

Table 4.5- Synchronic Distribution of Displaced Elements under qui[25]

	CØXV		CXYV
Contrastive Focus	379 (73.9%)	Cont. Foc. x 2	9 (52.9%)
Frame-Setter	134 (26.1%)	FS + Cont. Foc.	4 (23.5%)
Aboutness Topic	0	FS x 2	4 (23.5%)
	n = 513		n = 17
Percentage of total:	96.8%		3.20%

(4.19)   CØXV
Contrastive Focus
A cele foiz ne se porent acorder, pour ce que il leur sambla que il n'avoient pas encore assez gent croisiez. En tout cel an ne passa onques deus mois qu'il n'asamblassent a parlement a Compigne. Ilec furent tuit li conte et li baron qui *croisié* estoient.
'At that time, they could not come to an agreement, because it seemed to them that there were not yet enough crusaders. During that entire year, there never passed more than two months without them coming together to speak at Compiègne. There, all the counts and barons who were, in fact, on crusade were assembled.'

(*Constantinople*, §11)

Frame-Setter
Biau seigneur, nous soumes ci envoié de par la baronnie de paiennime qui vous envoient la plus bele pais qui *onques* fust offerte...
'Good sir, we have been sent here on behalf of our pagan lords, who offer you the most beautiful truce that has ever been offered...'

(*Reims*, p. 87)

CXYV
Contrastive Focus x 2
Ne je ne sui ne duc ne conte qui *si hautement amer* doie d'amer dame si souveraine...
'And I am not a duke or a count who should aim so high as to love a lady so much my superior...'

(*Vergy*, p. 26)

Frame-Setter + Contrastive Focus
Sire, fet mes sires Gauvains, vos m'avez tant conjuré que ge ne leroie en nule maniere que ge nel vos deïsse, neïs se ce estoit ma honte la greignor qui *onques a chevalier de vostre cort* avenist.

'Sire (King Arthur), said Lord Gauvain, you have so implored me to tell you this that I would in no way be able to avoid saying it to you, even if it meant shame, the greatest shame that has ever befallen a knight of your court.

(*Artu*, p. 184, ll. 16-20)

Frame-Setter x 2

Car moy qui *lors dessus le banc* seoie// soingneusement son maintien regardoie// pour ce que si pensif je le veoie// et sans soulas,// par maintes fois li oÿ dire hé las !

'For I, who was sitting on the bench then, watched his expression carefully, because I thought he looked so pensive and joyless, and I heard him many times over saying, "Alas!"'

(*Deux Amans,* ll. 225-9)

Among these clauses headed by *qui*, too, we are able see the full variety of information-structural values attested in the clause types treated in the foregoing sections, save the exceedingly rare aboutness topic. If we take up the same cartographic-style approach employed for subordinate clause, however, even equipped as we are with information regarding the information structure of the displaced elements, it is difficult to say where these elements might fall in the derivation. The projection that we might end up positing for where these displaced elements settle nevertheless depends on the placement of the complementizer in the CP phase, though the story here is somewhat more complex than for the other complementizers here under investigation, in light of certain disagreements present in the literature about the position occupied by *qui* in the derivation.

If, like the other complementizers, *qui* resides in ForceP, per the suggestion of Benincà (2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) for relative-*wh*, then the full variety of projections available for the complementizers previously discussed is likely to be available to host elements undergoing LSD in the CP domain. If, however, the complementizer resides in SpecTP, allowing it to check the EPP feature, as Taraldsen (2001) has proposed, the displaced elements must be located somewhere to this projection's right, squarely in the TP layer. In the context of the verb-second grammar of medieval French, however, which requires that some element be present in CP, it is difficult to envision this second proposal having any traction. Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) have proposed something of a middle way between the high-CP and high-TP proposals just cited. For them, *qui* should be considered as being composed of two separate parts: the first, a standard relative pronoun *que*, and the second, an expletive -*i*, which, upon proceeding to spell-out are joined together and pronounced as one word. If we espouse this theory, the displaced elements in these clauses must all be located in the TP layer, and it is worth noting that this is the view that Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 162-3) adopt for all instances of leftward stylistic displacement under *qui*. Taking into account the analysis offered here regarding CP-oriented LSD, along with the lack of controvertible evidence regarding the ultimate position of *qui*, whether in one or more parts, there can only be one reasonable course of action: to remain agnostic about the position that elements under the complementizer *qui* might occupy; in our view it is as plausible for displaced elements under this complementizer to occur in the CP layer as it is for them to be located in the TP layer. As we shall soon see, in identical fashion to the TP layer in main clauses, the TP layer in the types of medieval French subordinate clauses investigated in the present study appears just as capable of hosting contrastive foci and frame-setters as the complementizer phrase that overlays it in the derivation.

Before we discuss the cases of leftward stylistic displacement that clearly target the TP phase, we will offer our findings about null-subject LSD in subordinate clauses, which do not have the reference point of an overt subject to indicate which phase the construction is targeting. Such cases are themselves very well represented in the corpus, comprising 310 of the 1089 (28.5%) tokens that

appear in our data. Table 4.6 displays the distribution of the different information-structural values attested under each complementizer in clauses containing a null subject.

Table 4.6- Synchronic IS Distribution of Elements under Que*,* Quand*, and* Si *in Null Subject Clauses*

Single Elements	Relative *Que*	Conjunctional *Que*	*Quand*	*Si*
Contrastive Focus	38 (86.4%)	141 (66.2%)	17 (80.9%)	24 (80%)
Frame-Setter	4 (9.1%)	48 (22.5%)	3 (14.3%)	2 (6.7%)
Aboutness Topic	0	0	0	0
Multiple Elements				
Cont. Foc. x 2	0	9 (4.2%)	1 (4.8%)	4 (13.3%)
FS Cont. Foc.	2 (4.5%)	11 5.2%)	0	0
FS x 2	0	4 (1.9%)	0	0
	n = 44	n = 213	n = 21	n = 30

As was the case with the clauses under *qui*, we were able to find instances of LSD exhibiting all of the information-structural values attested in main clauses, save aboutness topics, including a small number of cases where two elements have been simultaneously displaced. Because of the absence of any overt positional indicator, if we again take the foregoing claims regarding the position of complementizers into account, our agnosticism with respect to the position these elements might occupy, either in the CP-layer or in the TP layer, grows even larger than that with which we approached this question for instances of leftward stylistic displacement in clauses governed by the subject relative *qui*. Though Labelle and Hirschbühler (2017, 162-3) explicitly situate all displaced elements in clauses without an overt subject in the TP layer, it cannot escape one's notice that, at the very least, there is no intervening phonetic material of the sort that would serve as a roadblock to accessing the CP layer, which is more than capable of welcoming them, as we have seen. Our position on the subject, however, is fated to remain but a suggestion due to the lack of concrete evidence for the presence of material in either position.

4.3.1.5- Subordinate TP-Oriented LSD

Our unwillingness to assume a hard stance on this matter is understandable given the variety of the data in positions that unquestionably lie within the TP layer, because of the presence of an overt subject to their left, which demarcates the upper edge of the tense phrase. The distribution of information-structural values assigned to such instances, which comprise a small but not insignificant portion of the dataset (83/1089; 7.6%), is given in Table 4.7, along with a sampling of example sentences in (4.20). Although we do not believe the complementizer to be a relevant factor with respect to the access of displaced elements to positions within TP, we nevertheless continue to present results according to the type of clause in which it occurs.

(4.20)   Relative *que*, Frame-Setter
              Or oez une des plus granz merveilles et des plus granz aventures que vous
              onques oïssiez...
              'Now, listen one of the greatest wonders and one of the greatest strokes of
              luck that you will have ever heard...'

                                                              (*Constantinople*, p. 72, §70)

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Quand, Contrastive Focus

Ço est tuit par mun fol corage// ki tant m'irt jolif e volage// quant jo *la meschine* requis// a ses parenz, a ses amis.// Poi pensai dunc d'Ysolt m'amie...

'This (predicament) is entirely due to my insane heart, which was so burningly fickle when I asked the girl's parents and friends for her hand. And then I thought about my love Iseult...'

(*Tristan*, ll. 420-1)

Si, Frame-Setter + Contrastive Focus

...ne si jou *onques vers home* fui tant abandonee que il me deüst enfant faire...

'(may God not have mercy on my soul) if I ever was so reckless with a man that it should befall me to have a baby...'

(*Merlin*, p. 174, ll. 29-30)

Conjunctive *que*, Contrastive Focus x 2

Por ce se tint en itel guise// que ele *mieus le duc* atise// a croire que mout soit irie...

'In order to do this (get her husband to reveal what he knows about the man whom she wanted as her lover), she pretended in such a way that she might better get the duke to believe that she was very angry'

(*Vergy*, p. 78)

Table 4.7: Synchronic Distribution of IS Values in TP-Oriented LSD

Single Elements	Relative *Que*	Conjunctional *Que*	*Quand*	*Si*
Contrastive Focus	6 (66%)	27 (60%)	8 (88.9%)	14 (70%)
Frame-Setter	3 (33%)	12 (26.7%)	0	2 (10%)
Aboutness Topic	0	0	0	0
Multiple Elements[26]				
Cont. Foc. x 2	0	4 (8.9%)	1 (11.1%)	1 (5%)
FS Cont. Foc.	0	1 (2.2%)	0	3 (15%)
FS x 2	0	1 (2.2%)	0	0
	n = 9	n = 45	n = 9	n = 20

There are a number of things present in the distribution in Table 4.7 that we might comment on, not least of which is the general presence of both contrastive foci and frame-setter elements in the TP layer for each of the clause types with which we are concerned here. Naturally, frame-setters are absent from clauses headed with *quand*, since the clause itself may be construed as a frame-setter delimiting the time during which some other action is taking place in the larger discourse. Further, for each of the clause types where both of these categories are represented in the form of single displaced constituents, the percentages of contrastive foci versus frame-setters are roughly the same, which is what we might expect if complementizer type were not constraining the availability of these positions for LSD. On the other hand, complementizer type may continue to play a role in the appearance of

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[26] See this chapter's footnote 14, *supra*, for an explanation of these abbreviations.

elements outside of the CP domain, since the number of instances of TP-oriented LSD under conjunctional *que* in the corpus outstrips the combined total of such instances under the other three complementizers. This flexibility continues, moreover, in the attested ability of these clauses to host the same full array of multiple displaced elements as in cases of CP-oriented LSD. Finally, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that those configurations not attested in our corpus may potentially be found as a result of broadening the corpus beyond its current size, given the overall relative frequency of these configurations being (in some cases) less than 1/1000 occurrences of leftward stylistic displacement. With this synchronic view in hand, let us turn now to consider the information structure of LSD from a diachronic perspective.

4.3.2- LSD Configurations in Diachrony

In Section 4.3.1, in keeping with Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) work on LSD, we have separated instances of leftward stylistic displacement into TP-oriented and CP-oriented categories. The question remains, however, whether it is possible to detect any evolution in the way each of these zones plays host to elements having undergone LSD with respect to their information-structural values. It is, of course, very straightforward to talk about the evolution of the IS capabilities of the CP- and TP-domains when it is clear in which of these two the displaced element has come to rest, given the presence of an overt subject. Recall, however, that the vast majority of our data does not exhibit this clear signposting, in that there is no overt subject to guide us. Although we have no categorical way of knowing whether LSD occurring in sentences with null subjects targets the CP or TP layer, we nevertheless adopt a similar diachronic approach to these data because they comprise the vast majority of the data collected from our corpus.

