



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

Master's Degree Programme
in
Scienze del Linguaggio

Final Thesis

**A comparison between the Old English and the Old French
left peripheries:**

the interaction between Focus, Topic and verb fronting.

Supervisor

Ch. Dott.ssa Chiara De Bastiani

Assistant supervisor

Ch. Prof.ssa Marina Buzzoni

Ch. Prof.ssa Alessandra Giorgi

Ch. Prof.ssa Marie Christine Jamet

Graduand

Arianna Zonzini

873760

Academic Year

2022 / 2023

To Alessandra & Matteo

***“Big dreams and big thrills
Flying high, imagine the absurd.”***

Hello Future, NCT Dream.

INDEX

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	6
DETAILED ABSTRACT	8
INTRODUCTION	36
CHAPTER 1: The left periphery	39
1.1A historical introduction: Chomsky (1950s-1980s)	39
1.2Linguists' views on the left periphery	41
1.3Information structure, Topic, Focus, topicalization and focalization	44
1.4General introduction on the left periphery in Modern French	51
1.4.1Focus and Prosody in Modern French	52
1.4.2Focus/focalization in Modern French	53
1.4.3Topicalization in Modern French	58
1.5Focus, Topic, topicalization and left dislocation in Modern English	60
1.5.1A further explanation of focalized/topicalized constituents in Modern English	62
1.6Topicalization, focalization, Topic and Focus in Modern Italian.....	66
1.6.1Differences between focalization and topicalization in Italian.....	71
1.7V2 Languages: an introduction.....	75
1.7.1V2 and the left periphery.....	79
1.8Considerations on the left periphery.....	81
CHAPTER 2: Topic, Focus, verb fronting in OF	82
2.1Introduction on the Old French language	82
2.2Clausal architecture in Old French and V2: Vance (1997) and Labelle (2007)	82
2.2.1Old French main clauses and V2	86
2.3Further studies on Old French V2: initial subordinate clauses	93
2.3.1Initial subordinate clauses: a study by Donaldson (2012)	94
2.4Topic and Focus in V1/V2 Old French.....	104
2.5V2 and left periphery: Meklenborg Salvesen's analysis	113
2.5.1Topic and Focus in Old French	118
2.6Considerations and comparison with Modern French	120
CHAPTER 3: Topic, Focus, verb fronting in OE	121
3.1Introduction on the Old English language	121
3.2A historical change of Old English V2	122
3.2.1The importance of demonstratives in Old English: Los & van Kemenade (2018).....	125
3.3CV2 vs IV2: van Kemenade (1997) & Pintzuk (1993)	127
3.3.1Remarks on CV2 and IV2	131
3.4V2 and V3: Fuss (2003)	132

3.4.1 Syntactic representation of V2 and V3.....	135
3.5 The CP layer in Old English: van Gelderen (2019).....	139
3.6 V2 and V3 in Old English: Walkden (2017)	142
3.7 V2/V3 and the articulated left periphery: van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020)	143
3.8 V1 in Old English	144
3.9 Remarks on the V2 Old English studies	146
3.9.1 Comparison and considerations on Old and Modern English	147
CHAPTER 4: Comparison between OE and OF left peripheries	150
4.1 Introduction on the empirical study	150
4.2 Research questions and an introduction on the materials	150
4.3 Comparison between Old French and Old English V2.....	152
4.4 Comparison between Old French and Old English V1.....	169
4.5 Comparison between Old French and Old English V3/V4.....	179
CHAPTER 5: Conclusions and outlooks	189
5.1 Conclusions on Old English and Old French V2.....	189
5.2 Conclusions on Old English and Old French V1.....	190
5.3 Conclusions on Old English and Old French V3.....	190
5.4 Questions raised from the analysis	191
BIBLIOGRAPHY/SITOGRAHY	193

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Just like two years ago, I find myself in my room, writing my acknowledgments in the darkness of the night. I've always thought that this is the most beautiful time of the day where quietness prevails and thoughts come.

First of all, I want to thank my supervisor, dott.ssa De Bastiani who carefully followed and supported me in this work. Every single time we had the opportunity to meet, I could feel the strong passion for what she does. This inspired me to keep going and always work hard. Also, I want to thank my assistant supervisors, prof. Buzzoni, prof. Giorgi and prof. Jamet for helping me revise this thesis work and giving me important pieces of advice. I want to thank them for the knowledge they transmitted to me during their courses. In addition, I would like to thank all the professors I encountered during these two years because thanks to their teachings, they shaped the person I am today.

I would like to continue my acknowledgements by thanking the two most beautiful souls I've ever met, De and Cri. De (zietta), it's now been four years that we got to know each other and I am so glad for that conversation we randomly started. You've been there for me since my second year of my bachelor's degree: you saw me winning, you saw me struggling, you saw me falling and rising again. But here we are!! Thank you so much for everything you've done (and do), for never leaving my side and always supporting me. Cri (dotae), even though it's only been a year and half that we met for the first time, we immediately connected. Thank you for always rooting for me, helping me in all the possible ways and understanding me, really, it means a lot. At the time I'm discussing my thesis, I hope we are seeing our boys soon! You guys bring brightness in my life, I love you with all my heart. (Please never stop talking to me in Venetian dialect lol).

To my boyfriend Matteo, with whom I have been sharing all the adventures for almost eight years. We are getting closer and closer to the end of our university studies. In these past five years, we supported each other during our lessons and our exams. Being far away has not been easy at all but we always managed to overcome the difficulties. Thank you for always pushing me to do my best and rejoicing all my victories. I am proud of you.

To my parents, Alessandra and Matteo, because this degree is a bit theirs too. Thank you, mom, for teaching me that even after a big storm, there are always ways to stand up again. Thank you for always believing in me and never doubting of my capabilities (even when I had tons of reasons to do that). Thank you from the bottom of my heart because you were and you will always be the most inspiring person I ever know. Thank you, dad, for always showing your support in all the challenges

that I might have encountered and I will still encounter. Thank you for teaching me that hard work will be repaid. Thank you for always cheering me up with supportive messages. We sometimes have some squabbles but we love each other soooo much!

To my grandpas, Antonio and Ivo and my grandma Giovanna, who has reunited with them, I hope you are proud of me and the career I have just started to build. I always look up to the sky to try and find you. To my grandma Giovanna, especially, I am sorry I was not able to show you my second laurel wreath and celebrate with you. To my grandma Anna: I graduated!! I always keep in mind your words and how happy you are every single time I tell you a new adventure is out there waiting for me.

To my stars, my NEOs. You accompanied me with your music in every step I took during the last four years. I will never be able to really express how grateful I am to 'have' you in my life. Thank you for inspiring me and being there even when everything seemed to fall apart. Your music will always be a source of happiness and a safe place. Let's be happy, always, together. Thank you.

“막힌 길이 영킨 길이 나를 막아선 대도
그러가는 채워가는 꿈은 나만의 지도
처음 보는 낯선 시선마저 느낌이 좋아
저기 멀리 보인 빛이 점점 가까워져 가”

To my Bin, thank you for showing me that quitting is never the answer. Despite all the hardships that we might encounter in life, we always have to endure the pain and grow into a better version of ourselves. And even though the path was not easy, the happiness that the ending brings is unmatched.

“A winner is someone who gets up one more time when they are knocked down”.

Last, but not least, I want to thank myself. The me of the past and the me of today. You did it. All the efforts, all the hard work you put in the things you do have paid off. I must admit, you have gone through a lot (REALLY A LOT) but you managed to get back on track. Sometimes you thought you were not enough but you raised your head and kept going every single time. To the me of the future, I hope you will always be happy and I hope life will reserve you many nice things. Never lose the focus and the perseverance that characterize you. I wish you the best and keep in mind your dream!

Thank you for everything.

Une comparaison entre les périphéries gauche en ancien anglais et en ancien français : une interaction entre *Focus*, *Topic* et le mouvement du verbe fini.

Arianna Zonzini

Le but principal de cet article est d'explorer et de comparer comment *Focus*, *Topic* et le mouvement du verbe fini sont réalisés dans des langues telles que l'ancien anglais et l'ancien français. À partir des études réalisées par Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) et Benincà & Poletto (2004), une introduction sur la périphérie gauche sera effectuée. L'article se focalise ensuite sur les différentes méthodes de réalisation de *Focus*, *Topic* et V2 (ou V1/V3/V4) en ancien anglais et en ancien français et il propose une comparaison entre les deux langues, à partir d'un corpus de textes anciens du IXe siècle au XIIIe siècle pour vérifier si elles partagent certaines propriétés, même si elles appartiennent à deux familles linguistiques différentes et surtout comment *Focus*, *Topic* et V2 (ou V1/V3/V4) interagissent avec la périphérie gauche.

Mots clés : focus, topic, V2, ancien anglais, ancien français, topicalisation, focalisation

1. Introduction

À la suite des études réalisées par Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) et Benincà & Poletto (2004) il est possible d'avoir une analyse plus détaillée de la complexe périphérie gauche de la phrase. Cet article, qui est un résumé d'une recherche plus vaste, se focalise sur les catégories *Focus*, *Topic* et V2 qui ont une connexion avec la périphérie gauche. À la suite d'une première introduction sur la périphérie gauche, l'information structurelle, *Focus/Topic*, focalisation et topicalisation, l'article se focalise sur l'ancien anglais et l'ancien français. Nous nous concentrerons sur la manière dont *Topic*, *Focus* et V2 interagissent mais aussi sur la possibilité d'avoir d'autres ordres comme V1, V3 ou V4. La dernière partie est consacrée à une comparaison des résultats obtenus à la suite d'une analyse empirique conduite sur des textes de l'ancien français et de l'ancien anglais pour voir si ces deux langues, même si elles font partie des deux familles linguistique différentes, présentent des similarités. En outre, nous nous concentrons surtout sur les différences que les textes en prose peuvent montrer.

1.1. Périphérie gauche

Rizzi (1997) a conduit des études sur la périphérie gauche de la langue italienne et il la considère comme une zone complexe et articulée composée par différentes projections. Selon Rizzi (1997),

dans la périphérie gauche, il est possible de trouver des éléments topicalisés et focalisés. Pour cette raison, *Focus* et *Topic* présentent des projections dédiées, c'est-à-dire FocusP et TopicP (Rizzi 1997).

(1) [ForceP [TopicP [FocusP [TopicP [FinP [(Rizzi 1997)

Par la suite, Benincà (2001) et Benincà & Poletto (2004) avancent dans l'étude de la périphérie gauche en affirmant qu'elle est le site d'atterrissage du verbe fini d'une construction V2. Benincà & Poletto (2004) fournissent également une analyse des contraintes de la périphérie gauche, la notion de 'one-to-one' entre position et fonction et les positions que les éléments occupent à son intérieur. En (2), nous pouvons comprendre l'avancement accompli.

(2) ForceP > HT > *Scene Setting* > LD > *List Interpretation* > *Contrastive Focus* (adverbes/objets) > *Contrastive Focus* (adverbes de circonstance) > *Informative Focus* > FinP

Plus tard, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) ajoutent des informations sur les différentes typologies de *Topic* que la périphérie gauche peut accueillir. Dans la prochaine section nous nous focalisons sur les aspects de *Focus*, *Topic* et les processus de focalisation et topicalisation.

1.2. Information structurelle, *Topic*, *Focus*, topicalisation et focalisation

Donner une définition de ces aspects se révèle complexe parce que la littérature n'est pas uniforme. Certains linguistes affirment que la différence entre *Focus* et *Topic* se trouve dans l'opposition entre l'idée d'information donnée et d'information nouvelle. Gundel (1988) et Gundel & Fretheim (2004) se sont penchés sur le fait que nous pouvons avoir deux différents types de 'donnée' et de 'nouveau', c'est-à-dire référentielle et relationnelle. Plus tard, Lambrecht (1994) conteste les études réalisées précédemment en jetant les bases pour la théorie de l'*Information Structurelle* (IS). Lambrecht (1994) critique la vision traditionnelle où le *Topic* est lié à l'ancienne information tandis que le *Focus* est lié à la nouvelle information. Donc, Lambrecht (1994) donne une définition de *Topic* comme sujet de la condition 'à propos'. Par conséquent, le *Topic* doit être lié à 'de quoi parle la phrase' tandis que la partie non-*Topic* doit donner des informations pertinentes à la partie du

Topic (Lambrecht 1994). Le *Focus* est défini comme l'élément qui fait partie de l'information et qui implique une distinction entre présupposition et assertion (Lambrecht 1994). Pour cette raison, il est possible d'avoir plusieurs *Focus* (par ex. *Information Focus* (3), *Mirative Focus* (4), *Corrective Focus* (5)) (Cruschina 2020) et plusieurs *Topics* (par ex. *Aboutness Topic* (6), *Contrastive Topic* (7), *Familiar Topic* (8)) (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007).

- (3) Et egressus est Ionas de ciutate [Ionas est parti de la ville] = 'egressus' est une information totalement nouvelle, à cause du contexte précédent où ce participe n'était pas mentionné.
- (4) Quel courage qu'elle a montré ! = 'quel courage' est l'alternative moins probable entre les différentes options.
- (5) Un set di piatti ho acquistato (non una tovaglia) [un ensemble des plats, j'ai acheté (pas de nappe)] = 'un set di piatti' est une correction de ce qu'il a été prononcé dans le contexte précédent.
- (6) Julien est mon ami = 'Julien', suivant Lambrecht (1994), est considéré comme 'de quoi parle la phrase'.
- (7) Tom a mangé de la salade = 'Tom' est considéré comme un constituant qui comporte des alternatives qui n'ont aucun effet sur le domaine du Focus et il crée des paires oppositionnelles [ex. Charlotte a mangé un hamburger].
- (8) 'Que volez vos que je sache ?' = 'vos' est un *Familiar Topic* parce qu'il se réfère à une personne qui avait été déjà mentionnée dans le contexte précédent et le but est de maintenir une consistance du *Topic*.

Parallèlement, nous définissons les deux termes de *topicalisation* (premier exemple) et *focalisation* (deuxième exemple) comme des processus syntaxiques qui impliquent le mouvement d'un constituant. Selon Rizzi (1997), la topicalisation comporte le mouvement d'un constituant qui n'est pas le sujet, à l'intérieur du CP, une intonation spécifique appelée '*comma intonation*' et la présence d'un pronom résumant et référentiel à l'élément disloqué. Par contre, selon Rizzi (1997), le processus de focalisation implique le mouvement d'un constituant à l'intérieur de la périphérie gauche, en lui donnant un accent spécifique pour le marquer. Dans ce cas, le pronom résumant n'est pas ajouté (Rizzi 1997).

- Un set di piattii, loi ho acquistato. [un ensemble des platsi, je li'ai acheté]
- UN SET DI PIATTI, ho acquistato (non una tovaglia) [UN ENSEMBLE DES PLATS, j'ai acheté (pas de nappe)]

1.3. V2 : définition et relation avec la périphérie gauche

Cette section se focalise sur une première introduction des langues à Verbe-second (V2). Nous considérons ici les langues modernes pour passer, ensuite, à l'ancien anglais et à l'ancien français qui sont considérées des langues V2. Selon Walkden (2016), une langue V2 peut être considérée telle quand le verbe fini se trouve obligatoirement en deuxième position de la phrase principale (V2 asymétrique) ou en deuxième position de tous types de phrase, principale ou subordonnée (V2 symétrique). Dans une langue V2, la première position est occupée par différents types de constituants, c'est-à-dire un sujet (9), un objet (10), un adverbe (11), un élément *qu-* (*wh-*) (12), un infinitif ou un participe (Walkden 2016).

- (9) André het gister die storie geskryf. (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.3)

André a hier l'histoire écrit

'Hier, André a écrit l'histoire.'

- (10) Tidningar läser barnen inte. (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.4)

Le journal lisent les enfants pas

'Les enfants ne lisent pas le journal'

- (11) Heute haben wir gefeiert.

Aujourd'hui avons nous célébré

'Aujourd'hui, nous avons célébré.'

- (12) Hvers vegna hefur kreditkortinu minú verið hafnað ? (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.7)

Pourquoi a carte de crédit ma été rejetée

'Pourquoi a ma carte de crédit été rejetée ?'

Les langues V2 sont caractérisées ainsi par un mouvement accompli par le verbe fini dans la tête I, si c'est le cas d'une langue V2 symétrique et dans la tête C, si c'est le cas d'une langue V2 asymétrique (Walkden 2016). Le constituant qui occupe la première position de la phrase, se place, respectivement, en SpecIP ou en SpecCP. Le V2 est un phénomène qui se trouve dans certaines

langues de l'Europe occidentale, toutes les langues de la famille germanique sauf pour l'anglais moderne et certaines langues de la famille romane. L'anglais moderne et le français moderne, contrairement à leurs phases plus anciennes, sont des langues qui montrent seulement des traces de V2. Dans les sections suivantes, nous considérons aussi les théories de Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) et Benincà & Poletto (2004) pour analyser les langues V2 et montrer que le CP est une vaste zone.

2. L'ancien français

Cette deuxième partie de l'article est consacrée à l'ancien français. Tout d'abord, l'ancien français fait partie de la famille des langues romanes et il était parlé dans la partie nord de la France entre le VIII^e siècle et le XIV^e siècle. Nous examinons cette langue en termes de *Focus*, *Topic* et V2 seulement dans les phrases principales. Nous chercherons à comprendre comment ces aspects sont réalisés et comment ils interagissent. Nous verrons que l'ancien français présente aussi des ordres V1, V3 ou V4. Les exemples qui sont inclus à l'intérieur de cette section sont tirés de la littérature et aussi du corpus '*Base de Français Médiéval*' (Guillot-Barbance et al. 2017 <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>).

2.1. La structure de la phrase en ancien français : Vance (1997) et Labelle (2007)

Avant de faire une analyse détaillée, il est important de mentionner l'étude de Labelle (2007) sur la structure de la phrase en ancien français. Labelle (2007) se concentre sur l'ancien français du XII^e siècle et affirme que les phrases principales sont liées au CP. Pour avancer dans son analyse, Labelle (2007) mentionne l'étude de Vance (1997) qui propose une structure syntaxique de la phrase comme indiquée ci-dessous. Cette analyse structurelle a été développée avant les études réalisées par Rizzi (1997) sur la complexe périphérie gauche de la phrase.

(13) [CP [AgrP [TP [vP]]]]

Selon Vance (1997), les phrases principales V2 en ancien français activent le CP : SpecCP est saturé par le constituant disloqué tandis que C est saturé par le verbe fini. Le sujet est en position postverbale. Labelle (2007) affirme qu'en général, l'ancien français est vu comme une langue V2

mais les linguistes ne partagent pas l'idée que l'ancien français soit structuré en termes de V2. Certains linguistes affirment que l'ancien français est une langue V2 asymétrique (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997 ; cité en Labelle 2007, 290) tandis que d'autres linguistes affirment que l'ancien français est une langue V2 symétrique (Lemieux & Dupuis 1995, Sitaridou 2004 ; cité en Labelle 2007, 290). Dans son étude, Labelle (2007) se concentre sur la position que les sujets pronominaux occupent dans une phrase V2. Si nous prenons en considération une phrase principale qui montre un ordre V2, un élément se déplace d'une projection inférieure et occupe la première position de la phrase. Le verbe fini occupe la deuxième position et pour cette raison, la projection du complément s'active. Selon Labelle (2007), le sujet pronominal occupe la position de SpecIP. Cette théorie est différente de celle de Vance (1997) qui considère les pronoms comme des clitiques sur le verbe fini. Ci-dessous, nous citons un exemple tiré de la pièce '*Li quatre livre des reis*' (Anonyme env.1190).

- (14) [A mout maint home] a il tolu la vie, [...]
Beaucoup d'hommes a il pris la vie [...]
 'Il a pris la vie de beaucoup d'hommes [...]'
 (Anonyme, *Li quatre livre des reis*, env.1190, 89,10 ; cité en Vance 1997, 68, ex. 48a)

Labelle (2007) ajoute que les explétives en ancien français se comportent de la même manière que les sujets pronominaux quand nous avons des phrases qui montrent l'ordre V2. En outre, Labelle (2007) se concentre sur la position que les objets pronominaux occupent pour démontrer que le CP est un '*layer*'. Selon Labelle (2007), les objets pronominaux se trouvent après le verbe dans les phrases qui montrent un ordre V1, c'est-à-dire les phrases où le verbe fini se trouve en première position. Ci-dessous, nous citons un exemple tiré de la pièce '*Chanson de Guillaume*' (Anonyme, env.1140).

- (15) *Vait* [s'en] **Willame**, Guiburc remist plorant.
Va s'en Willame, Guiburc se remet à pleurer
 'Willame s'en va, Guiburc est, encore une fois, triste.'
 (Anonyme, *Chanson de Guillaume*, env.1140, v.2444)

Dans le cas des phrases qui montrent un ordre V2, les objets pronominaux sont placés avant le verbe fini et sont considérés comme des clitiques sur le verbe. Ci-dessous, nous citons un exemple tiré de la pièce ‘*Voyage de Saint-Brendan*’ (Benedeit 1106-1121).

(16) [U] en vas tu ?

Où en vas-tu ?

‘Où vas-tu ?’

(Benedeit, *Voyage de Saint-Brendan*, 1106-1121, v.1322 ; cité en Labelle 2007, 300, ex. 23b)

2.2. Études supplémentaires : les propositions subordonnées initiales

Donaldson (2012) montre que l’ancien français présente des constructions qui placent le verbe fini de la phrase principale en troisième position (V3.), c’est-à-dire les phrases principales qui sont introduites par des subordonnées placées tout au début. Il est important de mentionner ces structures parce qu’elles remettent en question la durabilité des structures V2. Donaldson (2012) analyse la position que ces phrases subordonnées initiales occupent et l’ordre que la phrase principale montre. Donaldson (2012) découvre que les phrases principales, précédées par une phrase subordonnée initiale, montrent l’ordre canonique S-V. Ces phrases subordonnées initiales sont introduites par des opérateurs comme *quant* ou *ainz que*. Ci-dessous, nous citons deux exemples tirés des pièces ‘*Erec et Enide*’ (Chrétien de Troyes env.1170) et ‘*Roman de Thèbes*’ (Anonyme env.1150).

(17) [Quant il ot conté son message], **la reïne** fu preuz et sage [...].

Quand il eut dit son message, la reine fut courageuse et sage

‘Quand il eut dit son message, la reine fut courageuse et sage [...].’

(Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, env. 1170, v.1199/1200)

(18) [Ainz qu’il se meissent en voie], **Ypomedon** bien les *conroie*.

Avant qu’ils ne se mettent en route, Ypomedon bien les organise

‘Avant qu’ils ne se mettent en route, Ypomedon les a bien organisés.’

(Anonyme, *Roman de Thèbes*, env. 1150, v.7187/7188)

Donaldson (2012) affirme qu'à côté des phrases subordonnées initiales, l'ancien français montrent des phrases V3/V4 où le verbe est précédé par des syntagmes nominaux. Ci-dessous, nous citons un exemple tiré de la pièce '*Conte du Graal*' (Chrétien de Troyes env.1181-1185) qui montre un V4. Le verbe fini se trouve en quatrième position, après un NP (premier élément), un PP (deuxième élément) et un autre NP (troisième élément).

(19) [I graal] [antre ses .ii. mains] [**une dameisele**] *tenoit...*

Un graal dans ses deux mains une dame tenait

'Une dame tenait un graal dans ses deux mains...'

(Chrétien de Troyes, *Conte du Graal* env.1181-1185, v.3208/3209 ; cité en Donaldson 2012, 1027, ex.22)

Donc, grâce à ces constructions, il est possible d'affirmer qu'en ancien français, la projection du complément (CP) est vraiment articulée et peut accueillir plusieurs éléments. Le passage d'un ordre V2 à un ordre S-V a été graduel et sur la base des opérateurs qui introduisent la phrase subordonnée initiale. Les résultats montrent que l'ancien français possède des propriétés particulières comme montrer une première position flexible où tous les types des constituants (NPs, DPs, AdvPs, PPs..) peuvent être déplacés. Pour placer ces constituants dans la périphérie gauche, Donaldson (2012) utilise la structure articulée de Benincà & Poletto (2004). En ancien français, le verbe fini d'un ordre V2 se place dans Foc tandis que le XP se place dans SpecFocP. En outre, Donaldson (2012) affirme que les phrases subordonnées initiales qui sont introduites par '*se*', '*quant*' et '*endementiers que*' se placent à gauche de la projection de SpecFocP. Les phrases subordonnées initiales qui sont introduites par '*si tost comme*' se placent parfois à gauche de SpecFocP ou parfois dans SpecFocP. Les phrases subordonnées initiales qui sont introduites par '*por ce que*' se trouvent dans SpecFocP. Si les phrases subordonnées initiales ne sont pas placées dans SpecFocP, elles sont placées dans la haute projection de FrameP (Donaldson 2012).

2.3. Topic, Focus et V1/V2 en ancien français

Pour parler de la façon dont *Topic* et *Focus* interagissent avec les phrases qui montrent un ordre V2 (ou V1), nous mentionnons l'étude effectuée par Labelle & Hirschbühler (2018) car parfois, l'ancien français est considéré davantage comme une langue *Topic*-initial qu'une langue V2. La

structure informative est un aspect important dans leurs études parce que pour Labelle & Hirschbühler (2018), elle rend compte de ‘la modalité dont les langues structurent l’information du discours’. Labelle & Hirschbühler (2018) adoptent les définitions données par Charolles (1978), Reinhart (1981), Lambrecht (1994) et Krifka (2008) sur *Information Topic* and *Information Focus*.

- *Information Topic* : c’est le sujet du discours et le commentaire qui suit se base sur le *Topic* (Krifka 2008). *Information Topic* est considéré comme une entité qui est déjà disponible dans la connaissance partagée entre orateur et auditeur (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018)
- *Information Focus* : est lié au principe développé par Charolles (1978) appelé ‘*Principe de Progression*’. Donc, si le but principal est d’être informatif, une phrase doit contenir de nouveaux matériels (Labelle et Hirschbühler 2018). *Information Focus* ne doit pas être contrastif.

Selon Labelle et Hirschbühler (2018), et suivant les études effectuées par Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) et Benincà & Poletto (2004), le verbe fini d’une phrase principale V2 en ancien français se place en Fin tandis que le constituant qui occupe la première position se trouve en SpecFinP. Ensuite, Labelle et Hirschbühler (2018) nous fournissent une analyse sur les positions occupées par les constituants mais aussi sur les propriétés qu’ils possèdent :

- Les constituants qui indiquent le cadre et le temps de la situation ‘en vertu de laquelle la proposition est évaluée’ sont vus comme des *Topics* (Labelle et Hirschbühler 2018).
- Labelle et Hirschbühler (2018) affirment que la position après le verbe est celle qui accueille les *Information Focus*. Donc, les phrases qui montrent un ordre V1 sont considérées toute-*Focus* et le sujet postverbal fait partie de l’*Information Focus*. Pour étudier cette caractéristique, Labelle et Hirschbühler (2018) ont considéré des phrases qui présentent des sujets pleins et le verbe ne fait pas partie du groupe des introducteurs directs du discours.
- Même si la majorité des sujets qui se trouvent après le verbe sont considérés des *Information Focus*, nous pouvons aussi avoir des *Information Topics* (Labelle et Hirschbühler 2018).
- Selon Labelle et Hirschbühler (2018), la première étape pour le verbe fini est de monter vers la projection de FinP. Après, suivant la théorie de Benincà & Poletto (2004) sur la complexe périphérie gauche, le verbe fini monte jusqu’à la projection de FocP tandis que le sujet est placé en SpecTP ou SpecVP.
- Pour les phrases V2, les sujets définis, considérés comme des *Information Topics*, ont la fonction de donner de l’information qui est déjà connue et ils se trouvent en position

préverbale et postverbale (Labelle et Hirschbühler 2018). Au contraire, les sujets indéfinis, considérés comme des *Information Focus*, se placent principalement avant le verbe et donnent de l'information nouvelle (Labelle et Hirschbühler 2018).

2.4. V2 et la périphérie gauche : la théorie de Meklenborg Salvesen (2013)

Dans cette section, nous mentionnons l'étude de Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) pour expliquer plus précisément comment le *Topic* se comporte en ancien français. Nous allons toujours considérer l'analyse effectuée par Benincà & Poletto (2004) sur la complexe périphérie gauche. Selon Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), l'ancien français a été une vraie et propre langue V2 à cause de l'influence des langues germaniques. Ainsi, cet ordre des mots est causé par un mouvement que le verbe fini entreprend vers une position supérieure, c'est-à-dire Fin. En outre, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) affirme qu'à l'intérieur des positions SpecFinP et SpecFocP, nous pouvons trouver du matériel qui est important pour la réalisation de l'ordre V2. Également, le fait que l'ancien français présente des structures V3, nous permet de comprendre que la projection du complément est, en réalité, une vaste zone articulée. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) avance dans la recherche et affirme que la projection '*Frame*' accueille les constituants qui portent des informations plus saillantes tandis que la projection '*Theme*' accueille les constituants qui portent des informations moins saillantes. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) affirme que dans une phrase V2 introduite par un opérateur *qu-*, ce dernier est considéré comme un *Focus* (Rizzi 2001). Donc, il occupe la position de SpecFocP. Suivant cette étude et celles que nous avons mentionnées avant, nous pouvons affirmer que la position de SpecFocP est saturée par un *Focus* et un élément *qu-*, tandis que la position de SpecFinP est occupée par un constituant XP. Le verbe fini se trouve en Fin. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) réserve un petit espace pour la particule *si* et la position qu'elle occupe parce que la littérature n'est pas uniforme. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) considère cette particule comme un élément lié à FinP, ainsi elle occupe la position de SpecFinP parce qu'elle encourage l'ordre V2. Par rapport à la partie supérieure du CP, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) affirme que les *Topics* peuvent occuper les deux projections de '*Frame*' et '*Theme*'. HTs et les éléments de mise en scène occupent FrameP tandis que LDs occupent ThemeP (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013).

2.5. Conclusions

Dans cette section de l'article, nous avons analysé l'ancien français et nous avons démontré que cette langue, au contraire du français moderne qui présente seulement des traces de V2 quand nous

posons des questions avec l'inversion, peut être totalement considérée comme V2. En outre, l'ancien français présente aussi des phrases avec des ordres V1 ou V3/V4 où le verbe fini est placé respectivement en première position et en troisième (ou quatrième) position. Grâce aux études mentionnées, nous avons compris que l'ancien français était une langue avec une périphérie gauche très articulée. Dans la prochaine section, nous nous focaliserons sur l'ancien anglais et ses caractéristiques.

3. L'ancien anglais

Cette section est consacrée à l'ancien anglais, une langue qui fait partie de la famille des langues germaniques et qui s'est développée en Grande-Bretagne grâce aux Anglo-Saxons qui ont emmené leurs dialectes dans ces zones (V-VIe siècles) (van Gelderen 2006). Le Saxon de l'ouest est une variété de l'ancien anglais qui peut être retrouvé dans la majorité des documents et de la littérature disponible, grâce à Alfred the Great (848-899), le roi de Wessex (871). Dans cet article, nous analyserons comment l'ancien anglais réalise *Focus*, *Topic* et V2 (ou V1/V3/V4) et comment ils interagissent. Les exemples qui sont inclus à l'intérieur de cette section sont tirés de la littérature sur l'ancien anglais mais aussi du corpus '*York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed of Old English Prose*' (YCOE Taylor et al. 2003).

3.1. Un changement historique dans l'ancien anglais V2

Selon Los (2015), l'ancien anglais est similaire à l'allemand et au néerlandais ainsi il montre une asymétrie entre phrases principales et phrases subordonnées en termes de V2. Los (2015) affirme que la position du verbe fini est un instrument qui a la fonction syntaxique de signaler une phrase principale. En outre, il est important de comprendre comment la première position d'une phrase principale, considérée comme 'privilegiée' par Lambrecht (1994), fonctionne.

Suivant Los (2015) et sur la base des études précédentes effectuées par Los & van Kemenade (2006), si nous avons des phrases introduites par un opérateur *qu-*, par un élément négatif ou par *þa/þonne* (SpecCP) le verbe fini se déplace de sa position d'origine à la deuxième position avec un mouvement de I à C (Los & van Kemenade 2006 ; cité en Los 2015). Chaque fois qu'une phrase est introduite par ces éléments, considérés comme des opérateurs, l'ordre des constituants est V2 (rigide V2). Ci-dessous, nous fournissons trois exemples montrant ces éléments.

- (20) [Hwæt] segst þu, sceaphierde?
What say you shepherd
 ‘What do you say, shepherd?’
 (Ælfric, A Colloquy on the Occupations, env. Xe siècle, v.22; cité en Mitchell et Robinson 1992, 183)
- (21) [Ne] *bip* **him** to hearpan hyge [...]
NEG entendait il la harpe
 ‘Il n’entendait pas la harpe.’
 (Anonyme, The Seafarer env. X century, v.44; cité en Mitchell et Robinson 1992, 279)
- (22) [þa] *worhte* **he** sylf Cristes rodetacen mid his fingrum ongen þam gledum.
Après fait il lui-même de Jésus-Christ le signe de la croix avec ses doigts parmi les flammes
 ‘Après, il fait lui-même le signe de la croix de Jésus-Christ avec ses doigts parmi les flammes.’
 (<GD1 (C) 11.87.14>; cité en Los 2015, 196, ex.27)

En outre, Los (2015) affirme que l’ancien anglais montre un autre type de mouvement qui concerne le verbe fini dans une position inférieure à C. Ces phrases sont caractérisées par un élément topicalisé qui occupe la première position, un sujet pronominal qui occupe la deuxième position et, après, le verbe fini (Los 2015).

- (23) [Æfter þysum wordum] **he** *gewende* to þam ærendracan.
Après ces mots il tourne vers le messenger
 ‘Après ces mots, il s’est tourné vers le messenger.’
 (<ÆLS (Edmund) 83> ; cité en Los 2015, 193, ex.24)

En outre, Los & van Kemenade (2018) se penchent sur l’importance des pronoms démonstratifs au début de la phrase et la différence entre eux et les pronoms personnels. Si au début de la phrase nous trouvons des pronoms personnels, leur but est celui de marquer la continuité du Topic (*‘Continuing Topic’*) tandis que si au début de la phrase nous trouvons des démonstratifs, leur but est celui de marquer un changement du Topic (*‘Shifting Topic’*) (Los & van Kemenade 2018). Donc, à cause de leur but, les démonstratifs occupent la position de SpecCP et ils sont considérés comme des liens avec ce qu’il a été dit dans le contexte précédent (Los & van Kemenade 2018). Ces

démonstratifs se trouvent dans SpecCP et le verbe se déplace de I à C. Toutefois, van Kemenade (2000 ; 2012) suppose la présence d'une position inférieure qui s'appelle F (tête fonctionnelle) comme site d'atterrissage du verbe fini. Si la phrase est introduite par un opérateur *qu-*, il occupe la position de SpecCP et le verbe fini se trouve en C (van Kemenade 2000, 2012). Si la phrase est introduite par un lien de discours qui occupe SpecCP, le verbe fini occupe C seulement si le sujet est un plein NP (van Kemenade 2000, 2012). Si la phrase est introduite par un lien de discours mais le sujet est un pronom, le verbe fini occupe F (van Kemenade 2000, 2012).

