Clause structure and illocutionary force in Medieval Gallo-Romance: Clitic position in Old Occitan and early Old French verb-initial conjuncts

Bryan Donaldson, University of California, Santa Cruz
bryandonaldson@ucsc.edu

1. Overview

—variation in clitic position in 2nd conjunct of coordinated declarative clauses

- conjunct 1 *and* **conjunct 2**

—Old Occitan (OOc) and early Old French (EOF; prior to 1200)
—goal: relate descriptive notion of "rupture" between conjuncts (Donaldson forthcoming), which predicts clitic position, to illocutionary force and discourse relations
—goal: explain the behavior of 2nd conjuncts with *verba dicendi* (verbs of speaking)

2. The problem

—variation in clitic position in affirmative verb-initial (V1) declaratives coordinated with *e(t)* 'and'

- Random? (Jensen 1994; Buridant 2000; Romieu & Bianchi 2002; Hinzelin 2007)

(1) **OOc: preverbal clitic**
Adonc lo baiza ***e*** ***l'abrassa.***
then him kissed.3.SG and him.embraced.3.SG
'Then she kissed him **and embraced him**.' (OOc; *Flamenca* 2961)

(2) **OOc: postverbal clitic**
Illi l'anet esgardar ***e*** ***trobet*** ***lo*** ***passat.***
She him.went.3.SG to.look.at and found.3.SG him passed
'She went to look at him **and found him** deceased.' (OOc; *Douceline*; Gout 1927: 46)

(3) **OOc: postverbal clitic (verbum dicendi)**
Karles apelec alcus que sabian las carrieyras ***e*** ***demandec*** ***lor*** *per cal...*
Charles called.3.SG some who knew.3.PL the route and asked.3.SG them for which
'Charles called some who knew the way **and asked them** why…'
(OOc; *Gesta Karoli Magni* 105-106)

(4) **EOF: preverbal clitic**
Si l'adoba ***et*** ***le*** ***fist*** *chevalier.*
thus him.dubbed.3SG and him made.3SG knight
'He dubbed him **and made him a knight**.' (EOF; *Coronemenz Looïs* 1650 ms. B)

(5) **EOF: postverbal clitic**
Trop a avant alé, ***E*** ***pesot*** ***li*** *que tant en aveit trespassé.*
too.much has.3SG ahead gone and weighed.3SG to.him that so.much of.it had.3SG gone.too.far
'He went too far, **and he regretted** having gone that far.' (EOF; *Becket* 1020)

(6) **EOF: postverbal clitic (verbum dicendi)**
Helchias reparlad á Saphan ***é*** ***dist*** ***li*** *que truved out un lívre.*
Hilkiah spoke.again.3SG to Shaphan and told.3SG to.him that found had.3SG a book
'Hilkiah spoke again to Shaphan **and told him** that he had found a book.'
(EOF; *Li quatre livre des reis*; Curtius 1911: 220)

—Claims:

- variation in position of clitic is principled (for OOc, Donaldson forthcoming)
    - these principles are similar in OOc and (specifically) EOF
- preverbal & postverbal clitics appear in different underlying clause structures
- clause type reflects illocutionary force and presence of one vs. two abstract force operators
    - clitic position results from clause structure

3. Background

3.1. Variation in clitic position

—Mériz (1978), for OOc

- for proclisis to obtain in 2nd conjunct, actions in two clauses must be "in some way related"

—Donaldson (forthcoming) for OOc

- proclisis favored with continuity (lack of rupture) between conjuncts
- enclisis in 2nd conjunct favored with 'rupture' between conjuncts
    - sequential actions, subject change, background – foreground, change of object

—EOF: no research to my knowledge on meaning differences associated with clitic position

3.2. Grammar of medieval Romance

—Medieval Romance is verb-second (V2; Benincà 1995, 2006; Roberts 1993; Salvi 2000; Vanelli et al. 1985; Wolfe 2019)

- obligatory verb raising from V to C in main declaratives

(7) [*En Bretaigne*] [***maneit***] *uns ber*.
in Brittany lived.3SG a baron
'A baron lived in Brittany.' (EOF; Marie de France, *Bisclavret* 15)

—Medieval Romance = "relaxed" V2 (Wolfe 2016, 2019)

- mostly V2 orders, but some deviations (V1, V3, etc.) allowed
- (optional) saturation of preverbal position in OOc and EOF
    - V1 declaratives possible
        - Possible in EOF but NOT later OF (Foulet 1928; Hirschbühler & Junker 1988; Skårup 1975; Rouveret 2004)