4.3.2.1- Main Clause LSD

We will begin our description with the main clause data, which are far less numerous than the subordinate clauses. Charts 4.1 and 4.2 show the trajectory of each of the attested information-structural values throughout the three periods that we have investigated for the present study. Should an IS value not have been attested in the corpus for any period in the present study, it will not appear on the chart for the relevant type of LSD. The data are shown according to their relative frequency in order to control for the differences in the size of the subcorpus from each period.

In Chart 4.1, we see the relative frequency of the three IS values of single displaced elements that we found in the main-clause left periphery: aboutness topic, contrastive focus, and frame-setter. Aboutness topics are present in the Pre-1220 period and then are absent from the Post-1220 and Middle French periods. Contrastive foci and frame-setters in main-clause configurations of LSD grow in relative frequency, however: contrastive foci move from 0 to 0.25% from the Pre-1220 to the Post-1220 period, and jump to 2% in the Middle French period; frame-setters stay level at 0.25% between the Pre- and Post-1220 periods, and increase to 1.75% in the Middle French period. It is unsurprising that we should find all three of these IS values attested in the corpus when we take into consideration the model of the articulated left periphery developed by Rizzi (1997) and refined for medieval Romance by Benincà (2006) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), which contains a dedicated place for each of these. Although the frequencies are quite low when considered in tandem with the entirety of the corpus, there are three trends that we might highlight as relevant to the general evolution of French. Firstly, we know that focus fronting is a mechanism that can no longer be employed in contemporary French (Ledgeway 2010a) to express focus of any sort, including contrastive focus, with more modern varieties of the language relying on either clefting (Carter-Thomas 2009) or *in situ*

intonational strategies (Blanche-Benveniste 1996). What these results show us, then, is that focus fronting remains within the realm of possibility, even into the early 15th century.

Chart 4.1- Main Clause CP-Oriented LSD
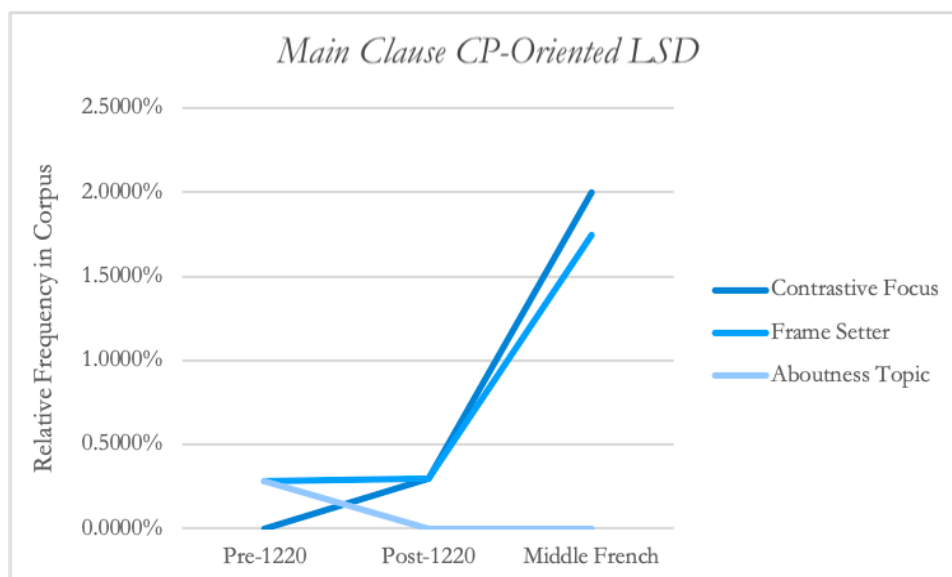
Secondly it remains possible to front certain types of frame-setters in contemporary French, as exemplified in (4.21).

(4.21) *À la fin de la soirée*, Nicolas est rentré en vélo.
'At the end of the evening, Nicolas went home by bicycle.'

Dans la cuisine, il n'y avait rien à manger.
'In the kitchen, there was nothing to eat.'

Par conséquent, il a dû refiler chercher quelque chose.
'As a result, he had to go back out to find something.'

(Examples mine)

For this reason, it would be an unexpected result to see a decline in the frequency of frame-setters in this position, and indeed we see in Chart 5.1 that these types of LSD elements increase with time.

Thirdly, in spite of the fact that LSD aboutness topics were exceedingly rare to begin with in our own corpus, in light of the growing association between the sentential topic and the subject position, it is no surprise that we should see the number of these eventually drop to zero in the Middle French period. It should be noted, however, that the most frequent mechanism employed in contemporary French, that of clitic-left dislocation, was employed in medieval iterations of the language, from at least the 11th century (Marchello-Nizia 1999, 54); hanging topics, too, however, of the sort found in this corpus as instances of leftward stylistic displacement, are attested in both medieval (Salvesen 2013) and, to a certain extent, contemporary (de Cat 2007, 134-9) French.

Chart 4.2 contains the main clause data from the right-hand side of the subject, in which case the displaced elements reside in the TP phase, assuming that the subject resides in SpecTP. Here, too,

the relative frequency of this category of data in view of the whole corpus is quite small, however, we are able to see a clear trajectory for both of the categories attested in this position: contrastive foci increase in relative frequency from the pre-1220 to the post-1220 subcorpus, only to decrease in the Middle French period, whereas frame-setters only appear in the Middle French period.

Chart 4.2- Main Clause TP-Oriented LSD
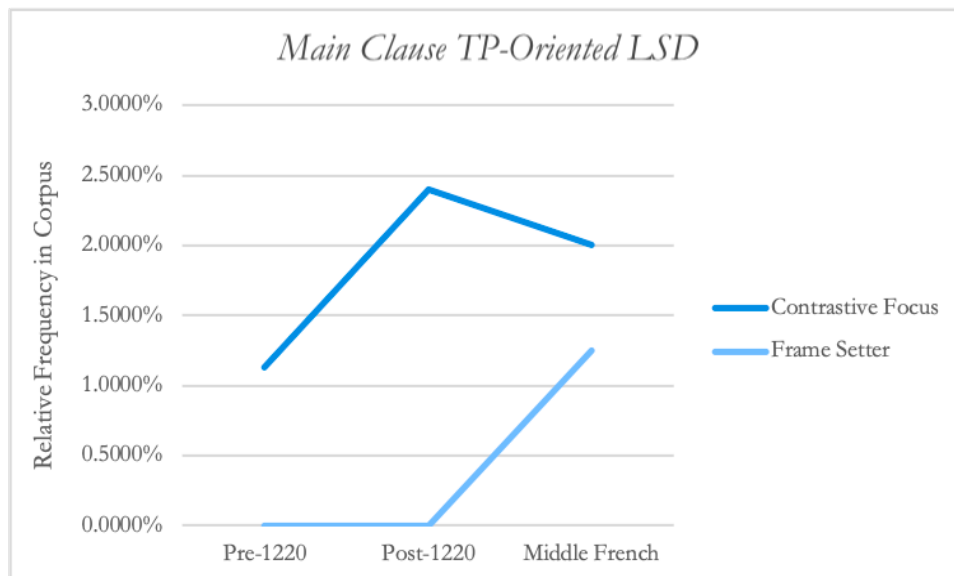
Since we know that the position occupied by these elements, which is interior to TP, is altogether unavailable for any sort of constituent in contemporary French, it is intriguing to see the shift in what type of element occupies this position from the Post-1220 to the Middle French periods: contrastive focus begins to fall from a peak just below 2.5% of the data to 2% at the same time as frame-setters rise from not being present (we suspect this total absence to be an artifact of the small number of tokens of this type found in the corpus) to around 1.25% of the total Middle French data. In view of the lack of studies on displacement targeting the TP phase (likely due to the relative rarity of such displacements), there is little that we might say of a concrete nature about this movement apart from conjecturing that we are witnessing the beginning of the closure of this position to focus elements as we move into the Middle French period.

4.3.2.2- Subordinate Clause LSD

Here, the prior literature is even sparser with respect to information on which we might seize in order to draw conclusions, since the general approach has been to view these clauses through the lens of the main clauses that contain them.[27] The chronology that we are able to offer, then, should serve as a starting point for further studies on this clause type. Chart 4.3 contains information about the information-structural values borne by elements in the CP layer, and Chart 4.4 does the same for elements in the TP layer. Looking at those instances of leftward stylistic displacement where more than one element is displaced, it is clear to see that their frequency remains fairly stable, although quite low, across all three periods with which we are concerned here. The clearest trend visible on Chart 4.3 is perhaps the "meteoric" rise of both single contrastive foci and frame-setters.

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[27] See Section 1.0.2 for a full discussion of this matter.

Chart 4.3- Subordinate Clause CP-Oriented LSD

Chart 4.3- Subordinate Clause CP-Oriented LSD
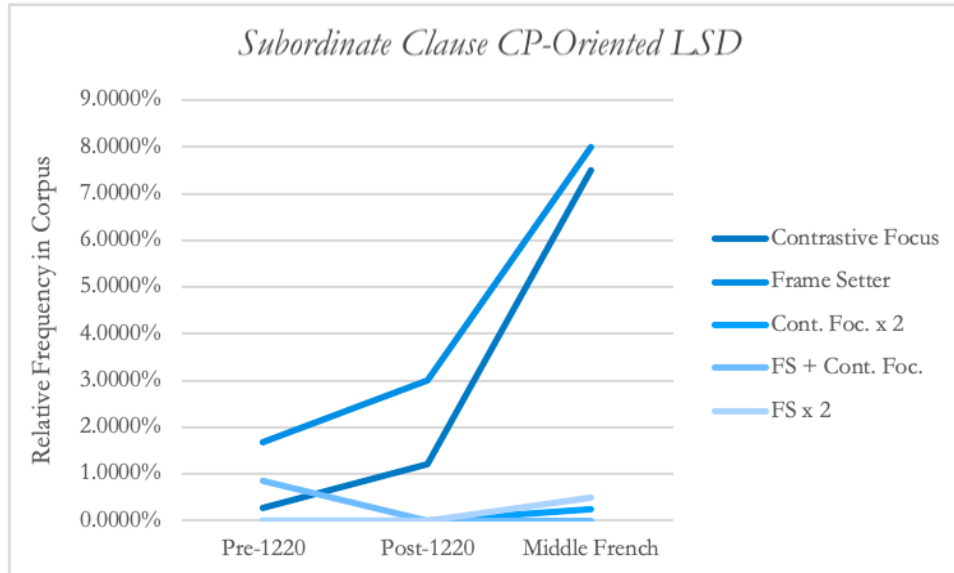
Rather than being a question of the availability of this position itself, this large increase in the relative frequency of these two information-structural values may be due to an overall larger number of overt subjects in these clauses, as elucidated in Section 3.2.5.2: from the post-1220 period into the Middle French period, the number of null subjects occurring in instances of leftward stylistic displacement falls by approximately ten percent. Whether this increase can be solely attributed to shifts in the frequency of null-subject clauses remains an open question; the wholesale availability of positions in the embedded left periphery to welcome one or two elements does not appear to be in doubt, at least until the mid-fifteenth century. These results would appear to confirm Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) findings regarding an increase in the frequency of instances of LSD_{Left} (CP-oriented LSD) during the same period.