3.2. CV2 vs IV2: van Kemenade (1997) & Pintzuk (1993)

Dans cette section, nous présentons les deux analyses effectuées par van Kemenade (1997) et Pintzuk (1993) sur la question de l'ancien anglais comme langue CV2 ou comme langue IV2. Van Kemenade (1997), pour justifier sa théorie, insiste sur la position occupée par les sujets ou les objets pronominaux. Van Kemenade (1997) montre que les sujets ou les objets pronominaux se trouvent après le verbe fini si la phrase est introduite par un opérateur *qu-*, un adverbe, un élément négatif, *þa/þonne*. Dans ce cas, les éléments focalisés se trouvent en SpecCP, le verbe fini en C et les pronoms en SpecIP. Si la phrase est introduite par un *Topic*, les sujets ou les objets pronominaux se trouvent entre le *Topic* et le verbe fini, cliticisés au verbe (V2). Dans ce cas, le *Topic* se trouve en SpecCP tandis que le sujet et le verbe se trouvent en C. D'autre côté, il est important de définir la théorie IV2 de Pintzuk (1993) qui se base surtout sur la position des clitiques parce que l'ancien anglais est très variable sous cet aspect. Selon Pintzuk (1993), la présence d'un sujet pronominal avant le verbe fini est liée au IP. Donc, si la phrase est introduite par un *Topic* et le sujet ou l'objet est un pronom, il se trouve entre le *Topic* et le verbe fini. Ici, le *Topic* et le sujet occupent la position de SpecIP tandis que le verbe fini occupe la position de I. Si la phrase est introduite par un opérateur *qu-*, un adverbe, un élément négatif, *þa/þonne* et le sujet est un pronom, il se trouve après le verbe fini (ordre V2). Donc, les éléments focalisés se trouvent en SpecCP, le verbe fini en C et le sujet en SpecIP. Nous continuerons à investiguer l'ancien anglais comme langue CV2 à cause du mouvement que le verbe fini subit.

3.3. V2 et V3 : Fuss (2003)

À la suite des études mentionnées dans les sections précédentes, Fuss (2003) ajoute qu'en ancien anglais, les phrases V2 peuvent être introduites aussi par des adverbes. Toutefois, Fuss (2003) se concentre sur l'analyse des phrases qui s'écartent de V2 montrant un ordre V3. Le premier cas est

une phrase introduite par un élément topicalisé XP, suivi par un sujet ou un objet pronominal (Fuss 2003).

(24) [Æfter his gebede] **he** *ahof* þaet cild up.

Après sa prière il soulève l'enfant

‘Après sa prière, il a soulevé l'enfant.’

(Ælfric, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, 28; cite en Fuss 2003, 207, ex.23)

Le deuxième cas est une phrase introduite par un adverbe de mise en scène, suivi par un plein NP comme sujet. Ici, la phrase montre un échec d'inversion entre le sujet et le verbe fini (Fuss 2003).

(25) [Her] **Sigeric** *wæs* gehalgod to arcebisceope.

Dans cette année Sigeric fut consacré comme archevêque

‘Dans cette année, Sigeric fut consacré comme archevêque.’

(Anonymous, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* env. IXe siècle, ligne 18 ; cite en Mitchell et Robinson 1992, 213)

Donc, si nous sommes dans ces situations, selon Fuss (2003), le XP ou l'adverbe de mise en scène occupent la première position, le sujet (pronominal ou nominal) la deuxième et le verbe fini la troisième résultant en un ordre V3. Pour représenter ces constituants, Fuss (2003) utilise un schéma X-bar qui implique un CP qui n'est pas articulé.

- Les phrases qui montrent un ordre V2 dans des contextes qui impliquent un opérateur, SpecCP est saturé par l'opérateur. C est saturé par le verbe fini, après avoir subi une dislocation de V, par I à C tandis que le sujet est en SpecIP.
- Les phrases qui montrent un ordre V3 présentent un sujet (pronominal ou nominal) qui n'est plus considéré comme cliticisé au verbe, ainsi il occupe la position de SpecIP et le verbe fini occupe une position différente de celle de C, c'est-à-dire I.

3.4. CP *layer* en ancien anglais : van Gelderen (2019), Walkden (2017) et van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020)

Dans cette section, nous focaliserons notre attention sur l'insertion des constituants composant une phrase qui montre un ordre V2 ou V3 à l'intérieur de la complexe et articulée projection du

complémenteur. Selon van Gelderen (2019), l'ancien anglais présente un CP plus articulé que celui de l'anglais moderne. Donc, l'analyse de van Gelderen (2019) se base sur les études de Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) et Benincà & Poletto (2004). Si nous avons une phrase qui montre un opérateur *qu-* qui introduit une phrase V2, il occupe la position de SpecForceP, tandis que le verbe fini occupe la position de Force. Si nous avons un *Topic*, il occupe la position de SpecTopP. Si nous avons une phrase qui montre un XP topicalisé au début de la phrase, il occupe la position de SpecTopP, tandis que le sujet pronominal occupe la position de SpecFinP et le verbe fini occupe la position de Fin. Walkden (2017) mentionne les études précédentes et ajoute que dans les phrases V3, le XP qui introduit la phrase est un *Topic Familier* (*'Familiar Topic'*). En outre, Walkden (2017) souligne la présence, en ancien anglais, des phrases qui montrent un 'verbe tardif'. Ci-dessous, nous citons un exemple où la première position est occupée par un adverbe de mise en scène, suivi par le sujet et un verbe à l'infinitif. Le verbe fini se trouve après le verbe à l'infinitif.

- (26) [Her] **Cenwalh** adrifen *wæs* from Pendan cyninge.
Cette année Cenwalh chassé fut par Pendan le roi
 'Cette année, Cenwalh fut chassé par le roi Pendan.'
 (Anonyme, Anglo-Saxon Chronicles env. IXe siècle ; cité en Walkden 2013)

En outre, selon Walkden (2017), les adverbes comme *þa* et *þonne* se comportent comme les opérateurs *qu-* ainsi ils se déplacent à partir d'une position inférieure à une position supérieure. Van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020) affirment que les phrases qui montrent un ordre V2 placent l'opérateur en SpecForceP et le verbe fini en Force. Dans ce cas, les sujets pronominaux et nominaux occupent la position de spécificateur à droite du verbe fini. Si une phrase montre un ordre V3, le verbe fini occupe une position inférieure mais qui est toujours dans le CP. Le verbe fini est placé en Fin et le sujet pronominal en SpecFamP (van Kemenade & Meklenborg 2020).

3.5. V1 en ancien anglais

Il est important de mentionner aussi la possibilité d'avoir un ordre V1 en ancien anglais où le verbe fini se place en première position, suivi par le sujet et le reste de la phrase. Selon (Cichosz 2022), il est plus facile de trouver l'ordre V1 dans les poèmes plutôt que dans les textes en prose. La littérature affirme que ce type de structure implique un mouvement du verbe à partir de la position où il est généré à la position de tête en CP. En ancien anglais, l'ordre V1 est activé pour présenter

une structure (Mitchell 1985) ou pour marquer un changement dans l'histoire, dans un événement ou dans le discours (Petrova 2006). En outre, si nous avons des phrases V1, elles sont considérées comme toute-*Focus*, c'est-à-dire que la phrase entière est considérée comme focalisée (Petrova 2006). En termes des positions occupées, le verbe fini d'une phrase V1 se place en Force.

3.6. Considérations et conclusions

Nous pouvons constater que différentes analyses ont été conduites sur l'ancien anglais au fil des années. Les études mentionnées s'accordent sur le fait que l'ancien anglais est une langue qui montre un ordre V2 rigide si une phrase est introduite par un élément *qu-*, un adverbe, un élément négatif, *þa/þonne*. Donc, le verbe se place en deuxième position et le sujet le suit. En outre, l'ancien anglais montre la possibilité d'avoir des ordres V3 si la phrase est introduite par un XP topicalisé suivi par un sujet ou un objet pronominal ou si la phrase est introduite par un adverbe de mise en scène suivi par un sujet nominal (Fuss 2003). Cette analyse suit celle de van Kemenade (1987, 1997) et Los & van Kemenade (2006) qui ont analysé le sujet pronominal entre XP et le verbe fini comme cliticisé sur le verbe fini. Si nous effectuons une comparaison avec l'anglais moderne, nous pouvons constater que l'anglais moderne n'est plus une langue V2 mais une langue qui montre des traces de V2 quand nous avons une phrase introduite par un élément *qu-* (phrase interrogative) ou par un élément négatif (phrase déclarative). Dans la section suivante, nous allons comparer les deux langues grâce à une étude empirique à partir de différents textes en prose.

4. Comparaison entre les périphéries gauche de l'ancien anglais et de l'ancien français : une introduction

Dans cette section, nous nous concentrons sur l'étude empirique des périphéries gauche de l'ancien anglais et de l'ancien français. Gardant à l'esprit que le but de cet article est de constater si ces deux langues, même si elles font partie de deux familles des langues différentes, partagent des similitudes, nous comparons leurs périphéries gauches et nous investiguons comment *Focus*, *Topic* et V2 interagissent. En outre, nous étendons l'étude aux autres ordres des mots comme V1, V3 ou V4 pour obtenir une image complète sur l'interaction entre l'information structurelle et le mouvement du verbe fini. Pour effectuer cette comparaison, nous cherchons, à la fin de cette quatrième partie et dans la prochaine partie de l'article, de répondre à des questions de recherche. Tout d'abord, nous devons établir comment ces deux langues se comportent sur ces points du fait qu'elles ont des origines différentes. Nous comparons des phrases principales qui montrent des ordres V1, V2, V3 et

V4 à partir de différents textes provenant de l'ancien anglais et de l'ancien français. Plus précisément, nous effectuons une étude qualitative sur l'interaction entre les catégories d'information structurelle et le mouvement que le verbe fini peut entreprendre. En outre, nous analysons si une construction est fréquente dans un texte, si elle a une continuité dans le temps et les changements que ces deux langues ont subi.

Pour conduire notre analyse, nous avons choisi des textes tirés du corpus '*York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*' (YCOE Taylor et al. 2003) pour l'ancien anglais et du corpus '*Base de français médiéval*' (Guillot-Barbance et al. 2017 <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>) pour l'ancien français. Les textes examinés couvrent des périodes différentes pour tracer l'évolution que les deux langues ont subi. Pour l'ancien français, nous considérons des textes comme '*Sermon sur Jonas*' (Flandres, entre 938 et 952), '*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*' (Anglo-Normand, première partie du XIIe siècle), '*Queste del Saint Graal*' (non défini, env. 1125 ou 1230), '*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*' [Version I] (Picard, deuxième partie du XIIIe siècle) et '*Conquête de Constantinople*' (non défini, entre 1199 et 1213). Pour l'ancien anglais, nous considérons des textes comme '*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*' (Saxon de l'Ouest/Anglian, X-XIe siècles), '*Blickling Homilies*' (Saxon de l'Ouest/Anglian, X/Xe siècles), '*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*' (Saxon de l'Ouest, X/XIe siècles), '*Anglo Saxons Chronicles A*' (Saxon de l'Ouest, IX-Xe siècles) '*and E*' (Saxon de l'Ouest, XIIe siècle), '*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*' (Saxon de l'Ouest, XIe siècle). Ces textes remontent à des siècles comme IX-X-XI-XII-XIII et ce sont tous des textes en prose. En outre, les textes pour l'ancien français sont écrits dans des dialectes différents tandis que les textes pour l'ancien anglais sont tous écrits en dialecte Saxon de l'Ouest. Les exemples de l'ancien anglais montrant des ordres V1, V2, V3 et V4 ont été extrapolés utilisant des '*queries*' à côté du programme java Corpus Search. Un fichier .def a été créé pour rechercher tous les verbes finis. Après, cette commande a été ajoutée à la '*query*' créée pour chercher les ordres V1, V2, V3 et V4. Ici, nous fournissons la '*query*' de base. Pour chercher les différents ordres, il faut ajouter le numéro 1, 2, 3 ou 4 après '*iDomsNumber*'.

```
define: verb.def
```

```
node: IP*
```

```
query: (IP-MAT* iDomsNumber finite_verb)
```

Les exemples de l'ancien français montrant des ordres V1, V2, V3 ou V4 ont été extrapolés à travers une lecture des textes parce que les pièces sont cataloguées à l'intérieur du corpus '*Base de français médiéval*' comme des pdf disponibles sur ligne ou pour le téléchargement. Pour effectuer l'étude, nous donnons une explication et des exemples qui montrent le phénomène analysé. Nous

essayons de faire une traduction des phrases analysées à l'aide des dictionnaires '*Anglo-Norman Dictionary*' (De Wilde et al. 2003) et '*Bosworth Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*' (Tichy et Rocek 2019). Nous évaluons qualitativement si les exemples analysés impliquent *Focus* et *Topic* et nous les définissons aussi sur la base du contexte précédent. En termes de syntaxe, nous analysons les positions que les éléments occupent et nous faisons une comparaison entre les deux langues. Nous faisons aussi une comparaison entre ce que nous attendons de la littérature et ce que nous avons trouvé à l'intérieur des textes. En outre, nous donnons des schémas pour souligner l'occurrence des structures analysées.

4.1. Résultats sur l'analyse de V2 en ancien anglais et ancien français

Suivant les études mentionnées dans les sections précédentes, nous avons un ordre de mots V2 quand le verbe occupe la deuxième position, à la suite d'un constituant qui a été déplacé dans la première position de la phrase. Par conséquent, le verbe et le sujet s'inversent de position. Nous commençons par les résultats trouvés en ancien français. Selon les études citées dans les sections précédentes, l'ancien français permet la présence de tout type de constituant dans la première position de la phrase.

À partir des textes en prose en ancien français, il est possible d'avoir plusieurs et différents constituants qui occupent la première position de la phrase : adverbess, adjectifs, NP, participes, éléments interrogatifs *qu-*. Ci-dessous, nous citons des exemples qui montrent ces constituants activant l'ordre V2.

Contexte : Ionas se réfère à Dieux parce qu'il veut qu'il lui prenne son âme. L'auteur mentionne la ville de Jérusalem et les Juifs.

- (27) Et [egressus FOC] *est Ionas* [TOP] de cuitate [...]
Et parti est Ionas de la ville [...]
'Ionas est parti de la ville [...]'
(Anonyme, Sermon sur Jonas, env. 938-952, l.132)

Contexte : Règle numéro 3 : 'si une personne est accusée d'avoir volé et elle se présente devant la justice, cette personne a un mois pour trouver la possession. Si cette personne la trouve, elle doit

faire face à la justice, si cette personne ne la trouve pas, elle doit démontrer qu'elle n'a pas accompli cet acte.

(28) [Dunc] *rendrad le chattel* [TOP] [...]

Donc rend l'argent [...]

'Donc, l'argent est rendu [...]'

(Anonyme, Lois de Guillaume le conquérant, première partie du XIIe siècle, section 3.1)

Contexte : La section précédente se réfère à la bataille où Galaad fut vaincu. Une autre bataille commença. Quand Galaad a vu qu'il ne pouvait rien faire, il a rencontré un homme qui portait des vêtements religieux. Quand ils sont entrés dans un château, une femme a demandé ce que Galaad pensait.

(29) [Que FOC] *volez vos* [TOP], fait il, que je sache ?

Qu'est-ce que voulez-vous, dit-il, que je sache ?

'Qu'est-ce que voulez-vous, dit-il, que je sache ?'

(Anonyme, Queste del Saint Graal, env. 1225 or 1230, section 63)

Ces résultats montrent que l'ancien français est une langue libre quand il s'agit du constituant qui occupe la première position et active l'ordre V2. Donc, nous pouvons constater que le verbe subit un mouvement d'une projection inférieure (à l'intérieur de VP) à une position supérieure (à l'intérieur de CP). Le verbe fini se trouve en Fin, tandis que le sujet se trouve en SpecIP. Sur la base de la nature du premier constituant, il occupe différentes projections (SpecFocP/SpecTopP/SpecFinP). Par rapport aux textes en prose en ancien anglais, la tendance suit ce que la littérature sur cette langue anticipe, c'est-à-dire que l'ordre V2 en ancien anglais est rigide et s'active si la première position est occupée par un élément tels qu'un opérateur *qu-*, des adverbes, un élément négatif ou *pa/ponne*. Ces constituants occupent la position de SpecForceP, tandis que le verbe occupe la position de Force.

Contexte : Quand ils sont arrivés dans le pays, ils ont vu des femmes et des hommes qui ont leur dit qu'ils étaient des Indiens. Alexander et son armée regardent la beauté du paysage.

- (30) [þa] *cwom se bisceop* [FOC] þa stowe us togeanes.
Après vient l'évêque du lieu vers nous
'Après, l'évêque local vient vers nous.'
(coalex.o23_35.1.434, Alexander's Letter to Aristotle X-XIe siècles)

Contexte : la phrase qui précède celle que nous analysons se réfère à Marie Vierge considérée comme la personne qui a donné la vie au Seigneur.

- (31) [Ne] *herede heo* hine no mid wordum anum, ac mid ealre heortan.
NEG louait elle lui NEG avec des mots seulement, mais aussi avec tout son cœur
'Elle ne le louait qu'avec des mots, mais aussi avec tout son cœur.'
(coblick.o23_13.166.144, Blicking Homilies, X-XIe siècles)

Toutefois, en analysant les deux versions du texte '*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*' Manuscrit A (IX-Xe siècles) et Manuscrit E (XIIe siècle), il est possible d'avoir un exemple qui s'éloigne de la littérature générale sur l'ancien anglais. Nous le citons ci-dessous pour montrer quel type de constituant occupe la première position et active l'ordre V2.

Contexte : C'est l'année 449 quand les Merciens et les Valentiniens commencent à régner pour sept hivers. Différentes batailles sont combattues contre plusieurs populations. La section nous fournit une introduction des trois populations importantes qui viennent de la Bretagne, c'est-à-dire les Angles, les Saxons et les Jutes. Nous trouvons la phrase ci-dessous. Nous citons les deux versions (Manuscrit A et Manuscrit E).

- (32) [Of Eald Seaxon C-TOP] *common Eastsexa & Suðsexa & Westsexan.*
De vieux Saxons proviennent (les populations de) Essex et Sussex et Wessex
'De vieux Saxons, les populations d'Essex, de Sussex et de Wessex proviennent.'
(cochronA.o23_449.11.145, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Manuscrit A, IX-Xe siècles)

(33) [Of Eald Seaxum C-TOP] *coman East Seaxa & Suð Sexa & West Sexa.*

De vieux Saxons proviennent Essex et Sussex et Wessex

‘De vieux Saxons, les populations d’Essex, de Sussex et de Wessex proviennent.’

(cochronE.o34_449.15.134, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Manuscrit E, XII-XIIIe siècle)

Ces exemples sont intéressants parce que l’ordre V2 est activé par un constituant, *of Eald Seaxon*, qui se déplace de sa position où il est généré, à la première position de la phrase. Cet ordre V2 est particulier parce que la première position n’est pas occupée par un opérateur cité par la littérature sur l’ancien anglais. *Of Eald Seaxon* est analysé comme un *Contrastive Topic* (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). En effet, la phrase qui précède (*Of Iotum comon Cantware & Wihtware [...]*) et la phrase qui suit (*Of Angle comon se a siððan stod westi betwyx Iutum & Seaxum. East Engla. Midel Angla. Mearca & ealle Norðhymbra*) sont introduites par des constituants qui créent des paires oppositionnelles. Donc, cet ordre V2 est activé à cause d’un constituant topicalisé. En plus, la présence de ce constituant au début de la phrase ouvre une question sur la position occupée par les constituants, surtout le verbe fini, de cette phrase : est-ce que le verbe fini occupe la position de Force si nous avons le premier constituant qui est un *Topic* (et il occupe la position de SpecForceP) ? Nous pouvons aussi supposer que le constituant occupe sa position de SpecTopP et le verbe fini occupe une position inférieure, c’est-à-dire Fin.

En termes de V2, nous pouvons constater que l’ancien français est plus libre que l’ancien anglais quand il s’agit de choisir le constituant qui occupe la première position de la phrase. En ancien français, il est possible d’avoir plusieurs constituants qui sont considérés comme topicalisés, focalisés ou comme des lieux vers le contexte précédent. En ancien anglais, l’ordre V2 est réservé à des éléments précis qui sont considérés comme des opérateurs qui introduisent la phrase. Seulement l’exemple susmentionné montre un constituant topicalisé qui occupe la première position. Si nous voulons donner des statistiques sur la présence de l’ordre V2 (et dans les sections suivantes des ordres V1 et V3/V4) dans les textes analysés, il faut souligner que le calcul pour les textes de l’ancien français se base sur la lecture du texte et une analyse phrase par phrase. Tous les textes ont été analysés entièrement sauf pour le texte ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’, très long, dont l’analyse (par échantillonnage) se base sur les premiers six chapitres. Au contraire, le calcul pour les textes de l’ancien anglais se base sur les ‘*queries*’ qui nous donnent le numéro des ‘hits’, c’est-à-dire le numéro des nœuds qui contiennent la structure recherchée. Les textes ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ et ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ montrent peu de cas de V2, respectivement 4 cas et 14 cas. Les textes ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’, ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ et ‘*Conquête de Constantinople*’ montrent

respectivement 96 cas (dans les premiers six chapitres), 33 cas et 132 cas. Le texte ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ montre 108 ‘hits’, le texte ‘*Blicking Homilies*’ montre 638 ‘hits’, le texte ‘*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies I*’ montre 2879 ‘hits’, les textes ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A and E*’ montrent respectivement 251 ‘hits’ et 707 ‘hits’ et le texte ‘*Ælfric’s Epilogue to Genesis*’ montre 15 ‘hits’. Dans les deux estimations, nous avons considéré les ordres S-V-O et XP-V-S.

4.2. Résultats sur l’analyse de V1 en ancien anglais et ancien français

Dans cette section, nous présentons les résultats obtenus à partir de l’analyse de V1 à l’intérieur des textes choisis. Suivant les études mentionnées dans les sections précédentes, l’ordre V1 montre la présence du verbe fini au début de la phrase, suivi par le sujet de la phrase.

Par rapport aux textes de l’ancien français, nous devons souligner que ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’, ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ et ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ ne montrent aucun exemple des phrases V1. D’autre côté, les textes ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ et ‘*Conquête de Constantinople*’ montrent des exemples qui semblent être employés pour un but particulier, c’est-à-dire rapporter la personne qui parle. Ci-dessous, nous citons un exemple pour montrer ce cas. L’exemple est tiré du texte ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’.

Contexte : Pendant qu’ils parlent, un jeune homme entre et dit au roi : « Roi, nous avons de très belles nouvelles pour vous ». Après, nous trouvons la phrase ci-dessous.

(34) « Queles ? » *fet li rois* « [...] »

“Lesquelles?” dit le roi “[...]”

“Lesquelles?” dit le roi “[...]”

(Anonyme, *Queste del Saint Graal* env. 1225 ou 1230, §7, p. 5)

En (34), la phrase *fet li rois* montre un verbe fini, *fet*, qui occupe la première position et il est suivi par le sujet *li rois*. Le constituant *li rois* est déjà connu par la personne qui lit le texte parce que nous le rencontrons dans le contexte précédent. Donc, il peut être considéré comme un *Familiar Topic* qui a pour but de maintenir la consistance du *Topic* (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007).

Dans les deux textes, il semble que les exemples de V1 sont liés à ce type de structure. En effet, nous pouvons mentionner des études qui ont été conduites sur ces phrases qui peuvent être

considérées comme des ‘*quotative inversion*’. Ce type de structure se trouve dans les textes narratifs et suit une phrase qui montre un discours direct. L’aspect crucial est de comprendre quel type de mouvement ces phrases impliquent et les positions que les constituants occupent. Selon Collins & Branigan (1997), dans les phrases qui montrent une ‘*quotative inversion*’, le sujet doit précéder les compléments dont le verbe a besoin et il se trouve après le verbe fini. Donc, le sujet se place dans une position de spécificateur, c’est-à-dire SpecVP et le verbe se déplace pour se trouver avant le sujet. Suivant Collins & Branigan (1997), le verbe fini se déplace en AgrP comme tête Agr. Après, les deux éléments doivent s’accorder, ainsi le verbe fini se déplace en I tandis que le sujet se déplace en SpecAgrP (Collins & Branigan 1997).

Par rapport aux textes de l’ancien anglais, il est possible de trouver beaucoup plus d’exemples qui montrent l’ordre V1. Suivant la littérature, l’ancien anglais utilise l’ordre V1 pour marquer un brusque changement à l’intérieur de l’histoire ou un changement des personnages (point de vue physique ou caractériel) (Petrova 2006). Pour cette raison, nous citons un exemple qui montre cette caractéristique qui est tiré du texte ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (X-XIe siècles) mais tous les textes pris en analyse montrent des phrases V1.

Contexte : La personne qui parle est la personne qui écrit la lettre (Alexander). Alexander et son armée allument des feux, jouent de la trompette et mangent de la nourriture. Après, nous trouvons la phrase ci-dessous.

- (35) *Was hit þa an tid to afenes [...]*
faisait il alors une heure de nuit [...]
 ‘Il faisait alors une heure de nuit [...]’
 (coalex.o23_17.2.178, Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle X-XIe siècles)

En (35) le verbe fini, *was*, occupe la première position et il est suivi par le pronom, *hit*, qui occupe la deuxième position. Cette phrase peut être analysée comme entièrement focalisée pour marquer une transition de l’histoire et du discours (Petrova 2006). Le but est d’être informatif et donner des informations nouvelles à la personne qui parle et à la personne qui écoute (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018).

D'autre côté, nous pouvons avoir aussi des phrases V1 qui incluent un *Topic*. Ci-dessous, nous citons un autre exemple tiré du texte '*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*' (X-XIe siècles) qui montre cette caractéristique.

Contexte : il est très tôt ; Alexander et son armée sont arrivés dans une autre partie de l'Inde. Au moment de leur arrivée, ils ont rencontré des femmes et des hommes qui ressemblaient à des bêtes. Nous trouvons alors la phrase ci-dessous.

- (36) *Waron hie nigon fota uplonge, [...]*
Étaient ils trois mètres, [...]
'Ils mesuraient trois mètres, [...]'
(coalex.o23_29.3.346, Alexander's Letter to Aristotle X-XIe siècles)

En (36), le verbe fini, *waron*, occupe la première position de la phrase et il est suivi par le pronom *hie* et le reste de la phrase. Le pronom *hie* est analysé comme un *Information Topic* (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) ou *Aboutness Topic* (Lambrecht 1994) et il est le sujet du discours. Le commentaire qui suit ce pronom nous donne des informations nouvelles sur le sujet principal du discours. En outre, le pronom *him* est un *Topic* parce qu'il est déjà emmagasiné dans la connaissance partagée entre orateur et auditeur.

Donc, à partir des textes, l'ancien anglais et l'ancien français diffèrent d'un point de vue de l'ordre V1. Les deux textes en prose qui montrent un ordre V1, l'utilisent seulement pour une occasion spécifique, c'est-à-dire quand l'auteur doit signaler la personne qui parle. Au contraire, les textes de l'ancien anglais montrent beaucoup plus d'exemples de l'ordre V1 utilisé pour marquer un changement dans l'histoire (Petrova 2006). Les textes en prose de l'ancien anglais et de l'ancien français montrent le même comportement en termes de sujet, c'est-à-dire que l'ordre V1 se produit avec des sujets pronominaux mais aussi des NP, qui sont placés après le verbe fini. En termes de V1, les textes en prose montrent moins de cas comparé aux poèmes. Si nous voulons donner des statistiques sur la présence de l'ordre V1 dans les textes analysés, les textes '*Sermon sur Jonas*', '*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*' et '*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*' montrent 0 cas de l'ordre V1. Le texte '*Queste del Saint Graal*' montre 162 cas de V1 (à cause de la longueur du texte). Le texte '*Conquête de Constantinople*' montre 17 cas de V1. Le texte '*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*' montre 38 'hits', le texte '*Blicking Homilies*' montre 92 'hits', le texte '*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*'

montre 116 ‘hits’, les textes ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A and E*’ montrent respectivement 7 ‘hits’ et 13 ‘hits’ et le texte ‘*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*’ montre 1 ‘hits’.

4.3. Résultats sur l’analyse de V3 en ancien anglais et ancien français

Dans cette section, nous nous concentrons sur la comparaison entre ancien français et ancien anglais en termes de V3 mais aussi en termes de V4. Pour les comparer, nous considérons comment ces deux langues se comportent quand l’ordre V3 est activé et quel type des constituants sont concernés. L’analyse sur les ordres V3/V4 en ancien français et en ancien anglais nous a permis de comprendre que les deux langues montrent, comme on s’y attendait selon la littérature, la possibilité d’avoir une déviation de l’ordre V2 dans un ordre V3 ou V4. L’ancien français produit des phrases qui montrent un ordre V3 ou V4 surtout quand nous avons une phrase subordonnée initiale qui précède une phrase principale. Toutefois, il est possible d’avoir aussi un ordre V3 ou V4 avec un élément ou plus topicalisés dans la périphérie gauche. Ci-dessous, nous citons des exemples tirés de ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ (Anonyme env.1225-1230) et ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ (Anonyme, deuxième partie du XIIIe siècle)

Contexte : La reine et Galaad ont parlé depuis longtemps ainsi la nuit est tombée.

- (37) [Quant il fu auques anuitié] [et il fu hore de dormir], **li rois prist** Galaad [TOP] [...] *Quand il était assez nuit et il était temps de dormir, le roi a attrapé Galaad*
‘Quand il était assez nuit et il était temps de dormir, le roi a attrapé Galaad.’
(Anonyme, *Queste del Saint Graal*, env. 1225 ou 1230, section 15)

Contexte : Le messenger a conté le message aux enfants. Le roi a écouté ce qu’il disait. Le message commence à se répandre dans la ville. Les enfants doivent répondre.

- (38) [Li message TOP] **lor respondirent** [...] *Le message ils ont répondu [...]*
‘Le message, ils ont répondu [...]
(Anonyme, *Vie de Sainte Bathilde*, deuxième partie du XIIIe siècle, <169a>)

L'ancien anglais produit des phrases qui montrent un ordre V3 ou V4 quand un élément est topicalisé dans la périphérie gauche de la phrase et il est suivi par un sujet pronominal ou quand la première position est occupée par un élément de mise en scène suivi par un sujet nominal.

Contexte : Dieu est la figure qui a créé toutes les créatures, la terre et le paradis. Les autres créatures ont des difficultés à lui comprendre.

- (39) [Purh his wisdom TOP] **he** [TOP] *geworhte ealle þing.*
Grâce à sa sagesse il a construit toutes les choses
'Grâce à sa sagesse, il a construit toutes les choses.'
(cocathomI.o3_1:179.16.18, Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, X-XIe siècles)

Contexte : C'est l'année 668 et la section s'ouvre avec cette phrase.

- (40) [Her] **Peodorus mon** *hadode to ercebiscep.*
Cette année homme Teodorus consacré archevêque
'Cette année, Teodorus a été consacré archevêque.'
(cochronA.o23_668.1.361, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, IX-Xe siècles)

Analysant les textes, nous avons trouvé un exemple qui se détache de la littérature et montre un élément topicalisé dans la périphérie gauche suivi par un sujet nominal à la place d'un sujet pronominal.

Contexte : À côté des difficultés qu'Alexander et son armée ont rencontrées, ils doivent faire face à une grande bête.

- (41) [Pat deor] **Indeos** *hatað dentes tyrannum.*
Cette bête Indiens appellent Dentestyrannus
'Les Indiens appellent cette bête Dentestyrannus.'
(coalex.o23_15.17.149, Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, X-XIe siècles)

Par rapport aux positions occupées par les constituants, elles sont similaires dans les deux langues mais elles peuvent dépendre des constituants qui sont concernés dans la phrase. En ancien français, le verbe fini se trouve en Foc ou en Fin tandis qu'en ancien anglais le verbe fini se trouve en Fin. Si nous voulons donner des statistiques sur la présence de l'ordre V3 ou de l'ordre V4 dans les textes analysés, le texte '*Sermon sur Jonas*' montre 0 cas des ordres V3 ou V4. Le texte '*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*' montre 3 cas des ordres V3 ou V4. Le texte '*Queste del Saint Graal*' montre 105 cas de V3 ou V4. Le texte '*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*' montre 45 cas des ordres V3 ou V4. Le texte '*Conquête de Constantinople*' montre 32 cas des ordres V3 ou V4. Le texte '*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*' montre 115 'hits' de l'ordre V3 et 105 'hits' de l'ordre V4. Le texte '*Blicking Homilies*' montre 811 'hits' de l'ordre V3 et 546 'hits' de l'ordre V4. Le texte '*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*' montre 2399 'hits' de l'ordre V3 et 981 'hits' de l'ordre V4. Les textes '*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A and E*' montrent respectivement 625 'hits' et 1361 'hits' de l'ordre V3 tandis qu'ils montrent respectivement 213 'hits' et 588 'hits' de l'ordre V4. Le texte '*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*' montre 19 'hits' de l'ordre V3 et 15 'hits' de l'ordre V4. À l'intérieur des résultats de l'ancien anglais, nous devons considérer des phrases où le verbe occupe la dernière position dans la phrase. Donc, nous devons considérer ces résultats avec prudence.

5. Conclusions

Dans le Chapitre 4, nous avons analysé les textes de l'ancien français et de l'ancien anglais. À la suite des résultats, nous pouvons confirmer la théorie sur le fait que l'ancien français et l'ancien anglais montrent une bonne quantité des structures V2. Toutefois, les deux langues montrent des différences en termes de l'élément qui est placé dans la première position de la phrase. L'ancien français est plus libre et nous trouvons des éléments focalisés/topicalisés, des adverbes, des adjectifs, des éléments temporels, des participes. Donc, nous pouvons trouver tout type de constituant au début de la phrase. Au contraire, l'ancien anglais montre un ordre V2 plus strict qui est activé seulement avec des opérateurs comme *qu-*, un élément négatif ou *þa/þonne*. Seulement un exemple se détachait de la théorie parce qu'il montrait un élément topicalisé au début de la phrase. En termes de V1, l'ancien français et l'ancien anglais montrent de très grandes différences. Par rapport à l'ancien français, la majorité des textes que nous avons analysé ne montraient pas l'ordre V1, tandis que les deux textes qui montraient des ordres V1, ils ont été remis en question à cause de '*quotative inversion*'. Ces résultats montrent une divergence avec les poèmes qui montrent beaucoup plus de cas de V1. Au contraire, en ancien anglais, l'ordre V1 est présent et il est utilisé avec un but spécifique, c'est-à-dire signaler au lecteur un changement important dans l'histoire. Ces résultats

sont en ligne avec ce que la théorie annonçait. Une autre différence est qu'en ancien français, l'ordre V1 est moins présent dans les textes plus anciens que les textes suivants, tandis que pour l'ancien anglais, c'est le contraire. Donc, nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi cet ordre disparaît au fil du temps et, probablement, s'échange avec la structure *ba* + V-S. En termes de V3/V4, l'analyse confirme ce que la théorie sur l'ancien français et sur l'ancien anglais disait. Les textes en ancien anglais montrent beaucoup plus de structures V3/V4 introduites par une phrase subordonnée plutôt que par un élément topicalisé. Au contraire, les textes en ancien français montrent beaucoup plus de structures avec un élément topicalisé au début de la phrase. Même si les '*queries*' n'ont pas notifié la présence des structures telles que l'ancien français, il est possible d'avoir, en ancien anglais, des structures corrélatives avec une subordonnée qui introduit la phrase principale.