—Clause structure (Benincà 1995, 2006)

(8) $[_{\text{ForceP}}\ [_{\text{FrameP}}\ [_{\text{TopicP}}\ [_{\textbf{FocusP}}\ \textbf{(XP)}\ [_{\text{Focus'}}\ V_i\ [+\text{fin}]\ [_{\text{FinP}}\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \ldots\ t_i\ \ldots\ ]]]]]]]$

—Tobler-Mussafia revisited (Benincà 1995, 2006)

- SpecFocus is saturated → preverbal clitics
- SpecFocus empty → postverbal clitics

3.3. Coordination

—two levels of coordination in the syntax (Donaldson & Vance 2017; Donaldson to appear; Benincà 1995; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005; Poletto 2009; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012, etc.)

—CP coordination

- each conjunct is a CP: CP + CP
  - *e(t)* selects full CP
- Each CP is fully articulated
- Empty SpecFocus in 2nd CP → clitics are postverbal

(9) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ [$_{\text{FrameP}}$ [$_{\text{Topic}}$ [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ **1st conj.** [$_{\text{TP}}$]]]]]] [$_{\text{Conj'}}$ ***e(t)*** [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ [$_{\text{FrameP}}$ [$_{\text{TopicP}}$ [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ **2nd conj.** [$_{\text{TP}}$]]]]]]

—TP coordination

- one CP that dominates two conjoined TPs
  - *e(t)* selects TP
- second conjunct is TP
  - no verb raising to C possible
  - clitics are obligatorily preverbal

(10) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ [$_{\text{FrameP}}$ [$_{\text{TopicP}}$ [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ [$_{\text{ConjP}}$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ **1st conj.** [$_{\text{Conj'}}$ ***e(t)*** [$_{\text{TP}}$ **2nd conj.**]]]]]]]]

3.4. Illocutionary force

—Illocutionary force: ForceP hosts wh-word, relative, or null force operator (Rizzi 1997)

—in a V2 grammar:

- CP contains a ForceP
- TP does NOT contain a ForceP

3.5. Assertion and discourse coherence relations

—two types of conjunction (Kearns 2006)

- Two conjoined assertions
  - Each assertion independent, evaluated independently, stand-alone
  - Two clauses, two acts of assertion
- Single "conjunctive statement"
  - Pair of statements accepted at once, *d'un seul coup*, in a single moment
  - Two clauses, but single (complex) act of assertion

—multiple acts of assertion (Hobbs 1985; Lascarides & Asher 1993)

- sequenced actions (= narration)
  - 'then' test (insert 'then' between conjuncts)
- background to foreground
  - background conjunct does not move narrative forward; other conjunct does
- discourse runs forward
- "**coordinating**" discourse relations (Asher & Vieu 2005)

—single "conjunctive package" (Kearns 2006)

- expansion: 2nd conjunct elaborates on 1st conjunct
- "that is / in other words / similarly" test; (insert between conjuncts)
- discourse runs in place
- "**subordinating**" discourse relation (Asher & Vieu 2005)

3.6. Verba dicendi and illocutionary force

—OOc verba dicendi in 2nd conjunct often present enclisis (Vance 2014; Donaldson forthcoming)

—Reis (1995, 2000), cited in Wolfe (2019):

- Different illocutionary forces:
  - Strictly assert: "strictly assert[s] the truth of propositions"
  - Recount: "express[es]," "recount[s]," or "identif[es] the source" of what is asserted

—Distinction:

(11) Strictly assert
  a. (*I say to you that*) Hans will be elected director.
  b. And I know this is true.
  c. ?But I'm not sure if this is true.

(12) Recount
  a. (*I recount to you that*) Paul said Hans will be elected director.
  b. ?And I know this is true.
  c. But I'm not sure if this is true.