Chart 4.4- Subordinate Clause TP-Oriented LSD

Chart 4.4- Subordinate Clause TP-Oriented LSD
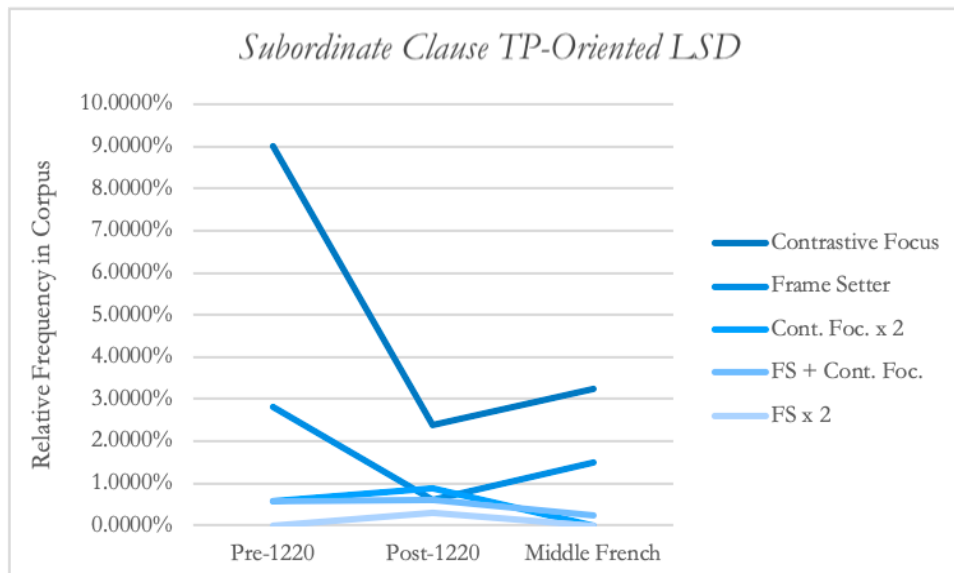
In fairly stark contrast to the expansion attested for CP-oriented leftward stylistic displacement in subordinate clauses, the overall trajectory in Chart 4.4 for TP-oriented LSD from the Pre-1220 period to the Middle French period is one of contraction: the main displaced categories, contrastive focus and frame-setter, fall from comprising approximately 12% of the total corpus in the pre-1220 period to around 3.5% for the Middle French period, though this number is slightly lower in the post-1220 period. Just as was the case in main clauses, it would appear that, across the periods with which we were concerned in the present study, we are witnessing a change in progress: that of the progressive closure of this location in the TP to elements such as contrastive foci and frame-setters, completed in the inability of contemporary French to host such constituents in this position. For each of these three periods, however, this position does remain accessible to both of these types of IS-value-bearing elements.[28]

4.3.2.3- Null Subject LSD

Finally, since it would be nonsensical to leave the vast majority of our data to languish without presenting them, even in the face of their inability to be situated with any reasonable certainty in either the CP layer or the TP layer of the sentences in which they occur, we offer a similar treatment of these data here. Chart 4.5 displays the relative frequency of tokens where more than one element was displaced. Recall that, in cases where only one element is displaced in the presence of a null subject, these tokens are indistinguishable from garden-variety instances of verb-second syntax, and thus have not been considered in the present study for this reason.

*Chart 4.5- Main Clause Null Subject LSD*
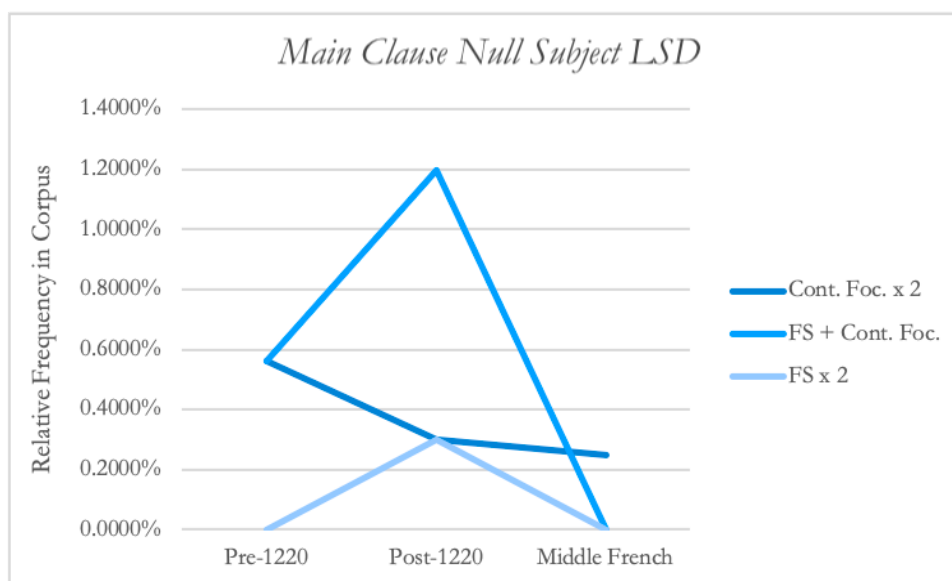
For each of these categories, we see a downward trajectory from the post-1220 to the Middle French periods: instances where two frame-setters are displaced fall to zero in the latest period considered

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[28] It may, of course, be the case that, in the fall of contrastive focus, we are seeing a both a decline in the frequency of this particular IS-value and a decline in the frequency of TP-oriented constructions themselves. The precipitousness of the fall, however, viewed in tandem with the relative stability of the other IS values found, would seem to indicate that it is indeed the demise of contrastive focus that we are witnessing.

here, along with instances of frame-setters displaced along with a contrastive focus. The rate of multiple constituents bearing contrastive focus experiences a more modest decline, falling from just below 0.6% of the total pre-1220 tokens to just over 0.2% in the Middle French subcorpus. These downward shifts are to be expected in those instances where the token involves a contrastive focus, due to the attested loss of this position in contemporary French. The rise and fall of the double frame-setter may simply be an anomaly; however, given the size of corpus and the rarity of this type of token, it would be difficult to ascertain whether this is the case without further research.

Chart 4.6a- Subordinate Clause Null Subject LSD, Single Element
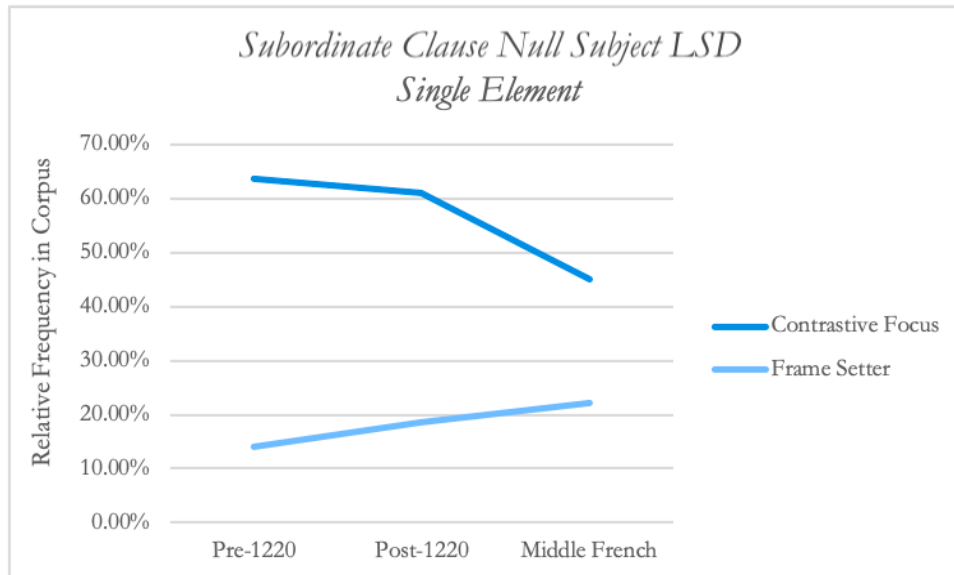
Charts 4.6a and 4.6b display the same data for subordinate clauses. Due to the great variation in frequency between the instances of leftward stylistic displacement where only one element is displaced versus multiple elements, we have elected to display them on separate charts, to ensure that the trends for each are easily visible. Chart 4.6a displays the single-element data for subordinate clauses with no overt subject. Here, the overall trend is again one of decline for contrastive foci; some of this fall is absorbed by the frame-setters, which increase in frequency from the pre-1220 period into the Middle French period. Chart 4.6b shows the data for multiple displaced elements in subordinate clauses. Here, the overall trend is somewhat confusing; all three of the multiple-LSD categories experience a marked uptick during the Post-1220 period, but when we compare the Pre-1220 period frequencies to those attested for the Middle French period, we see three different trajectories. Multiple frame-setters, which represent the least frequent type of multiple LSD in subordinate clauses, end up remaining rather stable in terms of their relative frequency across all three periods. Frame-setters displaced with an element bearing contrastive focus grow in frequency from the pre-1220 period to the middle French period, in spite of their decline from the post-1220 into the latest period here in question. Multiple contrastive foci experience a net decline across the three periods that were considered in the present study.

Chart 4.6b- Subordinate Clause Null Subject LSD, Multiple Elements
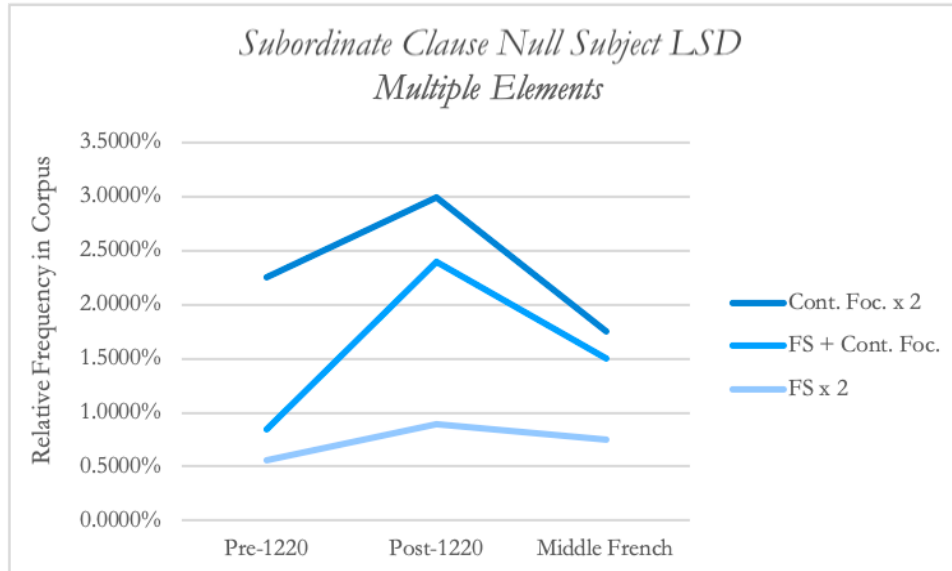
It is assuredly true that we are not able to utilize the subject position in SpecTP as a guidepost to make any assumptions about the location of displaced elements in null-subject clauses; however, the question remains whether we might be able to make certain inferences on this front by comparing the null-subject data with data where we do have an overt subject. If we compare these null subject data for subordinate clauses with the overt subject data, we can see a remarkable amount of similarity in the null-subject curves and the attested curves for the TP-oriented data, in that contrastive focus appears to be in decline, whereas frame-setters seem to be on the rise. Although we prefer to remain agnostic with respect to the ultimate location of LSD elements in clauses without an overt subject, the data are most certainly suggestive of the veracity of Labelle and Hirschbühler's (2017) position: that all of these elements in fact reside in TP; this remains, however, a mantle for future research on subordinate clauses to take up.