5.1. Questions soulevées après l'analyse

Par rapport à l'ancien français, les linguistes affirment qu'à cause des Francs, une population germanique qui a envahi les territoires, il a été influencé, en termes de V2, par les langues germaniques. Par rapport à l'ancien anglais, nous devons considérer l'influence des langues nordiques mais aussi les changements à partir du 1066 avec la conquête normande. Les textes que nous avons analysés se situent avant ce contact. Donc, des questions peuvent survenir :

- Quels changements le contact entre ancien anglais et ancien français a emmené ?
- Comment le système strict de l'ancien anglais a changé quand il est entré en contact avec le libre système de l'ancien français ?

Le moyen anglais montre une perte graduelle de l'ordre V2 parce qu'on place le sujet à gauche du verbe fini résultant en un ordre S-V (van Kemenade 2012). Une autre question qui peut se soulever est : et si la perte graduelle de l'ordre V2 est causée par le contact entre ancien anglais et ancien français ? Parce que les textes en ancien français du XIIe siècle et du XIIIe siècle que nous avons analysé montraient une vaste quantité des phrases V3/V4 mais aussi S-V-O. Nous terminons cet article en laissant ces questions ouvertes et en pensant comment ces deux langues se sont influencées jusqu'aux versions modernes que nous connaissons aujourd'hui.

INTRODUCTION:

This thesis is centered on a comparison between the left periphery of Old English and the one of Old French, with respect to the realization of Focus, Topic and the fronting of the finite verb. Several former studies will be taken into account in order to demonstrate that the left periphery is a very important area of the sentence, where various elements can be moved. After an accurate introduction on what the *left periphery* is and what are the items that can be found there, I will focus separately on the characteristics of both Old English and Old French. Lastly, I will dedicate the fourth chapter of the thesis to an empirical analysis of various Old English and Old French texts so that it is possible to compare the two languages and examine their similarities and differences.

In particular, in the first chapter, I will explain what the left periphery consists of, by tracing the evolution of this area from a single-projection analysis carried out by Chomsky (1981) until an articulated-area analysis carried out by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001), Benincà & Poletto (2004) and Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007). Then, I will illustrate the main aspects of this thesis namely Focus, Topic and the processes of topicalization and focalization. In the next sections, I will separately explain how these aspects and these processes are realized in languages such as Modern French and Modern English. Some space is given to Modern Italian Focus, Topic, topicalization and focalization too because the first studies on the left periphery were conducted on the Italian language due to the fact that its pre subject area seemed to be a very complex and articulated one. These studies will be taken into account to analyze Modern English and Modern French left peripheries too. At the end of the chapter, a section is dedicated to an introduction on the V2 word order and which modern languages are considered as V2.

The second chapter is dedicated to the Old French language. After a brief historical introduction, I will outline various studies on Old French as a V2 language. Starting from the clausal architecture of the Old French language analyzed by Vance (1997), I will take into account studies carried out by Labelle (2007), Donaldson (2012), Labelle & Hirschbühler (2018) and Meklenborg Salvesen (2013). We will mainly consider the V2 word order but we will also understand that it is possible to have V1 and V3 (or V4) word orders. For this reason, the study on the initial subordinate clauses carried out by Donaldson (2012) will be featured. Moreover, we will establish the positions occupied by the various constituents. At the end of the chapter, we will dedicate a section to the comparison between Old French and Modern French. Examples from the Old French literature and from the corpus

'*Base de Français médiévale*' (BFM Guillot-Barbance et al. 2017 <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>) will be provided in order to support the analyses.

The third chapter is dedicated to the Old English language. After a brief historical introduction, I will outline various studies on Old English as a V2 language. Starting from studies carried out in the 90s, we will trace the evolution of the Old English left periphery and how V2, Focus and Topic are realized and interact. For this reason, we will take into account analyses such as van Kemenade (1997), Pintzuk (1993), Fuss (2003), Los (2015), van Gelderen (2017), Walkden (2017), Los & van Kemenade (2018) and van Kemenade (2020). As we do for Old French in Chapter 2, we will concentrate on the possibility of having V1/V3 (or V4) word orders in Old English too and on the positions that the various constituents occupy in the CP. At the end of the chapter, we will dedicate a section to the comparison between Old English and Modern English. Examples from the Old English literature and from the corpus '*York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of OE*' (YCOE Taylor et al. 2003) will be provided in order to support the analyses.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the empirical analysis conducted on various Old French and Old English texts dating back from the 9th to the 13th centuries. The qualitative analysis concentrates on the interaction between Focus, Topic and V2 but also with the V1 and the V3 (or V4) word orders. For every example, we will establish if a sentence contains a Focus or a Topic. The results will be compared in order to demonstrate if the two languages might share some similarities despite being part of two different families of languages. The differences between the two languages will be considered too because they are crucial for the comparison. The examples will be taken from chosen texts preserved in the two corpora '*Base de français médiéval*' and '*YCOE*'.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to the conclusions based on the results obtained from the empirical study. Moreover, 'open questions' will be added to demonstrate that there are still questions to answer on the matter.

Some research questions emerged and we will consider them at the basis of this thesis:

- How do Focus and Topic interact with V2 in Old English and Old French?
- How may we consider the constituents that compose a sentence showing a V1/V2/V3/V4 word order?
- May we consider Old English and Old French as languages that share some similarities in terms of left periphery despite being part of two different families of languages?
- From the results obtained, taking into consideration both the theory and the corpora, are there more similarities or more differences between Old English and Old French?

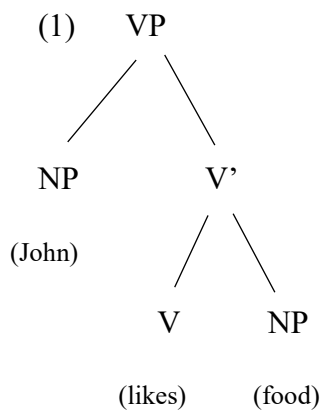
In chapter five, we will try to address all these research questions to establish if Old English and Old French behave in a similar way or if there are particular differences that might be addressed. In order to do that, in chapter four, five texts from the '*Base de français médiéval*' and five texts from the '*YCOE*' will be chosen. Then, through the reading of the entire texts (Old French texts) or thanks to queries that searched for the structures under analysis (Old English texts), the examples will be extrapolated and analyzed. In order to analyze them, we take into account what is expected from the literature mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3 and we will compare it with what we find in the qualitative analysis. We will establish if a sentence involves focalized or topicalized items and we will place the various constituents in the corresponding projections, by using the X-bar scheme of the CP articulated analysis. Moreover, we will provide data and charts on the occurrence of the various orders in the texts under analysis. This is useful to determine if a structure is durable or it is destined to disappear over time. The results showed that Old English and Old French share some similarities in terms of verb fronting and information structure but interesting structures that deviate from what is expected from the literature emerged from the analysis carried out on the prose texts.

1. CHAPTER 1: The left periphery

1.1. A historical introduction: Chomsky (1950s-1980s)

The present thesis focuses on a comparison between Old English and Old French left peripheries and most of all on how Focus, Topic and verb fronting are realized and interact. For this reason, we start, in this first chapter, with a general introduction on the left periphery in Modern languages so that we can go back to their older forms and see how these languages have changed. We will start from what Chomsky stated about the left periphery in order to outline the various views that the linguists developed. In the following sections, I will illustrate some important studies carried out firstly on the left periphery of the Italian language and its constitutive elements. The object of the chapter is to outline the left peripheries of Modern English and Modern French so that, later, we are able to study the previous stages and ask ourselves if these languages underwent important and remarkable changes.

The *left periphery* is important when it comes to the syntactic representation of our language. Starting from the 50s onwards, we can cite Chomsky's works on the human language, especially his *Principle and Parameters Theory* (Chomsky 1950). This theory tries to answer the question about what our language represents and what kind of ability it is. Chomsky believes that every human being has an innate ability developed from the very first stages of their lives. Therefore, this means that there is a kind of computational system in every single human being that helps them to make judgements on the phrases that compose the language but also on the operations used to manipulate the basic structures (Chomsky 1950, cited in Lasnik and Lohndal, 2010). In general, this theory shows that the natural language can be described with principles, namely the abstract rules shared between all the languages, and with parameters, namely the rules that are specific for every language. In the 1960s, Chomsky elaborated the *X-bar theory*, where he stated that phrases in all languages are based on a head. This theory helped to syntactically organize the elements that compose the phrase in categories such as *Verb Phrase*, *Noun Phrase*, *Adjective Phrase*, *Adverb Phrase*. Example in (1) (from Lasnik and Lohndal 2010, 41, ex.3) represents a VP in which the head is V. The verb, *likes*, is the head V of VP, then the NP, *John*, representing the subject, is found in the specifier of VP, while the NP *food* is the complement of the verb.



Later, during the 1980s, Chomsky developed further theories such as the *Government and Binding Theory* (1980s) and *the Minimalist Program* (late 1980s until today). Thanks to the Government and Binding theory, it has become simpler studying how the languages are syntactically built. Chomsky enlarged the X-bar theory considering both the lexical (N, V, A, Adv) and the grammatical (e.g., tense and inflection) categories. For this reason, every single element that composes the sentence has now its own projection ruled by a head.

If we take into consideration the part of the Government and Binding Theory regarding the aspect of Government, it is possible to enclose it in the definition Chomsky provided (1981; cited in Lasnik and Lohndal 2010, 44, ex.11).

- A head H governs Y if and only if every maximal projection dominating H also dominates Y and conversely.

In the definition, H is the head, Y might be both the specifier and the complement, while the maximal projection is HP. This means that the head H will govern both its specifier and its complement. If we go back to (1), the head is V, Y could be represented by both the NP in the specifier and the NP in the complement, while the maximal projection is VP.

With regard to the Binding aspect, it refers to the relations that the elements might have in a sentence, namely an expression can have an antecedent to which it may refer. As Chomsky outlined, the relations between NPs might be of different natures: possible, necessary or proscribed (cited in Lasnik and Lohndal, 2010, 45). In the following examples, the pronoun *him* in (2) takes *John* as its antecedent, while in (3) *John* cannot be the antecedent for the pronoun *him*.

- (2) John said Mary criticized him. (from Lasnik and Lohndal 2010, 45, ex.17)
- (3) *John criticized him. (from Lasnik and Lohndal 2010, 45, ex.18)

These examples show two types of sentences: one is grammatical the other one is not. According to principle B of the binding theory, a pronoun like *him* must be free (not c-commanded) in the minimal clause in which it is contained (Chomsky 1981). Therefore, in (2), it is possible to say that the antecedent of the pronoun *him* is the noun *John*, because the latter is not found in the minimal clause and, thus, it does not c-command the pronoun. In (3), the sentence is ungrammatical because the pronoun *him* is not free.

On the other hand, the examples in (4) and (5) involve an anaphoric pronoun. Principle A of the Binding theory states that an anaphoric pronoun must be linked (c-commanded) to an antecedent and they must be found in the same minimal clause (Chomsky 1981). For this reason, in (4), the noun *John* is the antecedent of the anaphoric pronoun *himself*, because *John* c-commands the anaphoric pronoun inside the minimal clause where it is contained. In contrast, (5) results as ungrammatical because the two elements are not contained in the same minimal clause, so *John* cannot be the antecedent of the anaphoric pronoun *himself*.

(4) John criticized himself. (from Lasnik and Lohndal 2010, 45, ex.19)

(5) *John said Mary criticized himself. (from Lasnik and Lohndal 2010, 45, ex.20)

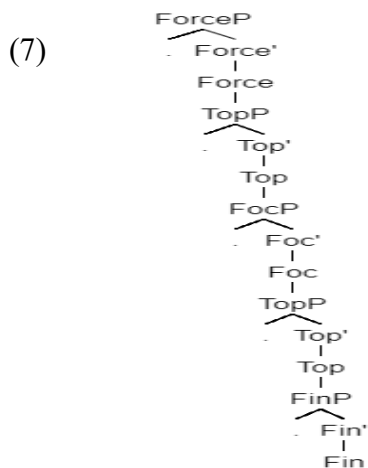
1.2. Linguists' views on the left periphery

Following the introduction in the previous section of the Government and Binding Theory elaborated by Chomsky (1981), we call a sentence as such, when the subject and the predicate are linked thanks to the *functional projections* (Giorgi 2018, 1). Chomsky states that the area on the left of the subject, namely the left periphery, can host elements that are dislocated from their previous position. Moreover, Chomsky (1981) thinks that the left periphery is composed by only one head position and only one maximal projection position where a phrase can be moved to (Giorgi 2018). The advanced theory by Chomsky (1981) shows as follows:

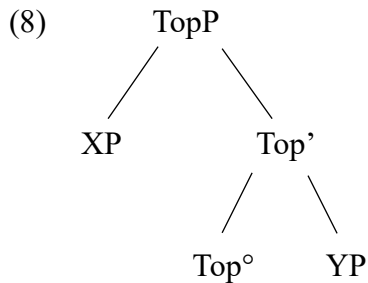
(6) [_{CP} XP [C [_{IP} NP [I ... (from Giorgi, 2018 ex. 2)

Later, the left periphery was considered not as a single position but as multi-layered, namely it is composed by several projections that are hierarchically organized (Kayne 1984; Pollock 1989). This

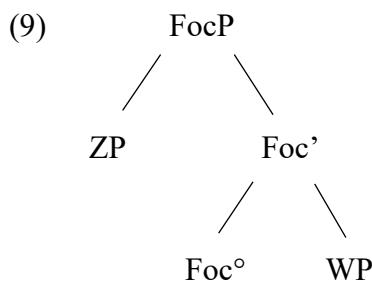
theory was adopted during the mid-eighties, after several studies on the three layers that compose the structural representation of a clause: the lexical, the inflectional and the complementizer layers (Rizzi 1997, 281). The *complementizer layer* (CP) plays a crucial role when it comes to the clausal constructions. For this reason, it is important to mention it so that, later, it is possible to outline the interactions Topic, Focus and verb fronting have in this area. As mentioned by Rizzi (1997), in his work on the left periphery, the complementizer system can host various elements e.g., interrogative and relative pronouns, topicalized and focalized elements (Rizzi 1997, 281) and it can be seen as an interface that connects the propositional content, which is expressed by the IP projection, to the superordinate structure, namely a higher clause or the discourse (Rizzi 1997). Therefore, the complementizer system does not convey only a single kind of information but more. The first one has been called the “*Clausal Type*” by Cheng (1991) or “*Force*” by Chomsky (1995) and these terms are employed when we want to define, through the complementizer, the different types of sentences, such as interrogative, exclamative, declarative or relative. The second information represents the content that the embedded IP carries. If we find ourselves in this circumstance, as stated by Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), the choice of the complementizer depends on the properties the verbal system owns. For instance, in Modern English, as well as in Modern French or Italian, we encounter a difference in the use of the complementizer whether there is a tensed verb or not. We use *that, que* or *che* with a tensed verb and *for, de* or *di* with an infinitive verb. This is due to the “agreement” rule between C, head of CP and I, head of IP (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977). For this reason, the term *finiteness* (Fin) was introduced and it will be used along with the term Force. In addition, Rizzi (1997) hypothesizes the presence of various projections, in the CP, for focalized and topicalized elements, represented by *Topic* and *Focus*. This is how the CP looks like, using the X-bar theory (Rizzi 1997).



Following the theories of Rizzi (1997), Topic and Focus have their own projections in the complementizer layer and they are depicted as in (8) and in (9).



XP: Topic YP: Comment



ZP: Focus WP: Presupposition

Top° has its own maximal projection in the CP, namely TopP. The head Top° takes XP, namely the Topic, as its specifier, while YP, namely the comment, as its complement. Foc° has its own maximal projection in the CP, namely FocP. The head Foc° takes ZP, namely the Focus, as its specifier, while WP, namely the presupposition, as its complement (Rizzi 1997).

Furthermore, Benincà (2001) takes into consideration the studies carried out by Rizzi (1997) and goes further. Benincà (2001) demonstrates, by analyzing the freer left periphery in the Italian language, that other elements can be located in the articulated CP and more specifically as head C: complementizers used in subordinate clauses (*che*) or in yes/no interrogatives (*se*) or in infinitival clauses (*per, di, da*) and the finite verb in the main clauses of V2 languages. Moreover, Benincà (2001) and later Benincà & Poletto (2004) introduce various structures that can be used to mark Focus and Topic along with providing a more detailed analysis on the constraints and the positions the various elements occupy in the complementizer layer. Benincà & Poletto (2004) enrich Rizzi's analysis on the left periphery by outlining how the elements are placed there in relation to each other. So, their analysis results as in (10).

- (10) ForceP > HT > Scene Setting > LD > List Interpretation > Contrastive Focus
(adv/objects) > Contrastive Focus (circumstantial adv) > Information Focus > FinP
(Benincà & Poletto 2004, 71)

Later, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) add more information about the various types of Topics we might find in the left periphery. The main contrast with the analysis in (10) is that they share Rizzi's view on the recursion of the Topic projection. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) analysis results as in (11).

- (11) ForceP > ShiftP > ContrP > FocP > FamP > Fin P
(Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, 112/113)

Some years later, Giorgi (2018, 153) states that the left periphery is used to define the extensive area on the left of the subject, namely the “pre-IP” part (Giorgi 2018, 153). In this area, the relationship between the grammar and the context is shaped. For this reason, it can be considered as the area where this connection is represented in the syntax (Giorgi 2018, 153).

1.3. Information structure, Topic, Focus, topicalization and focalization.

In the following sections, an explanation on how Topic and Focus are understood in languages such as Modern English, French and Italian will be made. Various studies have been carried out, during the years, to demonstrate that not all these languages behave in the same way. This section will be divided between the various languages and all the major studies will be featured to better outline the differences. We work mostly on Modern English and Modern French, but a little space is dedicated to Modern Italian too. This is due to the fact that the majority of the works were carried out on this language, that seems to have a freer left periphery and then, the same methods were translated to the other languages too.

It can be challenging to precisely define these terms because the literature is not uniform. According to Gundel & Fretheim (2004), the difference between Topic and Focus lies in the contrast between the idea of given information and the one of new information. Moreover, the problem seems to rely on the fact that we might encounter two types of givenness and newness, namely the referential and

the relational (Gundel & Fretheim 2004). Following the studies carried out by Gundel (1988), Gundel & Fretheim (2004) outline the definition of these two notions:

- Referential givenness-newness: this notion involves a relation that may happen between the linguistic element and the non-linguistic correspondence in the mind of the speaker and the hearer (Gundel & Fretheim 2004).
- Relational givenness-newness: this notion involves a division of how we conceptually represent the sentence in two parts, X and Y. The X part refers to ‘what the sentence is about’ while the Y part refers to ‘what is predicated about X’. In this case, the givenness relies on X because it is independent while the newness relies on Y because it brings new information about X (Gundel & Fretheim 2004).

In addition, further studies carried out by Lambrecht (1994) challenge what has been discovered in the past and propose new theories. So, in his work, *Information Structure and Sentence Form* (1994), Lambrecht wants to provide a foundation for the theory of information structure. Following Prince (1981), the information structure can be seen as ‘an adaptation the sender does when uttering a sentence in order to meet the requirements of the receiver’. So, Information Structure takes into consideration the form of utterances. Lambrecht (1994, 3) states that Information Structure (IS) is related to the mental state of both the speaker and the hearer. What Lambrecht (1994) wants to explore are the categories and the relations at the very basis of IS. In fact, Lambrecht (1994) gives more importance to the relations and, thus, develops a relational view of information. In his work, Lambrecht stands against the traditional division between ‘old’ and ‘new’ parts of a sentence and the linkage between these terms and the syntactic constituents as well. This is due to the fact that Lambrecht believes that ‘the syntactic alternative’ is capable to obtain only a partial set of information-structural categories. More specifically, Lambrecht criticizes the traditional vision in which Topic is related to ‘old information’ and Focus is related to ‘new information’. His theory is based on information as the element that establishes a relation between existing objects of linguistic expressions and propositions. Since we cannot deduct information from lexical items or syntactic constituents, associating old information with Topic and new information with Focus might be misleading. Lambrecht’s theory disagrees with several other linguists’ views. It is sufficient to cite the field of formal semantics where the main goal is to study the effects Topic and Focus have on the semantic interpretation (Krifka 1992). Lambrecht works on aspects such as pragmatic presupposition and assertion, which imply having, at least, ‘a mental representation of the existing objects or denotata’ (Lambrecht 1994, 52). So, according to his vision, there are always two levels: one representing the actual state and the other carrying the assumptions of the speaker on what the

hearer might think. Later, Lambrecht (1994) defines Topic and Focus as categories of IS. They entertain a relation with a sentence and they are independent from the linguistic expressions that might encode them. Lambrecht's definition of Topic follows what has been previously stated by Reinhart (1982) and Gundel (1985) namely it is seen as the subject of the 'aboutness' condition. So, it means that Topic must be related to what a sentence is about and, according to Lambrecht (1994), the non-topical part of the sentence must provide information that is relevant to the topical part. In general, linguists have quitted the idea of giving a precise definition of Topic. For this reason, several tests have been developed in order to identify it. The first one is called the 'as for-test' and it is based on a paraphrase of the sentence under discussion introduced with the structure 'as for X' or 'speaking of X' (Reinhart 1982). This test helps finding the relation Topic and presupposition have. Another useful test is the negation scope because Topics are found outside it. Moreover, Lambrecht states that 'a topic must not only be referential but it must designate a discourse referent' (Lambrecht, 1994, 155). So, elements such as expletive subjects, *it* or *there* and quantifiers, namely *nobody* and *everybody* cannot be Topics.

As far as Focus is concerned, Lambrecht (1994) defines it as an element that is part of the information and that implies a distinction between presupposition and assertion. Focus is the presupposition's complement and it is part of the assertion. In the case of (12), the presupposition is [*X urged Nixon to appoint Carswell*] while the assertion is [*X = Mitchell*]. Mitchell is the Focus we find in the part dedicated to the assertion.

- (12) Mitchell urged Nixon to appoint Carswell. (from Lambrecht 1994, 212, ex. 5.3)

In order to recognize a Focus, Lambrecht (1994) employs a specific test, namely the information-question test: an element is a Focus if it can be replaced by a wh-word and if the entire sentence can be considered as the answer to the wh-question. Moreover, Lambrecht (1994) believes that Focus has a uniqueness property. This vision comes directly from his definition of Focus where there can be only one Focus in one assertion (Lambrecht 1994, 329). In fact, his theory differentiates from the one proposed by Krifka (1992), based on a multiple-focus vision. Examples (13) and (14) illustrate the uniqueness requirement on Focus based on the observation that it is not possible to produce two clefts together.

- (13) a. **He** treads on **your** foot. (from Lambrecht 1994, 330, ex. 5)
(14) b. *It is your foot that it is he that treads on. (from Lambrecht 1994, 330, ex. 5)

In addition, when talking about Focus, Lambrecht (1994) poses much attention on prosody and both the presence (on the focused constituent) and the absence (on the other constituents) of the accent. In fact, Lambrecht (1994, 310) states that a Focus obtained by using prosody results from a contrast with possible prosodic allosentences (cited in Polinsky 1999, 576). Below are some examples showing a different use of the accent. (15) is an example of a sentence in which the Focus is created by posing the accent on the verb *cried* (Predicate-Focus) but not on the subject. (16) has accents on both constituents, namely the subject *Mark* and the verb *cried*. For this reason, this entire sentence is considered as a Focus. (17) is an example of a sentence in which the accent is placed on the subject, *Mark*, but it is absent on the verb.

- (15) Mark cried.
(16) Mark cried.
(17) Mark cried.

Lambrecht (1994) gives much importance to prosody and accents because, according to his analysis, accents placed in a sentence are used to activate a Topic. Lambrecht (1994) states, by mentioning a simple question, that when a Topic is not yet activated, the accent must be placed on that constituent, while if the Topic has already been activated, the accent must be placed on the wh-operator. Below, we give an example illustrating this characteristic. In (18), the constituent that represents the Topic, *tangerine*, is not yet activated so the accent is placed on it. In (19), it is already activated because the listener already knows about it so the accent falls on another element of the sentence, namely the wh-operator, *who*.

- (18) Who wants a TANGERINE?
(19) WHO ate the tangerine?

However, Lambrecht (1994) also states that there is a problem when it comes to pronouns because they are always activated elements in a discourse. So, placing the accent on a constituent is sufficient but it is not a necessary condition for the above-mentioned process of activation (Lambrecht 1994; cited in Aubrey, 2012).

Before talking about the two processes of topicalization and focalization, it is important to outline the various types of Topics and Foci. According to Cruschina (2020), the term contrast is fundamental when it comes to the various types of Foci because it is linked to a set of alternatives. *Information Focus* involves a set of alternatives that are not present in the context. This means that the information, when uttered, is totally new and unknown to the hearer (Cruschina 2020, 7). *Mirative Focus* happens when we utter a sentence that represents the less probable alternative among the other possible ones (Cruschina 2020,7). It is considered the less probable on the basis of the common ground between the speaker and the hearer. *Corrective Focus* is an uttered sentence that contains a correction of what was uttered in a previous context (Cruschina 2020, 7). Moreover, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) adds different types of Topics in their analysis of the articulated left periphery. Firstly, the *Aboutness Topic* (ShiftP) that they define, according to what Lambrecht (1994) states, as ‘what the sentence is about’. The constituent carrying the feature of Topic, is the crucial point of the discourse on which the interest is placed. Then, the *Contrastive Topic* (ContrP) is ‘a constituent that leads to alternatives that do not have any impact on the focus domain and creates oppositional pairs’ (cited in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, 1). The *Familiar Topic* (FamP) is a given constituent that does not carry any stress and it is used to maintain a topic consistency (cited in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, 1).

In addition, we define what the two terms of topicalization and focalization refer to. Following the studies carried out by Lasnik & Saito (1992) and Culicover (1996), these terms involve a movement of a constituent. Later, Rizzi (1997) defines *topicalization* as a phenomenon where an element is moved to the left of the subject and it is separated from the rest of the clause by “comma intonation” (Rizzi 1997, 285). Moreover, a resumptive clitic pronoun is added to be referential to the displaced element. This construction is articulated in Topic, namely the already given and shared information, and comment, namely the open sentence linked to the Topic that introduces new information (Rizzi 1997, 285). Below, an example from the Italian language is given.

(20) Un set di piattii, loi ho acquistato.

On the other hand, *focalization* refers to a phenomenon where an element is moved to the left periphery and it is given the main stress. When a constituent is fronted due to focalization, it carries new information to the hearer while the open sentence (presupposition) conveys already shared information. Below, an example from the Italian language is given. In Italian, focalization only involves Contrastive Focus, while other types of Focus are left *in situ* and carry the main stress (Rizzi 1997). Going back to our example, the main purpose is to provide new information, by making a contrast with what has been uttered in a previous discourse. Here, no resumptive clitic pronoun is added.

(21) UN SET DI PIATTI ho acquistato (non una tovaglia).

Following the definitions that we mentioned above, we can now cite two important studies that tried to schematize the complementizer layer. In Rizzi (1997), we can notice that there is always one Focus projection but two Topic projections in the left periphery. This means that Topic is a recursive projection.

(22) [ForceP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [IP ...

This characteristic can be noticed in the example from Rizzi (1997; cited in Giorgi 2018). According to Rizzi (1997), this sentence expresses two Topics but only one Focus in the area of the left periphery.

(23) A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, glii dovrete dire. (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 23)
To Gianni-top, this-FOC, tomorrow-top, you should tell him
 ‘Tomorrow you should tell that to Gianni.’

Starting from this example, Giorgi (2018) shows in her work *Discourse, Sentence Grammar and the Left Periphery* (2018) that three elements are dislocated into the left periphery of the sentence:

- *A Gianni* (To Gianni): this constituent is necessary to the sentence because it is one of the arguments of the verb “dire” (to tell). *A Gianni* is a Topic.
- *Questo* (this): the object. *Questo* is a Focus.
- *Domani* (tomorrow): the adverb. *Domani* is a Topic.

Benincà & Poletto (2004) challenge Rizzi’s theory. According to their research, the relation between position and function is a one-to-one kind. So, this means that even in CP, there is only one projection for each function and, as a result, recursion is not possible. Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) believe that the lower projection is not, in reality, another Topic projection but it shares the same characteristics of the focused elements. Therefore, according to their research, the CP hosts two different fields: the higher field with the Topic projection containing non-operator elements and the lower field with the Focus projection containing operator-like elements. Benincà & Poletto (2004) claim that the difference between the Topic field and the Focus one is that TopPs are linked with a clitic or a *pro* while FocPs are relocated in the CP and they leave a variable. An example is given below.

- (24) a. *AL PROFESSORE, un esercizioi, loi consegnerete.
TO THE PROFESSOR, an exercise, you will hand it
 b. Un esercizioi, AL PROFESSORE, loi consegnerete.
An exercise, TO THE PROFESSOR, you will hand it
 ‘You will hand an exercise to the professor.’

The examples in (24) show that the only possible order is the one in (24b) where the topicalized element, *un esercizio*, is placed before the focalized element *AL PROFESSORE* or the sentence is considered as ungrammatical (24a). For this reason, Benincà & Poletto (2004) hypothesize that the CP layer is composed as in (25).

- (25) [TopicP [FocusP [IP]]] (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 3, ex. 4)

Following Benincà & Poletto's hypothesis, we encounter an open problem with the example in Rizzi's work (1997) we cited above in (23). Below, a more detailed explanation is given.

- (26) a. QUESTO a Gianni, domani, gli dovremmo dire!
This to Gianni, tomorrow, to-him should tell
'Tomorrow we should tell this to Gianni.'
- b. A Gianni, QUESTO, domani gli dovremmo dire!
To Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, to-him should tell
- c. A Gianni, domani, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire!
To Gianni, tomorrow, THIS to-him should tell

The example in (26b) shows a topicalized element preceded by a preposition, namely *A Gianni*, in its higher position. The pronoun *questo* is a focalized element and it is followed by the adverb, *domani*. Rizzi (1997) considers the adverb *domani* as a Topic while Benincà & Poletto (2004) consider it as a temporal adverb that is different from DPs and PPs. For this reason, they hypothesize that it can occupy a lower position. The example in (26c) shows the presence of two constituents moved to the left periphery, *a Gianni* and *domani* that are considered as topicalized elements along with a focalized element, namely the pronoun *questo*. Benincà & Poletto (2004) believe that in (26a) the included dative clitic is not as reliable as an object clitic if we want to know which one can be a left dislocation (LD). In addition, according to Benincà & Poletto (2004), intonation cannot be considered as a good test for establishing the position of a constituent. We will better explain this point in further sections. We will now concentrate on how the various languages behave in terms of Topic, Focus, topicalization and focalization and see if Modern French and Modern English left peripheries are as rich as the Modern Italian one.

1.4. General introduction on the left periphery in Modern French

In this and in the following sections, we will demonstrate that Modern French has some important special features when it comes to Topic or Focus. We need to take into consideration what has been said before about the left periphery but also go further. Moreover, we need to address the issue of intonation, because it is a key feature in how Focus and Topic are expressed in Modern French. First of all, we will take a look on the left periphery and give some definitions on various aspects.

In order to explain the left periphery in Modern French, and later Topics and Foci, Pettersen (2021) starts from Rizzi's theory (1997) and states that, most of the times, the left periphery is seen as the area on the left of the subject where various elements can be moved into. This area, also called the complementizer layer, is composed of different projections. Attention was given on this subject by the linguists because, as we have seen in the previous sections, not everyone agrees with Rizzi's theory. However, the majority of the linguists generally follow the idea that Rizzi developed, namely the CP being an interface between ForceP and FinP (Pettersen 2021, 89). In addition, Pettersen (2021) cites Chomsky's theory (2000) on phases: the syntactic derivation is a process that goes by stages. Pettersen (2021) only takes into consideration the CP phase because it is not properly a projection but a sort of container for a series of projections. To confirm Rizzi's theory on what the left periphery is and how it is represented, Pettersen (2021) mentions the syntactic mechanism of topicalization as the process involving the movement of a constituent in the area on the left of the subject. In fact, according to Pettersen (2021), when topicalization happens, an element is moved in the left periphery and it is given the role of Topic. Therefore, topicalization of non-subject elements in Modern French happens with a constituent that is moved to the left periphery (Rizzi 1997), and a resumptive clitic pronoun, that is coreferential with the dislocated element. Moreover, Modern French does not imply any other change in the order of the elements that compose the sentence.

(27) Ce livre*i*, Hans Petter li'a écrit pour ses étudiants. (from Pettersen 2021, 89, ex. 1)

1.4.1. Focus and Prosody in Modern French

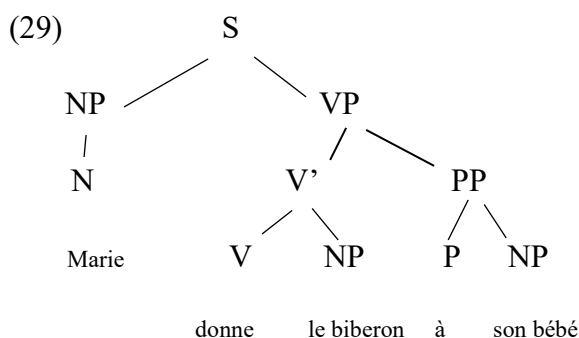
In this section, we will deal with how Modern French realizes Foci. Therefore, we will consider the study carried out by Féry (2001). Féry explains that in Modern French, it is important to look at the phonology because it can be used to realize Foci. In addition, Féry (2001) adds that Modern French is a language that makes use of a strategy in order to notify the presence of a Focus e.g., phrasing. It is crucial to mention phrasing because it can realize the roles that are naturally given to pitch accents when it comes to signaling the discourse-structural domains. Another important aspect of the French language is that Focus can be realized with phonological strategies. In French, there is no lexical stress but a final stress that refers to a prosodic domain. Nespor & Vogel (1986) call the constituent representing the prosodic domain with the term of *Phonological Phrase* while Selkirk (1986) calls it *Major Phrase* (cited by Féry 2001). In general, the final syllable in French is pronounced lengthened. Féry (2001) makes a difference between a sentence that is non-contrastive

and a sentence containing contrastive Focus: in the first case, the boundary tone is set on the right of the Phonological Phrase, while in the second case, the boundary tone is placed at the beginning of the sentence. For this reason, the only way to realize Focus in French is to employ prosodic phrasing. According to Féry (2001), French is a language in which “stress” is a floating element. In fact, in (28b), we may place the stress on various words such as the preposition *à*, the possessive pronoun *son* or on the first or second syllable of the noun *bébé*.

- (28) a. *À* qui Marie donne-t-elle le biberon ? (from Féry 2001, 4, ex. 2a)
to whom Marie gives she the bottle
 b. Elle donne le biberon à son bébé. (from Féry 2001, 4, ex. 2b)
 ‘she gives the bottle to her baby.’

1.4.2. Focus/focalization in Modern French

As we have stated earlier, Modern French uses a strategy in order to detect a Focus, namely phrasing. The literature shows that the syntactic structure and the prosodic phrasing might coincide. Féry (2001) mentions two approaches, which were cited for the first time by Inkelas & Zec (1990), in terms of syntax-phonology mapping, namely the direct and the indirect approaches. The direct approach states that the phonetic markers, namely tones, duration and intensity, that help building the phrasing, relay directly on the syntactic structure. In contrast, the indirect approach states that the phonetic markers operate on the prosodic structure, that, in turn, comes from the syntactic structure. Currently, there are two methods that were developed in order to obtain the phonological structure from the syntactic one (Nespor & Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1986). Nespor & Vogel (1986) proposed a *PhP*, including its head-argument structure, while Selkirk (1986) proposed an algorithm based on matching the edges of prosodic elements with the edges of the available syntactic elements. Below, an example from Féry (2001) is provided.