—Ross (1970): every declarative introduced by a null "abstract performative" with a (null) verbum dicendi (also Rivero 1972)

—proposal: treat Ross' null abstract performative as an (abstract) operator of illocutionary force in ForceP

4. Study

Table 1. Old Occitan texts (13th – 14th centuries); 1507 tokens

text	date	type	notes
Jaufre	1230	verse	complete analysis
Gesta Karoli Magni	1250	prose	complete analysis
Flamenca	1250-1275	verse	complete analysis
Douceline	1300	prose	complete analysis
Troubadour biographies (*vidas & razos*)	13th - 14th	prose	complete analysis

Table 2. Early Old French texts (< 1200); 312 tokens

Text	date	type	notes
Vie de St. Léger	980	verse	complete analysis
Voyage of St. Brendan	1121	verse	complete analysis
Li coronemenz Looïs	1130	verse	complete analysis
Chanson de Guillaume	1140	verse	complete analysis
Le charroi de Nîmes	1150	verse	complete analysis
Floire et Blancheflor	1150	verse	complete analysis

Roman de Thèbes	1150	verse	complete analysis
Roman de Brut	1155	verse	lines 12000-14866
Psautier de Cambridge	1155	prose	complete analysis
Énéas	1160	verse	complete analysis
Erec et Enide	1170	verse	complete analysis
Psautier de l'Orne	1170	prose	complete analysis
Li quatre livre des reis	1170	prose	complete analysis
La vie de St. Thomas Becket	1174	verse	complete analysis
Le roman d'Alexandre (Alexandre de Paris)	1175	verse	lines 1 - 3100
Le roman d'Aliscans	1180	verse	complete analysis
Le roman de Tristan	1180	verse	complete analysis
Eracle	1180	verse	complete analysis
Anglo-Norman *Alexander*	1188	verse	complete analysis
Orson de Beauvais	1180-1200	verse	complete analysis

—data: all finite affirmative V1 clauses introduced by *e(t)* with at least one object or adverbial clitic
—coding

- clitic position
- coherence relation linking the conjuncts (subordinating vs. coordinating)
- presence of verbum dicendi

5. Results
5.1. Old Occitan

Table 3. OOc main declaratives: non verba dicendi tokens

Coherence relation type	proclisis	enclisis
subordinating	176	20
coordinating	35	1080
Total	211	1100

Distribution significantly different: χ^2 (1, N = 1311) = 920.56, $p < .0001$

Table 4. OOc main declaratives: verba dicendi tokens

	proclisis	enclisis
tokens	6	190

—similar distribution of clitics in verbum dicendi examples and coordinating relations: χ^2 (1, N = 1311) = 0.03, p = 0.862

- lets us conflate verbum dicendi and coordinating relations (Table 5)

Table 5. OOc: all main declaratives

Coherence relation type	proclisis	enclisis
subordinating	176	20
coordinating+VD	41	1270
Total	217	1290

Distribution significantly different: χ^2 (1, N = 1507) = 1032.05, $p < .0001$

5.2. Early Old French

Table 6. EOF main declaratives: non verba dicendi tokens

Coherence relation type	proclisis	enclisis
subordinating	122	8
coordinating	48	87
Total	170	95

Distribution significantly different: χ^2 (1, N = 265) = 95.33, p < .0001

Table 7. EOF main declaratives: verba dicendi tokens

	proclisis	enclisis
tokens	22	25

—similar distribution of clitics in verbum dicendi examples and coordinating relations: χ^2 (1, N = 182) = 1.42, p = 0.233

- lets us conflate verbum dicendi and coordinating relations (Table 8)

Table 8. EOF: all main declaratives

Coherence relation type	proclisis	enclisis
subordinating	122	8
coordinating+VD	70	112
Total	192	120

Distribution significantly different: χ^2 (1, N = 312) =95.95, p < .0001.

6. Discussion

6.1. *Narration (coordinating)*

—claim: each conjunct is a CP with its own illocutionary force / force operator

(13) *E quant venc un dia, Raimon de Castel Rossillon troba passan Guillem*
and when came.3.SG one day Raymond of Castel Rossillon found.3.SG passing Guillaume
senes gran compaingnia ***et ausis*** ***lo***, ***e trais*** ***li*** *lo cor del*
without great company and killed.3.SG him and pulled.3.SG him the heart from.the
cors, ***e fez*** ***lo*** *portar a un escudier a son alberc,* ***e fez*** ***lo***
body and made.3.SG it to.carry to a squire to his.her residence and made.3.SG it
raustir e far peurada, ***e fes*** ***lo*** *dar a manjar a la muiller.*
to.roast and made.3.SG peppered and made.3.SG it to.give to to.eat to the lady
'And one day, Raymond of Castel Rossillon came upon William passing by without much company **and killed him, and ripped his heart** out of his body, **and had it** carried by a squire to his residence, **and had it** roasted and seasoned with pepper, **and had it** given to the lady to eat.'
(OOc; *Vida* of Guillem de Cabestaing, version F^{b}IK; Boutière 1964: 530-531)