4.4- Conclusion

Having now offered a full synchronic and diachronic overview of leftward stylistic displacement in terms of the information-structural values borne by the displaced elements in both main and subordinate clauses, in both the CP and TP layers, it is only fitting that we should present what we think are the relevant implications of our findings for the study of medieval French syntax. There are few innovative contributions that we have to make to the study of the left periphery in main clauses, besides once more confirming the conclusion of other scholars regarding the existence of a variety of projections there which host elements based on the information-structural values they bear (Rizzi 1997; Benincà 2004; Benincà and Poletto 2006, *inter alios*). Though the number of tokens was quite small in the context of our entire corpus, we were able to provide an information-structural reading for the types of object-verb configurations described by certain scholars (Foulet 1919, §462; Marchello-Nizia 1995, 53; Zaring 2010), along with a variety of constructions where the displaced element was not nominal, but instead hailed from other classes, such as prepositional phrases or adverbs. Though these TP-oriented constructions have received a certain amount of attention in the prior literature, they are usually constrained by a Greenbergian (1974) typological approach that traffics only in subjects, objects, and verbs. Despite the obvious and proven merits of such an approach, the

result of its preponderant employment is that the full variety of elements that might occur in these positions is eclipsed, since it tends to ignore. As it pertains to medieval French, then, the present study should serve as a call for more work to be done on this type of construction and its information-structural values, even if their overall rarity makes this a daunting task.

If the present study does call for more studies to be performed on main clauses, then, the call is amplified many times over for subordinate clauses to be studied in their own right, rather than in a manner predetermined by theories developed in research on main clauses. This is due to the way the subordinate-clause data presented here clearly break with the existing narrative regarding their behavior. For example, theories crafted to account for the licensing of null subjects in main clauses (Adams 1987; Vance 1997), which have been helpful in understanding the structure of main clauses themselves, do not obtain in subordinate clause contexts quite so categorically as has been assumed, as illustrated by Hirschbühler (1989) and the data presented here. Further, as the data regarding complementizer position and the information-structural values of the CP elements in the clauses they govern suggest, the CP bottleneck as construed by den Besten (1983) may not be quite as narrow as has been previously been assumed (Haegeman 1996; Poletto 2002; Roberts 2004; Wolfe 2019), at least for medieval French. Though we can say little about the frequency with which these would-be anomalies occur in the language on the whole, their very presence in our corpus implies that the eventual theories that scholars put forth regarding the syntax of medieval French should be able to account for them without discounting them as one-off occurrences, and that the story that we tell about these clauses ought to be considerably more complex than has previously been assumed. We hope also to have demonstrated that these clauses can be accounted for using a complex left-peripherical model where all the complementizers studied reside in a high position in the embedded left periphery. Let us now shift our perspective to consider the role that discourse-reporting status has in leftward stylistic displacement.

Chapter Five:
Oral Représenté:
Discourse Reporting and Leftward Stylistic Displacement

5.0- Introduction

The final facet of leftward stylistic displacement that we will discuss in the present study is its relationship with discourse reporting strategies. More specifically, the aim of this portion of the investigation is to see whether there is any appreciable difference between LSD appearing in directly reported discourse, which is a written representation of oral speech, and LSD that appears in narration, which does not have the same connection with the oral code. Recall from section 1.6.4 that multiple scholars have found convincing evidence of variation between these two discourse types. For example, Glikman and Mazziotta's (2013) study showed statistically significant higher rates in DD of analytic versus synthetic verb forms, frequency of overt subjects, and use of *forclusifs* in negation when compared to narration; each of these are innovative forms when viewed from the perspective of the evolution of French. Guillot et al. (2013) found that direct discourse was more saturated with certain morphosyntactic categories, such as interrogative adverbs, possessives, demonstratives, personal pronouns, and infinitives, again at a statistically significant rate. Finally, one of Donaldson's (2014) principal findings was that, in direct discourse, pre-posed subordinate clauses were more likely to be followed by an innovative subject-verb order in the matrix clause, rather than the conservative verb-subject order predicted by traditional verb-second syntax in such contexts. Such results naturally lead us to wonder whether LSD, too, might vary morphosyntactically according to discourse type.

There are a small number of theoretical premises that will serve as the drivers of this final portion of our study. Firstly, we will operate under the assumption that innovations occur in the oral code prior to their appearance in the written code. Given that the entirety of our data is written, however, it may not be immediately clear why this should be relevant. If we consider that direct discourse is meant to be a representation of oral speech, it follows that this discourse should contain more innovative variants, as Donaldson (ibid.) explains: "Logically, at the intra-textual level, represented speech is closer to the spoken language than narrative, just as, across text genres, informal texts are closer to speech than formal texts. It follows that, for changes in progress, represented speech should be more grammatically innovative than the narrative in the same text" (327). This methodological principle is supported by the findings of both Glikman and Mazziotta (2013) and a variety of other scholars cited by Donaldson (ibid.): Price (1971, 148); Vance (1997, 245), Martineau and Mougeon (2003, 131-5). Secondly, we must remember that leftward stylistic displacement is a construction that is destined for obsolescence; this means that the productivity of the construction will decline, though this decline is unlikely to occur at the same rate in all contexts and in fact may not proceed entirely to completion, remaining in only marginalized or fossilized constructions (Hopper & Traugott 2003; Haspelmath 2004; Hansen 2017; Rudnicka 2019). Based on this assumption, we can, in turn, hypothesize that we will see a higher level of productivity in the conservative variant. This productivity, it follows, is likely to be reflected in a more level distribution of variants in the conservative discourse type, since, again, in the construction's slide into obsolescence, certain configurations or uses of leftward stylistic displacement are likely to decay faster than others, as has been shown to be the case with the *passé simple* (Labeau 2009, 2014).

With respect to the present study, as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, leftward stylistic displacement is a highly variable family of constructions. This is true terms of the morphosyntactic categories that are involved in the phenomenon, whether that be the type of subject (null, nominal, or pronominal), the type of complementizer (here, subject relative *qui*, object relative *que*, conjunctional

que, *quand*, or *si*), or the type of the displaced element (adjective, adverb, complementizer phrase, *forclusif*, infinitive, nominal, past participle or prepositional phrase). This is also the case with respect to both the linear word order, or configuration, in which LSD occurs and the information-structural value that the LSD element bears.[1] Given the high number of attested syntactic and morphsyntactic differences between DD and Narration (Glikman and Mazziotta 2013; Guillot et al. 2013; Donaldson 2014), it is reasonable to believe that LSD may also vary according to the type of discourse in which it occurs. We will thus proceed through each of the variables that have been treated in the previous chapters—clause type, complementizer type, subject type, displaced element type, LSD configuration, and information structure—and subdivide it according to the type of discourse in which it occurs. We will then perform basic statistical tests to test whether the variation between these two discourse types is significant. This approach to LSD will allow us to pinpoint exactly how, if at all, LSD does vary according to the discourse type. In order to maximize the legibility of the data for the statistical tests that we have employed to determine the significance of the results (i.e. to maximize cell counts), we have not taken time or textual domain into account, preferring to leave such considerations for future research with an expanded corpus that will allow for full analysis on this front.

5.1- General Overview of the Data

Recall from Chapter 2 that each of the 1089 tokens that make up the data set for the present study were tagged for the type of discourse in which it occurred, based on the editorial punctuation and confirmed by the presence of the three indices of direct discourse, namely *annonces*, *rappels*, and *incises*. Recall that an *annonce* in the narration heralds a coming instance of direct discourse, that a *rappel* signals a return to narration, and that an *incise* is an interjection of narration in the middle of an instance of direct discourse which serves to contextualize the direct discourse, such as by telling the reader who is speaking. An example of each of these can be found in (5.1a-b), repeated from Chapter 3; these narratorial interventions are underlined, whereas the instances of direct discourse are here further offset from the broader narration in which they are contained by punctuation added by the editor.

(5.1a)   Examples of LSD in DD, with *Annonces, Rappels, and Incises*
              Annonce and *Rappel*
              (*Annonce)* <u>Et uns autres dist</u> : « Il a tel de nos qui bien puet prendre
              samblance d'ome et habiter a fame, mes il le face au plus priveement
              qu'il porra ! » (*Rappel*) <u>Et ensi ont enpris qu'il engendront a home qui</u>
              <u>aprendra les autres</u>.
              '<u>And another one (a demon) said</u>: "There is someone among us who
              can indeed take the appearance of a man and afflict a woman, but may
              he do so in as much secrecy as possible!" <u>Thus, they undertook it to</u>
              <u>sire a man who would teach their ways to everyone else</u>.'
                                                              (*Merlin*, p. 132, ll. 4-7)

              Incise
              –En quel maniere ? <u>fet li dus</u>. –En toutes les manieres, <u>font li message</u>,
              que vous leur sauroiz loer ne conseiller que il fere ne soufrir puissent.

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[1] Examples of leftward stylistic displacement involving each of these categories follow in each of the respective sections that deal with the relevant category.

"'In what way?," asked the duke. "In any way," said the messengers, "that you might be able to counsel them, provided that they can bear such a task, and complete it.'"

<div align="right">(Constantinople 2, §19)</div>

(5.1b)   LSD in Narration
« [...] Et quant vos aurés une piece ceste vie menee, si sera uns preudons tous liés s'il vos puet avoir por vostre grant heritage. Ensi aurés toute la joie del monde. » Et cele li otroie que *tot ensi* le fera, et si fist ele...
"'And when you have lived for a time in this manner, a gentleman will be quite happy to have you (as his wife) on account of your great inheritance. In this way you will have all the joy in the world." And she granted that she would do exactly that, and that is what she did...'

The general distribution of our 1,089 tokens of leftward stylistic displacement according to discourse type is displayed in Table 5.1.