(30) Nespor & Vogel's approach for (29)

[PhP Marie] [PhP donne] [PhP le biberon] [PhP à son bébé] (from Féry 2001, 8, ex. 9)

(31) Selkirk's approach for (29)

[PhP Marie] [PhP donne le biberon] [PhP à son bébé] (from Féry 2001, 8, ex. 9)

Therefore, the prosodic and the syntactic structures are evaluated one according to the other. Following this brief introduction on phrasing we will now concentrate on the different Foci we find in Modern French. Generally, Focus is seen as a phenomenon where a constituent in a sentence is given prominence and usually implies new information. In order to do that, both syntax and phonology will be involved. According to Féry (2001), Focus can be realized in two ways: in the first one, Focus is created with a constituent answering a wh- question, while the second one is realized with a constituent under the scope of a Focus. Moreover, three strategies, for the first origin, are mentioned in order to create a focalized effect: fronting (divided in topicalization, left dislocation or link), clefting or intonational phrasing (Féry 2001, 10). Modern French also prefers relocating the elements to create Focus than focalizing a constituent in situ¹. For this reason, even though the French literature shows some gaps, we should take in consideration the division between Focus and focalization as mentioned in section 1.3.

(32) a. Fronting

Marie_i, elle_i a acheté un cadeau.

‘Maria has bought a gift.’

Un cadeau_i, Marie li’_i a acheté.

‘Marie has bought a gift.’

In (32) we can find a case of Fronting. The elements *Marie* and *un cadeau* carry the stress and have a rising intonation in the first and second sentence respectively. Both sentences show a clitic, *elle* and *l’*, doubling. As the sentences in (32) go on, we encounter a falling intonation. In the case of fronting, Modern French needs a resumptive clitic if noun phrases (NPs) or determiner phrases (DPs) are moved. If it is not added, the sentence would be ungrammatical. We will see that this

¹ In situ: in its canonical/ original position.

represents a difference with Modern Italian, where the resumptive clitic is used with topicalized constituents while no resumptive clitic is used with focalized items.

- (33) a. *Pierre_i, je *(li') ai vu.* (from Authier, Haegeman 2018, 5, ex.8)
b. *PIERRE_i (li*) ho visto (, non Claude)*

In (33a) the example in Modern French shows that the resumptive clitic which is coreferential to the dislocated element must be obligatorily added. If not, the sentence would result as ungrammatical. On the other hand, in (33b) the sentence in Modern Italian shows a Focus with a contrastive feature and no resumptive clitic added. If added, the sentence would result as ungrammatical.

- (34) b. Clefting
C'est Marie qui a acheté un cadeau.
'Marie has bought a gift.'
C'est un cadeau que Marie a acheté.
'Marie has bought a gift.'

In (34) the focused elements are *Marie*, for the first sentence, and *un cadeau*, for the second sentence and they both carry a falling intonation. As stated by Féry (2001), with this type of structure, it is possible to move on the left only one constituent. A similar condition is also found in Modern Italian even though it is a feature, exhaustiveness, that not every Focus has. This is due to the fact that a special structure, involving the verb *essere* must be used:

- the verb *essere* (3rd person singular) + focused element + *che* + rest of the constituents.

- (35) c. Special phrasing
Marie a acheté un cadeau.
'Marie has bought a gift.'
Marie a acheté un cadeau.
'Marie has bought a gift.'

In (35), *Marie* and *un cadeau* keep their canonical position as the subject right before the verb (*Marie*) and as the direct object following the past participle (*un cadeau*). In this case, the stress is given to a syllable of the focused word while being in their canonical position. Therefore, examples in (32), (34) and (35), belong to the first origin of Focus, namely focusing a constituent that answers to a wh- question. Below, examples from Féry (2001) about the second trigger for Focus, namely the constructions with *ne que*, *ne pas et même* will be provided. What is important to underline is that the particle *ne* has its own position before the finite verb, so its scope is the verb phrase [VP] (Féry 2001, 10).

(36) *Ne que* ‘only’

- a. Arnim n’a présenté que *Marie* à Thomas. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 14a)
‘Arnim only introduced [FMary] to Thomas.’
- b. Arnim n’a présenté Marie qu’à *Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 14b)
‘Arnim only introduced Mary [Fto Thomas].’
- c. Arnim n’a que *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 14c)
‘Arnim only [Fintroduced Mary to Thomas].’
- d. Arnim n’a que *présenté* Marie à Thomas. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 14d)
‘Arnim only [Fintroduced] Mary to Thomas.’
- e. Arnim n’a que *présenté Marie* à Thomas. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 14e)
‘Arnim only introduced [FMary] to Thomas.’
- f. Arnim n’a que *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 14f)
‘Arnim only introduced Mary [Fto Thomas].’

Starting from the examples cited, we see that it is possible to focalize various constituents of the sentence due to the positions the particle *que* may assume. In (36a), the focused constituent is *Marie* and it is preceded by the particle *que*. In (36b), the focused constituent is *Thomas* and it is preceded by the particle *que*, that occupies a different place from the one it had in (36a). In (36c), the focused element is the entire VP *présenté Marie à Thomas* and, once again, the position of the particle *que* changes and it is placed after the auxiliary and before the past participle. In (36d), the only focused element is the past participle *présenté* so it must be pronounced differently from the focused element in (36c). The last two examples in (36e) and (36f) show *Marie* and *Thomas* as focused elements but, in this case, the particle *que* is kept between the auxiliary and the past participle.

(37) *Ne pas* ‘not’

- a. Arnim n’a pas *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 15a)
‘Arnim didn’t [Fintroduce Mary to Thomas].’
- b. Arnim n’a pas *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 15b)
‘Arnim didn’t [Fintroduce] Mary to Thomas.’
- c. Arnim n’a pas *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 15c)
‘Arnim didn’t introduce [FMary] to Thomas.’
- d. Arnim n’a pas *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 15d)
‘Arnim didn’t introduce Mary [Fto Thomas].’
- e. Ce n’est pas *Marie* qu’Arnim a présentée à Thomas. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 15e)
Arnim n’a pas présenté Marie à Thomas.
‘Arnim didn’t introduce [FMary] to Thomas.’
- f. Ce n’est pas *à Thomas* qu’Arnim a présenté Marie. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 15f)
Arnim n’a pas présenté Marie à Thomas.
‘Arnim didn’t introduce Mary [Fto Thomas].’

In this type of construction with *ne pas*, the two elements own a fixed spot in the sentence: as in the canonical order, *ne* precedes the auxiliary while *pas* is found between the auxiliary and the past participle. In some examples such as (37a) and (37b), the focused element is found right after *pas* and it is given prominence. In (37c) and (37d), the focused element is not immediately behind *pas*, so the realization is neater and emphasized. In (37e) and (37f), we have two cases of clefting where the focused element is dislocated and it is again found adjacent to *pas*.

(38) *Même* ‘even’

- a. Anne a même *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 16a)
‘Anne even [F introduced Mary to Thomas].’
- b. Anne a même *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 16b)
‘Anne even introduced [F Mary] to Thomas.’
- c. Anne a même *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 16c)
‘Anne even introduced Mary [to F Thomas].’
- d. Même *Anne* a *présenté Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 16d)
‘Even [F Anne] introduced Mary to Thomas.’
- e. ?Anne a *présenté même Marie à Thomas*. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 16e)

- f. *C'est même *Marie* qu'Anne a présentée à Thomas. (from Féry 2001, 11, ex. 16f)

Même, as we can see from these examples cited from Féry (2001), is placed between the auxiliary and the past participle in examples (38a), (38b) and (38c). In (38a) the focused element is the entire predicate, *présenté Marie à Thomas*. In (38b) the focused element is the direct object, *Marie*. In (38c) the focused element is the complement of term, *Thomas*. In (38d), *même* is found before the subject *Anne*, which is the focused element. These conditions are the only possible options of focusing an element with the operator *même*. Other sentences such as (38e) or (38f) are considered as marginal or ungrammatical (Féry 2001, 12).

In addition, French allows a Mirative Focus structure that can be compared to the Italian one. In both languages, it usually corresponds to an exclamative sentence where the element carrying the stress is found on the left of the sentence. In French, it is followed by the complementizer *que* plus the rest of the sentence without changing the order of the constituents.

- (39) Quel courage qu'elle a montré !
which courage that-she has shown
 'What courage she showed!'

- (40) Sapessi che storia! Che coraggio ha dimostrato!

In (39) and (40), the constituent to which prominence is given is *quel courage/che coraggio*: it represents the less expected alternative for both the speaker and the hearer, from an entire set containing other alternatives (e.g., *che forza, che lealtà*).

1.4.3. Topicalization in Modern French

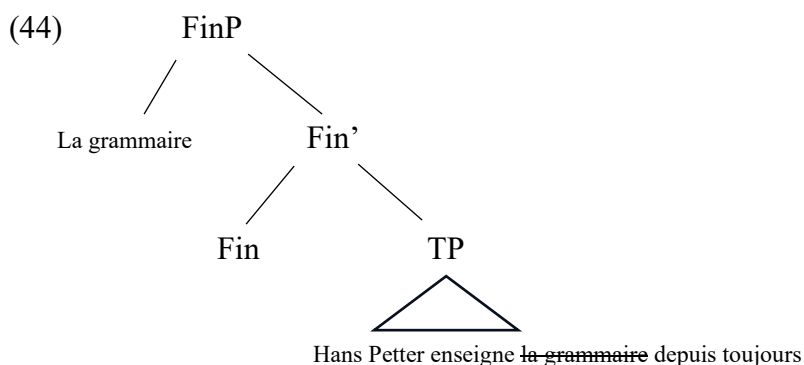
As we have previously mentioned, the term topicalization refers to the process where a nominal or pronominal constituent is moved to the left of the subject, at the beginning of the sentence. This movement operation results in giving that constituent the role of Topic of the sentence. Moreover, Modern French requires a resumptive clitic pronoun that is coreferential to the constituent that has been moved. Below are two examples that show the difference.

- (41) Des fleurs_i, mon frère les_i a donnés à notre mère.
 (42) *Des fleurs, mon frère a donné à notre mère.

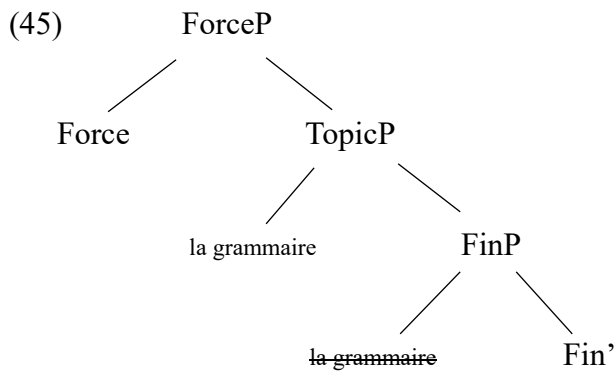
The examples in (41) and (42) show how the phenomenon of topicalization in Modern French requires the presence of a resumptive clitic pronoun or the result would be ungrammatical. Pettersen (2021) adds that the French literature sees the use of the resumptive clitic pronoun, in topicalization, as natural. In addition, the topicalization phenomena are considered in French as dislocations (Blasco-Dulbecco 1999, De Cat 2007, Helland et al. 2020, cited in Pettersen 2021, 89).

- (43) La grammaire_i, Hans Petter li'enseigne depuis toujours. (from Pettersen 2021, 89, ex. 13)

The example in (43) shows a constituent, *la grammaire*, moved to the left of the subject and the presence of the resumptive clitic pronoun, *l'*. The first move is to assign the theta roles² to the constituents that form the entire sentence. Then, the direct object, to which a [iTop] trait is given, is moved to the left periphery of the sentence. Later, the verb is moved from head of VP to head of TP (or IP) because it acquires the temporal traits. The direct object is moved in the *Fin* projection firstly and then in the *Topic* projection, after the *Force* projection is added too. Below, the schemes in (44) and (45) demonstrate how these steps are cartographically represented (Pettersen 2021, 95).



² Theta roles: it refers to the thematic roles. Chomsky's theory includes the semantic roles that a NP may have in relation to the verb (Chomsky 1981)



The constituent *la grammaire* acquires its status of Topic once it gets to the Topic projection. Later, in the sentence, the resumptive clitic pronoun, namely a lower copy of the constituent, is added (Pettersen 2021, 95). Following these theories, Pettersen (2021) believes that the left periphery is created in the moment the *Fin* projection is activated. *Fin* is found between TP and the *Topic* projection. In terms of prosody, when it comes to topicalized constituents dislocated at the beginning of the sentence, it is considered as ‘special’. This means that the dislocated element is uttered and then a little pause is made in correspondence to the comma. This is called ‘comma intonation’.

1.5. Focus, Topic, topicalization and left dislocation in Modern English

In this section, we will focus on how Modern English realizes Focus and Topic. As mentioned in sections 1.2 and 1.3, it is difficult to precisely define Focus and Topic because of the inconsistency of the literature. We will follow the theory carried out by Lambrecht (1994) and we will cite Szűcs (2021) work so that to outline another analysis.

Following the studies of Lambrecht (1994), Topic is ‘the thing the proposition expressed by the sentence is about’ (Lambrecht, 1994, 118). For this reason, Topics must be referential due to their expected effects (definiteness or presupposition). Szűcs (2021) cites an example from Lambrecht (1994, 52) using the ‘lie-test’, to demonstrate how Topic involves a presupposition effect.

- (46) a. John is my friend. (from Szűcs 2021, 116, ex.3a)
 b. My friend is John. (from Szűcs 2021, 116, ex. 3b)

The example in (46a) presupposes that the sentence is about *John*, so it is the Topic. The example in (46b) presupposes that the sentence is about *my friend*, so it is the Topic. Szűcs (2021) goes on in his study by challenging these sentences with the exclamation “That’s not true!”. The results show that, using this exclamation with the example in (46a), the effect would be that, in reality, “John is not your friend”, but still John exists because we presuppose the existence and, consequently, it is found outside the negation’s scope. A possible answer to the sentence could be “you do not have any friends” and it would be felicitous because it indicates that the person presupposes the existence of the Topic (Szűcs 2021). Otherwise, if the exclamation “That’s not true!” is used with the example in (46b), the result would be that we presuppose the existence of the Topic, *my friend*, but that friend is not *John*.

Moreover, Szűcs (2021) cites another characteristic of Topic that Gundel (1985) and Lambrecht (1994) previously defined. They believed that the structure denoted by Topic must always be accessible in the universe of the discourse (Gundel 1985; Lambrecht 1994; cited by Szűcs 2021, 116). In addition, Topics are considered as the main element carrying the attention. Following the Centering Theory³ (Walker, Joshi and Prince 1998; cited by Szűcs 2021, 117), it has been stated that if there is a reference, in any part of a further discourse, thanks to the use of a pronoun, it means that previously it was the center of a sentence. This is why Topics such as LDs allow the use of a resumptive pronoun. Defining the category of Topic is quite complex because Modern English has a wide range, including Continuing Topics, Shifting Topics and Contrastive Topics. “Continuing”, meaning referring back to what has been already said and “Shifting”, meaning something introduced or changed in a new way, Topics belong to the category of “Thematic Shifters” (Erteschik-Shir 2007). On the other hand, a Contrastive Topic is ‘a constituent that leads to alternatives that do not have any impact on the focus domain and creates oppositional pairs’ (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007). In (47), the contrast is between Tom along with what it is predicated about him and another person, e.g. Charlotte along with what it is predicated about her. If we ask a question such as ‘What have Tom and Charlotte eaten?’, the contrastive Topics are Tom and Charlotte. Tom is the Topic of the sentence and he creates an oppositional pair with Charlotte (e.g., Charlotte ate the apple). The rest of the sentence, namely ‘ate the beans’, is the focus domain.

(47) Tom (C-TOPIC) ate the beans. (from Szűcs 2021, 118, ex, 7)

³ The Centering Theory shows that in an utterance there might be certain elements that are more central than others. For this reason, they are given prominence. (Walker, Joshi and Prince 1998)

In terms of Focus, Szűcs (2021) agrees with what Rizzi (1997) stated, namely that it is the constituent that carries new information to the conversation. However, there might be various opinions on this. As mentioned in previous sections, Lambrecht (1994) defines the Focus as ‘an element that is part of the information and it implies a distinction between presupposition and assertion’. If we take into consideration an example as in (48), the focused constituent does not correspond to the traditional perspective because it does not carry new information. This is due to the fact that it is already mentioned in the question.

- (48) a. Who did you call, Lydia or Martha?
b. I called MARTHA. (FOCUS)

In this case, the difference between referential and relational contrast, mentioned in section 1.3, is crucial (Gundel & Fretheim 2004; cited by Szűcs 2021, 118). In (48), *Martha*, being the Focus, is given a special interpretation and carries the stress. Here *Martha* is referentially given because she has been already mentioned in the conversation but in terms of relation with the verb *call*, she conveys new information.

Moreover, as it happens with Topic, there are different types of Focus, namely the Contrastive and the Information Focus. They both carry new information but Contrastive Focus indicates that, along with the focused element, there are other alternatives, mentioned in the previous discourse, that could have been chosen as the Focus of the clause. These alternatives must be active starting from the point the sentence containing the Focus is uttered (Titov 2013; cited by Szűcs 2021). Hereafter, an example of Contrastive Focus is given. The focused element is *MARTHA* and this sentence implies the fact that there might have been other alternatives but the chosen person is Martha.

- a. Who did you call, Jane? -> b. No, it was MARTHA (C-FOCUS) who I called.

1.5.1. A further explanation of focalized/topicalized constituents in Modern English

In this section, we outline various structures showing a focusing effect that we can possibly find in Modern English. The canonical word order in Modern English is S-V-O, so the subject precedes the finite verb, that precedes the object. However, it is possible to find cases in which the constituents,

occupying lower positions, are moved at the very beginning of the sentence causing the inversion of the subject and the verb, resulting in a marked word order. As a result, the marked sentence structure has a focusing effect on the dislocated constituent. In order to better explain these structures, we cite the research carried out by Altiner (2018) on the phenomena, found in Modern English, giving us this effect.

The first phenomenon is named *Fronting* and it refers to a final structure where a constituent that is usually found after the verb, is moved to the very front of the sentence and it is given prominence. Moreover, if we are facing a case of fronting, the order of the subject and the verb changes after moving the entire constituent (Biber et al., 1999). Fronting has some important functions such as giving prominence to an element in the sentence but also expressing a contrast and achieving cohesion by better organizing the constituents (Altiner 2018, 69). Below, we can find an example of fronting. In (49), the sentence has the Modern English canonical order, with the subject found before the verb. In (50), the present participle, *cleaning*, along with the following constituents, *the shelves in the living room*, have been fronted so they are found at the very beginning of the sentence and the verb is found before the subject (Altiner 2018).

(49) My mum was cleaning the shelves in the living room.

(50) Cleaning the shelves in the living room was my mum.

In the same way, in (51) the sentence has a canonical order, with the subject found before the finite verb and the past participle. At the end of the sentence, we find the constituent, *during the meeting*. On the other hand, in (52), the past participle, *addressed*, along with the following constituent, *during the meeting*, have been fronted so they are found at the very beginning of the sentence. Then, the subject and the verb have switched order, so the verb is found before the subject (Altiner 2018).

(51) Various problems were addressed during the meeting.

(52) Addressed during the meeting were various problems.

In (53) and (54), we have an example of comparative fronting where a constituent representing a comparison is moved from its initial position after the verb, to its final position at the very front of

the sentence. As the examples cited above, we face an inversion of the first constituent with the verb, when fronting is activated.

(53) What he said was more important than what he did. (from Altiner 2018, 70)

(54) More important than what he did was what he said. (from Altiner 2018, 70)

In addition, there are sentences where an adverb is moved to the beginning of the sentence. In this case, we might have or not the inversion between the subject and the verb. The less recurrent situation is an adverbial fronting with the inversion of the subject and the verb. An example is given in (55) showing the adverb 'here' at the very beginning of the sentence, followed by the V-S order.

(55) Here is the computer!

However, the most recurrent situation is adverbial fronting without inversion of the subject and the verb. In (56), the adverbial of time, *in the evening*, is fronted so that more prominence is given to it. The subject, *she*, and the verb, *goes* are in their canonical order S-V. In (57), the adverbial of manner, *skillfully*, is fronted so that more prominence is given to it. The subject, *Garth*, the verb, *proceeded*, and the rest of the sentence, *to carve the roast*, are in their canonical order S-V-O. In (58), the adverbial of reason, *because I haven't seen her for a long time*, is fronted so that more prominence is given to it. The subject, *I*, the verb, *invited*, and the rest of the sentence, *Laura to my sleepover*, are in their canonical order S-V and rest of the constituents.

(56) She goes to dance classes in the evening. -> In the evening, she goes to dance classes.

(57) Garth proceeded to carve the roast skillfully. -> Skillfully, Garth proceeded to carve the roast. (from Altiner 2018, 70)

(58) I invited Laura to my sleepover this Saturday because I haven't seen her for a long time -> Because I haven't seen her for a long time, I invited Laura to my sleepover.

After fronting, we can cite the cleft sentences which are particular structures created from declarative sentences. Then, a series of constituents have been given prominence thanks to some changes occurred in the sentence, involving splitting or ‘clefting’ (Cowan, 2008). We can outline two different types of cleft sentences, namely the it-cleft and the wh-cleft.

(59) It was a small red convertible that he bought. (from Altiner 2018, 70)

(60) What he bought was a small red convertible. (from Altiner 2018, 70)

The example in (59) displays an it-cleft and the first element is the pronoun *it*. Then, the structure is composed by the verb ‘to be’ in the third person, the focused element, here a noun phrase, carrying prominence, *a small red convertible*, and a relative clause, introduced by *that*. This last clause displays the S-V word order. In the it-cleft, the focused element can be also a prepositional, an adverb or an adverbial clause while the relative clause can be preceded by *that* but also by *which* or *who* (Altiner 2018, 70). The example in (60) displays a wh-cleft (or pseudo cleft) and the first element is a clause introduced by the wh-word, *what*, the verb to be in the third person and the focused element, here a noun phrase, *a small red convertible*. It-clefts usually have a focused element that carry both old and new information, while wh-clefts begin with old information and have a focused element that carries new information (Altiner 2018, 70).

In addition, English shows another phenomenon that is called with the term ‘left-dislocation’ (Altiner 2018, 70). Left-dislocation refers to a type of construction where a constituent is moved from its canonical position to the beginning of the sentence. This time, the constituent is a Topic. The noticeable difference between fronting and left-dislocation is that the left-dislocation involves a pronoun which is coreferential with the element dislocated.

(61) Poor old Doctor Jones, [he_i] said you’ll never wear your heart out. (from Altiner 2018, 71)

In (61), the left-dislocated constituent is *poor old Doctor Jones*. Then, it is followed by a co-referent pronoun, *he*, the finite verb, *said*, and the rest of the sentence. A greater prominence is given to the constituent that is dislocated on the left of the sentence.

1.6. Topicalization, focalization, Topic and Focus in Modern Italian

In this section, we briefly explain how Modern Italian realizes Focus, Topic, topicalization and focalization. In terms of this thesis, I take into consideration Modern Italian too because the first studies on the left periphery were carried out on the articulated left periphery we can find in the Italian language. The studies mentioned in the first sections of this chapter were carried out firstly on the Italian language and then, they were extended to various languages including French and English. We start from Rizzi (1997) who mentions a construction that is based on the topic-comment linkage, namely the Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). This construction has been named for the first time by Cinque (1990). CLLD is a syntactic structure that contains a Topic placed in the left periphery of the sentence and the presence of a resumptive clitic that is coreferential to the dislocated element. We bring back the sentence in (20) as an example of CLLD: the dislocated constituent '*un set di piatti*' represents the old information shared between the speaker and the hearer. The rest of the sentence represents the comment, namely the open sentence that brings new information. The left dislocated element is followed by comma intonation that leads to a little pause before uttering the rest of the sentence. Moreover, it is possible to spot the resumptive clitic *lo* that is coreferential to the Topic.

(62) Un set di piattii, loi ho acquistato.

Benincà (2001) resumes Rizzi's works on topicalized elements and also makes some step forwards. Benincà takes into consideration two structures that contain a Topic, namely Left Dislocation (LD) and Hanging Topic (HT). It might be difficult to distinguish between the two structures because they are quite similar but there is still a possibility to do that thanks to some precise aspects. LD involves the dislocation of a constituent, preceded by a preposition, on the left of the subject and the obligatory presence of a resumptive clitic if it refers to direct and partitive objects or the optional presence in the other situations (Cinque 1982, cited in Benincà 2001, 5). In this case, the clitic agrees in terms of case, gender and number.

HT involves the dislocation of a constituent, without preposition, on the left of the subject and the obligatory presence of a resumptive clitic because it expresses the type of argument the topicalized element represents (Cinque 1982, cited in Benincà 2001, 5). In this case, the clitic agrees in terms of gender and number but not in terms of case. Below, two examples from Benincà (2001) are provided in order to underline the difference between LD and HT.

- (63) a. Marioi, non nei parla più nessuno. (from Benincà 2001, 5, ex.1a)
Mario, not of-him talks anymore nobody
 ‘Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.’
- b. Di Mario, non (ne) parla più nessuno. (from Benincà 2001, 5, ex.1b)
Of Mario, not (of-him) talks anymore nobody
 ‘Of Mario, nobody talks (of him) anymore.’
- (64) a. Marioi, gli amici glii hanno fatto un brutto scherzo. (from Benincà 2001, 6, ex.2a)
 ‘Mario, his friends have made him a nasty trick.’
- b. A Mario, gli amici (gli) hanno fatto un brutto scherzo. (from Benincà 2001, 6, ex.2a)
 ‘To Mario, his friends have made (him) a nasty trick.’

In (63a) a constituent, *Mario*, has been dislocated to the left periphery, without being preceded by a preposition. Then, it is separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation and, here, the presence of a resumptive clitic, *ne* (genitive form), is obligatory. This is a case of Hanging Topic. In (63b), a constituent, *Mario*, has been dislocated to the left periphery while being preceded by a preposition, *di*. Then, it is separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation and the presence of the resumptive clitic, *ne* (genitive form), is optional. This is a case of Left Dislocation. In (64a) a constituent, *Mario*, has been dislocated to the left periphery, without being preceded by a preposition. Then, it is separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation and the presence of a resumptive clitic, *gli* (dative form), is obligatory. This is a case of Hanging Topic. In (64b) a constituent, *Mario*, has been dislocated to the left periphery while being preceded by a preposition, *a*. Then, it is separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation and the presence of the resumptive clitic, *gli* (dative form) is optional. This is a case of Left Dislocation. Benincà (2001) precises that in Modern Italian, there is a difference in the use of these two kinds of Topic: HT is found in a more colloquial situation, while LD is more commonly found in written and formal language.

Benincà & Poletto (2004) followed the theories mentioned by Benincà (2001) so they focused on the Topic field and analyzed what they call with the term ‘subfields’: HT and LD. As mentioned in previous studies (Cinque 1982; Benincà 1988, 2001), HTs and LDs might be perceived as similar, but, in reality, they are built differently. Benincà & Poletto (2004) demonstrates that it is possible to find one or more LDs while only a single HT per clause. Below, an example showing this contrast.

- (65) a. *Luca, questo aumento, non ne hanno parlato a lui.
Luca, this raise, they of-it haven't talked to him
- b. A Luca, di questo aumento, non gliene hanno mai parlato.
to Luca, of this raise, they of it haven't talked to him
 'They did not talk to Luca about this raise.'

The example in (65a) contains two elements in the left periphery without carrying the prepositions so they are HTs. As we can see, the sentence is ungrammatical because only one HT is allowed. The example in (65b) contains two elements in the left periphery carrying the prepositions so they are LDs. As we can see, the sentence is grammatical because it is possible to find more than one LDs, together, in the same sentence. Moreover, Benincà & Poletto (2004) cite Benincà's theory on the use and type of resumptive clitic with the two subfields and add that in a sentence where they occur together, there is always a precise and established occurrence, namely HT-LD.

- (66) a. Giorgio, ai nostri amici, non parlo mai di lui. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 18, ex. 38a)
Giorgio, to the our friends, not talk never of him
 'Giorgio, to our friends, I never talk of him.'
- b. *Ai nostri amici, Giorgio, non parlo mai di lui. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 18, ex. 38b)
 'To our friends, Giorgio, not talk ever of him.'

We will now address how Modern Italian realizes focalization, namely a process where we have an articulation of Focus based on Focus-presupposition. To obtain this articulation, we have to move an element, give it the status of Focus and a special stress. Below, we give the example in (21).

- (67) UN SET DI PIATTI ho acquistato (non una tovaglia).

Rizzi (1997) believes that this sentence is an example of Contrastive Focus, or more precisely of Corrective Focus. It presupposes that the hearer thinks that the person uttering it has bought

something different so they try to correct this idea. This type of construction gives new information to the hearer by focalizing the element and then, there is a second part where old, presupposed information is conveyed.

Following the theories of Benincà & Poletto (2004), the Focus projection is actually considered as a “field” because it can host different projections based on the type of focalization. Benincà & Poletto (2004) mention a type of Focus called Information Focus that is usually implied in questions or in sentences related to a *wh*- operator. There are some varieties of languages that show the presence of an Information Focus in the sentence initial position, namely in CP. Below, some examples from Benincà & Poletto (2004) on Sicilian dialect are given.

- (68) a. Un libro comprasti? (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 8, ex. 12c)
A book bought
‘Did you buy a book?’
- b. Antonio sono. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 8, ex. 12d)
Antonio am
‘It is Antonio.’

Benincà & Poletto (2004) analyze the same structures in Modern Italian and the results show that the sentences are ungrammatical. This is due to the fact that the position reserved to the Information Focus is accessible only if the position of the Contrastive Focus, as in (67), that carries a special intonation, is activated too. Below, we provide an example showing the activation of the Contrastive Focus (*A Marco*), that carries a special intonation, so that it is possible to add an Information Focus (*questa sciarpa*) too.

- (69) *A MARCO*, questa sciarpa, devi comprare (non a Luigi)
TO MARCO, this scarf, must buy (not to Luigi)
‘You must buy this scarf to Marco.’

In addition, we can mention Cruschina’s work (2020) on the various types of Focus found in Modern Italian. Firstly, Cruschina mentions that in previous works, the terms Focus and Topic were complementary but then, a new vision of Focus was developed. Cruschina (2020) goes deeper in his

definition of Focus by stating that in terms of prosody the Focus is the element to which the main stress is given, in terms of pragmatics the Focus is the constituent in the sentence to which the importance and the attention are given and semantically speaking, the Focus implies that, in the context, a set of alternatives is present. Cruschina (2020) begins his analysis by saying that the Focus is generally elicited by a partial question where the answer is grammatical only if the Focus corresponds to the *wh*- operator in the question. In this case, the favored position of the Focus is at the end of the sentence (postverbal position), as we can notice from these examples in Modern Italian. This is a marked position of the constituent, if we take into consideration a normal situation in which a transitive verb is implied.

(70) Chi hanno fermato i poliziotti?

Hanno fermato MARCO.

(71) Chi lo ha fermato mentre tornava a casa?

Lo ha fermato la POLIZIA.

Moreover, Cruschina (2020) shows that the Focus can also be found in the left periphery, so the example in (70) can also be as follows:

(72) MARCO hanno fermato.

In order to have the constituent *Marco* moved to the left periphery, Cruschina (2020) states that some constraints are activated. It is here that the notion of contrast comes into play because the focal proposing is possible only if the function of the Focus is contrastive or corrective.

(73) È partito Stefano per un lungo viaggio.

(No,) MATTIA è partito per un lungo viaggio (, non Stefano).

Cruschina (2020) continues with his research by defining the other types of Focus. Starting from the Information Focus, a constituent is chosen from a set of alternatives that was not mentioned before

in the context and it is given prominence. We cite again the example in (70) because the focused element, *Marco*, is found on the right of the verb and it is given prominence. In addition, here, the focused element *Marco* is chosen from a set of alternatives that were not mentioned before.

- (74) Chi hanno fermato i poliziotti?
Hanno fermato MARCO.

The Mirative Focus is the less probable statement, for both the speaker and the hearer, that could be found in a set of more probable alternatives (Cruschina 2020). We cite again the example in (40) where the constituent to which prominence is given is *che coraggio*: it represents the less expected alternative for both the speaker and the hearer, from an entire set containing other alternatives (e.g., *che forza, che lealtà*).

- (75) Sapessi che storia! Che coraggio ha dimostrato!

Lastly, the Corrective Focus involves a structure where an element, after being assigned as Focus, is moved to the left periphery and it is used to correct what has been wrongly said before, with new and correct information.

- (76) IL TUO LIBRO ho letto (, non il suo). (from Rizzi 1997, 286, ex. 4)

In (76) the constituent *il tuo libro* has been moved to the left periphery and it is given prominence so that the other person understands that this is the new and correct information.

1.6.1. Differences between focalization and topicalization in Italian

As we have seen earlier, focalization and topicalization share some similarities such as both involving the left periphery of the clause by dislocating an element, given the status of Topic or Focus, in this area. However, as shown by Rizzi (1997) but based on Cinque's theory (1990), they

might also differentiate one from the other in terms of their nature. First of all, focalization and topicalization are two processes that result in two different structures. Topicalization might involve a resumptive clitic, that turns out to be obligatory if the Topic is the direct object (D.O.), as we can see from these examples below.

- (77) a. Il set di piattij, loj ho acquistato.
 ‘The set of plates, I bought it.’
 b. *Il set di piatti, ho acquistato.
 ‘The set of plates, I bought.’

In contrast, focalization results as non-standard if, after placing the Focus in the left periphery, a resumptive clitic is added to the clause, as displayed by the examples below.

- (78) a. *IL SET DI PIATTI_i loj ho acquistato (non la tovaglia).
 ‘THE SET OF PLATES I bought it (not the tablecloth).’
 b. IL SET DI PIATTI ho acquistato (non la tovaglia).
 ‘THE SET OF PLATES I bought (not the tablecloth).’

In addition, Rizzi (1997) shows that Topics are not affected by the *weak crossover effect* while Foci can be affected by the ‘weak crossover’ effect. As we mentioned in a previous section, Benincà & Poletto (2004) showed that intonation cannot be used as a test to distinguish between Topic and Focus. For this reason, the ‘weak crossover’ constraint⁴ can be useful to identify the difference (Chomsky 1990). An example is given below.

- (79) a. Gianni_i, suo_i padre l’_i ha licenziato. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 6, ex.9a)
Gianni_i, his_i father has fired him_i
 ‘Gianni has been fired by his own father.’
 b. *GIANNI_i, suo_i padre ha licenziato. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 6, ex.9b)
GIANNI_i, his_i father has fired t_i

⁴ Weak Crossover (WCO) is described as ‘a syntactic configuration in which pronouns cannot be interpreted as co-construed with certain dislocated antecedents’ (Safir 2017).

Example in (79a) is a left-dislocation while example in (79b) involves a focalized element. (79b) would have been grammatical if the subject of this sentence was *Gianni* and the direct object was *suo padre*. Therefore, the pronoun *suo* would have been correctly linked to a c-commanding antecedent. Moreover, the ‘weak crossover’ constraint can be used to test if the elements found on the right of a Focus, are actually another projection of Topic (as stated by Rizzi 1997) or they behave as a Focus. As we mentioned earlier, if it is a Topic, it will not be affected by ‘weak crossover’ while if it is a Focus, it will be affected by ‘weak crossover’.