(14) *Grant cop li dona an l'escu, que del col li a abatu,*
great blow to.him gave.3SG in the.shield which from.the neck to.him has.3SG knocked
et perça li *l'un des costez.*
and pierced.3SG to.him the.one of.the ribs
'He gave him a mighty blow on the shield, knocking it away from his neck, **and pierced him** through the ribs.' (EOF; *Enéas* 5243-5245)

6.2. *Background (coordinating)*

(15) *Cascus era cavallier[s] bos* ***e dero·s colps meravillos****.*
Each.one was.3.SG knight good and gave.3.PL.each.other blows marvelous
'Each one was a good knight **and they struck each other with marvelous blows**.'
(OOc; *Flamenca* 8017-18)

(16) *El fu toz tens norrie an guerre et molt ama chevalerie* ***et***
she was.3SG all times brought.up in war and much loved.3SG chivalry and
maintint la *tote sa vie.*
maintained.3SG it all her life
'She was always brought up in war and very much loved chivalry **and upheld it** all her life.'
(EOF; *Enéas* 3968-3970)

6.3. *Expansion (subordinating)*
—claim: both conjuncts are dominated by a single CP, with a single force operator

(17) *Gillems la baisa* ***e l'abrassa****.*
Guillaume her kissed.3.SG and her.embraced.3.SG
'Guillaume kissed her **and embraced her**.' (OOc; *Flamenca* 5880)

(18) *É li poples ápluvéit de tutes parz é fud* ***é se teneit od Absalon****.*
And the people arrived.3SG from all parts and was.3SG and itself stood.3SG with Absalom
'And people came in large numbers from everywhere and were with **and stood with Absalom**.' (EOF; *Li quatre livre des reis*, Curtius, 1911: 86)

6.4. Verba dicendi (pattern with coordinating relations)
—claim: two CPs with two different illocutionary forces

- 1st conjunct: strictly assert
- 2nd conjunct: recount
  - verbum dicendi is semantically bleached, signpost of direct or indirect discourse (De Dardel 1983; Marchello-Nizia 2012)

(19) *Et elh respondec li* ***e disx li*** *que Karles la li avia donada.*
and he responded.3.SG to.him and said.3.SG to.him that Charles it to.him had.3.SG given
'And he responded to him **and said to him** that Charles had given it to him.'
(OOc; *Gesta Karoli Magni* 2041)

(20) *Illuec l'arainnent plusor home* ***et dient*** ***li****: "Ma douce suer…"*
there her.spoke.to.3PL several men and said.3PL to.her my gentle sister
'There, several men spoke to her **and said to her**: "My gentle sister…"'
(EOF; *Eracle* 450-452)

6.5. Coherence relations, illocutionary force, and clausal architecture

—position of clitics in second conjunct is principled in both OOc and EOF

- Coordinating relations, verba dicendi: enclisis in 2nd conjunct
- Subordinating relations: proclisis in 2nd conjunct

—OOc and EOF act very similarly

—clitic position a byproduct of clausal architecture

- CP coordination (→ enclisis)
  - each conjunct has its own ForceP and force operator
  - Assertion of each conjunct evaluated separately
  - Change of illocutionary force possible from conjunct 1 to conjunct 2
- TP coordination (→ proclisis)
  - both conjuncts dominated by single force operator in a single ForceP
  - assertion of conjunctive package evaluated all at once, *d'un seul coup*
  - illocutionary force same across both conjuncts

7. Conclusions

—clitic position in coordinated affirmative V1 clauses is principled and reflects discourse structure

- clitic position derives from clausal architecture and is not a primary indicator of meaning (semantic, discursive, or otherwise)
- Donaldson (2016): clitic position in OOc subject-initial declaratives also due to clausal architecture but appears to reflect different discursive properties than in the present data

—strong similarity in the grammars of OOc and EOF

- relaxed V2, with weak version of EPP (→ SpecFocus can remain unsaturated)
- V1 clauses introduced by *e(t)* can be either CPs or TPs

—conjuncts containing verba dicendi pattern with conjuncts in coordinating relations because in both cases there are multiple force operators

—theoretical account for the descriptive notion of "rupture" (or lack thereof) between conjuncts

—outstanding issue: what becomes of this (subtle) distinction in diachrony?

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