<div align="center">Table 5.1- General Distribution of LSD Across Discourse Types</div>

Direct Discourse	Narration	
314 (28.8%)	775 (71.2%)	n = 1089

It is readily apparent from these figures that there exists an imbalance in the relative frequency with which leftward stylistic displacement occurs in direct discourse versus its frequency in narration: within the present dataset, it appears nearly three times more frequently in narration. It is, however, impossible to say anything substantive about the general propensity of LSD to occur in either of these discourse types, since we did not collect data regarding the overall relative frequency of direct discourse versus narration.[2] It is our belief that this is likely to be simply representative of the overall distribution of direct discourse versus narration in the corpus, irrespective of whether it contains instances of leftward stylistic displacement. At any rate, considering the fact that leftward stylistic displacement is destined for obsolescence, the higher overall percentage in narration is not an unexpected result, given the fact that narration is indeed the conservative discourse type. This assumption may be confirmed or refuted by a future study, which might address the issue by collecting data on the relative frequency of narration and direct-discourse clauses, so as to permit a full variationist-style study of the phenomenon, where we might be able to see a positive correlation between frequency of LSD occurrence and one or the other discourse type.

5.2- Main versus Subordinate Clause LSD

In terms of the spread of leftward stylistic displacement between main and subordinate clauses in both direct discourse and narration, there was very little variation to be found between the two discourse types.

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[2] Speaking strictly anecdotally, the frequency with which direct discourse occurs tends to be highest in the literary texts appearing in the corpus, followed by the historical texts. The administrative texts consulted tended to be devoid of direct discourse, with a few exceptions, most notably in the letters of remission from the court of Henry VI in Normandy, where the pardoned individuals are sometimes quoted. The figure of 28.8% for direct discourse given in Table 5.1 is, in our estimation, likely to be roughly representative of the overall frequency with which DD occurs throughout the corpus.

Table 5.2- Distribution of Main vs. Subordinate LSD According to Discourse Type

	Main	Subordinate
Direct Discourse	15 (4.8%)	299 (95.2%)
Narration	41 (5.3%)	734 (94.7%)

The attested distribution is displayed in Table 5.2, with examples of both clause types in each discourse type appearing in (5.2). In order to assess straightforwardly the significance of the small amount of variation seen in Table 5.2, we performed a χ^2 test on this distribution in R, which returned a p-value of 0.8447 (df = 1, χ^2 = 0.038); although this result is not significant, there remain conclusions to be drawn with respect to the type of clause in which we find leftward stylistic displacement.

(5.2)   Main Clause, DD
...se vous ne me dites qu'aillors // Amez en tel leu par amors, // Que m'en lessiez sanz nule doute// Savoir en la verité toute. Et se ce fere ne volez, *Comme parjurs* vous en alez hors de ma terre, sanz deloi!
'(Nothing will turn me away from this, except) if you tell me that your love interests are elsewhere, such that you leave me with no doubt that I know the whole truth. And if you don't wish to do so, you will leave my lands immediately!'

(*Vergy*, p. 44)

Subordinate Clause, DD
...mes tant vos di ge tres bien veraiement que *jamés* Lanceloz del Lac n'avra a moi pes.
'...but I will tell you this much most truly, that Lancelot of the Lake will never have peace with me.'

(*La mort du roi Artur*, p. 270)

Main Clause, Narration
...lesquelz musniers estoient en l'ostel dudit suppliant, demenderent ausdis suppliant et sa femme qui vendoient cidre, qu'ilz alassent querir un pot de sidre pour eulx boire. Laquelle femme dudit suppliant *tantost* ala querir ledit pot de cidre et le bailla ausdis musniers.
'The aforementioned millers were in the hotel of the aforementioned suppliant and his wife, who were selling cider, and asked them to go and fetch a jug of cider for them to drink. The aforementioned wife of the suppliant immediately went to fetch the requested jug of cider and gave it to the aforementioned millers.'

(*Actes Henri VI*, 20)

Subordinate Clause, Narration
Elle s'i consenty par tel couvenant que *jamais nue* ne la verroit...
'She consented to this by such an agreement that he should never see her naked...'

(*Mélusine*, p. 118)

These results suggest that any variation in the distribution of LSD with regard to its clause type is not likely to be governed by the type of discourse in which it occurs. In our view, this points to a consistent syntactic structure underpinning both types of discourse. Further, the more-or-less equal distribution would seem to neutralize the predicted conservatism or innovation of these discourse types with respect to the general type of clause in which leftward stylistic displacement is occurring. This is an intriguing result, given that, as we saw in Section 3.2.2.1, main clause LSD becomes more frequent as time passes. We would thus expect more main clause LSD in DD than in narration. In view of overall shape of the dataset, which contains many more examples of subordinate-clause LSD than of main-clause LSD, it is not surprising to see that such a high percentage of leftward stylistic displacement is occurring in subordinate clauses. There may be a further explanation for this uneven distribution: recall that the number of potential main clause instances of pre-verbal XPs was greatly reduced by the exclusion of XVS verb-second and XVØ configurations. This was done to avoid conflating them with instances of leftward stylistic displacement, which exhibit a similar variety of constituent types in preverbal position. These XVS and XVØ orders are generally frequent throughout in medieval French (Foulet 1919), which leaves, on the whole, far fewer main clauses that are candidates for classification as instances of leftward stylistic displacement. Despite the wild amount of variance between the two clause types as represented in Table 5.2, however, we believe the uniformity of the percentages to be indicative of a similarly uniform syntax between the two discourse types.

5.3- Complementizer Type

Recall from Sections 1.0.1 and 4.3.2.2 that the type of complementizer heading a subordinate clause may affect the syntax of that clause, as, for instance, with embedded verb-second under certain types of matrix verbs (Adams 1987; Vance 1997; Salvesen 2013; Salvesen and Walkden 2017). Complementizer type was thus a crucial morphosyntactic variable to include in our study. Given the obsolescent trajectory of leftward stylistic displacement, we would expect the innovative DD data to have a less even distribution than the conservative narration data. This is because, as the construction's relative frequency begins to falter, this loss of productivity is unlikely to occur at a uniform rate across all contexts, resulting in occurrences being concentrated in steadily fewer and fewer contexts, as we saw in Chapter 3. Table 5.3 displays the relative frequencies of each of the complementizer types included in the present study. (5.3) contains examples of each of these clause types, reprised from Section 2.2.2, from both direct discourse and narration.

Table 5.3- Distribution of Complementizer Type According to Discourse Type

	Conjunctional *que*	Quand	Relative *que*	Qui	Si
Direct Discourse	104 (34.8%)	23 (7.7%)	20 (6.7%)	128 (42.8%)	24 (8.0%)
Narration	239 (30.8%)	11 (14.2%)	50 (6.5%)	403 (52%)	31 (4.0%)

When compared with the clause type data presented in Section 5.2, there appears to be more variation in the rates at which each of the complementizers appears in instances of subordinate-clause leftward stylistic displacement. In Table 5.3, conjunctional *que* and relative *que* show a small spread between direct discourse and narration; however, *qui* occurs 10% more frequently in narration than it does in direct discourse, and both *quand* and *si* are approximately twice as frequent in one discourse type than the other.

(5.3)   Subject Relative *qui*, DD
              Molt a fait cil esperital sostenance, <u>qui</u> *por home salver* est venus en
              terre…
              'He has brought great spiritual support, he who came to earth to save
              mankind…'
                                                                    (*Merlin*, p. 128, ll. 33-5)

              Object Relative *que*, Narration
              L'anel de sun dei saché ont <u>qu</u>'Isolt *al jardin* lui dona…
              'They took off the ring that Yseut had given him in the garden'
                                                                    (*Tristan*, ll. 393-4)

              Conjunctional *que*, DD
              Et il faisoient samblant <u>que</u> nostre torment *point* ne leur grevoit…
              'And they pretended that our torment did not weigh upon them at all…'
                                                                    (*Merlin*, p. 128, ll. 17-8)

              Quand, DD
              E <u>quant</u> ele *nostre amur* oblie, de li ne me deit menbrer mie…
              'And when she forgets our love, I will no longer have to remember her…'
                                                                    (*Tristan*, ll. 154-5)

              Si, DD
              <u>Se</u> **ele** *mun voleir* ne fait, ne sai quel mal gré en ait…
              'If she doesn't do as I desire, I do not know what ill will she might have…'
                                                                    (*Tristan*, ll. 74-5)

When compared with the clause type data presented in the previous section, there appears to be more variation in the rates at which each of the complementizers appears in instances of subordinate-clause leftward stylistic displacement. In Table 5.3, conjunctional *que* and relative *que* show a small spread between direct discourse and narration; however, *qui* occurs 10% more frequently in narration than it does in direct discourse, and both *quand* and *si* are approximately twice as frequent in one discourse type than the other. In order to test the significance of this variation, we performed a χ^2 test, which returned a p-value of >0.001 ($\chi^2 = 36.901$, df = 4). This result suggests that discourse type is indeed significant with respect to the type of complementizer heading subordinate clauses with leftward stylistic displacement. It is unclear whether the distribution of complementizers represented in Table 5.3 is representative of the distribution of complementizers used in the language on the whole. Here, another round of data collection may serve to confirm these results, particularly with respect to non-LSD distributions of complementizers. At present, given the absence of raw frequency data in our corpus, it is impossible to draw any concrete conclusions about any of these complementizers being overrepresented in a given discourse type as Guillot et al. (2013) appear to. Interestingly, however, their data suggest that so called *adverbes de subordination*, such as *quant* or *si*, are more more likely to occur in narration (27). This might explain the doubling from DD to Narration that can be seen for the complementizer *quand* in Table 5.3, though it does little to explain the shift in the opposite direction *si*. The picture that we, ourselves, are able thus to paint regarding the effect of discourse type on the complementizers with which leftward stylistic displacement occurs is not entirely clear.

Turning to the question of innovation versus conservatism, the distribution in Table 5.3 is incongruous with our hypothesis regarding the distribution of variants in the assumed innovative variety (DD) versus the conservative variety (Narration). Since, ultimately, LSD stops being licensed under any complementizers, we might expect movement to first be attested in DD, in the form of a more uneven distribution of complementizers. In order to numerically determine how evenly the data were distributed in each of these categories, we computed the standard deviation associated with the percentages; using a standard deviation offers a normalized view of the distribution since the computation is not tied to the raw count data. The standard deviation for the DD percentages was computed at 17.4, whereas the standard deviation for the narration percentages was 20.078; this higher value for the standard deviation implies that it is narration that is less evenly distributed, rather than direct discourse. This is, again, unexpected, since, with respect to constructions that will eventually slide into obsolescence, the innovative variety (DD) logically should begin this slide prior to the conservative variety (Narration). It may be the case that, for the period in question, movement in earnest toward obsolescence has not occurred to such an extent that it might be visible in a synchronic 'constructed-time' treatment of the data. From the conclusions drawn in Chapter 4, we know that certain movements in the way leftward stylistic displacement manifests itself were apparent from the Pre-1220 subcorpus to the Middle French subcorpus. The dimensions of the current corpus unfortunately do not permit us to investigate the actual diachrony of leftward stylistic displacement, since separating the data into three periods might instead obscure our view of the effects of the discourse type. Such an investigation would be more feasible with an expanded corpus, particularly as it regards the less frequently attested complementizers among our data.