- (80) a. *A MARIA, Giorgio_i, sua_i madre presenterà. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 7, ex. 11a)
to Maria, Giorgio, his mother will introduce
‘His mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria.’
- b. *A MARIA_i, Giorgio, sua_i madre presenterà. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 7, ex. 11b)
to Maria, Giorgio, her mother will introduce
‘Her mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria.’
- c. *A MARIA, Giorgio, sua madre lo presenterà. (from Benincà & Poletto 2004, 7, ex. 11c)
To Maria, Giorgio, his mother will introduce him

The examples in (80a) and (80b) show the presence of two constituents, *a Maria* and *Giorgio* located on the left of the subject (*sua madre*). These two constituents must be distinct when we refer to the pronoun *sua*. For this reason and for the fact that a resumptive clitic makes the sentence ungrammatical (80c), they are considered as Foci and not as Topics. The results show that the second element is a Focus too and that the Focus field can host more than one element (Benincà and Poletto 2004, 7). Consequently, the sequence of elements will now be: [Topic Focus1 Focus2] (Benincà and Poletto 2004, 7).

Moreover, Cinque (1990) demonstrates that quantificational elements, namely *no one* or *all* cannot be dislocated in the left periphery of the sentence as Topics because they result as non-standard. On the other hand, they can be moved to the left periphery as Foci:

- (81) a. *Nessuno, lo ho visto. (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 19a)
 ‘No one, I saw him.’
 b. *Tutto, lo ha fatto. (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 19b)
 ‘Everything, I did it.’
- (82) a. NESSUNO ho visto. (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 20a)
 ‘NO ONE I saw.’
 b. TUTTO ho fatto. (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 20b)
 ‘Everything I did.’

Cinque (1990) adds that another difference between topicalization and focalization is that, in a clause, it is possible to find more than one Topic, as long as they match the arguments and the adjuncts; in contrast, we can only find one single Focus or the clause will be considered as non-standard (Benincà, 1988). These examples from Rizzi (1997) show the distinction between the two structures:

- (83) Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo darò senz’altro. (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 21)
 ‘The book, to John, tomorrow, I’ll give it to him for sure.’
- (84) *A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò (non a Piero, l’articolo). (from Rizzi, 1997 ex. 22)
 ‘TO JOHN THE BOOK I’ll give, not to Piero, the article.’

Lastly, another difference between the two analyzed structures is that Topic is compatible with a wh- operator, if they are put in a precise and fixed order (namely Top-WH) while Focus is not compatible with any wh- operator (Cinque, 1990).

- (85) a. A Paolo, che cosa gli hai riferito?
 ‘To Paolo, what did you tell him?’
 b. *Che cosa, a Paolo, gli hai riferito?
 ‘What, to Paolo, did you tell him?’
- (86) a. *A PAOLO che cosa hai riferito (, non a Salvatore)?
 ‘TO PAOLO what did you tell (, not to Salvatore)?’
 b. *Che cosa A PAOLO hai detto (, non a Salvatore)?
 ‘What TO PAOLO did you tell (, not to Salvatore)?’

In this section, we briefly explained the differences that we might encounter between topicalization and focalization in the Italian language. In general, the study of the left periphery in the Italian language was useful to understand how this area is complex and articulated. Moreover, it allowed us to outline which are the elements that can be moved there due to the goal that the speaker has in terms of Information Structure when uttering a sentence.

1.7. V2 Languages: an introduction

This section of Chapter 1 will focus on defining which are the languages that can be called with the term *verb-second* (V2) and what are their characteristics. The thesis takes into account V2 too because we will see that both Old English and Old French can be considered as such despite being part of two different family groups. Moreover, the V2 word order is analyzed because it interacts with the left periphery and can involve topicalized and focalized constituents. Examples from various V2 languages will be provided to demonstrate how this phenomenon may differ one from the other. In the next chapters, we will dwell more on English and French, focusing on their earlier stages, in order to outline the changes occurred during the centuries.

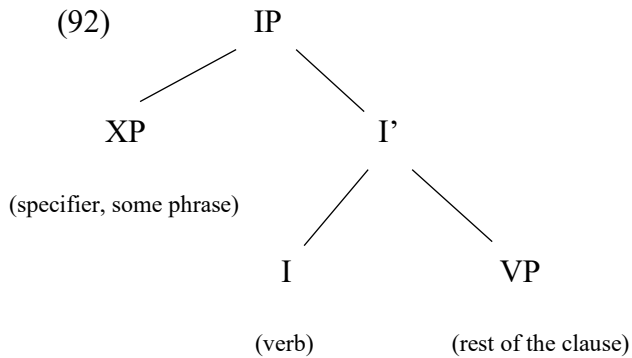
As stated by Walkden (2016, 2), a V2 language can be defined as such when the finite verb is obligatory found as the second constituent of a main clause, namely the asymmetric V2 or in all finite clauses, namely the symmetric V2. Walkden (2016) makes a list of the current V2 languages and this phenomenon can be found in several languages of Western Europe, particular all those belonging to the Germanic language family, with the exception of Modern English. V2 is moreover found in some Romance languages. Right now, Modern English but also Modern French have residual V2 characteristics. Later in the next chapters, we will see how these two languages have changed during the centuries. In order to explain how V2 languages work, we will take into consideration some examples from different languages cited by Walkden (2016). Since in V2 languages the second element is always the finite verb, in the first position, we can find different types of constituents, namely the subject as in (87), the object as in (88), an adverb (along with adverbial clause) as in (89) and in (91), a *wh*-element as in (90), a particle, an infinitive or a participle. (87) is in Afrikaans, (88) is in Swedish, (89) is in German, (90) is in Icelandic and (91) is in German. Below, the English translations are given so it is possible to see the differences with the V2 sentences. Example in (90) shows the residual V2 that we can encounter in Modern English.

- (87) **André** *het* gister die storie geskryf. (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.3)
André has yesterday the story written
 ‘André wrote the story yesterday.’
- (88) [Tidningar] *läser* **barnen** inte. (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.4)
Newspapers read the-children not
 ‘Newspapers, the children do not read.’
- (89) [Wenn man keine Träume mehr hat] *ist* **man** leer. (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.6)
If one no dreams more has is one empty
 ‘If you have no dreams anymore, you are empty.’
- (90) [Hvers] *vegna* *hefur* **kreditkortinu** **minu** verið hafnað? (from Walkden 2016, 3, ex.7)
Why has credit-card my been rejected
 ‘Why has my credit card been rejected?’
- (91) [Heute] *haben* **wir** gefeiert.
Today have we celebrated
 ‘Today, we celebrated.’

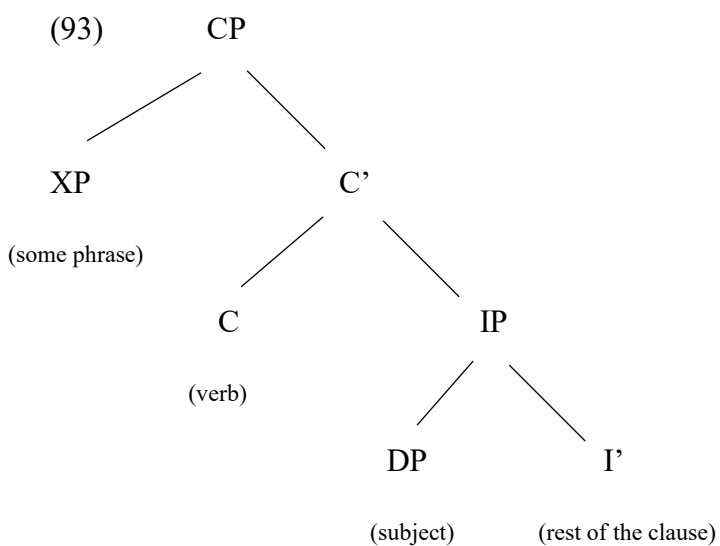
In general, as we have seen from the examples cited by Walkden (2016), V2 languages have a projection, namely CP or IP, that is *head-initial* and *specifier-initial*⁵. In addition, that specific projection has the head occupied by the finite verb and the specifier occupied by various types of constituents. The CP or IP projections are fundamental because, in order to create these types of constructions, the finite verb is moved from a lower position (where it is generated) in VP to a higher position which is in IP or CP. Following the studies of generative grammar, the movement is always from head-to-head, so, in the case of the verb, from head of VP to head of IP or CP. The difference between IP and CP is due to the type of V2 we mentioned before, namely symmetric or

⁵ Head-initial language means that the head of a phrase is placed before its complements. Specifier-initial means that the specifier is found on the left of the head of a specific projection.

asymmetric. The X-bar schemes in (92) and (93) display this difference (Walkden 2016, 5, ex. 16, 17).



The scheme in (92) is used for the languages where V2 is found in all finite clauses, namely the symmetric V2 languages. The specific projection is IP, so the finite verb moves from a lower position, in V, where it originated, to a higher position, in I. Moreover, the specifier of the IP projection is filled with the various constituents that we have encountered in the previous examples.



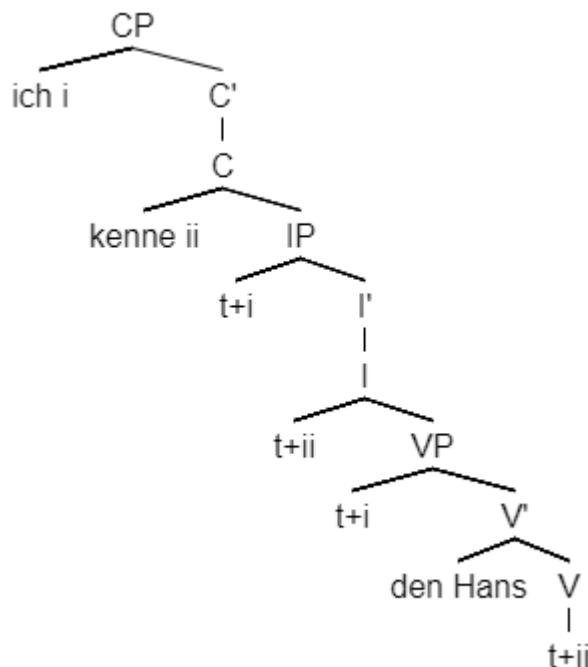
The scheme in (93) is used for the languages where V2 is found only in main clauses, namely the asymmetric V2 languages. The specific projection is CP, so the finite verb moves from a lower position, in V, where it originated, to a higher position, in C.

position, in V, where it originated, to an intermediate position⁶, in I, to a higher position, in C. Moreover, the specifier of the CP projection is filled with the various constituents that we have encountered in the previous examples while the specifier of the IP projection is filled with the subject moved from the specifier of the VP projection. This traditional analysis can work for a sentence that is non-subject initial. Walkden (2016) wondered if this analysis could work with a subject-initial sentence too. In the following example from German, we notice the subject, *ich*, in the first position, followed by the verb, *kenne*, ending with the direct object, *den Hans*.

- (94) **Ich** *kenne* den Hans.
I know the Hans
 ‘I know Hans.’

Firstly, we cartographically illustrate this sentence in the traditional representation. Later, we cite an alternative analysis suggested by Travis (1984) and Zwart (1991, 1993, 1997, 2001).

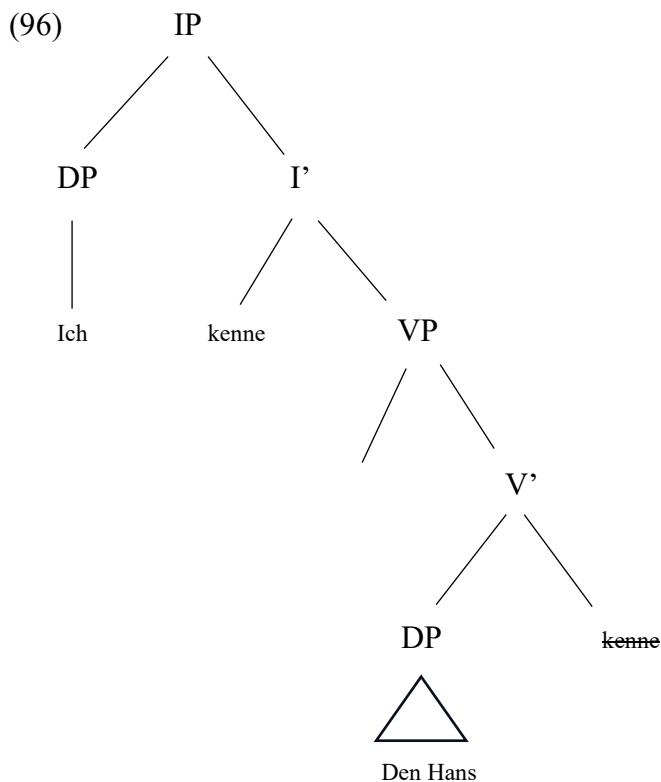
(95)



⁶ Head movement: a constraint assumed, firstly, in the Government & Binding theory, then in Minimalism. This constraint involves a movement from a lower head to a higher head without skipping the intermediate level. So, in example in (94), the verb moves from the position where it is generated, V, to a higher head position, C, without skipping the intermediate head position, I (Chomsky 1981).

The scheme in (95) (Walkden 2016, 9, 26) displays the traditional analysis of the movements that happen in a V2 language. The finite verb, *kenne*, is moved from its initial position, namely inside the VP as V, through an intermediate position inside IP, I, to its final destination inside CP, as C. The subject, *ich*, moves from the position of specifier in IP, to the position of specifier in CP. The CP layer is here activated as the final position of both the subject and the verb.

In the next scheme, we will cite the analysis proposed by Travis (1984) and Zwart (1991, 1993, 1997, 2001), namely the *two-structure* analysis. They believe that the traditional analysis can be applied to the sentences in which the subject is not in the initial position, while the two-structure analysis can be applied to the sentences in which the subject is in the initial position. So, the latter does not have the CP projection activated but the subject and the verb are found in the IP projection.



1.7.1. V2 and the left periphery

This section focuses on the relation between V2 and the left periphery. As mentioned in the first sections of this chapter, the theory that is universally recognized is the one developed by Rizzi (1997), namely the CP being an articulated area split into different projections (ForceP, TopP, FocP and FinP). We will see that this theory is in contrast with the traditional one stating that there is

only one preverbal position (Walkden 2016, 24). In order to solve the issue, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) demonstrated that the projection of ForceP must be added to the cartographic representation. This theory takes into consideration the full left periphery proposed by Rizzi (1997). In addition, the verb is the element that is moved to the head of ForceP while any constituent can be moved to SpecForceP.

- (97) [Gestern] *hat der Hans* die Marie getroffen. (from Walkden 2016, 24, ex.71)
Yesterday have.3SG the Hans the Maria met
'Yesterday Hans met Maria.'

This example shows a constituent, *gestern*, in the first position that is placed in SpecForceP, then the finite verb, *hat*, placed in Force. Moreover, linguists focused on the constraints that V2 word orders might have. Haegeman (1996) and Mohr (2009) proposed to study the constraints with the bottleneck effect that states that we cannot have two or more items moved in this low position. Here, the verb moves to Fin and, in its specifier, we must find a semantically appropriated element, namely the constituent that is closest to Fin, usually the subject. Another aspect that we might take into consideration, because it supports the idea of a split CP, concerns the languages that are not fully V2 but quite V2, namely the *relaxed V2 languages*. Examples from this group are German, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish urban vernaculars (Walkden 2016). The characteristic of these languages is that they allow violations of V2 by creating V3 word orders. The first constituent that we find in a V3 sentence has no restrictions in terms of category but it is usually a temporal adverb. Then, it is followed by the subject, in second position, and the finite verb, in third position.

- (98) [morgen] *ich geh* arbeitsamt. (from Walkden 2016, 26, ex.74)
tomorrow I go job centre
'Tomorrow I will go to the job centre.'

However, as cited by Walkden (2016), we will not find any V3 in formal and direct situations, in the case where the first element of the sentence is an object, in interrogatives containing a *wh*- (except for *why*) or in subordinate clauses. In the next chapters, we will concentrate on how Old

English and Old French behaved in terms of left periphery, Topic, Focus and V2 in order to delineate the changes that occurred and led us to the linguistic form we have nowadays.

1.8. Considerations on the left periphery

In this chapter, we addressed the complex structure of the left periphery in three Modern languages, namely Italian, French and English. We started from Modern languages so that it is possible, later, to focus on their earlier stages and see how these languages have evolved into how we know them today. We mentioned various studies carried out mostly on the Italian language because we understood that its left periphery can host various elements all together, making it a very articulated area composed of different projections. In order to analyze Modern English and Modern French, we employed the analyses on the left periphery carried out by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) in order to see how these two languages behave. We took into consideration how these languages realize Focus, Topic and V2 and how these three aspects interact because they are strictly related to the left periphery. Results demonstrate that Modern English and Modern French are languages where the phenomenon of topicalization and focalization involve the movement of a single constituent in the left periphery, while Modern Italian shows the possibility of finding there several topicalized and focalized elements together. Throughout the entire chapter, we noticed that Modern English and Modern French give more the status of Focus or Topic to constituents in their original position, without dislocating them. In addition, we introduced the phenomenon of V2, which is present in various languages, mostly coming from the Germanic family group. This phenomenon involves the presence of a topicalized or focalized element in the first position of the sentence and, consequently, the activation of the complementizer layer. In the next chapters, we focus on Old French and Old English in order to trace the changes that these two languages underwent. We will focus on their left peripheries and if they were richer in these earlier stages. Moreover, we will analyze how Old French and Old English, despite being part of two different families with different origins, might be both considered as V2 languages. At the end of each chapter, we compare them with their modern stages because, at the present time, English and French can only be considered as residual V2 languages.

2. CHAPTER 2: Topic, Focus, verb fronting in OF

2.1. Introduction on the Old French language

This chapter is dedicated to the Old French language and how Topic, Focus and V2 are realized and interact. Firstly, we will make a brief historical introduction on Old French. Then, we will concentrate on the aspects of Topic, Focus and V2 and we will trace the differences with the modern version of the language. The examples to support the analysis come from the literature on the Old French language but also from '*Base de Français Médiéval*' (Guillot-Barbance et al. 2017 <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>), a corpus that contains 219 texts between the 9th and the 15th centuries.

Old French is a language that belongs to the Romance languages family and it was spoken in the northern part of France more or less between the 8th and the 14th centuries. In particular, Old French was a set of dialects that were later named with the term '*langue d'oïl*' so that it could be differentiated from the language spoken in the south of France, namely the '*langue d'oc*'. Linguistically speaking, Old French follows Latin and precedes the Middle and Modern stages of the language. For instance, unlike Latin that has six cases and Modern French that has no case, Old French has two cases (nominative for the subject and oblique for the object). Moreover, another important characteristic is that Old French was already a language displaying the S-V-O word order so subject, followed by the verb, in turn followed by the complement. In this aspect, main clauses of Old French differ from Latin that was a S-O-V language. However, subordinate clauses of Old French still show the S-O-V word order of Latin. For this work, we will take into consideration only main clauses.

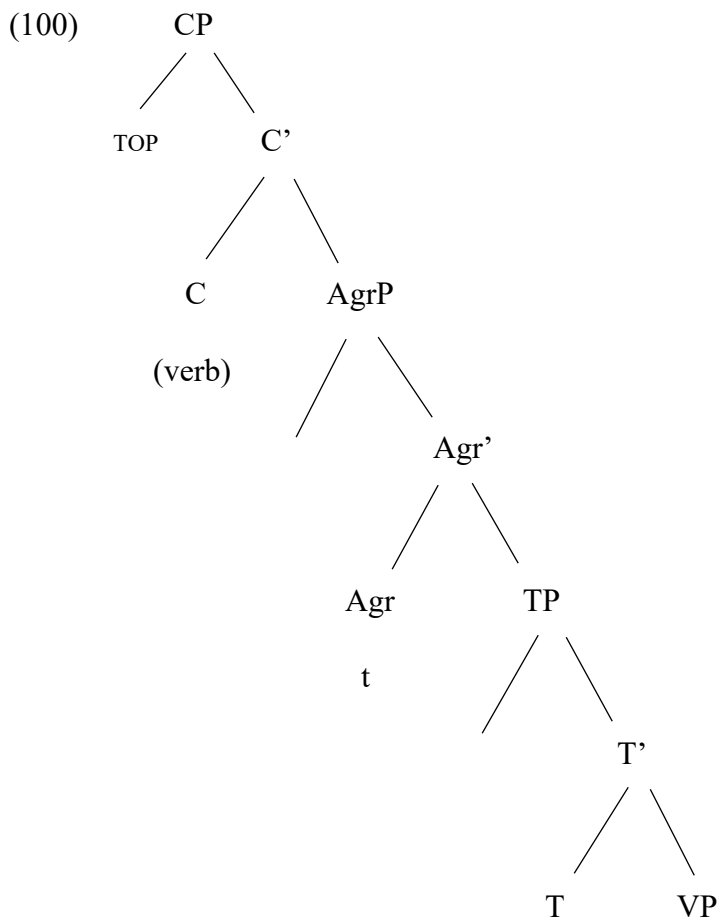
2.2. Clausal architecture in Old French and V2: Vance (1997) and Labelle (2007)

In this section, we will concentrate on the architecture of Old French sentences by mentioning the study carried out by Labelle (2007). We will consider the aspects that are relevant for this thesis. Labelle centered the study on the 12th century Old French, namely *Early Old French (EOF)*, compared to the 13th century Old French. According to what Labelle states, main and embedded clauses of Old French are V2 but Labelle does not consider it a symmetric V2 language. As stated before, we will take into consideration only main clauses. Therefore, Labelle (2007) proposes a CP containing multiple positions when it comes to V2 main clauses. Even though the fact that Early Old French displays V2 in both main and embedded clauses, making it look like a symmetric V2

language, Labelle does not think this is the case, since she claims that in main clauses the CP is involved (while in subordinate clauses it is not). This makes Early Old French an asymmetric V2 language according to Labelle (2007). This is due to the position the subject and the object pronoun occupy (Labelle 2007, 290). Moreover, before carrying on the study, Labelle mentions Vance's analysis on the characteristics of Old French (Vance 1997) so that it will be possible for Labelle to outline some contrasts. Vance (1997) proposes a clausal structure as in (99). Here, the position of the subject is found in the projection that Vance labelled vP. AgrP is the projection where the finite verb is moved (head Agr) while above AgrP we find the complementizer layer.

(99) [CP [AgrP [TP [vP]]]]

Vance goes on by hypothesizing that in main V2 clauses, the CP projection is activated and, here, Topics occupy the specifier position while the finite verb occupies the head C as we can see in the X-bar scheme in (100) (Vance 1997, 291).



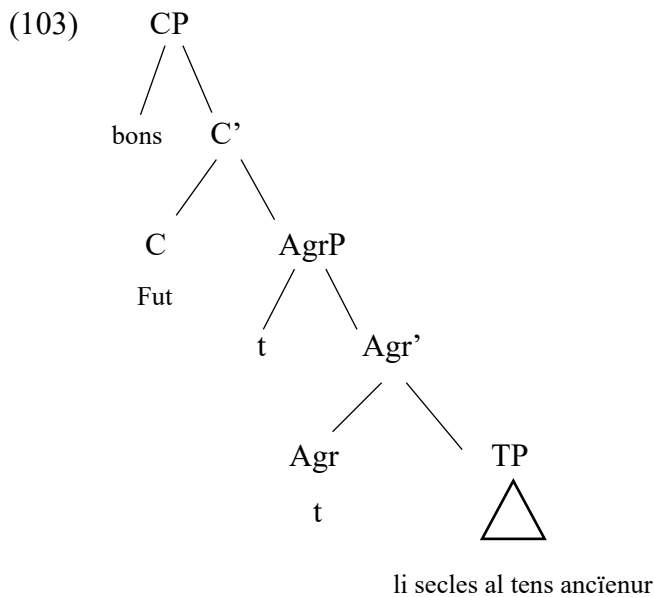
Vance (1997) states that in unmarked main clauses, the nominal subject would be in the specifier of AgrP so it is placed before adverbs such as *pas*, *puis* and *or* while if we are in a situation involving inverted main clauses, the nominal subjects are placed after adverbs such as *pas*, *puis* and *or* (Vance 1997; cited in Labelle 2007, 291). So, it means that Topics and wh-phrases are placed in the specifier of CP, after passing through and leaving a trace in the specifier of AgrP. Moreover, in this case, the subject remains in a lower position in TP (also known as IP) or VP. Below, an example from ‘*Li quatre livre des reis*’, an anonymous text that dates back ca.1190, is given. The sentence under discussion is an inverted main clause showing the verb, *commande*, in CP, followed by the adverb *pas*. For this reason, the subject, *notre ordre*, is placed after both the verb and the adverb in a lower position.

- (101) [Cpeinsi_i ne le *commande*_v [AgrP t_i [TP pas [**notre ordre** t_v t_i]]]]
thus neg it commands not our order
 ‘Our order does not command it in this way.’
 (Anonymous, *Li quatre livre des reis*, ca.1190, 120,6 ; cited in Vance 1997, 68, ex.49)

Below, an example from ‘*Vie de Saint Alexis*’, an anonymous text that has been probably written in 1050, is given. This text can be found in the manuscript ‘Hildesheim, St. Godehardi’, which is dated later, namely in 1120. Here an adjectival constituent has been moved to the front of the sentence, *bons*. Later, the sentence shows an inversion between the verb, *fut*, and the subject, *li secles*, so the verb occupies the second position of the clause.

- (102) [Bons] *fut li secles* al tens ancienur.
Good was the world at times ancient
 ‘The world was good in the ancient times.’
 (Anonymous, *La vie de Saint Alexis*, ca.1050, v.1)

Below, we give a possible X-bar scheme representation of the example in (102). This sentence involves the activation of the CP projection (Vance 1997).



Vance (1997) also explains that if we are in the case of pronominal subjects, they precede adverbs such as *pas* so they are placed on the right of C, if it is occupied. In the case of an inverted main clause, C is occupied by the verb and the subject is considered as a clitic (Vance 1997; cited in Labelle 2007, 291). Moreover, in the specifier of the AgrP projection, we can find in some cases the traces of Topics before leaving for the specifier of the CP projection (Vance 1997; cited in Labelle 2007, 291).

(104) [Car vilainie ne] *feroit il pas* au vaslet.

For evil neg would-do he not to-the young-man

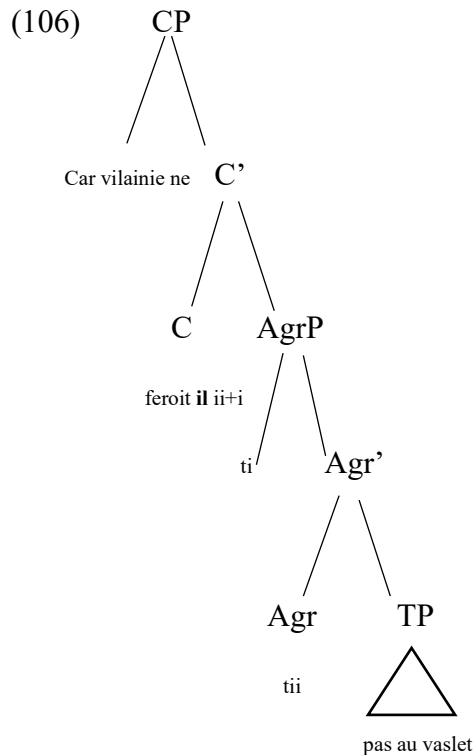
‘For he would not do evil to the young man.’

(Anonymous, *Li quatre livre des reis*, ca.1190, 89,10 ; cited in Vance 1997, 68, ex.48a)

According to the hypothesis pushed forward by Vance (1997), the representation of this inverted main clause with a pronominal subject would result as in (105).

(105) [CP XP_{TOP} [C' V_{fin} + **Sp** [AgrP t_{TOP} [TP pas [TP [vP]]]]]]

Below, we provide the X-bar scheme of the example in (104). This sentence involves the activation of the CP projection (Vance 1997).



Later, the question raised by Labelle (2007) concerns Old French as a real symmetrical V2 language or not. We will see in the following section which are the analysis and the hypothesis advanced by various linguists.

2.2.1. Old French main clauses and V2

As mentioned in section 1.6, linguists identified two types of V2 languages, namely the symmetric V2 languages and the asymmetric V2 languages. The first group shows V2 in all finite clauses while the second group shows V2 only in main clauses. According to den Besten (1989), the V2 languages called asymmetrical show the verb in C and the specifier of CP is filled with a constituent (XP). On the other hand, the V2 languages called symmetrical show the verb in I and the specifier of IP is filled with a constituent (XP) (cited in Labelle 2007, 290). However, even in symmetrical V2 languages, there is a possibility of activating the CP layer (Vikner 1995, Schwartz and Vikner 1996; cited in Labelle 2007, 290).

Going back to the main focus of the thesis, we can outline different views on how to define Old French in terms of V2. As stated by Labelle (2007), in general, Old French is viewed as a V2 language but linguists do not share the same idea on how Old French is structured in terms of V2. Some linguists believe that Old French was an asymmetrical V2 language (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997; cited in Labelle 2007, 290) while other linguists believe that Old French was a symmetrical V2 language (Lemieux & Dupuis 1995, Sitaridou 2004; cited in Labelle 2007, 290). Labelle (2007) adds that Old French has surely been subjected to changes. In fact, it is sufficient mentioning that Old French has changed between the 12th and the 13th century, as it will be explained in the next paragraph.

In Labelle's work, two perspectives are mentioned. Firstly, Côté (1995) believes that, in the 12th century, Old French was a V2 language where the IP projection was involved while, in the 13th century, Old French was a V2 language where the CP projection was involved. Then, Vance (1997) believes that, in the 12th century, Old French was a symmetrical V2 language while, in the 13th century, Old French was a V2 language where the CP projection was involved. For this reason, Labelle (2007) hypothesizes that Old French should be showing any type of constituent, before the verb, in main and embedded clauses. This condition would be satisfied if 12th century Old French was a symmetrical V2 language. Later, 13th century Old French sentences show a greater number of cases involving the S-V-O word order. The V2 word order triggered by the presence of a constituent, different from the subject, is now found in less cases. We will now focus only on main clauses and how V2 is realized. Labelle (2007) demonstrates in her study that main clauses involving V2 are related to the CP projection. Labelle (2007) takes mostly into consideration the position that the pronominal subjects occupy which we will learn to be in the CP projection (Labelle 2007, 296). In the previous section, we introduced Vance's analysis (1997) because Labelle starts from there and from the analysis of Roberts (1993) analyzing Old French as a V2 language. The primary idea is that, in Old French, a pronominal subject never occupies a position that is found lower than the specifier of the IP projection (Roberts 1993, Vance 1997; cited in Labelle 2007). As mentioned in section 2.2., the pronominal subjects are placed before the adverbs such as *pas* and next to the finite verb. In this situation, the verb is expected to be in the head of the CP projection accompanying the subject considered as a clitic. So, inverted main clauses must have a subject that is placed at least at the same height of the specifier of IP (cited in Labelle 2007). Meanwhile, according to Labelle (2007) a constituent that previously occupied a lower position, has been moved to the very front of the sentence, becoming the first element. This constituent leaves a trace in lower projections while moving to the specifier of CP.

Below, we cite an example from Labelle (2007) showing a constituent placed on the very left of the sentence as first element, *a mout maint home*, followed by the finite verb, *a*. After the verb, we find the pronominal subject, *il*, followed by the rest of the sentence, including a participle, *tolu*, and the direct object, *la vie*.

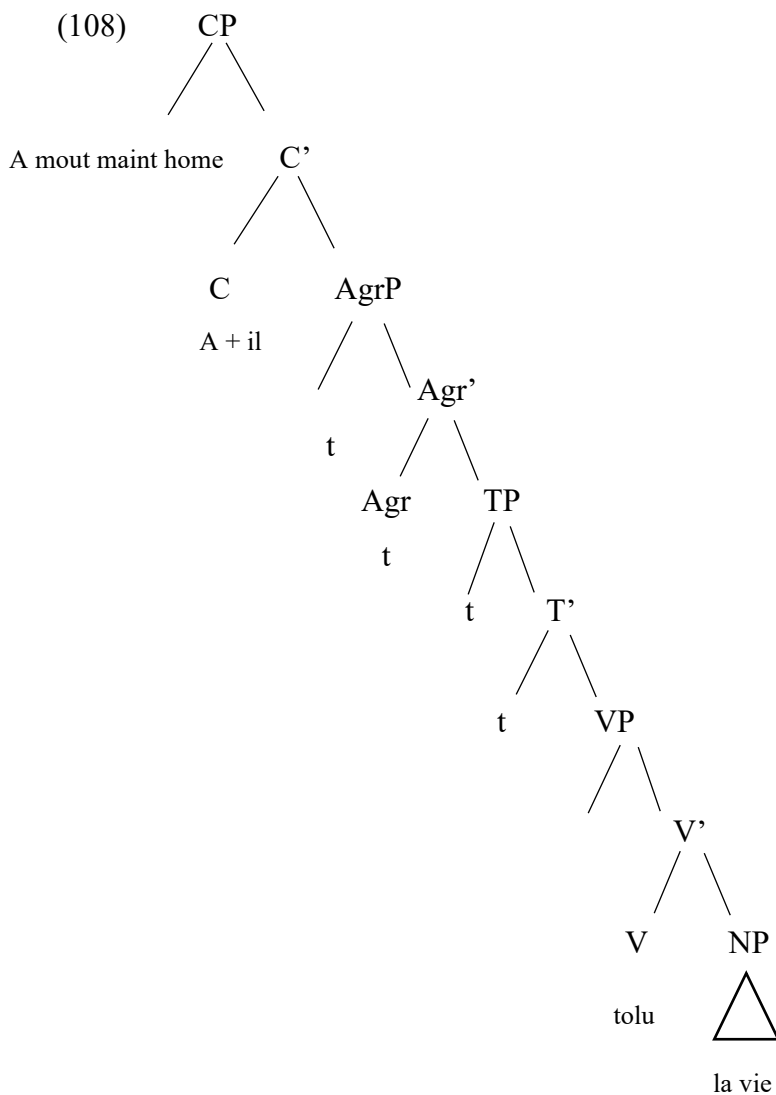
(107) [A mout maint home] *a il* tolu la vie, [...]

Of many men has he taken the life

‘He has taken the life of many men, [...]

(Anonymous, *Li quatre livre des reis*, ca.1190, 89,10 ; cited in Vance 1997, 68, ex.48a)

Below, we can find the representation of the sentence in (107) by using the X-bar scheme.



Moreover, even if we are dealing with a case of an embedded clause, it is worth mentioning it because it involves the typical structure of V2 main clauses, namely having a postverbal pronominal subject (Labelle 2007). We refer to the embedded clauses introduced by *que*. Below, an example from Labelle (2007) is mentioned. The embedded clause is introduced by *que* and shows an inversion of the verb, *sera*, with the pronominal subject, *il*. Even though it is an embedded clause, it shows the typical behavior of an inverted main clause involving V2 and the activation of the complementizer layer.

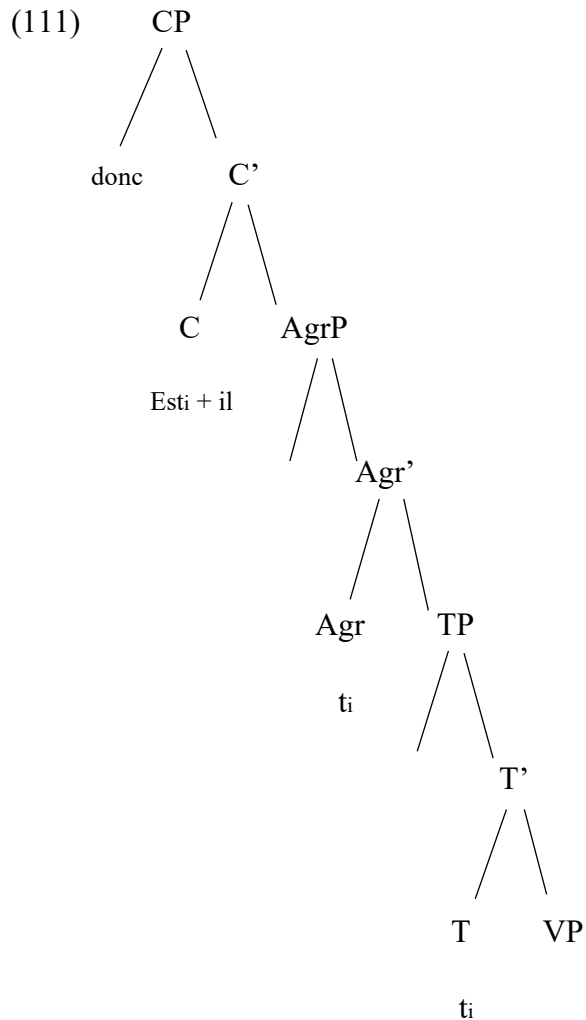
- (109) Tres bien li dites, voiant ses compaignons, / [Que ainz le vespre en sera **il** hontos] /
 N'i vorroit estre por l'anor de Mascons.
*Very well him tell, seeing his comrades, / that at the end of the day of it will-be he
 ashamed ((he) neg there-want to be for the gold of Mascons*
 'Very well, tell him in front of this men, that at the end of the day he will be ashamed, he
 will not want to be there for (all) the gold of Mascons.'
 (Anonymous, Couronnement de Louis, 12th century, v.1775; cited in Labelle 2007, 297,
 ex.16b)

Labelle (2007) adds that the expletives in Old French behave in the same way as the pronominal subjects when inverted main clauses are questioned. Expletives are placed right after the finite verb so it means that they occupy a high position. Below, an example from the text '*Couronnement de Louis*' (Anonymous, 12th century) is given. This sentence shows a constituent in the first position, followed by the finite verb, *est*. Then, the verb is followed by the expletive pronoun, *il*, and the rest of the constituents that build the sentence. Here, the CP projection is activated to host elements.

- (110) [Donc] *est il* dreiz et raison que m'assailles.
Therefore, is it right and reasonable that me attack
 'There, it is right and reasonable that you attack me.'
 (Anonymous, Couronnement de Louis, 12th century, v.891)

Below, we demonstrate using the X-bar scheme what Vance (1997) stated in the study. Exactly how the pronominal subjects are placed in C because they are considered as clitics to the verb, the

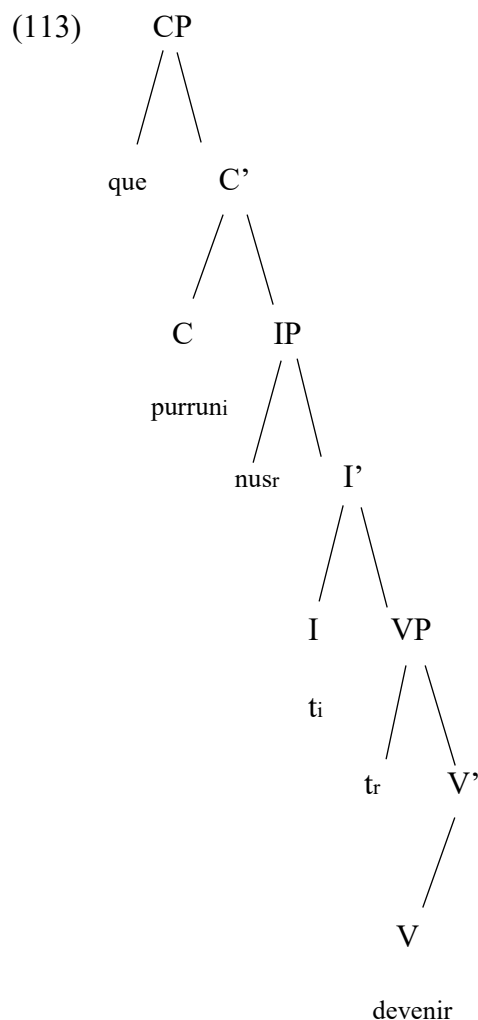
expletives show the same behavior. *Donc* is placed in the specifier of CP, while the verb, *est*, along with the expletive *il* are placed in head C.



However, later in the analysis, Labelle (2007) does not place the pronominal subjects in C, as Vance (1997) did, but in the specifier of the IP (or TP) projection. Labelle (2007) states that this is due to the similarities EOF shares with Old Germanic in which the pronominal subjects are considered as elements carrying features and as being attracted by the features that I (or T) owns. Labelle (2007) hypothesizes that in inverted main clauses, the verb occupies a position of head in the CP projection and it is found before the pronominal subject, while the pronominal subject is found as specifier of the IP projection. Below, we give an example from the text '*Chanson de Guillaume*' (Anonymous, 1140) involving a pronominal subject, *nus*, placed after the finite verb, *purrun*.

- (112) « [...] [que] *purrun nus* devenir ? »
 [...] *what can we become?*
 ‘What can we become?’
 (Anonymous, Chanson de Guillaume, 1140, v.192)

Below, a representation using the X-bar scheme of the sentence in (112) is given. We will follow the hypothesis carried out by Labelle (2007) in which the pronominal subject is placed in SpecIP. Moreover, the CP projection is activated and filled with the wh-operator, *que*, and the finite verb, *purrun*.



Moreover, Labelle (2007) focuses on the position that object clitic pronouns occupy in order to demonstrate that main clauses activate the CP layer. Firstly, object clitic pronouns are found after

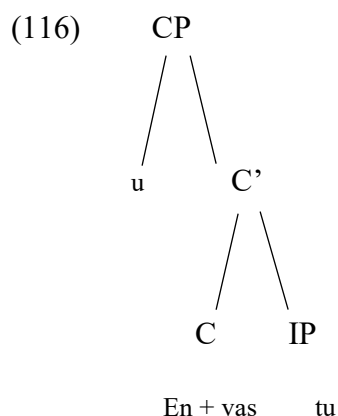
the verb only when we are dealing with V1 main clauses, namely the clauses where the verb is in the first position. Below, an example from the text ‘*Chanson de Guillaume*’ (Anonymous, 1140) is given. The first element is the finite verb, *vait* followed by the object clitic pronoun, *en*. After the object clitic pronoun, we can find the subject of the clause, namely *Willame*.

- (114) **Vait** *s'en* Willame, Guiburc remist plorant.
go refl-loc William, Guibourc returns sad
‘William goes away, Gibourc is sad again.’
(Anonymous, *Chanson de Guillaume*, 1140, v.2444)

On the other hand, object clitic pronouns are cliticized on the verb (Labelle 2007, 300). For this reason, it is believed that they are part of the CP system. Below, an example from the text ‘*Voyage de Saint-Brendan*’ (Benedeit 1106-1121) is given (cited in Labelle 2007). In this case, the first position of the sentence is occupied by a *wh*-operator that has been moved to the very left. Then, in the second position we find the object clitic pronoun, *en*, cliticized to the finite verb, *vas*. The last element closing the sentence is the subject, *tu*.

- (115) *u en vas* tu?
where loc go you
‘Where are you going?’
(Benedeit, *Voyage de Saint-Brendan*, 1106-1121, v.1322 ; cited in Labelle 2007, 300, ex 23b)

Following the hypothesis carried out by Labelle (2007), the X-bar scheme representing the sentence in (115), would result as in (116).



2.3. Further studies on Old French V2: initial subordinate clauses

In more recent years, the studies we mentioned in the previous sections have been revised by Donaldson (2012). The main aim of Donaldson's study is to outline how Old French has changed during time in terms of V2. We will show that Old French has certainly changed over the years from a purely V2 structure to the order we also find in Modern French, namely the S-V-O word order.

In general, various linguists believe that Old French is a V2 language where the finite verb is placed in the second position of main declaratives (Adams 1987, 1989; Vance 1997; Labelle 2007; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1021). However, Donaldson (2012) also mentions the possibility of finding attested constructions involving V3⁷. It is worth mentioning the V3 structures because they challenge the durability of the V2 structures. For this reason, we will mention the study carried out by Donaldson (2012) on structures such as the initial subordinate clauses which are placed right before the main clauses. In order to do that, Donaldson (2012) revised Vance et al. (2010) work on these structures. As we mentioned in the previous section, Vance (1997, 2010) always supported the idea that Old French was a V2 language but also demonstrated that it is possible to find constructions involving main clauses preceded by initial subordinate clauses. These are the constructions that will lead to a gradual loss of V2 and a growth in the use of the S-V ordering. Due to this particularity, we will deal with initial subordinate clauses to demonstrate that they carry effects on main clauses and they mark the syntactic change in Old French.

⁷ V3 languages are the ones where the finite verb is placed in the third position of a sentence. It is also possible to find $V \geq 3$ where the verb is found in the fourth (V4) position.

2.3.1. Initial subordinate clauses: a study by Donaldson (2012)

The study carried out by Donaldson (2012) has two important goals. Firstly, Donaldson (2012) wants to outline the position these initial subordinate clauses occupy but also determine if this position will be permanent or it will experience some changes. In general, they occur to the left of the main clause so it means that theories on the left periphery will be taken into account. Then, Donaldson (2012) questions the word order in the main clause. Following Vance et al. (2010), Donaldson (2012) demonstrates that the majority of the main clauses preceded by initial subordinate clauses shows a subject - verb order rather than a V2 word order. After considering and outlining Donaldson's study, we will confirm that EOF was a V2 language but, then, it evolved and it syntactically changed favoring a S-V word order, also typical of Modern French. Donaldson (2012) states that an initial subordinate clause is a 'dependent clause that precedes a main clause' (Vance et al. 2010; cited in Donaldson 2012). The particularity of these subordinate clauses is that they are introduced by an operator: *quant* 'when/since' or *ainz que* 'before' (Donaldson 2012). Below, two examples showing an initial subordinate clause, introduced by an operator, and preceding the main clause. The two examples come from the texts '*Erec et Enide*' (Chrétien de Troyes ca.1170) and '*Roman de Thèbes*' (Anonymous ca.1150).

(117) [Quant] il ot conté son message, **la reïne** *fu* preuz et sage [...].
When he has told his message, the queen was brave and wise [...]
'When he told his message, the queen was brave and wise [...]'
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ca.1170, v.1199/1200)

(118) [Ainz qu'] il se meïssent en voie, **Ypomedon** bien les *conroie*.
Before that they themselves put in route Hippomedon well them organized
'Before they could set out, Hippomedon organized them well.'
(Anonymous, *Roman de Thèbes* ca.1150, v.7187-7188)

The theory developed by Donaldson (2012) is that the initial subordinate clause might occupy different positions and might have different effects on the word order of the main clause. Following the studies conducted by Grad (1956) and Skårup (1975) on how the initial subordinate and the main clause behave when they are close to each other, we can deduce that the position of the verb in

the main clause is not fixed (Donaldson 2012, 1023). In one case, the verb is found after the initial subordinate clause and the subject while in another case, the verb may be found after the initial subordinate clause, the subject, an adverb or an object, originating a $V \geq 3$ structure.

Below, an example from the text '*Conte du Graal*' (Chrétien de Troyes ca.1181-1185), where the finite verb is found in the third position, is given. One of the two XPs is represented by the initial subordinate clause.

- (119) Et [quant il furent venu la], [**messire Gauvains**] [l'*apela*].
And before he was come there, Sir Gauvains him called
'Before he came there, Sir Gauvains had called him.'
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Conte du Graal*, ca.1181-1185, v.8217/8218)

Other cases where the finite verb occupies a third or higher position are cited below. In (120), the first position is occupied by a noun phrase (NP), the second position is occupied by an adverb (AdvP) while the third position is occupied by the finite verb (Donaldson 2012, 1027). In (121), the first position is occupied by a noun phrase (NP), the second position is occupied by a prepositional phrase (PP), the third position is occupied by a noun phrase (NP) while the fourth position is occupied by the finite verb (Donaldson 2012, 1027). In (122), the element occupying the first position seems like a modern left dislocation that is then resumed in the second position by a pronominal subject. Here, the verb occupies the third position (Donaldson 2012, 1027).

- (120) [**Messire Yvains**] [maintenant] *monte*.
Sir Yvains now rides
'Sir Yvain is getting on the horse.'
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain*, ca. 1177-1181, v.745)
- (121) [.I. graal] [antre ses .ii. mains] [**une dameisele**] *tenoit...*
A grail between her two hands a maiden held
'A maiden was holding a grail in her two hands...'
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Conte du Graal*, ca.1181-1185, v. 3208/3209; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1027, ex.22)

(122) [Dominedeu] **il** lo *laissat*.

Eternal God he him leaves

‘God, he leaves him.’

(Anonymous, *Vie de Saint Léger*, ca.1000, v. 127)

As stated above, it is worth mentioning the initial subordinate clauses when we have to deal with the changes that Old French experienced between the 12th and the 13th century: from a V2 word order to an SV word order (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997; cited in Donaldson 2012). Moreover, it is important to mention the initial subordinate clauses because they show how the complementizer layer is articulated in Old French too. This means that in this language, it is possible to find various elements generated or moved into this area. According to Vance et al. (2010), the initial subordinate clauses influenced the evolution the main clauses experienced. For this reason, Vance et al. (2010) demonstrated that the passage from a V2 word order to an SV word order was gradual because depending on the operator that introduces the initial subordinate clause, we might encounter more or less innovation. For this reason, if an initial subordinate clause is introduced by *se*, the main clause will have an innovative result; if the initial subordinate clause is introduced by *quant*, the result in the main clause will be less innovative with a gradual switch from V2 to SV; if the initial subordinate is introduced by *por ce que* or *en ce que*, the result in the main clause will be conservative (V2 word order). As a result of what the researchers discovered, V2 Old French owns peculiar properties such as displaying a flexible first position where any type of XPs can be moved there and placing the finite verb in the second position. The following examples cited in Donaldson (2012) show in the first position respectively a prepositional phrase (123), a temporal adverb (124) and a noun phrase representing the object (125).

(123) [En Bretagne] *maneit* **uns ber**.

in Brittany lived a baron

‘A baron lived in Brittany.’

(Marie de France, *Bisclavret*, ca. 1185, v.15 ; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1025, ex.13)

(124) [Or] *estoit je trop a aise.*

now was I too at pleasure

‘I was too happy until now.’

(Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Enide, ca. 1170, v.2586 ; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1025, ex.14)

(125) [Ma dame] *a cil lerres* souduite.

my wife has this scoundrel seduced

‘This scoundrel seduced my wife.’

(Chrétien de Troyes, Yvain, ca.1177-1181, v.2727 ; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1025, ex. 15)

Moreover, in Old French we might encounter sentences where the first element is the subject, both nominal or pronominal. These subjects are autonomous so they can occupy the first position and they are followed by the verb, occupying the second position (Donaldson 2012, 1025). Below, we provide two examples showing a nominal subject (126) and a pronominal subject (127) that create a SV word order with the finite verb.

(126) Et **li rois Artus** *s’ert asis* au chief d’une table pansis.

And the king Artus REFL is sat at the head of a table dangling

‘And king Artus sat down at the head of a dangling table.’

(Chrétien de Troyes, Conte du Graal, ca.1181-1185, v.905/906)

(127) **Il** *mande* par moi a la pucele la reïne.

He commanded/send for me the virgin queen

‘He sends for me the virgin queen.’

(Chrétien de Troyes, Conte du Graal, ca.1181-1185, v.1242/1243)

The examples cited above might resemble Modern French where the canonical order of the constituents is S-V. However, Donaldson (2012) shows that Old French also allows sentences where

the subject, nominal or pronominal, is in a postverbal position, so on the right of the finite verb. This is due to the presence of an XP in the first position (Donaldson 2012, 1026).

- (128) [A la cité d’Orcanie] **a li rois** sa cort establee [...].
In the city of Orcanie has the king his court established
 ‘The king has established his court in the city of Orcanie [...].’
 (Chrétien de Troyes, Conte du Graal, ca.1181-1185, v.8827/8828)

- (129) [Lors] **ot il** conpaignie viax de .v.c. chevaliers noviax.
Then has he companion travel of ninety-five knights new
 ‘Then, he has a travel companion of new ninety-five knights.’
 (Chrétien de Troyes, Conte du Graal, ca.1181-1185, v.8913/8914)

Following these preliminary results from various studies, we may now confirm what we cited in the previous section: the finite verb, when the V2 word order is involved, moves from its initial position to its final position, namely C (Adams 1987, Roberts 1993, Skårup 1995, Vance 1997; cited in Donaldson 2012). As a result, the first position in the sentence, namely the specifier of the CP projection, is occupied by an XP. Below, the syntactic representation of sentences involving the V2 word order, developed by Vance (1997) and cited in (99) and revised by Vance et al. (2010), is given. The highest projection is the CP where the position of the specifier is occupied by the XP while the head C is occupied by the finite verb. If the specifier of CP is saturated by an XP, the subject will occupy a postverbal position, while if the specifier of CP is not saturated by an XP, the subject will occupy that position creating the SV word order (Donaldson 2012, 1026).

- (130) [CP XP [C’ Vi [+fin] [TP (subject) [T’ [VP ti]]]]] (cited in Donaldson 2012, 1026)

The syntactic structure in (130) shows the classical analysis of the CP. The finite verb occupies the head C and several XPs can occupy the specifier position. Studies conducted by Skårup (1975) hypothesize a verbal zone where the finite verb is placed (second position) and a preverbal zone where various elements can be moved to (first position) (cited in Donaldson 2012, 1028).

Donaldson (2012) makes use of Benincà's (2006) perspective and structure of Romance clauses to carry out his analysis of Old French. Below, Benincà's (2006) structural model is repeated. The specifier of Focus represents what Skårup (1975) called with the term 'preverbal zone' and what Adams (1987) and Vance (1997) define with 'SpecCP'. The head of Focus represents what Skårup (1975) called with the term 'verbal zone' and what Adams (1987) and Vance (1997) define with head C. Therefore, following Benincà (2006), in Old French, the finite verb moves to the head of Focus while the specifier of Focus is saturated with an XP, e.g., left dislocations or initial subordinate clauses (cited in Donaldson 2012, 1029).

(131) [Force] [Frame] [Topic] [Focus] [Fin]

If an initial subordinate clause occupies SpecFocusP and the verb is placed in second position as head Focus, then the subject will be placed after the verb. If SpecFocusP is not saturated, the subject will not be found in a postverbal position but it will occupy the SpecFocusP position (Donaldson 2012, 1029).

Moreover, the structures involving an initial subordinate, followed by an object clitic and the verb are investigated. These types of structures involving object clitics are important because they can tell us more about the preverbal position hosting XPs. According to Donaldson (2012), object clitics occupy the position adjacent to the finite verb: it can be preverbal as postverbal (Donaldson 2012, 1030). The distribution of the object clitics between preverbal and postverbal position is due to the presence of the initial XP. So, if the first position of the clause is occupied by an XP, the object clitic will be placed preverbally while if the first position is not saturated by an XP, the object clitic will be placed post-verbally in order to not appearing in the first position (Tobler & Mussafia; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1030). Below, two examples involving the use of object clitics are given. As we can see, if an XP occupies the first position, or SpecFocus (Beninca' 2004, 2006), the object clitic is placed before the verb while if there is no XP in SpecFocus, the object clitic is placed after the verb.

(132) [Par grant vertu] **li** fait un colp ferir.

With great virtue to-him makes a blow wounded

'With great virtue, a blow wounds him.'

(Anonymous, Chanson de Guillaume, ca.1140, v. 3300)

- (133) *Veit le li pere [...]*
Sees him the father
 ‘The father sees him [...]’
 (Anonymous, *Li coronemenz Looiz*, ca.1130, v.147)

However, Donaldson (2012) revised Benincà’s theory and demonstrated that the position of the initial subordinate clauses is on the left of the entire sentence, and not in SpecFocusP, because we might find an independent, separate XP or simply an object clitic between the initial subordinate clause and the finite verb (Donaldson 2012, 1030). Donaldson (2012) hypothesizes that if an XP occurs between the initial subordinate clause and the finite verb, the XP saturates SpecFocusP while the initial subordinate clause is found on the left of SpecFocusP but always in the complementizer layer. In addition, if we are dealing with object clitics in a postverbal position, the idea is that the XP preceding the finite verb is not found in SpecFocusP but on the left of this projection. Below, two examples from Donaldson (2012) demonstrating this point are given. In (134), the NP at the beginning of the sentence occupies a position on the left of SpecFocusP and the object clitic, *en*, is found after the verb. In (135), the XP at the beginning occupies a position that is on left of SpecFocusP and the object clitic, *i*, is found after the verb.

- (134) [E la chere sainte pucele] [*parti s’en*] gloriuse e bele.
And the dear holy maiden left herself from-there blessed and beautiful
 ‘And the dear holy maiden left blessed and beautiful.’
 (Adgar, *Miracles*, late 12th century, v.199-200; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1030, ex.34)
- (135) [Cum il vint a unes loges à pasturs en cel chemin] [*truvad i*] les freres Achazie.
When he came to a lodge to shepherd in that path found there the brothers Achazie
 ‘When he came to a shepherd’s lodge on that path, there he found the Achazie brothers.’
 (Anonymous, *Li Quatre Livre des reis* ca.1190, v. 195-196 ; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1030, ex.35)

Moreover, Donaldson (2012) cites some particular cases where initial subordinate clauses are involved and the word order is ambiguous. The first structure involves an initial subordinate clause and the operator *ne*. The particularity of this operator is that sometimes it acts like a clitic, allowing the co-occurrence with the subject in SpecFocusP and other times as an XP, allowing the presence of preverbal object clitics (Donaldson 2012, 1031). The result is that it is not possible to confirm if it occupies the position of SpecFocusP or not. Due to the nature of *ne*, it is difficult to define whether the initial subordinate clause is part of the SpecFocusP or whether it is found in another projection of the left periphery (Donaldson 2012, 1031). The second structure involves an initial subordinate clause and the null subject (*pro*). Following the theories of Vance (1997), the null subject is found in Old French only if we are dealing with sentences where the subject, if it is expressed, is found in a post-verbal position. In this case, the position of the initial subordinate sentence is ambiguous.

In short, Donaldson (2012) examines the position that initial subordinate clauses occupy and the effect they have on the way the words are placed in the main declarative. Donaldson (2012) analyses texts in verse and in prose from early 1000 to the end of the 12th century. In order to define a sentence as initial subordinate, they must occupy the first position or they must be preceded by a coordinating conjunction because the latter is not seen as potential elements filling a projection that would result in a V2 word order (Donaldson 2012, 1033). On the other hand, if the first position is occupied by a constituent, as a result, the initial subordinate clause is placed between the constituent and the verb as a parenthetical (Donaldson 2012, 1033). Below, an example of the latter is given. The first constituent found in the sentence is a NP and it is followed by the initial subordinate clause introduced by the operator *quant*. Then, the pronoun and the finite verb are close to each other; the pronoun is placed before the verb.

- (136) Li quens Rollant, [quant il veit Sansun mort], poëz saveir que mult grant doel en out.
The earl Roland, when he sees Sansun dead, can know that much great grief in above
‘Roland the earl, when he sees Sansun dead, could experience much grief and above.’
(Anonymous, Chanson de Roland, ca.1100, 1580-1581)

Donaldson (2012) also mentions sequences that involve an initial subordinate clause, followed by the conjunction *et* and the main declarative. This structure has particular features because the conjunction might operate on both the initial subordinate clause and the main declarative by

changing the semantic relationship that exists between the two (Donaldson 2012, 1034). For this reason, these two structures are not included in Donaldson's analysis. Rather, Donaldson (2012) focuses on structures involving an initial subordinate clause introduced by subordinators such as *endementiers que* 'while', *por ce que* 'because, so that', *quant* 'when/since', *se* 'if' and *si tost come* 'as soon as' (Donaldson 2012, 1034). Subordinators such as *quant* and *se* are inherited from Latin while subordinators such as *endementiers que*, *por ce que* and *si tost come* have been attested for the first time during the Old French period (Donaldson 2012, 1034). In the analysis, Donaldson (2012) classifies the structures as showing the V2 or the SV word orders. Moreover, Donaldson (2012) classifies the structures as occupying SpecFocusP, as being left-peripheral or ambiguous. The main declaratives that show a preverbal subject which is followed by a finite verb are considered as SV structures while the main declaratives that show a postverbal subject, a null subject or the adverb *si* are considered as V2 structures (Donaldson 2012, 1034). Meanwhile, Donaldson (2012) classifies two structures as ambiguous in terms of word order. Firstly, the structure involving a nominal subject placed after the verb without being accompanied by the resumptive *si*. Secondly, the structure involving a nominal subject placed before the verb but separated from it by an XP. According to Donaldson, this second structure might involve the left-dislocation of the subject without involving a resumptive pronoun or clitic (Donaldson 2012, 1034).

Results show differences between the various initial subordinate clauses in terms of syntactic projections and where to place them. Donaldson (2012) demonstrates that initial subordinate clauses introduced by *se* are always placed on the left of SpecFocusP namely in a more left projection in the area of the left periphery of the main clause. Initial subordinate clauses introduced by *quant*, just like the ones introduced by *se*, are found on the left of SpecFocusP, namely one of the lowest projections of the left periphery. Initial subordinate clauses introduced by *endementiers que* were firstly attested in 1155 and they are found on the left of SpecFocusP, namely in one of the lowest projections of the left periphery. Initial subordinate clauses introduced by *si tost comme* are variable because in some cases, they are found on the left of SpecFocusP, namely in a more left projection of the left periphery of the main clause while in other cases they are found in SpecFocusP. Initial subordinate clauses introduced by *por ce que* were present in the earliest texts and they are found in SpecFocusP mainly. Later, the *por ce que* subordinator experiences a great shift and initial subordinate clauses introduced by *por ce que* are mainly found in the left periphery of the main clause. For this reason, Donaldson demonstrated that initial subordinate clauses are found mainly in the left periphery of the main clause, so that could be the 'default' position (Donaldson 2012, 1037). Old French grammar underwent some changes between the mid-12th century and the late 12th century. If the initial subordinate clauses were firstly found in a higher projection in the left

periphery, then they are mostly found in a lower projection of the left periphery, namely SpecFocusP. This is due to the fact that SpecFocusP needs to be saturated (Donaldson 2012, 1037). However, this idea might challenge what Grad (1956, 1961) hypothesized, namely that the position of the initial subordinate clauses is linked to the origin of the subordinator (Donaldson 2012, 1037). Donaldson (2012) adopts Benincà's (2006) left periphery model to define where initial subordinate clauses are placed. According to Benincà (2006), the first position of the main clause is SpecFocusP, followed by Focus. The projections that come before Focus, namely Force, Frame and Topic are also part of the left periphery (Benincà 2006, cited in Donaldson 2012, 1038). Following the results obtained by Donaldson (2012), initial subordinate clauses are usually hosted in the SpecFocusP projection but when they are not, they are placed in a higher projection, namely in FrameP. This is due to the fact that sometimes, the Topic projection can be filled thus obtaining an intervention between the initial subordinate clause and the main clause (Donaldson 2012, 1038). As a result, the initial subordinate clause occupies a position in Frame, XPs, if present, can occupy the position of SpecTopicP, while the main clause will be in the Focus projection (Donaldson 2012, 1038). Below, an example from Donaldson (2012, 1038) showing an initial subordinate clause co-occurring with an element dislocated on the left occupying SpecTopicP. Moreover, SpecFocusP hosts the adverb, *si*. In (138), the X-bar scheme of (137) is provided.

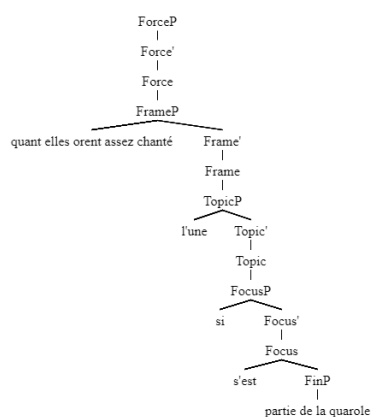
(137) [SpecFrame Quant elles orent assez chanté], [SpecTopic l'une] [SpecFocus si] [Focus s'est] partie de la quarole.

when they had enough sung the.one thus herself.is left from the dance

'When they had sung a great deal, one of them left the dance.'

(Anonymous, *Le roman de Cassidorus*, ca. 1267, 116 ; cited in Donaldson 2012, 1038, ex. 43).

(138)



2.4. Topic and Focus in V1/V2 Old French

In this section, we will focus on Topic and Focus in Old French and how they interact with sentences showing a V2 word order. We will start from the study carried out by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) on Topic and Focus in Old French V1 and V2. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) believed that Old French should be considered more as a Topic-initial language than a V2 language. In order to study this aspect, they focused on a corpus of texts between the 12th and the 13th century.

Information Structure is an important aspect in their study because it is related to the changes the word order might experience. As mentioned by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), Information Structure means ‘the way languages structure discourse information (e.g., Focus and Topic)’ (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 265). Following what has been claimed in the previous chapter, Topic and Focus own projections that are reserved to them (Benincà 2006, Benincà & Poletto 2004). Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) follow the study carried out by Rinke and Meisel (2009) in which Old French is not considered as a V2 language but rather as a Topic-initial language. In general, the hypothesis is that Old French experienced an evolution between the 12th and 13th century. Therefore, the examples that will be provided, in order to support Labelle and Hirschbühler’s hypothesis, are in verses. This is due to the fact that most of the texts between the 12th and the 13th centuries were in verses. Moreover, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) will adopt the definitions advanced by Reinhart (1981), Krifka (2008) and Charolles (1978): Information Topic and Information Focus.

- The Information Topic (I-Topic), or ‘Aboutness Topic’ by Reinhart (1982), is considered as the subject of the discourse. The comment that follows is based on the Topic. According to Krifka (2008) the Topic is ‘the entity/entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the [common ground] content’ (Krifka 2008; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 266). As mentioned in Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), the Information Topic is an entity that is already available in the knowledge of both the speaker and the hearer.
- The Information Focus (I-Focus) is linked with the principle developed by Charolles (1978) called ‘*Progression Principle*’. This means that if the main goal is to be informative, a sentence must contain new material (cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). So, the Information Focus has the peculiarity of bringing new information to both the speaker and the hearer. For this reason, a complete sentence could be considered as an Information Focus too because it contains brand new information. In addition, an Information Focus does not have to be of a contrastive type.

At the end of the 20th century, linguists confirmed that the finite verb in Old French tends to be in the second position, thus creating the typical V2 word order. In addition, they demonstrated that if the verb is preceded by an element, the subject is found right after the verb, instead of being found before it (Skårup 1975, cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). Linguists show different ways of analyzing the V2 word order in an Old French sentence. As mentioned in the previous sections, authors such as Adams (1987, 1988), Roberts (1993) or Vance (1997) believe that the finite verb occupies the head C of the CP projection while the element placed before the verb, occupies the position of SpecCP. On the other hand, thanks to the articulated left periphery developed by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004), the verb is placed in FinP as head of this projection (Fin) while the element found before the verb fills the specifier position (SpecFinP). Below, an example from ‘*Chanson de Roland*’ is given (cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 267, ex. 3). Occupying the first position, we find the constituent *messe e matines*, followed by the verb, *ad*, in the second position. The subject, *li reis*, is placed after the verb in a lower projection (TP).

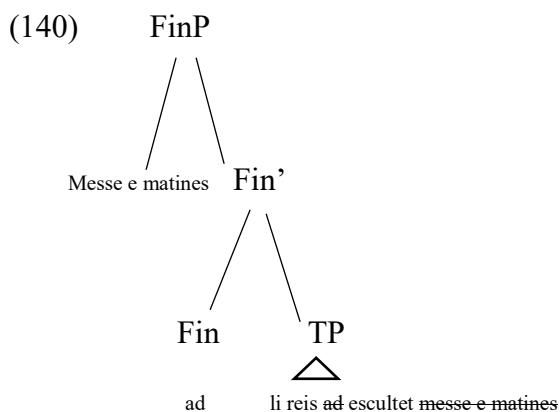
(139) [Messe e matines] *ad li reis* escultet.

mass and matins has the king heard

‘The king has attended mass and matins.’

(Anonymous, *Chanson de Roland*, ca. 1100, 164; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 267, ex.3)

Below, we provide the X-bar scheme of this sentence by taking into consideration Benincà & Poletto’s (2004) theory on the articulation of the left periphery. We will use the FinP projection to place both the verb and the element that comes before it.



However, several linguists and authors do not share the same analysis. According to Rinke & Meisel (2009), Old French is considered more as a Topic-initial language. This is due to the fact that Old French shows a larger number of structures where the verb is in the first position (V1) or in the third position (V3) than the structures where the verb is in the second position (V2). Therefore, rather than involving the CP layer, they place the verb in the head of TP and a topicalized element carrying the feature of ‘aboutness’ in SpecTP. In VP, we will find the position hosting the I-Focus (Rinke & Meisel 2009; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 267). Moreover, according to Rinke and Meisel (2009), the subject is placed before the verb so that it does not receive the status of I-Focus. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) state that the constituents that indicate the setting or the time of the situation ‘under which the proposition is evaluated’ are seen as Topics. These elements can be placed in a sentence along with I-Topics, so, according to Rinke & Meisel (2009), these elements indicating the setting and the time are placed in a preverbal position in Old French only if the I-Topic is not clearly expressed. This is due to the fact that Old French is a language in which I-Topic are often placed before the verb as a link to what we got to know in the previous discourse (cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). However, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) will also demonstrate that the preverbal position in Old French can be filled thanks to an I-Focus too. In order to shed some light on these aspects, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) start their analysis by considering the clauses where the verb is placed in the first position (V1) and only then, clauses showing the verb in the second position (V2) will be taken into account.

Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), following what was mentioned in the previous studies, argued that the position following the verb hosts the I-Focus. Therefore, V1 clauses are all-focus, according to their analysis. For this reason, a subject might be moved to the preverbal position so that it is not considered as an I-Focus. Therefore, the subjects, which are found after the verb, in sentences with V1 word order, should be considered as part of the I-Focus. To study this aspect, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) took into account clauses where we encounter full subjects and the verb does not belong to the group of the direct discourse introducers. In addition, the full subjects were divided into I-Topic, I-Focus or unclear (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 269). Results show that, even though the majority of the subjects were I-Focus, a great number of subjects found after the verb were considered as I-Topics. Below, we cite two examples that demonstrate the evolution of V1. We work on texts where the postverbal subjects are considered as I-Foci and texts where the postverbal subjects are considered as I-Topics. Firstly, we cite an example from ‘*Chanson de Roland*’, showing a postverbal subject considered as I-Focus. The passage is talking about French people leaving to return to their home country; when it will happen, Charles will organize a big celebration.

- (141) *Vendrat li jurz /si passerat li termes [...]*
Come the day / pass the time
'The day will come; the time will pass [...]'
(Anonymous, Chanson de Roland, ca.1100, v.54)

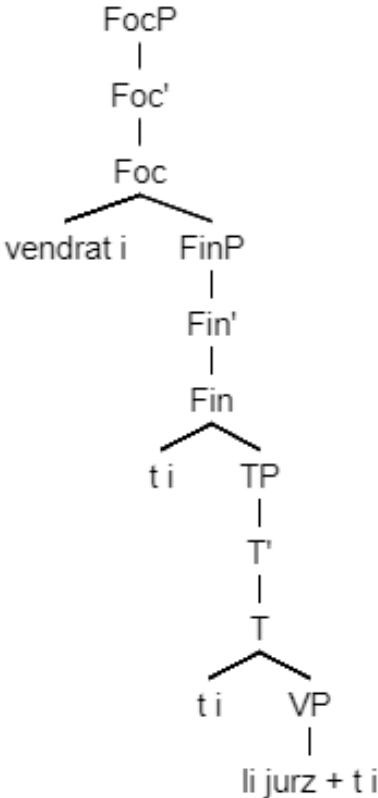
Secondly, we cite an example from the piece '*Voyage de Saint-Brendan*' (cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018) showing a postverbal subject considered as I-Topic. During this period, subject remains in a postverbal position, without having the necessity of moving before the verb. The passage involves Brendan as the protagonist. He and his fellows find a place to rest, after a long journey. Unfortunately, a tempest approaches.