5.4- Subject Type

Table 5.4: LSD Subject Type According to Discourse Type

	Null Subject	Nominal Subject	Pronominal Subject
Direct Discourse	244 (77.7%)	25 (7.7%)	45 (14.3%)
Narration	603 (77.8%)	78 (10.1%)	94 (12.1%)

Table 5.4 illustrates the distribution of subject types occurring in leftward stylistic displacement configurations according to the type of discourse in which those subject types occurred. As a reminder of what these sentences look like, a selection of examples of each subject type is presented in (5.4).

(5.4)   Null Subject, DD
Tu ne me conmanderas ja a faire chose que je ne fache, se *faire* le puis.
'You will never command me to do something that I will not do, if I
am capable of it. '

                                                    (*Merlin*, p. 218, ll. 4-5)

        Nominal Subject, Narration
...si parlerons de Solehadin, qu'*onques* mieudres Sarrezins ne mist pié en estrier.
'...let us now talk about Saladin, for a better Saracen never placed his feet in a
pair of stirrups.'

                                                    (*Reims*, p. 24)

Pronominal Subject, DD

Sire, gié vos voroie prier en guerredon que vos *.i. de ces escuz* me prestissiez por porter...

'Sire, I would ask as a reward that you lend me one of these shields to bear...'

(*Artu*, p. 200)

Even at first glance, it should be readily apparent that there is scarcely any variation in Table 5.4 with regard to the type of subject co-occurring with leftward stylistic displacement across the two discourse types surveyed for the present study, with the number relative frequencies of null subjects from both discourse types within 0.1% of one another. The variation that we do see here is between the types of overt subjects that appear in these constructions: we found slightly higher percentages of nominal subjects in narration, and of pronominal subjects in direct discourse, though this is generally true of written versus spoken language (Marnette 2006). In order to assess whether this small amount of variation was significant, a χ^2 test was performed; this test showed that the variation is not statistically significant (p = 0.388, χ^2 = 1.8939, df = 2). This is an unanticipated result, since, with respect to the presence of null subjects, one of the most frequently investigated phenomena in medieval French (Adams 1987; Detges 2003; Larrivée 2005; Prévost 2011, 2015; Balon and Larrivée 2016, Capin and Larrivée 2017 *inter alios*), Glikman and Mazziotta (2013, 51) found a strong association between the expression of the subject and direct discourse. Our own data, of course, do not corroborate this claim. Regarding the question of conservatism versus innovation, we would expect for narration to lag behind direct discourse with regard to the relative frequency with which it exhibits overt subjects, in light of its status as the more conservative discourse type; this is because, in the course of its evolution, French loses the ability to license null subjects. This prediction, however, is not borne out by the data. These results thus suggest that, at least in terms of leftward stylistic displacement, discourse type is not a uniformly good predictor of subject type.

5.5- Displaced Element Type

Let us now turn to the morphosyntactic category of the displaced LSD element. The attested distribution of these according to the discourse type can be found in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5- LSD Element Type According to Discourse Type

	Adjective	Adverb	Complementizer Phrase	*Forclusif*	Infinitive	Nominal	Prep. Phrase	Past Part.
Direct Discourse	9 (2.9%)	108 (34.4%)	2 (0.6%)	8 (2.5%)	17 (5.4%)	76 (24.2%)	85 (27.1%)	9 (2.9%)
Narration	17 (2.2%)	304 (39.2%)	5 (0.6%)	18 (2.3%)	22 (2.8%)	136 (17.5%)	240 (30.9%)	33 (4.3%)

An example containing each type of displaced element, adapted from Section 2.2.3 and annotated for discourse type appears in (5.5).

(5.5)   Displaced (Possessive) Adjective, DD

Ço que *mien* fu ore est suen…

'What was mine is now hers…'

(*Tristan*, l. 22)

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Displaced Adverb, DD
Con il li est mesceü en peu de tans, que *encore* n'a gaires que il estoit uns des plus riches homes de cest païs.
'How quickly things deteriorated for him, such that only a very short while ago, he was one of the richest men in this country.'

(*Merlin*, p. 138, ll. 19-20)

Displaced Complementizer Phrase, DD
Sachiez, et itant vous en di, que *se je sui par vous trahi* vous en recevrez la mort...

'Know this, and I'll tell you as much, that, if I am betrayed by you, you will be put to death for it...'

(Vergy, p. 84)

Displaced *Forclusif*, DD
Mar fu vostre biau cors qui *ja mais* n'aura joie tant que vos soiés en sa compaignie !

'Woe betide your beautiful body that will never know joy so long as you should be in his company!'

(*Merlin*, p. 142, ll. 19-20)

Displaced Infinitive, DD
S'*aveir* ne puis mun desir…
'If I cannot have my desire…'

(*Tristan*, l. 68)

Displaced Nominal, DD
…quant jo *la meschine* requis a ses parenz, a ses amis.
'…when I asked her parents and her friends for the maiden's hand in marriage.'

(*Tristan*, ll. 420-1)

Displaced Prepositional Phrase, DD
Molt sera grans damages de vostre biau cors que *por tele creature* sera ars !
'What an unhappy lot for your beautiful body, that will be burned on account of such a creature!'

(*Merlin*, p. 170 ll. 21-2)

Displaced Past Participle, DD
Ço que *amé* ad ne deit hair…
'What one has loved, one ought not hate…'

(*Tristan* (Sneyd), p. 346, l. 132)

In order to determine the significance of the variation attested, we performed a Fisher's Exact Test on these data in R, which shows that the variation attested for this particular variable approaches statistical significance, but does not reach the generally accepted level of p = 0.05 required to posit actual significance (p = 0.06).[3] The p-value returned by the statistical tests performed on the data in Table 5.5 was not low enough to be truly significant, its proximity to this threshold would seem to suggest that discourse type might have some role to play in determining the type of element undergoing leftward stylistic displacement, though we cannot make this determination based on the present data. Indeed, there are a number of differences between the two discourse types, such as the elevated level of adverbs and past participles in LSD occuring in narration and the higher frequencies of infinitives and nominals in direct discourse LSD. The question of the meaning of these differences remains open, however.

If we were to include more data in a future study, by means of an expanded corpus, it might well be the case that further tests indicate statistical significance, so we must wonder what it would mean for discourse type to be actively conditioning the types of elements selected for leftward stylistic displacement. When viewed from a purely theoretical standpoint, though, it is difficult to situate these results with respect to known phenomena in the evolution of French such that it would allow us to speculate as to why these were the specific results returned by the study. For example, we know that, in the evolution of French, the general trend is away from analytic verb forms toward synthetic ones, yet the past participles that are used in synthetic verb forms are less frequent in direct discourse than in narration; this result is unexpected if direct discourse is indeed the innovative variety. The case may be, however, that, for the period in question, known changes in the history of French may not have been in progress, and as such may not be reflected in the variation seen in Table 5.5. The results are especially troublesome to explain given Chapter 4's main findings, namely, that the displaced element seems to be selected on the basis of the information-structural value that it bears, and not for other reasons such as rhyme or meter. It strikes us as unlikely that the type of discourse should have a direct effect on the information structural values of the constituents that populate it, since these values are determined by factors that, logically, are not bound by discourse type. If indeed information structure and discourse type are both responsible for the appearance of varying types of elements in leftward stylistic displacement, this layering of factors means that it is likely altogether premature to attempt to tease out the role discourse type plays without first considering whether information structure itself is a relevant factor; this question is explored in Section 5.7.

5.6- LSD Configuration

Whereas previous studies have shown that direct discourse and narration vary on the basis of certain morphosyntactic categories such as those outlined in the foregoing sections (Guillot et al. 2013; Glikman and Mazziotta 2013), several studies have also been performed with regards to how discourse type might condition the syntax that occurs in it (Donaldson 2014, 2018; Glikman and Verjans 2013). Recall that clauses are generally theorized to be built out of three layers, of which two are relevant here: the CP phase, which looks outward toward the larger discourse, and the TP phase, which houses inflectional information, In Chapter 4, we saw that leftward stylistic displacement may target both of these layers as the landing spot for the displaced element. For this reason, we moved from a classification strategy that typologized the individual elements involved in configurations of leftward stylistic displacement used in Chapter 3 (i.e. SXV, CØXV, CXYV, etc.) to a system that classed the tokens according to their orientation toward either the CP layer or the TP layer. These constructions

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[3] It was necessary to perform a Fisher's Exact Test in lieu of a χ^2 test, since χ^2 tests are not suitable for count datasets with cells containing values under 5.

were previously referred to as LSD$_{Left}$ and LSD$_{Right}$, respectively (Labelle and Hirschbühler, 2017). The distribution of each of these configuration types across the present corpus is displayed in Table 5.6. Note that CP- and TP-oriented leftward stylistic displacement may occur in both main and subordinate clauses. Null-subject LSD is held to only be possible in subordinate clauses since, in the majority of cases, the verb-second syntax that licenses null subjects is not in effect there (Wolfe 2019, *inter alios*). This syntax is present in main-clause contexts, and null subjects are licensed; we are therefore obliged to exclude all null-subject main clauses for fear of conflating the two phenomena, since they are indistinguishable.

Table 5.6- CP- and TP-Oriented LSD Configurations According to Discourse Type

	Subordinate Null	Subordinate CP	Subordinate TP	Main CP	Main TP
Direct Discourse	253 (80.6%)	15 (4.8%)	31 (9.9%)	8 (2.5%)	7 (2.2%)
Narration	608 (78.9%)	71 (9.2%)	51 (6.6%)	23 (3.0%)	18 (2.3%)

For the sake of clarity, an example of each of these clause types follows in (5.6), reprised from Sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2 and accompanied with the classification used in Chapters 2-3.

(5.6)   Subordinate Null/CØXV, Narration
Moult i ot de ceuls qui *mauvesement* le tindrent, et moult en furent blasmé.
'There were many of those who kept (their oath) badly, and for this reason, they were very much criticized.'
(*La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 56, §36)

Subordinate CP-Oriented/CXSV, DD
...mes tant vos di ge tres bien veraiement que *jamés* Lanceloz del Lac n'avra a moi pes.
'...but I will tell you this much most truly, that Lancelot of the Lake will never have peace with me.'
(*La mort du roi Artur*, p. 270)

Subordinate TP-Oriented/CSXV, Narration
Et quant li dus *couchier* se vint a un part du lit s'est traite...
'And when the duke came to bed, she (his wife) pulled herself to the other side of the bed...'
(*La châtelaine de Vergy*, p. 76)

Main CP-Oriented/XYV, Narration
Tristran quida Ysolt gurpir// E l'amur de sun cuer tolir ; // Par espuser l'altre Ysolt, // D'iceste delivrer se volt ; // E si ceste Ysolt ne fust, // *L'altre* itant amé ne oüst...

'Tristan thought he was getting rid of Yseult, and removing love from his heart. By marrying the other Yseult (Yseult aux Blanches Mains), he wished to deliver himself from this one, but if the first one hadn't been named Yseult, he wouldn't have loved the second one so much...'

<div align="right">(Tristan, ll. 306-11)</div>

Main TP-Oriented/SXV, Narration

Quar ainz jor aler l'en covint,// et s'amie o lui a l'uis vint// [...] Iluec ot ploré mainte lerme, // et si oï prendre le terme // du rassambler iluec arriere. // Li chevaliers *en tel maniere* // s'en part et la dame *l'uis* clot...