- (142) **Cunuit Brandans** a l'air pluius/Que li tens ert mult annüus.
knew Brendan from the air rainy / that the weather was very worrisome
'Brendan knew from the wet wind that the weather was worrisome.'
(Benedeit, Voyage de Saint-Brendan, 1106-1121, 971; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 269, ex.7)

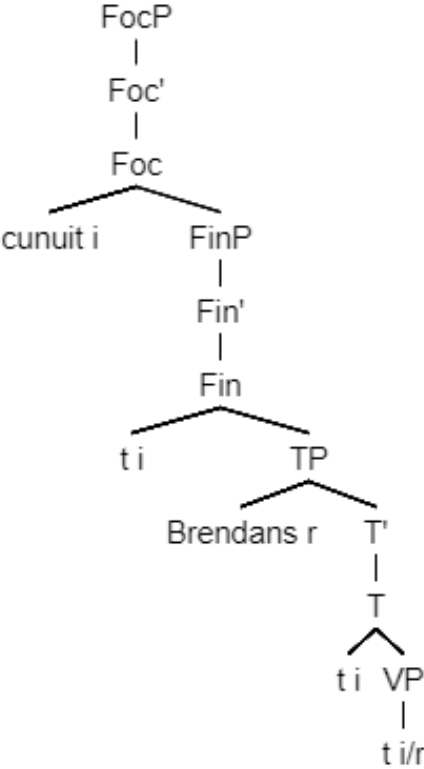
As mentioned by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), V1 structures in which the verb is followed by a subject carrying I-Topic features constitute counterevidence to the claim that the verb is the head of the TP (or IP) projection. Therefore, the hypothesis is that the verb is moved towards the left periphery, making its first steps to Fin (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). Then, following Benincà & Poletto's (2004) theory on the left periphery, more projections are involved, such as FocP, where the verb will land. Moreover, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) place the postverbal subject in either SpecVP or SpecTP. For this reason, Rinke and Maisel (2009), propose that SpecVP is the place hosting I-Focus while SpecTP is the place hosting I-Topic. Below, we provide the two X-bar schemes of the two sentences in examples (141) and (142). We will follow Benincà & Poletto's (2004) analysis of the articulated left periphery.

However, V1 structures will become rarer in the texts that date from the 13th century onwards because the V2 word order will be preferred. According to Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), V1 structures will make their appearance once again after 1267 but they are found in fewer contexts than before.

(143)



(144)



Later, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) mentions V1 structures and sometimes V2 structures that involve a verb introducing the direct discourse but they do not go further in analyzing them most of all because of the postverbal position of the subject. In fact, in Chapter 4, the analysis of the V1 word order in prose texts only provided us examples involving V1 in quotative inversion sentences. On the other hand, poems showed cases of V1 in situations involving both indirect and direct speech. Below, some examples showing a V1 structure with the verb before the subject (145), a sentence showing the S-V order (146) and a X-V-S or V2 structure involving a constituent before the verb that represents the object (147). All the examples come from the work in verses ‘*Chanson de Roland*’ (Anonymous, ca.1100, v. 47, 156, 327).

- (145) **Dist** Blancandrins: “...” = VS (47)
 Says Blancandrins: “...”
- (146) Charles **respunt**: “...” = SV (156)
 Charles answers: “...”
- (147) Ço **dist** li reis: “...” = XVS (327)
 This says the king: “...”

After the disappearance of the V1 structures in the 13th century, we might encounter sentences where the first element is an XP so that the subject remains in a postverbal position (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). In contrast, the structures most commonly found are the ones where the subject is in the first position, right before the verb. It will be the beginning of the word order that we find today in Modern French namely, S-V-(X). Therefore, the hypothesis developed by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) is that the informational role carried by the subject does not set the position it has in the sentence.

Later, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) debate on the sentences that show a V2 word order in order to discover the informational roles that both the preverbal constituents and the postverbal subjects own. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) state that, generally, definite subjects are considered as I-Topics while indefinite subjects do not generate well-formed I-Topics. For this reason, they questioned themselves on the position occupied by these two different subjects and how probable it is to find definite⁸ subjects before the verb and indefinite⁹ subjects after the verb. The majority of

⁸ Definite subject: it refers to a subject that is preceded by a definite, possessive or demonstrative determiner; DPs in which the head is a demonstrative; proper nouns (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 273).

the subjects are part of the definite group and they have the role of providing information that is already known because it has been given in the preceding context. In contrast with what was thought, they are found both in a preverbal and in a postverbal position (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 273). According to Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), for the fact that they can be found in both positions, definite subjects might be in both occasions I-Topics. On the other hand, indefinite subjects are mostly placed before the verb and only a limited number of them is found after the verb (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 273). For this reason, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) hypothesize that these preverbal subjects can be considered as I-Foci bringing new information to the conversation. Below, we cite an example from the text ‘*Les Lais*’ (Marie de France, 1160) showing an indefinite subject placed before the verb. The passage talks about the protagonist, a brave knight, who is searching for a good place to bury his love. Then, he realizes that there is a place near his domain where a hermit lives. Therefore, he decides to visit him and let him bury his love in the chapel.

(148) [**Un seinz hermits**] *i maneit* et [une chapele] *i aveit*.

A holy hermit lived and a chapel had

‘A holy hermit lived there and there was a chapel there.’

(Marie de France, *Les Lais* ; *Eliduc*, 1160, v.3715; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 274, ex.13)

Following these results, we can demonstrate that it is not true to think that the subjects are moved to a preverbal position in order to not be considered as I-Foci. In fact, indefinite preverbal subjects can be considered as I-Foci bringing new information (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018).

If in Old French we are dealing with a constituent that is not the subject in a preverbal position, as stated by Rinke and Meisel (2009), it will be considered as carrying the features of Topic. Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) cite Marchello-Nizia’s (1999) study on direct objects placed in a position before the finite verb. Marchello-Nizia (1999) works on two texts, ‘*Chanson de Roland*’ (1100) and ‘*Conte du Graal*’ (ca.1181-1185) and concentrates on the visible changes that the preverbal objects experience in terms of informational roles. According to Marchello-Nizia (1999), in the text ‘*Chanson de Roland*’, the constituents that are placed before the finite verb show no restrictions in

⁹ Indefinite subject: it refers to DPs in which the head is a partitive or an indefinite determiner (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018)

their role even though they are considered more as I-Foci than I-Topics. On the other hand, according to Marchello-Nizia (1999), in the text ‘*Conte du Graal*’, the order that includes an object before the finite verb, is more restricted. In this case, placing the object before the verb means giving it the role of theme, so, it will be considered as I-Topic (Marchello-Nizia 1999; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). Below, we cite two examples involving an object placed before the verb directly from the two pieces above-mentioned.

- (149) Cordres ad *prise* [...]
 strings has [he] taken
 ‘He took strings [...]’
 (Anonymous, Chanson de Roland, ca.1100, v.97)

- (150) « Dame, saluz vos *mande uns chevaliers* [...] »
 Madame, greetings you send knights [...]
 ‘Madame, some knights send you their greetings [...]’
 (Chrétien de Troyes, Conte du Graal, ca.1181-1185, v.4028/4029)

However, after 1200, all the preverbal objects that were considered as I-Foci, they will be then considered as I-Topics because of a more restricted consideration of the preverbal position (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018).

Moreover, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) consider in their work the sentences in which the first element is represented by a quantifier, a non-finite verb, an adjective or other predicates. They take these constituents into account because the hypothesis is that they cannot be considered as candidates for Topic. For this reason, they are considered as part of the Focus. Below, an example mentioned by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) showing a predicate in a preverbal position. The context is also given: the two characters involved are Roland and Marsile. Then, Roland utters ‘Marsile, you will learn how my sword is named’ and strikes a blow.

(151) [Trenchet] li *ad* **li quens** le destre poign.

Cut him has the count the right hand

‘The count has cut his right hand.’

(Anonymous, *Chanson de Roland*, ca.1100, v.1903; cited in Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018)

In addition, Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) cite the possible presence of adverbials in a preverbal position. However, these elements are not considered as Topics or Foci but as constituents that are necessary for connecting the sentence with a previous one (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018). For this reason, if the preverbal position is occupied by an adverbial, the I-Topic is placed in the postverbal position as the subject (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018).

(152) [Dont] ne *fu* **Meliaz de Liz** an la meison Tiebaut norriz ?

Then not was Meliant of Liz in the house Thibaut fed?

‘Then, wasn’t Meliant of Liz fed in Thibaut’s house?’

(Chrétien de Troyes, *Conte du Graal*, ca.1181-1185, v.4811)

To resume what Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018) found, we can say that Old French was considered as a V2 language sharing some characteristics with the V2 Germanic languages until the 13th century. Then, they questioned themselves on the preverbal and postverbal positions. In Old French, the preverbal position can host an I-Focus, an I-Topic, an adverb or an element giving us information about the setting while the postverbal position can also host I-Topics (Labelle and Hirschbühler 2018, 282). As a result, the subject that is found after the verb does not need to be moved before the verb, so that it is not considered as an I-Focus. Moreover, with the finite verb being in a position in the left periphery, the postverbal subject can be considered as I-Topic and fill the position of SpecTP. However, as stated by Labelle and Hirschbühler (2018), Old French underwent changes after the 13th century, determining a new analysis of the left periphery. Therefore, the constituents carrying new information and thus considered as I-Foci are now placed after the verb. For this reason, Old French will gradually turn from a V2 language into a S-V-O language (Marchello-Nizia 1995).

2.5. V2 and left periphery: Meklenborg Salvesen's analysis

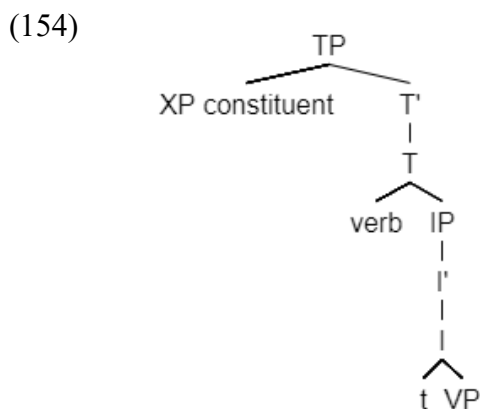
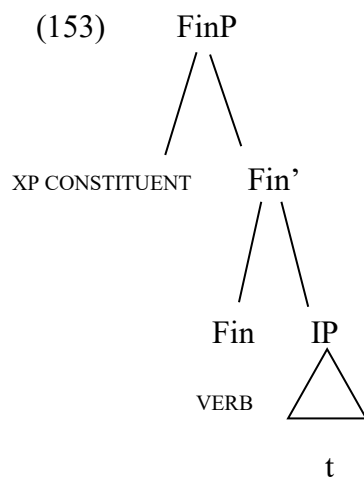
In this section, we cite Meklenborg Salvesen's study (2013) in order to better explain how Old French behaves in terms of Topics. We outline Meklenborg's analysis of the left periphery of Old French and how being a V2 language might influence the structure of the sentences.

Firstly, according to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), Old French was a V2 language in the first years of its existence. This typical characteristic of Germanic languages is also found in Old French maybe due to the fact that the main language spoken in the area of the Gaule had Frankish influences (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013). For this reason, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) states that this word order is due to a movement that the verb undertakes to a higher position, namely Fin. Moreover, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) adds that in the specifiers of the Fin and the Foc projections, we might encounter material that is important for the realization of the V2 word order. As we mentioned in the previous sections, V2 languages can also show a V3 word order, where the verb is placed in the 3rd position (or in the 4th), supporting the idea that the projection of the complementizer is in reality a layer composed of various projections (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004). However, due to the significance presence of V3 structures in Old French, we might encounter some linguists that do not consider Old French as a V2 language. By citing Meklenborg Salvesen's (2013) study, we take into consideration the analysis on the positions the elements occupy in a sentence showing a V2 word order. Moreover, we outline the analysis on the topicalized constituents in Old French and how they are realized.

Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) confirms the previous studies by citing that when we are dealing with a V2 language, the order of the constituents is different from the canonical one showed by the majority of the Modern languages, namely S-V-O. V2 languages are characterized by a constituent that occupies the first position in the sentence and thus triggers the verb to be placed in the second position, followed by the subject resulting as XP-V-S. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) takes into account Rizzi's (1997) first configuration of the complementizer layer and the extension proposed by Benincà & Poletto (2004). Following Benincà & Poletto (2004), Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) confirms that Frame is the projection that hosts more salient information if considering the informational aspect while Theme is the projection that hosts less salient elements.

According to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) and basing moreover the discussion on previous studies, it might be difficult to understand where the verb lands in a V2 language, after considering the articulated complementizer projection. In fact, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) takes into account the definition that Holmberg (2011) provided on V2, even though Holmberg (2011) did not address the problem of where to place the finite verb in these cases. According to Holmberg (2011) a V2

language is characterized by a head in the left periphery that will later host the finite verb and the specifier position of that head filled with a constituent. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), in order to define exactly where the verb lands, takes into consideration Holmberg's (2011) work but also the ones of Roberts (2004) and Salvi (2004). According to Roberts (2004), the finite verb in a V2 language moves to the projection of FinP in Fin, while the constituent that is found before the verb as first element in the sentence occupies the position of SpecFin. On the other hand, Salvi (2004) does not follow the hypothesis carried out by Rizzi (1997) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) on the articulated CP; Therefore, Salvi (2004) states that, in V2 languages, the finite verb is moved to a head found above IP, namely T. In the specifier of this head, we find a constituent carrying the function of Topic or Focus. Moreover, Salvi (2004) states that above the head T, there is a projection, T''P, representing the left periphery (cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013, 7) that is not activated when we deal with V2 languages. Below, we provide the two X-bar schemes following the hypothesis carried out by Roberts (2004) and Salvi (2004).



As mentioned in the previous sections, Old French shows the possibility of having sentences where the second position is reserved to the finite verb. Before the verb, a constituent, XP, fills the first position. However, in Old French there might be main declaratives showing a V3 word order. Here, the verb fills the third position because the two positions before the verb are occupied by two constituents. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), in order to define which projections the various elements occupy, starts from hypothesizing the position that the wh-operators fill in a main declarative. In general, Old French builds the direct questions by moving the wh-operator at the beginning of the sentence. Moreover, following Rizzi (1997), the finite verb must occupy the position that is adjacent to the wh-operator.

Below, we provide an example showing a wh-operator filling the first position and a finite verb placed in the second position.

(155) Deus! [que] *purrat* **ço** estre ?

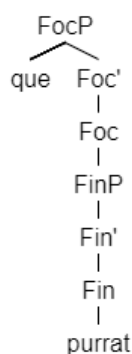
God ! what can this be?

‘God! What can this be?’

(Anonymous, Chanson de Roland, ca.1100, v.334)

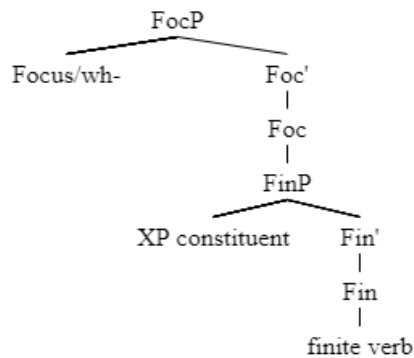
Following the hypothesis developed by Rizzi (2001), the wh-operator, in direct questions, might carry the Focus features. For this reason, they cannot appear together in the same sentence because they compete for the same position. According to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), the wh-operator fills the position of the specifier of SpecFoc. In (156), we provide the X-bar scheme involving the SpecFoc projection but also the Fin projection because the finite verb can fill the head of FinP according to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013).

(156)



Moreover, following the previous sections of this chapter, there is the possibility to find a constituent as the specifier of the Fin projection. Below, we will provide the X-bar scheme adding the possible constituent that can occur before the finite verb.

(157)



Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) also mentions the particle *si* that is claimed to be part of the complementizer layer. This particle is found in the first position which is also the one that the subject might fill (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013, 20). For the fact that these two elements compete for the same position, if they occur together in the same sentence, the particle *si* will be placed in the first position while the subject will be placed after the verb. According to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), it is not possible to add any other element between the particle *si* and the finite verb. This particle can be placed as the first element of the sentence or it could be preceded by an initial Topic (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013). Below, we provide an example from the text ‘*Chanson de Roland*’ (Anonymous, ca.1100) showing two main clauses. The second one is introduced by the particle *si*, whose meaning is difficult to precisely define. According to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), the particle *si* can be translated as the conjunction ‘and’ even though the particle *si* and the conjunction *et* have different properties and can co-occur.

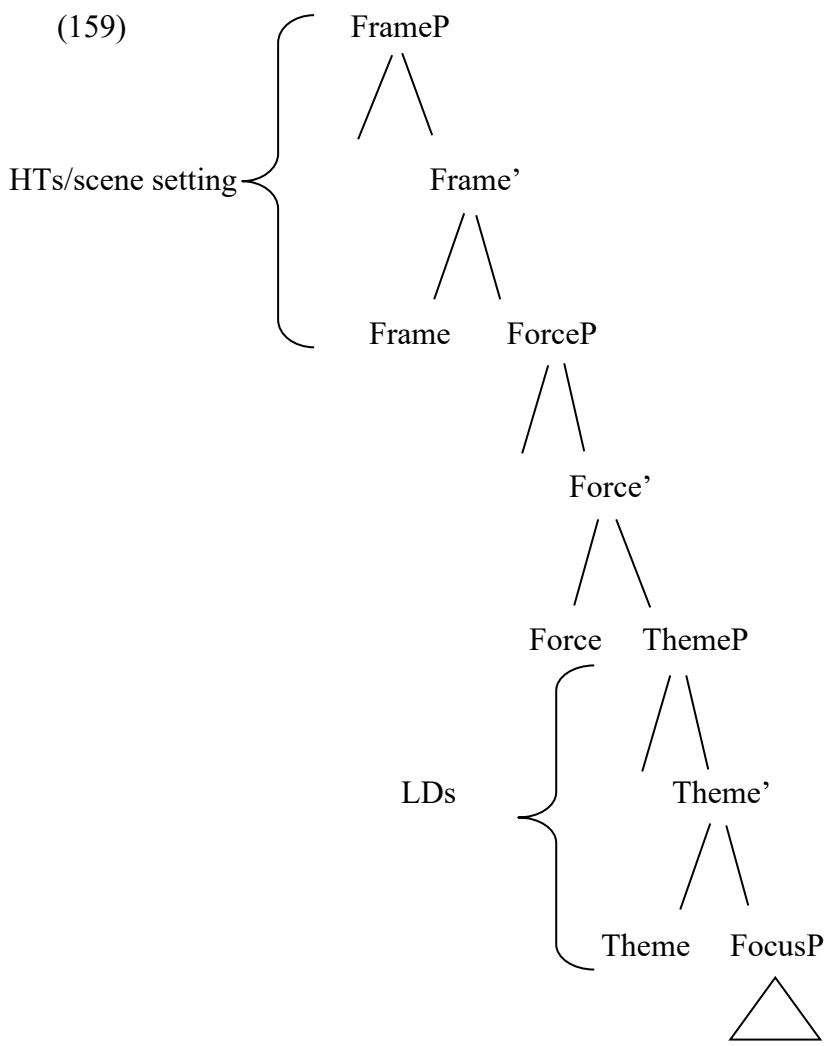
(158) Cil est uns quens, [si] **est la citet** sue.

He is an earl, and is the city POSS his

‘He is an earl and this is his city.’

(Anonymous, *Chanson de Roland*, ca.1100, v.917)

As mentioned by Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), linguists propose various analyses on this particle *si* and on the position it occupies. Adams (1987) and Vance (1997) believe that it is an adverb occupying a specifier position. Benincà (2006) defines better this assumption by saying that the particle *si* occupies the position of specifier in the Foc projection. Ferraresi and Goldbach (2003) think that the particle *si* is related to the Fin projection. In fact, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) considers it as the element occupying the specifier position of FinP due to the fact that it encourages the V2 word order. This is how the lowest part of the complementizer layer is filled. Later, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) works on the upper part of the complementizer layer using the model Benincà & Poletto (2004) developed. Benincà & Poletto (2004) hypothesize that Topics can fill both the projections of Frame and Theme. This is due to the fact that HTs and scene setting elements fill the Frame projection while LDs fill the Theme projection. Below, we provide Benincà & Poletto's (2004) model adding the syntactic structures above mentioned in their projections.



In the next section we will outline the description that Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) provided, after various investigations, on Topics and Foci in Old French.

2.5.1. Topic and Focus in Old French

In the previous section and chapter, we mentioned some syntactic structures carrying the Topic and Focus features namely Hanging Topics (HTs) and Left Dislocations (LDs). Here, we provide what Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) discovered on these structures in Old French. In order to study them, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) takes into account the studies carried out by Benincà and Poletto (2004) on these structures mainly in Modern Italian. Benincà & Poletto (2004) defined various differences between HTs and LDs:

- HTs can only be a determiner phrase¹⁰ (DPs) while LDs can be prepositional phrases¹¹ (PPs) and determiner phrases (DPs). (Benincà & Poletto 2004; cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013).
- In a sentence, it is possible to find more than one LD but only one HT. (Benincà & Poletto 2004; cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013).
- The resumptive pronoun is always obligatory for HTs while they are only required in certain situations for LDs (only if the LD element is a direct or partitive object). Moreover, the resumptive pronoun for LDs agrees in number, person and case while the resumptive pronoun for HTs agrees in number and person (Benincà & Poletto 2004; cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013).
- Another characteristic of the resumptive pronouns is that the one for LDs is a clitic, while the one for HTs might be a clitic, an epithet or a tonic pronoun. (Benincà & Poletto 2004; cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013).

However, as mentioned by Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), we must be careful in applying these definitions and differences in Old French because we might encounter both similarities but also differences. For instance, Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) states that Medieval Romance languages such as Old French only own two cases which are realized through morphology, namely nominative and accusative while the dative case must be created thanks to the use of a preposition (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013, 23). According to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), Old French shares the characteristic of having DPs as the only possible constituents for an HT. For this reason, HT is in its basic form

¹⁰ Determiner phrase: the projection that has a determiner as its head.

¹¹ Prepositional phrase: the projection that has a preposition as its head.

regardless of the form the resumptive pronoun assumes (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013). On the other hand, a LD agrees with the case the resumptive pronoun assumes (Meklenborg Salvesen 2013). In addition, according to Troberg (2004), French experienced a great change in the use of these resumptive pronouns. Troberg (2004) cites the example of the pronoun *pro* which is widely used in Old French and in Middle French but no longer existing in Modern French (cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013).

Meklenborg Salvesen (2013) continues the study by providing an explanation of the various structures such as LDs and HTs. In terms of LDs, an example is given below from the text ‘*Erec et Enide*’ (Chrétien de Troyes ca.1170).

(160) [Cest chevalieri], **je** ne li’*aim* pas.

This knight, I NEG him love not

‘This knight, I do not love him.’

(Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ca.1170, v.602 ; cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013, 25, ex.28)

In this example, the first constituent of the sentence is in the oblique case and it corresponds to the accusative case. *Cest chevalier*, being accusative, agrees with the pronoun we find after, *le (l’)*. An example of HT is given below from the text ‘*Le Roman de Tristan en prose*’ (Anonymous 13th century).

(161) [Tristanz], mout vos *ai* amé.

Tristanz, very pro you have loved

‘Tristan, I have loved you so much.’

(Anonymous, *Le Roman de Tristan en prose*, 13th century; cited in Meklenborg Salvesen 2013, 25, ex.29)

This example shows a constituent in the first position of the sentence, *Tristanz*, and it is in the nominative case. As shown by Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), the resumptive pronoun is in the accusative case. This is a characteristic that demonstrates that this sentence is a HT rather than a LD. Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), by using the model developed by Benincà & Poletto (2004),

demonstrated that the CP layer is an articulated area where various elements can occur. In case of a V2 language such as Old French, the finite verb moves from its initial position to the head of the Fin projection. In addition, SpecFinP and SpecFocP can be filled with various materials that we mentioned in the previous sections. Moreover, according to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), LDs and HTs can occur in Old French and they occupy the projections of, respectively, Theme and Frame.

2.6. Considerations and comparison with Modern French

In this chapter, we analyzed the earlier stages of the French language and we demonstrated, thanks to studies carried out by various linguists, that Old French was a full-fledged V2 language showing sentences where the finite verb occupies the second position due to an operator placed in the first position. Moreover, Old French showed V1 word orders with the verb placed in the first position and V3 word orders where the verb is placed in the third (or the fourth) position due to a constituent of any type being moved to the very beginning of the sentence, or the possibility of fronting the verb to the first position of the sentence (V1). Following the studies outlined in the previous sections, we must say that Old French shows a very articulated left periphery involving various projections hosting the constituents that compose the sentence.

On the other hand, Modern French is not a V2 language anymore but it shows some traces when it comes to questions. For this reason, Modern French is called with the term residual V2 language, namely a language showing traces of the V2 word order coming from its earlier stages (Pettersen 2022). Therefore, Modern French shows traces of the V2 word order in only one type of question. Modern French creates interrogative sentences in three different ways:

- Using intonation so that all the constituents are found in the canonical order: ‘tu viens au cinéma avec nous demain?’
- Using the ‘est-ce que’ expression followed by the S-V order: ‘Comment est-ce que tu t’appelles?’
- Using the inversion of the subject with the finite verb: ‘Comment t’appelles-tu?’

The last case is the one showing traces of the V2 word order that characterized Old French. The finite verb is found in the second position after a wh-operator occupying the first position of the sentence. The subject is then found after the finite verb. No other cases of V2 traces are found in Modern French. In the following chapter, we will deal with Old English and how it realizes verb fronting, Focus and Topic. We will concentrate on how these aspects interact with each other and we will trace the evolution that the English language underwent.

3. CHAPTER 3: Topic, Focus, verb fronting in OE

3.1. Introduction on the Old English language

This chapter is dedicated to the Old English language and how Topic, Focus and V2 are realized and interact. Firstly, we will make a brief introduction on Old English. Then, we will concentrate on the aspects of Topic, Focus and V2 (but also V1, V3 and V4) and we will trace the differences with the modern version of the language. In order to support the analyses that we mention in this chapter, we will provide some examples from the literature on the Old English language but also from the corpus *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE Taylor et al. 2003).

Old English is a language that belongs to the Germanic family group of languages and it developed in Britain thanks to the Anglo Saxons settlers who brought their dialects there during the 5th/6th centuries (van Gelderen 2006). The territories were already inhabited by populations such as the Celts, who were driven away when other populations such as the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes arrived there. It is possible that the Celtic language is attributable to phenomena of substrate (van Gelderen 2006). Even the Latin language, brought by the Romans during the invasions, was replaced by the languages spoken by these Germanic settlers. Later, the Scandinavian settlers who spoke a North Germanic language arrived in these territories, settled there and influenced the language. For a period of time, due to the Norman conquest, the language spoken was highly influenced by the Anglo-Norman language, evolving into the next phase, namely Middle English (van Gelderen 2006).

Therefore, the West Saxon is a variety of Old English that can be found in the majority of the documents and the literature that came to us thanks to Alfred the Great (848-899) who became king of Wessex in 871. It was Alfred the Great who wanted the majority of the texts translated from Latin to Old English. We must remember that the West Saxon dialect has been brought by the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes in the 5th/6th centuries but the majority of the sources written in West Saxon dates back the 9th/10th centuries. Therefore, there could be the possibility that the variety found in the texts that have come down to us is not the exact same that the Germanic populations brought in these territories. Between the 5th/6th centuries and the 9th/10th centuries there might have been changes. Moreover, at that time, we can find other varieties of Old English too, though they were less present in the documents. In terms of this thesis, we will focus on how Old English can be considered as a V2 language and how it differs from its modern version. In addition, we will define which positions the various elements of a V2 sentence can occupy and how the complementizer

layer is activated. Later, we will concentrate on how Focus and Topic interact with the V2 word order and a possible V1/V3 or V4 word order. In terms of this thesis, we will only consider main clauses.

3.2. A historical change of Old English V2

In this section, we will focus on how Old English realizes sentences that show a V2 word order, namely the finite verb placed in the second position. After a brief introduction, we will concentrate only on the main clauses that display this type of order.

According to Los (2015), in general, Old English is similar to present-day German and Dutch, so it displays an asymmetry between the main independent clauses and the subordinate clauses. Below, we provide various examples, using Modern English, to introduce Los' view. We must remember that Modern English, unlike German and Dutch, is not a V2 language anymore, so it only shows traces, in certain situations, of what the V2 word order was. For this reason, except for the example in (162), word orders such as the ones in (163), (164) and (165) are not found in Modern English. They are mentioned here as only a transliteration of the same sentences from German or Dutch (Los 2015).

- (162) Singers and actors choose their outfits from the major brands.
- (163) ... that singers and actors their outfits from the major brands choose.
- (164) Their outfits choose singers and actors from the major brands.
- (165) From the major brands choose singers and actors their outfits.

Examples in (162), (164) and (165) are main clauses while the example in (163) is a subordinate clause. The example in (162) is in a classical S-V-O order, while the example in (163) is a subordinate in which the finite verb is found at the very end of the sentence. As hypothesized by Los (2015), the main clause in (162) had before the order shown in (163) but then, two elements are moved in a different position. These two elements are the finite verb, that is moved to the second position of the sentence, and a constituent that undergoes a process of topicalization and moves to the first position (Los 2015). For this reason, the example in (162) shows a constituent, *singers and actors*, in the first position, that has the role of subject. In this case, the sentence shows the canonical S-V-O order. The example in (164) shows a constituent, *their outfits*, in the first position

that has the role of object. The example in (165) shows a constituent, *from the major brands*, in the first position that has the role of adverb. Examples such as (164) and (165) are commonly found in Old English because they trigger the V2 word order. In the following sections, we will make use of various Old English texts so that it is possible to directly analyze these structures. As mentioned by Los (2015), the position of the finite verb is a device that has the syntactic function of signaling a main clause. Moreover, it is important to understand how the first position of a main clause works. Looking back at Lambrecht's studies, the first position is considered as a 'privileged position' because it is where we link the new sentence to the previous one. This means that it is the place where the old, already given information might turn into new information or it is where we completely give new information (Lambrecht 1994, cited in Los 2015). However, it seems that in Old English, moving the finite verb in the second position means something more. We will address this in the next sections.

Before outlining the study on the V2 word order, Los (2015) specifies that Old English is a language where the position of the finite verb can be variable. For instance, there might be the possibility of finding the finite verb at the very end of a declarative sentence. Below, we cite an example from 'The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church I' (Ælfric ca. 950 – 1010).

(166) Ðas ðry tungelwitegan hi to Criste [*gebædon*], and him getacnigendlice lac [*offrodon*].

Those three diviners them to Christ prayed, and to-him a significative gift offered

'Those three wise men prayed Christ and offered him a significative gift.'

(Ælfric The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, vol.1, ca. 950 – 1010, l. 116.7; cited in Los 2015, 186, ex. 2)

Example in (166) shows a long sentence, separated into two clauses linked with the coordinator *and*, that involve two verbs, *gebædon* and *offrodon*, placed, respectively, at the end of the two clauses.

Following Los (2015) and based on previous studies carried out by Los & van Kemenade (2006), if we are dealing with sentences involving a question introduced by a wh-operator, sentences involving a negative element placed in the first position or sentences introduced by particles such as *þa* or *þonne*, the finite verb always moves from its original position to the second position of the sentence (Los & van Kemenade 2006; Los 2015). This results in the V2 word order and every time these elements introduce a sentence in Old English, the V2 word order is obligatory. Below, we

provide three examples including a *wh*-operator, a negative element and the particle *þa* in the first position along with the movement of the finite verb towards the complementizer layer. The example in (167) is taken from ‘*A Colloquy on the Occupations*’ (Ælfric ca. 10th century) while the example in (168) is taken from the poem ‘*The Seafarer*’ (Anonymous ca. 10th century). These two examples come from the book ‘*A Guide to Old English*’, fifth edition (Mitchell and Robinson 1992). The example in (169) is taken from the literature on Old English V2 and it is cited in Los (2015).

(167) [Hwæt] *segst þu*, sceaphierde?

What say you shepherd

‘What do you say, shepherd?’

(Ælfric, *A Colloquy on the Occupations*, ca. 10th century, v.22; cited in Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 183)

(168) [Ne] *bip him* to hearpan hyge [...]

Not was he harp hearing [...]

‘He was not hearing the harp [...]’

(Anonymous, *The Seafarer* ca. 10th century, v.44; cited in Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 279)

(169) [þa] *worhte he* sylf Cristes rodetacen mid his fingrum ongen þam gledum.

Then made he himself Christ’s sign-of- the-cross with his fingers amongst the flames

‘Then, he himself made Christ’s sign of the cross with his fingers amongst the flames.’

(<GD1 (C) 11.87.14>; cited in Los 2015, 196, ex.27)

These three examples show that the finite verbs involved, *ferigeað* in (167), *bip* in (168) and *worhte* in (169), move to the left of the sentence, occupying the second position after the *wh*-operator in (167), the negative element in (168) and the particle *þa* in (169). The translation in Modern English shows that, in (167), the question is built by using the verb ‘to do’ as the auxiliary so it occupies the second position, as finite verb, after the *wh*-operator *where*. This is a case in which Modern English still shows traces of the V2 word order. In (168), the translation in Modern English shows that the

word order is the canonical S-V-O. However, at the end of this chapter, we will see that there is a case involving a negation that triggers some traces of the V2 word order. In (169), the translation in Modern English involves the particle *þa*, ‘then’, at the beginning of the sentence, followed by a comma and the S-V-O order. According to Los (2015), the second position of the finite verb is the result of a movement from I to C. Then, SpecCP is the place where wh-operators, the negative element and the particles *þa* and *þonne* are placed (Los 2015). These elements are all considered as operators; wh-operators opens up to a question, the negative element opens up to a negative sentence while the particles *þa* and *þonne* opens up to a new sequence in the narration.

Moreover, Los (2015) states that Old English shows another type of movement involving the finite verb in a position that is, this time, lower than C. These sentences are mostly characterized by a topicalized constituent (occupying the first position), a subject, mostly a pronoun (occupying the second position) and then the finite verb (Los 2015). Below, we provide an example cited by Los (2015) involving a topicalized element, a pronominal subject and a finite verb in the third position.

- (170) [Æfter þysum wordum] **he** *gewende* to þam ærendracan.
After these words he turned to the messenger
‘After these words, he turned to the messenger.’
(<ÆLS (Edmund) 83>; cited in Los 2015, 193, ex. 24)

In the following sections, we will better address all these types of sentences that we may find in Old English. We will take into consideration various studies in order to outline the changes in the theory and to understand where the constituents, composing a sentence, are placed in terms of X-bar projections.