'For, before daybreak, it was required of him to leave, and his lover came to the door with him [...] There, many tears were shed, and he (the eavesdropping duke) heard them decide the time of their next meeting there. The knight left thus, and the lady closed the door'

<div align="right">(Vergy, p. 66)</div>

In nearly identical fashion to the other variables tested, there is a small amount of variation in Table 5.6 between the two discourse types. This occurs to the greatest extent in the subordinate clause data where the presence of an overt subject allows us to postulate the position of the LSD element: CP-oriented LSD is more frequent in narration, whereas TP-oriented LSD is more prevalent in direct discourse. In order to test whether this variation was significant, we performed a χ^2 test, which returned a p-value of 0.064 (χ^2 = 8.9038, df = 4), which falls short of statistical significance.

The nearness of this result to statistical significance illustrates that, despite the presence of all LSD configuration types in both sorts of discourse, the potential exists that there may indeed be an appreciable difference in the way these types pattern structurally, though we cannot draw this conclusion outright. As with the other variables considered here, the most effective way to test this significance is through the inclusion of more data, which a future study might accomplish. The results as they stand, however, are interesting in their own right. Direct discourse, we have postulated, is the innovative variant given the "volonté auctoriale de simuler"[4] (Marchello-Nizia 2014, 167) oral speech, where many, if not most changes in the language originate. Let us consider what we know about the fate of the majority of these configurations: they are generally moribund, since the strictly configurational grammar of contemporary French no longer licenses the appearance of most types of element in preverbal positions; this is especially true for TP-oriented configurations due to the cliticization of the subject on the verb. A notable exception to this generalization, however, can be seen in the frame-setter adverbials that may still occur at the left edge of both main and subordinate clauses, as illustrated in (5.7a); these are very reminiscent of certain types of CP-oriented LSD found in our own medieval French corpus, which are exemplified in (5.7b).

(5.7a) *À la fin de la soirée*, Nicolas est rentré en vélo.
'At the end of the evening, Nicolas went home by bicycle.'

Dans la cuisine, il n'y avait rien à manger.
'In the kitchen, there was nothing to eat.'

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[4] 'The authorial wish to simulate'.

Sa mère lui a dit que, *ce jour-là*, elle navait pas assez de temps pour aller
faire des courses.
'His mother told him that, that day,

(Examples mine)

Et *tantost après* ledit Raoulin chey a terre et ala de vie a trespassement.
'And, immediately afterward, the aforementioned Raoulin fell to the ground
and quickly left this life.'

(*Actes Henri VI*, 27)

...et racontons ce que nous avons ouy dire et raconter a noz anciens et que
cestuy jour nous oyons dire.
'...and let us tell what we heard our forefathers tell and recount and what we
today hear told.'

(*Mélusine*, p. 116)

Knowing that this position still remains open to some extent today, it should require no great gymnastics of reasoning to assume that we should see an elevated relative frequency in CP-oriented leftward stylistic displacement in the innovative discourse variety and an elevated relative frequency for TP-oriented leftward stylistic displacement in the conservative one.[5] This is the opposite of what we see in Table 5.6, with direct discourse exhibiting approximately 50% more instances of subordinate TP-oriented leftward stylistic displacement than narration, and narration containing approximately 100% more instances of CP-oriented LSD than direct discourse.

Once again, if variation is indeed typically theorized to originate in the oral code, and only thereafter to filter into writing (Marchello-Nizia 2014; Schneider 2013), it is unexpected to see direct discourse exhibiting conservative structures where, it follows, it ought to exhibit the innovative ones (cf. Donaldson 2014), in this case, CP-oriented LSD. It would of course be premature to posit wholesale that there is something afoot for the whole of medieval French on the basis of 224 tokens; nevertheless, when these results are viewed in conjunction with the work of Glikman and Mazziotta (2013) and Donaldson (2014, 2018), which shows that the syntactic derivation can be affected by the type of discourse in which it appears, we believe this may be an avenue of investigation that merits continued exploration, not only in the case of leftward stylistic displacement, but also for any type of morphosyntactic change.

5.7- Information Structure

The final variable according to which we have examined leftward stylistic displacement through the lens of discourse type is that of the information-structural values that the LSD element(s) bear(s). Here, as we mentioned in Section 6.5, it is unexpected for there to be much variation between the two discourse types considered because of the nature of information structure, which, as a system that, grossly oversimplified, indexes relationships between discourse referents, the speaker, and her interlocutors, exists prior to the particular syntactic structures used to encode them. By the same token, these relationships also exist irrespective of the medium in which they are expressed. The question remains, however, whether the discourse type in question has an effect on the way these information structural values are encoded. It is, moreover, unclear, whether, on the basis of the distribution of

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[5] This claim regarding CP-oriented LSD must of course be mediated: several of the element types attested in medieval French LSD can no longer be placed there in contemporary French; CP-oriented LSD is thus not innovative, *stricto sensu*.

attested IS-values according to discourse type found in Table 5.7, we can offer a substantive answer to this question, since we have not collected any data regarding other ways these values might be encoded, such as through the clefting or prosodic strategies that are prevalent today (Rouquier 2014; Blanche-Benveniste 1996).

Table 5.7- Information Structural Values of LSD Element According to Discourse Type

	Contrastive Focus	Cont. Foc. x 2	Frame-Setter	FS x 2	FS + Cont. Foc	Aboutness Topic
Direct Discourse	210 (66.9%)	17 (4.5%)	71 (22.6%)	4 (1.3%)	10 (3.2%)	1 (0.3%)
Narration	517 (66.7%)	19 (2.5%)	210 (27.1%)	8 (1.0%)	20 (2.6%)	0

An example of each of the information-structural values in the table, repeated from Chapter 5 can be found in (5.8) along with the type of discourse in which it occurs.

(5.8) Contrastive Focus, Narration

A cele foiz ne se porent acorder, pour ce que il leur sambla que il n'avoient pas encore assez gent croisiez. En tout cel an ne passa onques deus mois qu'il n'asamblassent a parlement a Compigne. Ilec furent tuit li conte et li baron qui *croisié* estoient.

'At that time, they could not come to an agreement, because it seemed to them that there were not yet enough crusaders. During that entire year, there never passed more than two months without them coming together to speak at Compiègne. There, all the counts and barons who were on crusade were assembled.'

(*Constantinople*, §11)

Contrastive Focus x 2, DD

Ne je ne sui ne duc ne conte qui *si hautement amer* doie d'amer dame si souveraine...

'And I am not a duke or a count who should aim so high as to love a lady so much my superior...'

(*Vergy*, p. 26)

Frame-Setter, DD

Biau seigneur, nous soumes ci envoié de par la baronnie de paiennime qui vous envoient la plus bele pais qui *onques* fust offerte...

'Good sir, we have been sent here on behalf of our pagan lords, who offer you the most beautiful truce that has ever been offered...'

(*Reims*, p. 87)

Frame-Setter x 2, DD
Car moy qui *lors dessus le banc* seoie// soingneusement son maintien regardoie// pour ce que si pensif je le veoie// et sans soulas,// par maintes fois li oÿ dire hé las !
'For I, who was sitting on the bench then, watched his expression carefully, because I thought he looked so pensive and joyless, and I heard him many times over saying, "Alas!"'

(*Deux Amans,* ll. 225-9)

Frame-Setter + Contrastive Focus, DD
Sire, fet mes sires Gauvains, vos m'avez tant conjuré que ge ne leroie en nule maniere que ge nel vos deïsse, neïs se ce estoit ma honte la greignor qui *onques a chevalier de vostre cort* avenist.
'Sire (King Arthur), said Lord Gauvain, you have so implored me to tell you this that I would in no way be able to avoid saying it to you, even if it meant shame, the greatest shame that has ever befallen a knight of your court.'

(*Artu*, p. 184, ll. 16-20)

Aboutness Topic, DD
Et jou vos dirai tant que je voel que vos m'en crées qu'il n'i a celui de vos tos qui n'ait veü qu'il doit par cel enfant morir, et jou meïsmes l'ai veü certainement ausi con uns de vos autres. Et *ce* vos n'avés dit.
'I will tell you something that you ought to believe: there is not one among you who hasn't seen that he must die on account of this child (Merlin); I have seen it just as surely as any of you. And this, you have kept secret.'

(*Merlin*, p. 206, ll. 36-40)

In order to determine whether the results in Table 5.7 were statistically significant, we performed a Fisher's exact test, which returned a p-value of 0.054, which approaches, but does not breach, the standard accepted level for significance. For the returned value not to be significant affirms the stated hypothesis that the type of discourse does not condition the information structural value of leftward stylistic displacement. We cannot, however, deny that the proximity to significance here suggests that discourse type may indeed have a role to play in determining information structural values that leftward stylistic displacement can encode, though only future research will be able to make this determination. This notion would seem to be strengthened by a similar level of significance in the part of the clause that bears the information-structural values in question: the displaced element itself. This suggests, in turn, that these two factors are, in fact, tied to one another. Just as there were a number of discrepancies in the relative frequency of displaced element types between direct discourse and narration, there appear to be several small differences between the two types of discourse with respect to information structure, such as the absence of aboutness topics from narration and the generally higher relative frequencies attested for multiple constituents occurring in instances of leftward stylistic displacement, particularly with respect to multiple elements bearing contrastive focus, which occur almost twice as frequently in direct discourse when compared to narration. Similarly, narration contains a higher concentration of frame-setters in LSD than does direct discourse. Yet again, the proximity of the p-value associated with this data bespeaks the need for the inclusion of more data to further test the stability of these results. Should the expansion of the dataset push the results into the territory of statistical significance, it would suggest that these two discourse types have meaningfully different capabilities with respect to how they use leftward stylistic displacement to encode discursive

meaning, right down to the types of elements they allow to be focalized or used as frame-setters. If we consider the fact that direct discourse is meant to be a simulation of real speech, such findings might furthermore suggest that immediate oral speech, in the sense of Koch and Österreicher (2001), interfaces syntax and information structure differently than do more communicatively distant forms of written communication, i.e. that IS is encoded differently in these two modalities of communication. Such findings would trouble the waters of any synchronic generative understanding of medieval French grammar but would theoretically be made more easily digestible by models of language which are capable of accounting for variation, especially when we are dealing with a system in motion where certain discourses are purported to manifest linguistic changes at different rates.

5.8- Conclusion

In this chapter, we took each of the morphosyntactic, syntactic, and discursive variables treated in the foregoing chapters and examined the way that they patterned in both narration and directly reported discourse (DD). Only one of these variables was shown to be affected in a statistically demonstrable way by the type of discourse in which it occurred. With regards to complementizer type, the distributions obtained were incongruous with our assumptions about how conservative and innovative varieties should behave in relation to one another when the construction in question is one headed for obsolescence. Several of the p-values obtained, however, were quite close to the generally accepted level for significance (p = 0.05); this suggests that further research is necessary to either confirm the lack of significance found here, or otherwise show that discourse type does indeed condition how leftward stylistic displacement manifests itself. It is our belief, however, that such future resarch will continue to illustrate a lack of significant correlation between the morphosyntactic variation inherent in leftward stylistic displacement and discourse type. In the following chapter, we offer a brief summary of the conclusions we were able to draw in the present study, along with potential avenues for future research regarding leftward stylistic displacement.

Chapter Six:
Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

6.0- Summary of the Present Study

Written in the wake of over a decade of research (Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle 2007; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) aimed at discerning whether the medieval French construction known as leftward stylistic displacement is truly related to the Scandinavian construction known as stylistic fronting (Holmberg 2000; Hrafnbjargarson 2004), the present study's objective has been to present a holistic picture of what leftward stylistic displacement *is*, rather than what it *is not*.

In order to lay the foundation for our description of leftward stylistic displacement, it was important to understand the inherent variability of the verb-second grammar in which such a construction was licensed. To that end, in Chapter 1, we presented a digest of the previous literature on medieval Romance verb-second syntax, with a special focus on medieval French, situating there our summary of the research that had previously been conducted on leftward stylistic displacement. Our analysis of the literature found three avenues of research that were ripe for further exploration: the (diachronic) relationship between LSD and textual domain, the (diachronic) relationship between LSD and information structure, and the relationship between LSD and discourse type (direct discourse versus narration).

In order to perform these three studies, we constituted a corpus containing texts from four domains spread across three periods, and collected 1,089 examples of leftward stylistic displacement out of a target count of 1,200; the total size of the corpus was approximately 225,000 words. In light of the variability inherent in the construction, we tagged each token for the type of clause in which it occurred, the type of subject, the morphosyntactic category of the displaced element(s), the specific configuration in which it occurs, the information-structural value of the displaced element(s), and the type of discourse in which it occurred. The relevant tagging procedures are laid out in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 presents the findings of our study of the relation between LSD and textual domain. Based on careful comparison of how LSD evolves in each domain through time, we were able to establish a cline of relative conservatism and innovation between the four domains under investigation. We found, however, that domain was a weaker predictor for the way that leftward stylistic displacement appears than was time. On the basis of this, it seems that LSD is less stylistic than the nomenclature currently used to describe these constructions suggests. The finding of this chapter with the most theoretical impact was the widespread variation in the word order of medieval French subordinate clauses, since the attested variation represents a substantial deviation from the predictions of theories regarding verb-second syntax designed on the basis of main clause phenomena.

Chapter 4 presents the results of our investigation regarding the interactions of leftward stylistic displacement and information structure. Where previous investigations either failed to find a consistent information-structural value for the LSD element (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013) or rejected a sizable portion of the collected data in favor of a particular analysis (Rahn 2016), we aimed to provide as holistic an account of the IS-value of the displaced element as possible. We found that leftward stylistic displacement tended to bear one of two IS-values, either contrastive focus or frame-setter. We, like Steiner (2014), also found a large uptick in the frequency of frame-setters in our data as time progressed, particularly in CP-oriented configurations of LSD; this bespeaks a large-scale shift in the way the left periphery is being mobilized in medieval French. The most groundbreaking finding of the present study pertains once more, however, to the information-structural values of displaced elements in subordinate clauses; this is particularly the case with respect to CP-oriented LSD. Assuming that the subject resides in its canonical position in SpecTP, we found both frame-setters

and contrastive foci between the complementizer and the subject for each of the five complementizers studied here. This led us to postulate that each of these complementizers is likely to reside in a high position in the left clausal periphery. Yet again, this finding seems to contradict various predictions made in the literature about the structure and syntactic capabilities of subordinate clauses.

Chapter 5 examined another potential factor in the production of leftward stylistic displacement: discourse type. Given that various studies in the literature have shown substantive (morpho)syntactic differences between narration and representations of oral speech in directly quoted discourse (Glikman and Mazziota 2013; Guillot et al. 2013; Donaldson 2014), it was determined that the inherent variability of leftward stylistic displacement represented potentially fertile ground for a study on the same lines. Our hopes for an interaction between discourse type and LSD were unfortunately unfounded: statistical tests on each of the morphosyntactic variables for which our data were tagged, save one (complementizer type), returned results that did not meet the standard accepted value for significance ($p = 0.05$). Several of these values, however, came out between $p = 0.05$ and $p = 0.10$. This suggests that a future study with an expanded corpus may find that discourse type is indeed significant for the way LSD manifests itself; nevertheless, at present, we are forced to conclude that discourse type does not significantly condition the type of LSD we see.

Overall, as a result of this study, we have a clearer understanding of the range of configurations that might fall under the umbrella of leftward stylistic displacement, one that extends beyond the distinction between LSD$_{Left}$ and LSD$_{Right}$; newly attested configurations include those with two displaced elements in subordinate clauses, resulting in a word order that is descriptively V3, along with a small number of tokens subordinate V4, which can be found in the Appendix. We were also able to take stock of the variation inherent in this family of constructions and test a number of external factors which might be responsible for that variation: domain, information structure, and discourse type. As a direct result of this analysis, we were able to discern that domain is not a particularly salient predictor for the variation attested, and that this variation was better accounted for through the relative conservatism or innovation of each domain. In this sense, we were better able to develop a sense for how LSD is indeed stylistic. We also found that LSD tends to bear an overwhelmingly uniform macro-pragmatic value, that of contrast.

6.1- Directions for Future Research

In terms of leftward stylistic displacement, specifically, there are a number of avenues of investigation that remain unexplored. Firstly, on several occasions throughout the course of this study, we confessed our inability to explain certain happenings, such as the overall frequency of LSD or its constituent parts based on the absence of non-LSD data from our corpus. A future study might include such data so as to accurately assess the gravity of the challenge to existing models that the conclusions reached in the present study represent. Secondly, though we were able to see a certain level of diachronic movement in our own data, it seems clear that setting the temporal *terminus ad quem* for our corpus in the mid-fifteenth century did not allow us to truly view this construction's slide into obsolescence. A future study of LSD would thus do well to extend its purview into later periods, though the progressively growing infrequency of LSD might render this quite an endeavor. It is our expectation that with the burgeoning number of digital tools for linguistic research on languages other than English, it will be possible to undertake a study of even larger scale than the present one, even as examples of LSD grow fewer and further, since tagged corpora make the task of searching for tokens far less arduous. This would also render the task of looking for further types of LSD a simpler endeavor with respect to those complementizers that questions of economy have led us to leave out of the present study.

As we mentioned in Sections 1.0.1-1.0.2, scholarship in syntax has tended to neglect subordinate clauses, since, it was held, their behavior should be generally predictable on the basis of our theories regarding the syntax of main clauses (den Besten 1983; Adams 1987; Steiner 2014; Wolfe 2019 *inter multissimos alios*). A number of scholars, however, have noted the fact that subordinate clauses do not fully conform to these predictions, or worked with "illicit" data (Hirschbühler 1989, 1995; Vance 1997; Mathieu 2006, 2013; Labelle 2007; Salvesen 2013; Labelle and Hirschbühler 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017; Rahn 2016; Salvesen and Walkden 2017). Many of these approaches have sought to describe main clause phenomena occurring in subordinate clauses in certain contexts (for example, Salvesen and Walkden 2017), but if scholarship on LSD has illustrated anything, it is that the bizarreries of subordinate clauses in medieval French extend far beyond V2 effects occurring in subordinate clauses. It should perhaps go without saying that we believe the call for further research on subordinate clauses in medieval French, if not medieval Romance, has been sounded, and sounded loudly by the present study, given the prevalence of examples in our own corpus that should not be licensed in the predominant model of the subordinate clause. We thus hope that the present study will serve as a sort of "moment of self-determination" for these neglected clauses in medieval French syntax, and perhaps in other languages, as well.

In closing, we hope that the present study has contributed in some small way, despite its shortcomings, to a continued interest in the philologically informed study of medieval French and its syntax and a desire to constantly re-examine existing models in light of new data.

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Appendix

Examples of "Atypical" LSD:

CSXYV
Et quant il *plus ce* disoient, et nos plus les tormentions...
'And the more they said this, the more they tormented us...'

<div align="right">(Le Roman de Merlin, p. 132, ll. 4-5)</div>

...ne si jou *onques vers home* fui tant abandonee que il me deüst enfant faire...
'(may God not have mercy on my soul) if I ever was so reckless with a man that he might conceive a child with me'

<div align="right">(Le Roman de Merlin, p. 174, ll. 29-30)</div>

Car, s'ele *en sun coer* plus m'amast, d'acune rien me comfortast.
'For, if she still loved me in her heart, she would comfort me in some small way.'

<div align="right">(Tristan et Iseut, p. 344, ll. 86-7)</div>

Car s'il *de cuer Ysolt* haïst, Ysolt pur s'amur ne presist...
'For, if he had hated Iseut in his heart, he would not have willingly taken Iseult of the White Hands...'

<div align="right">(Tristan et Iseut, p. 328-9)</div>

Li chevaliers samblant n'en fist que poi ne grant s'aperceüst qu'ele *vers lui amor* eüst...
'The knight made no sign, great or small, that he had perceived that she had love for him...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 24)</div>

Samblant fet que point ne li haite que li dus *o li gesir* doie, qu'ele set bien ce est la voie de son mari metre au desouz...
'She pretends that it doesn't please her at all that the duke is bound to lay beside her, for she knows that this is the way to take advantage of her husband...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 78)</div>

...quant vous tenez plus chier celui que je vous ai dit qui porchace qu'il *a moi honte et despit* face...
'...since you hold more dearly him who I told you seeks to do me shame and humiliation...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 74)</div>

Por ce se tint en itel guise que ele *mieus le duc* atise a croire que mout soit irie...
'For this reason she behaved in such a way, so that she might better incite the duke to believe that she was angry...'

<div align="right">(La châtelaine de Vergy, p. 78)</div>

Car s'il avient que l'amant *tant au fort* fait qu'il soit aimé...
'For, if it should happen that the lover in fact does so much that he should be loved...'

<div align="right">(Le débat des deux amans, ll. 473-4)</div>

CXSYV

...je cuide qu'*onques* homme, *se Adam non*, n'ot parfaicte congnoissance des euvres invisibles de Dieu...
'I believe that man, except for perhaps Adam, never had perfect knowledge of the invisible works of God...'

<div align="right">(Mélusine, p. 114)</div>

Examples of Contrastive Focus + Frame-Setter:

A malaise fu cele nuit // Li dus, n'onques dormir ne pot // por le chevalier qu'il amot // qu'il croit que il eüst mesfait //par droit que s'amor perdue ait, // et <u>por ce toute nuit</u> veilla.
'The duke spent that night ill at ease, unable to sleep on account of the knight, whom he loved, and who, he thought, deserved to lose his friendship on account of his misdeeds. For this reason he lay awake the whole evening.'

<div align="right">(Vergy, p. 34)</div>

« ...Dites, beau sire, // car je sçay bien que mieulz en sçarés dire. » // Et cil respont : « Ne vous doy contredire, // ne vueille Dieux qu'<u>a ce ja</u> mon cuer tire que vous desdie... »
'« ...Speak, good sir, for I know well that you can pronounce better on this subject (love). » And he responds: « I ought not to contradict you; may God not permit that, regarding this matter, my heart ever lead me to deny you... »'

<div align="right">(Deux Amans, ll. 420-4)</div>