3.2.1. The importance of demonstratives in Old English: Los & van Kemenade (2018)

In this subsection, we will address the study carried out by Los & van Kemenade (2018) on the importance of the demonstrative pronouns in clause-initial position and the difference between them and the personal pronouns. These elements are relevant for the analysis because they establish a link with the preceding context, and are therefore important for the expression of information structural categories. Moreover, they interact with verb movement to the Complementizer layer. We will also cite the analysis developed by van Kemenade (2000; 2012) on how the pre-IP part is composed. The

principal notion that characterizes this analysis by Los & van Kemenade (2018) is that if, in the clause-initial position, we find personal pronouns, their main aim is to mark a continuity in the Topic while if, in the clause-initial position, we find demonstrative pronouns, their main aim is to mark a shifting in the Topic. Due to their shifting function, according to Los & van Kemenade (2018), the demonstratives occupy the position of SpecCP and they are considered as a linkage to what is said in the previous context.

Firstly, Old English realizes the deixis thanks to the demonstratives of the *b/s-* system and thanks to a set of adverbs, namely the two we mentioned in the previous section, *þa* and *þonne* but also *þær* (there), *þus* (thus), *swa* (so) and *swylc* (such) (Los & van Kemenade 2018). These demonstratives are linked to the clause-initial position because they are markers of Topic and, for this reason, they occupy the position of SpecCP (Los & van Kemenade 2018). Moreover, these adverbs have the same function as the demonstratives, namely link the uttered sentence with what has been previously stated, and they are found with correlative clauses (Los & van Kemenade 2018). In Old English, it is possible to find the association between demonstratives and the clause-initial position in various types of sentences. In their analysis, Los & van Kemenade (2018) take into account the relative clauses introduced by *se-*, which is a paratactic structure and could be both analyzed as an embedded clause with non-verb final order, or as a coordinated main clause. Below, we cite an example showing a sentence introduced by *se-*.

- (171) He (=Cynewulf) wolde adraefan anne æþeling [se] wæs **Cyneheard** gehaten.
He wanted drive out a prince DEM was Cyneheard called
'He wanted to drive out a prince who was called Cyneheard.'
(<ChronA>, 753; cited in Los & van Kemenade 2018, 3, ex.3)

Moreover, we only mention another structure which can be considered as a relative, namely the relatives introduced by *þe*. According to Los & van Kemenade (2018), this is an embedded clause so we will not further explain it in terms of this thesis.

Later in their work, Los & van Kemenade (2018) concentrated on the function of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Los & van Kemenade (2018) state that the function of the *b/s-* and *h-* systems is to supervise the various referents. Therefore, the function of personal pronouns is to be Continuing Topics while the function of demonstrative pronouns is to be Shifting Topics (Los & van Kemenade 2018). Following a study carried out by Bosch et al. (2003), it was demonstrated

that the difference between personal pronouns and demonstratives relies on the antecedent (cited in Los & van Kemenade 2018). Therefore, the antecedent for demonstrative pronouns is the non-topical constituent found in the preceding sentence while the antecedent for personal pronouns is the topical constituent found in the preceding sentence (cited in Los & van Kemenade 2018). The study of the *p/s-* and *h-* systems led Los & van Kemenade (2018) to a new consideration on the relations these aspects have with the left periphery. As mentioned in the previous section, *wh*-operators, adverbs of the *p-* system are found in the position of SpecCP, activating the projection and, thus, involving a movement of the verb from V, where it is generated, to C. For this reason, according to Los & van Kemenade (2018), in Old English, the position of SpecCP is saturated thanks to focalized elements, *wh*-operators, discourse links. This should lead to the movement of the verb from V to C.

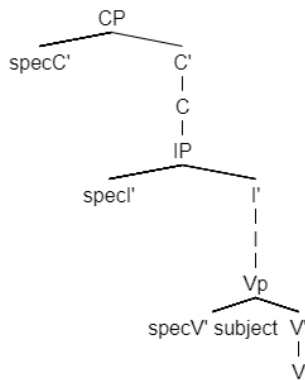
However, van Kemenade (2000; 2012) hypothesizes the presence of a lower position, called F (functional head) as the landing site for the finite verb. SpecFP is saturated by the *h-* system. For this reason, if the sentence is introduced by a *wh*-operator, it occupies the SpecCP position and the finite verb is found in C (van Kemenade 2000, 2012; cited in Los & van Kemenade 2018). On the other hand, if the sentence is introduced by a discourse link, *p/s-*, occupying SpecCP, then it will be followed by the finite verb, occupying C only if the subject is a full NP (van Kemenade 2000, 2012; cited in Los & van Kemenade 2018). If the sentence is introduced by a discourse link, *p/s-*, occupying SpecCP, and the subject is a pronoun, the finite verb is then found in F (van Kemenade 2000, 2012; cited in Los & van Kemenade 2018). In the following sections, we will outline other studies on the interaction between V2, Focus and Topic and we will deal with an open debate on how to consider Old English in terms of V2.

3.3. CV2 vs IV2: van Kemenade (1997) & Pintzuk (1993)

In this section, we outline the two analyses carried out by van Kemenade (1997) and Pintzuk (1993) on the issue between considering Old English as a CV2 (activation of the CP) or an IV2 (staying in IP) language. In the next section, we will give some remarks on these analyses and we will draw our conclusions on this matter.

Firstly, we must remember that van Kemenade's (1997) studies precede the analysis on the articulated CP developed by Rizzi (1997). In order to study Old English as a CV2 language, van Kemenade (1997) provides us the X-bar scheme given in (172).

(172)



According to van Kemenade (1997), the V2 word order can be found in various types of sentences, namely interrogatives, declaratives or imperatives, and as we mentioned in the previous chapter it involves the fronting of the finite verb towards the complementizer layer. The main goal for van Kemenade (1997) is to demonstrate how Old English can be considered as a CV2 language by paying much attention to the positions occupied by the different types of subjects. First of all, van Kemenade (1997) considers Old English as a language showing a S-O-V word order but with the possibility of fronting the finite verb if the main clause is introduced by specific operators. Below, we provide an example showing a wh-operator introducing the sentence and the inversion between the finite verb and the subject.

(173) [Hwi] *wolde* **God** swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan?

Why would God so small thing him deny

‘Why should God deny him such a small thing?’

(ÆHTh.I.14.2; cited in van Kemenade 1997, 11, ex.13a)

Following what was stated by van Kemenade (1997), Old English shows an asymmetry between main and embedded clauses in terms of V2 so van Kemenade (1997) supports a CV2 analysis for Old English main clauses rather than an IV2 analysis. This is due to the fact that in embedded clauses, C is occupied by the complementizer and, therefore, the verb movement to C is not possible (van Kemenade 1997). On the other hand, in main clauses, it is possible to have a movement of the finite verb towards C (van Kemenade 1997). Moreover, van Kemenade (1997) works on the position that the subject and object pronouns occupy when we are dealing with main clauses introduced by a Topic or with main clauses introduced by a wh-operator, a negative element or *þa/þonne*. Below, we provide various examples from van Kemenade (1997).

(174) [Be ðæm] **we** *magon swiðe swutule oncnawan ðæt ...*
by that we may very clearly perceive that ...
‘By that, we may very clearly perceive that ...’
(CP.181.16; cited in van Kemenade 1997, 12, ex.15a)

(175) [ne] *sceal he* noht unaliefedes don.
not shall he nothing unlawful do
‘He shall do nothing unlawful.’
(CP.60.15; cited in van Kemenade 1997, 12, ex.15c)

(176) [þa] *began he* to modigenne.
then began he to grow proud
‘Then he began to grow proud.’
(ÆHTh.I.10.22; cited in van Kemenade 1997, 12, ex.15d)

The results show as follows:

- If the sentence is introduced by a Topic and contains a subject or an object pronoun, the latter intervenes between the topicalized element and the finite verb but it is considered as cliticized to the verb. This sentence results in a V2 word order.
- If the sentence is introduced by a wh-operator, an adverb, a negative element or *þa/þonne*, the pronominal subject is found after the finite verb. In this case, according to van Kemenade (1997), the cliticization of the pronoun is not possible due to the presence of the operators in the first position.

In the first case, the element occupying the first position is placed in SpecCP, while the subject and the finite verb are both placed in C. In the second case, the element occupying the first position is placed in SpecCP, while the finite verb is placed as head C so that it is lexicalized. SpecIP is saturated by the subject, because it represents the position for nominative subjects in Old English. Therefore, in (175) and (176), the pronominal subject is placed in SpecIP.

Following the analysis carried out by van Kemenade (1997) and the examples, we demonstrated that Old English can be considered as a CV2 language because the finite verb, in precise situations involving constituents that are generated in CP or moved there, moves from the place where it is generated, as head V, to C.

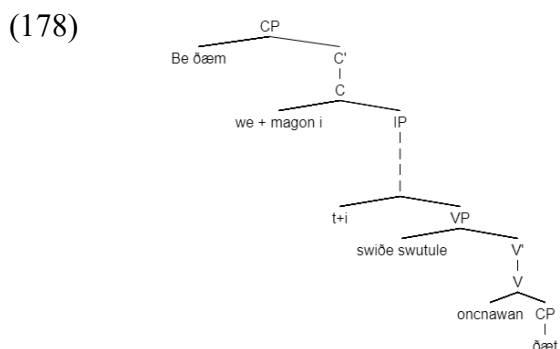
However, it is important also to outline the analysis carried out by Pintzuk (1993) on Old English as an IV2 language, rather than a CV2 language. Pintzuk (1993) advances an analysis that is mainly based on the position of the clitics because, on this issue, Old English is a highly variable language. According to Pintzuk (1993), the presence of the pronominal subject before the finite verb is linked with IP. If we bring back the examples in (174), (175) and (176) and apply Pintzuk's analysis, we obtain the following results:

- If the sentence is introduced by a Topic and the subject/object is a pronoun, the latter is found between the Topic and the finite verb. In this case, according to Pintzuk (1993), the Topic saturates the SpecIP position along with the pronoun. The finite verb occupies here the position of I.
- If the sentence is introduced by a wh-operator, an adverb, a negative element or *þa/þonne*, the pronominal subject is found after the finite verb. In this case, according to Pintzuk (1993) too, we have the activation of the CP. Here, the operator saturates the position of SpecCP, the finite verb saturates the position of C while the subject is found in SpecIP.

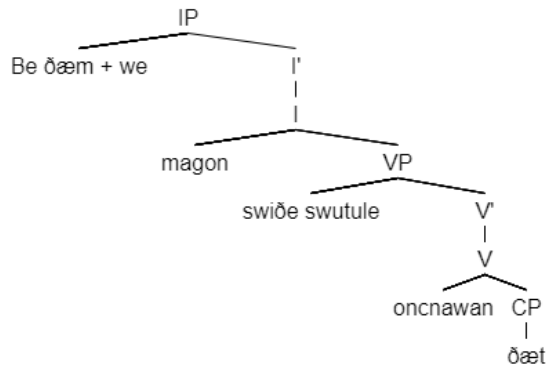
Below, we cite again the example in (174) in order to provide the X-bar schemes that show the difference between the CV2 analysis supported by van Kemenade (1997) and the IV2 analysis supported by Pintzuk (1993) with sentences introduced by a topicalized item.

- (177) [Be ðæm] **we** *magon swiðe swutule oncnawan ðæt ...*
by that we may very clearly perceive that ...
 'By that, we may very clearly perceive that ...'
 (CP.181.16; cited in van Kemenade 1997, 12, ex.15a)

The X-bar scheme in (178) features the analysis by van Kemenade (1997) while the X-bar scheme in (179) features the analysis by Pintzuk (1993).



(179)



3.3.1. Remarks on CV2 and IV2

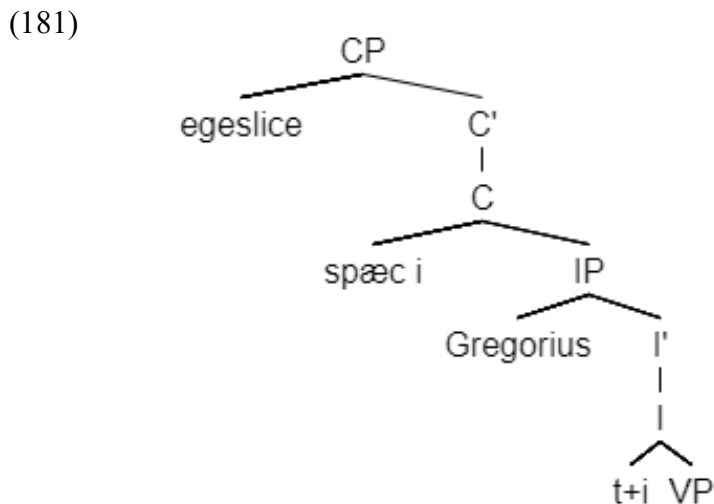
After having examined the analysis carried out by van Kemenade (1997) and Pintzuk (1993) of Old English being a CV2 or an IV2 language, we will keep investigating Old English as a CV2 language. Following this assumption, the verb is found in the complementizer layer after being moved from the position where it is generated in the VP and passing through the projection of inflection. In addition, the specifier of the complementizer projection is filled with a constituent that is different from the subject of the sentence. This element is moved in SpecCP after undergoing the process of topicalization or focalization and, thus, becoming the Topic or the Focus of the sentence. Moreover, another important aspect is the difference between the full NP subject or the pronominal subject because they occupy different positions. If a sentence shows a full NP as subject, it is found right after the finite verb in SpecIP, after being generated in SpecVP. If a sentence shows a pronoun as subject, it might occupy two different positions, namely before or after the finite verb. In the case the pronoun is found before the finite verb, it is cliticized to the verb itself and they fill the position of C. In the case the pronoun is found after the verb, it occupies a position after the finite verb. Therefore, Old English shows the activation of the complementizer layer when it comes to sentences in which the finite verb occupies the second position. Later, we will take into consideration further studies carried out after the evolution of the left periphery into an articulated area made up of various projections (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004). This is important in order to better define the positions occupied by the various elements that create a sentence.

3.4. V2 and V3: Fuss (2003)

In this section, we will deal with Fuss's (2003) analysis of V2 and V3 in Old English. Following what was previously stated on V2 in the first sections of this chapter, Fuss (2003) mentions that we may find a V2 word order in main declarative sentences when the clause is introduced by an adverb. Below, we provide an example showing the V2 word order triggered by the presence of the adverb *egeslice*.

- (180) And [egeslice] *spæc* **Gregorius** be ðam ...
And sternly spoke Gregorius about that
'And Gregorius spoke sternly about that...'
(Wulfstan, 202.46; cited in Fuss 2003, 206, ex. 21)

Sentence in (180) can be represented in the X-bar scheme as follows. Here, an analysis pre-Rizzi is featured as the adverb is placed in SpecCP, the finite verb in C and the subject in SpecIP.



However, Fuss (2003) concentrated the study on the analysis of deviations from the V2 word order that Old English may show, namely the V3 word order. Here, we will outline the main features of this analysis. Firstly, Fuss (2003) focuses on sentences showing a V3 word order that is due to the topicalization of an XP, namely a non-operator constituent, along with the presence of pronouns as subjects or objects. We will see that these pronouns occupy the second position of the sentence.

Then, Fuss (2003) deals with sentences that show a V3 word order with a full NP subject. This means that we encounter a failure in the inversion between subject and finite verb due to the presence of scene-setting adverbs occupying the first position (Fuss 2003, 2007). Outlining the analysis carried out by Fuss (2003) is important in terms of our thesis in order to be able to understand how topicalized items interact in the case of a V3 word order and also how they activate the left periphery.

According to Fuss (2003), one of the cases in which Old English shows a deviation of the strict V2 word order is when pronominal subjects or objects can intervene between the topicalized item occupying the first position and the finite verb is placed in the third position. This type of order might be compared to the one we find in Modern English when Topics are moved and undergo a process of topicalization in the CP. Below, we give two examples showing the V3 word order and involving a pronominal subject, in the first one, and a pronominal object, in the second one.

(182) [Æfter his gebede] **he** *ahof* þaet cild up.

After his prayer he lifted the child up

‘After his prayer, he lifted the child up.’

(Ælfric, The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, II, 28; cited in Fuss 2003, 207, ex.23)

(183) [Fela spella] **him** *sædon* þa Beormas.

Many stories him told the Permians

‘The Permians told him many stories.’

(Oros., 14.27; van Kemenade 1987:114)

Therefore, according to Fuss (2003) these orders are considered as a deviation of the strict V2 word order that happens in precise cases, namely a topicalized XP in a clause-initial position. Below, we provide a scheme of what we have illustrated until now by outlining van Kemenade (1987), Fuss (2003), Los & van Kemenade (2006) and Los (2015) studies.

- If the first position is occupied by a topicalized XP, the pronominal subject intervenes between XP and the finite verb. So, the finite verb occupies the third position resulting in a V3 word order. XP – pronoun – V (fin). (Fuss 2003, 208).

- If the first position is occupied by a wh-operator, a negative element, an adverb, *þa* or *þonne*, a focalized item, the pronominal subject is placed after the verb. So, the finite verb occupies the second position, resulting in a V2 word order. WH/NEG/ADV/ *þa/ þonne* – pronoun – V (fin). (Fuss 2003, 208).

Moreover, according to Fuss (2003), it is important to analyze the sentences that involve a full NP as subject and a scene setting frame occupying the first position. As we mentioned before, it seems that this combination brings to a failure in the inversion of the subject and the finite verb. For this reason, the word order will not be a V2 but it will be a V3 (Kroch & Taylor 1997; Fuss 2003). Below, we provide an example showing a scene setting frame occupying the first position, followed by a full NP as subject. The third element is the finite verb.

(184) [Her] **Sigeric** *wæs* gehalgod to arcebisceope.

in-this-year Sigeric was consecrated as archbishop

‘In this year, Sigeric was consecrated as archbishop.’

(Anonymous, Anglo-Saxon Chronicles ca. 9th century, line 18; cited in Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 213)

According to Swan (1994), Koopman (1998) and Haeberli (1999, 2000), this is a commonly found word order in Old English texts. However, after a qualitative analysis of several Old English texts, Haeberli (1999) outlined that even though the V3 word order involving a non-operator in the clause-initial position is commonly found in Old English texts, the V2 word order prevails.

Considering both Old English and Modern English, we mentioned that Modern English is, in general, not a V2 language anymore except for questions, in which we have to syntactically reorganize some constituents in order to form the interrogative clause. In fact, when we want to ask a question in Modern English, the wh-operator is the first constituent and then we place the auxiliary/modal verb in the second position, immediately followed by the subject. Below, we cite an example to show this similarity.

(185) [Hu] *begæst þu* þinne cræft?

How do you your work?

‘[How] *do you* do your work?’

(Ælfric, Colloquy on the Occupations ca. 10th century, v.7; cited in Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 183)

According to Fuss (2003), when we deal with sentences in which there is an operator that is moved to the very front of the sentence, the movement of the finite verb from V to C is accomplished so the complementizer layer is activated. This happens in Old English and it is still present only in the case of Modern English questions. On the other hand, the fronting of a topicalized constituent (non-operator) or a scene setting frame leads to a different order, where the subject pronoun is found between the constituent and the finite verb in both Old English and Modern English. Here, the movement from V to C is not accomplished.

In this section, we outlined what Fuss (2003) found out in his research. Old English is a language that shows a strict V2 word order when it comes to sentences introduced by a wh-operator, a negative element, an adverb, *þa or þonne* and a focalized item. However, it may show a deviation of this order due to the topicalization of a XP (non-operator) in the clause-initial position along with a pronominal subject or the presence of a scene setting frame in the clause-initial position along with a full NP as subject. In the next subsection, we will outline the syntactic representation of all these structures following the study carried out by Fuss (2003).

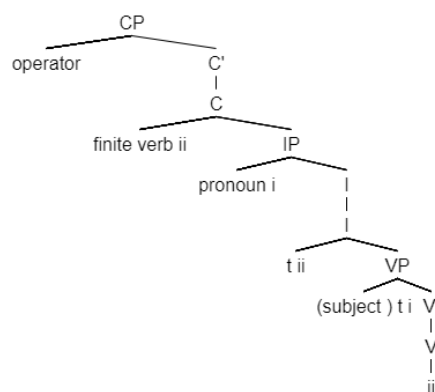
3.4.1. Syntactic representation of V2 and V3

In this section, following the analysis carried out by Fuss (2003), we focus on the syntactic representation of sentences showing V2 and V3 word orders. X-bar schemes will be featured in order to better outline the positions occupied by the various elements. Fuss (2003) makes use of a syntactic representation showing only the general CP projection without articulating it in its further projections (Rizzi 1997). In the following sections, we will deal with studies involving the articulated CP area.

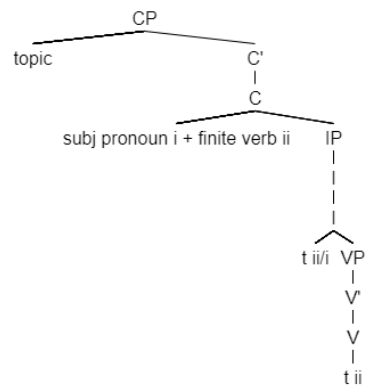
According to Fuss (2003), sentences that show a V2 word order in operator contexts place the operator in the specifier position of CP and the verb moves from its basic position in V, through I to C in the complementizer projection. Therefore, there is a relation of ‘Spec-Head’ between the

operator and the finite verb. However, as stated by Fuss (2003, 210) there are some differences if we are dealing with full NPs as subjects or with pronouns as subject. Fuss (2003, 210) mentions that the literature on the English language provides two different methods in order to study the sentences involving a V2 word order. The first approach interprets the subject pronouns as cliticized on the left of the finite verb (Fuss 2003, 210). This happens, according to Fuss (2003, 210), when we are dealing with a sentence that involves a non-operator constituent as the first element of the sentence. On the other hand, according to Fuss (2003, 210), the subject pronouns are found on the right of the finite verb if the element occupying the first position of the sentence is a wh-operator or a neg-operator. The second approach takes into consideration the possible presence, in Old English, of sentences involving a V3 word order along with a V2 word order (Fuss 2003, 210). Fuss (2003) states that this might represent a difference with the modern V2 languages. Following this assumption, the subject pronoun is not considered anymore as cliticized to the finite verb but as an element occupying the SpecIP and intervening between the XP and the finite verb. For this reason, the finite verb occupies here a different position than the one of C (Fuss 2003, 210). Below, we provide the X-bar schemes representing the differences between the various structures. In (186), the element occupying the SpecCP position is an operator. Then, it is followed by the finite verb placed in the head C so that they maintain a Spec-Head relation. The subject is then found on the right of the verb in a lower position. In (187), we represent the analysis that considers the pronoun as cliticized to the verb. Therefore, a constituent is placed in the specifier of CP and the subject along with the finite verb are both placed in the head C. In (188), we represent the analysis that considers the pronoun as an element occupying a lower position in IP when a topicalized element is placed in SpecCP. Here, the verb occupies a lower position, namely the head I. We will take into account the latter showing the presence of a possible V3 word order where the subject occupies its own position before the finite verb.

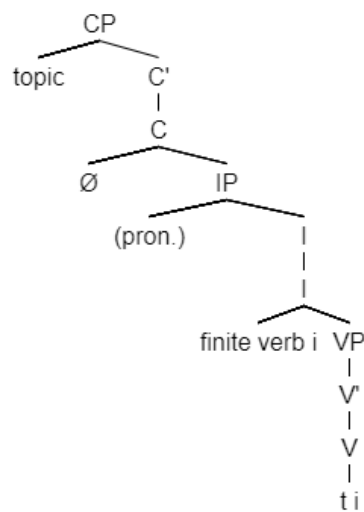
(186)



(187)



(188)



Therefore, following these X-bar schemes, we cite again two examples provided in the previous section, so that it is possible to outline the positions occupied by the constituents. The first example shows a V2 word order while the second one a V3 word order. The X-bar scheme features a syntactic representation before Rizzi (1997).

(189) [Hu] *begæst þu þinne cræft?*

How do you your work?

‘**How** do you do your work?’

(Ælfric, *Colloquy on the Occupations* ca. 10th century, v.7; cited in Mitchell and Robinson 1992, 279)

(190) [Æfter his gebede] **he** *ahof* þaet cild up.

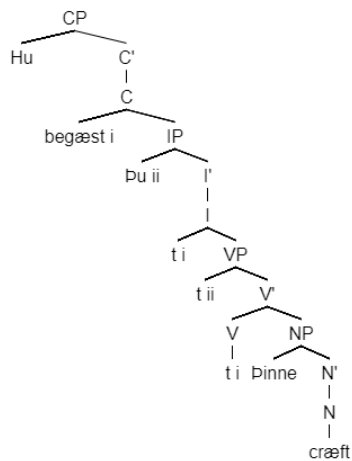
After his prayer he lifted the child up

‘[After his prayer], **he** *lifted* the child up.’

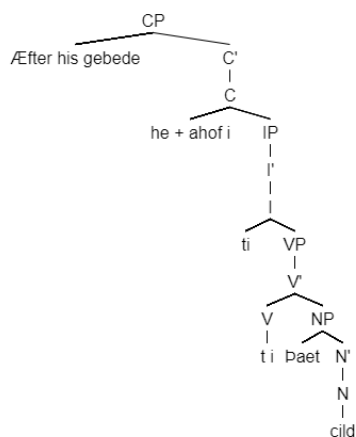
(Ælfric, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, 28; cited in Fuss 2003, 207, ex.23)

Below, we provide their X-bar schemes¹². For (190), we provide two X-bar schemes following the two methods we mentioned above.

(191)

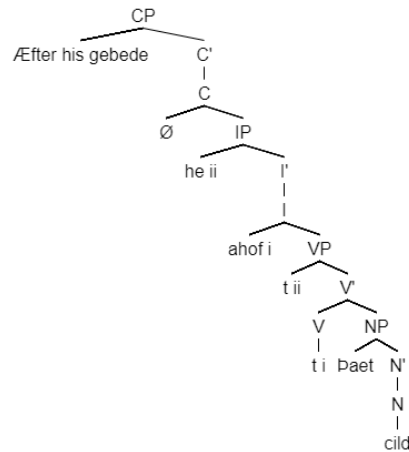


(192)



¹² Even though in the literature it is claimed that the OE VP could be both head-initial and head-final (Pintzuk 1999), in this thesis I will represent the VPs as head initial for simplicity, since this aspect is not directly relevant to the topic of my thesis, namely the fronting of the verb to the left periphery.

(193)



In contrast, according to Fuss (2003), if we are dealing with a V2 sentence that shows a full NP as subject, we find it on the right of the finite verb in a lower position, namely SpecIP, after being generated in SpecVP. Here, the first constituent is found in the specifier of the complementizer projection, while the verb is in C after being moved from V and passing through I.

3.5. The CP layer in Old English: van Gelderen (2019)

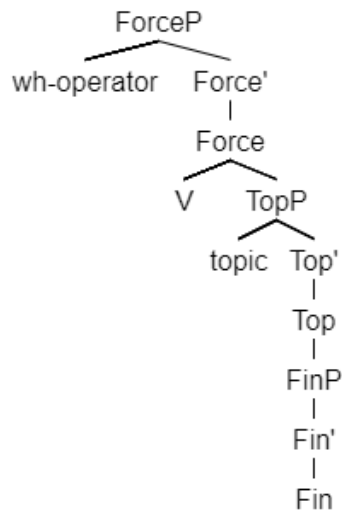
As shown in the previous chapters, the complementizer layer plays a crucial role in a language because, following Rizzi (1997), it is considered as an articulated area composed of different projections. Before considering Focus, Topic and mostly the V2 and V3 structures that we analyzed in the previous sections, it is important to understand how the CP is composed in Old English and how Focus, Topic and V2 have a firm relation with it. We will address this topic because the previous studies did not consider the layering of the CP area. For this reason, we will take into consideration the analysis carried out by van Gelderen (2019) by looking at main clauses only. Van Gelderen (2019) states that Old English, unlike the modern version of the language, has a very articulated CP in main clauses. Therefore, we can apply the analysis carried out by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) to the CP of Old English. The complementizer layer will be divided in the various projections that we cite again below.

(194) [ForceP [TopicP [FocusP [TopicP[[FinP]]]]]]

Based on previous studies, van Gelderen (2019) states that in Old English, the V2/V3 word orders are activated due to the various elements that we cited in the previous sections, being in a clause-

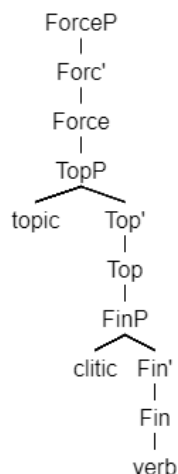
initial position. Below, we provide the X-bar schemes of the V2 word order and the V3 word order. In (195), the wh-operator occupies the position of SpecForceP, while the verb is moved to Force. The Topic, if present, occupies the specifier of its own projection.

(195)



In (196), the specifier of TopP is occupied by the XP having the status of Topic, the head Top is occupied by the clitic pronoun. Having the head Top occupied by the clitic, it blocks the rising of the verb towards the head Force, so it occupies the head Fin in FinP, creating a V3 word order.

(196)



To support the analysis made by van Gelderen (2019), we provide two examples below, showing the difference between V2 and V3 word orders. The X-bar schemes follow the examples in (197) and (198). In (197), the sentence shows a wh-operator in the first position, followed by the finite

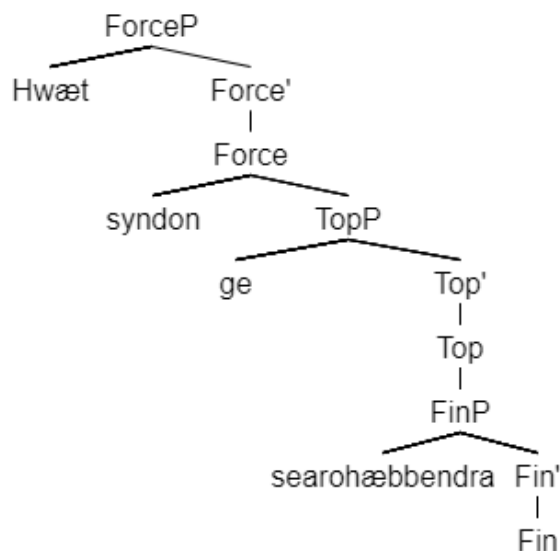
verb in the second position. For this reason, the verb occupies the head Force. The head Top is occupied by the pronoun having the function of subject. In (198), the sentence shows a Topic, occupying the specifier position of its own projection, and a clitic, occupying the head Top. In this case, the verb occupies the head Fin because its rising is blocked by the presence of the clitic.

- (197) [Hwæt] *syndon* **ge** searohæbbendra?
 Who are you, armed men?
 (Anonymous, Beowulf, ca.8th century, v.237)

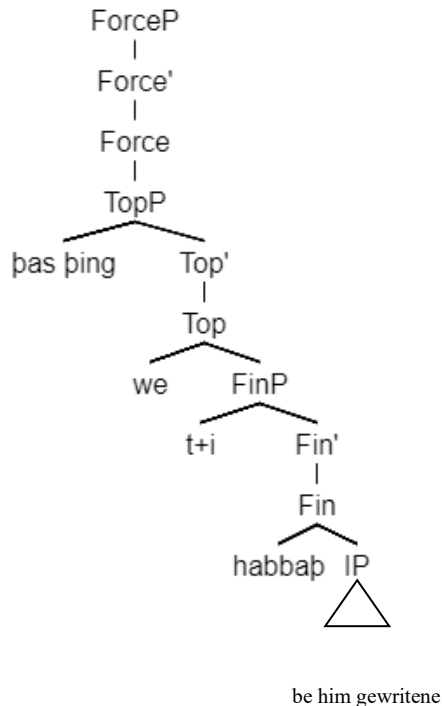
- (198) [þas þing] **we** habbaþ be him gewritene.
these things we have about him written
 ‘These things, we have written about him’
 (PC, 1087, 143; cited in Fuss 2003, 207, ex. 23b.)

Below, we provide the X-bar schemes of these two examples involving the articulated complementizer layer. (199) is the X-bar for (197) while (200) is the X-bar for (198).

(199)



(200)



Following these examples involving V2 and V3, it is possible to confirm that main clauses in Old English have an articulated CP.

3.6. V2 and V3 in Old English: Walkden (2017)

In this section, we mention the study carried out by Walkden (2017) on Old English V2 and V3 word orders and what positions the elements composing the V2/V3 sentences occupy in the articulated left periphery. Firstly, Walkden (2017) outlines the characteristics that previous studies on Old English discovered:

- If we are dealing with V2 or V3 word orders in an Old English sentence, the constituent occupying the first position can be of different types such as NP, DP or PP (Walkden 2017).
- In sentences showing a V3 word order, the finite verb is placed in a third position usually right after the element carrying the status of subject. The subject can be a pronoun or a full NP (Fuss 2003, Walkden 2017).
- According to Walkden (2017), the element that precedes the verb, when the sentence shows a V3 word order, is usually the type of Topic that Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) called with the term of *familiar*.
- Both V2 and V3 are found in main clauses but if the sentence involves a wh-operator as first element, the only possible order is the V2 (Walkden 2017).

Moreover, according to Walkden (2017), Old English is a language in which main clauses display a V2 word order but it is also possible to find some examples that do not show any verb movement to C. This phenomenon is called ‘verb-late’ (Koopman 1995; cited in Walkden 2017). Below, we cite an example showing this characteristic from the ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*’ (Anonymous ca. 9th century). In (201), the first positions are occupied by a scene setting frame, *her*, followed by the subject, *Cenwalh*. The finite verb is found after the infinitive *adrifen*.

(201) [Her] **Cenwalh** adrifen *wæs* from Pendan cyninge.

This year Cenwalh driven was from Pendan king

‘This year, Cenwalh was driven away by king Pendan.’

(Anonymous, Anglo-Saxon Chronicles ca. 9th century; cited in Walkden 2013)

Talking about V2 main clauses, Walkden (2017) states that the case in which this order is always triggered is when the sentence is introduced by temporal adverbs such as *þa* and *þonne* (Los & van Kemenade 2006; Los 2015). According to Walkden (2017), these two temporal adverbs behave like wh-operators so Walkden (2017) states that they are not generated directly in the left periphery but they are moved there (Walkden 2017, 72). So, this means that these temporal adverbs were generated in a lower position but then, they are moved to a higher projection, namely in SpecForceP. More generally, Walkden (2017) follows the previous studies carried out by Fuss (2003), Los & van Kemenade (2006), Los (2015) in defining when Old English shows a V2 word order and when a V3 word order. Moreover, Walkden (2017) shares the analysis carried out by van Gelderen (2017) on the articulated CP of Old English based on the studies developed by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004).

3.7. V2/V3 and the articulated left periphery: van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020)

In this section, we briefly outline the analysis carried out by van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020) on the position that the various elements in sentences showing a V2 or a V3 word order occupy. As we learned from the previous studies, the V2 word order is strictly triggered by the presence of wh-operators, negative elements introducing the sentence, adverbs or *þa/þonne*. Van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020) state that the V2 word order in main clauses is triggered only in these contexts. Following the previous studies that we mentioned in this chapter, the CP is activated and the finite

verb occupies the high position C in the left periphery. In the study carried out by van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020), the analyses on the articulated left periphery carried out by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) are featured. Therefore, in the cases the sentences show the strict V2 word order, van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020) place the operator in SpecForceP and the finite verb in Force. Both the pronominal subjects and the full nominal subjects occupy the position of specifier on the right of the finite verb.

Moreover, van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020) focus on the positions occupied by the various elements of a V3 Old English sentence. As outlined by Fuss (2003), Old English sentences introduced by a topicalized element followed by a pronoun and the finite verb can be analyzed as V3 rather than V2 sentences. Here, according to van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2020), the finite verb occupies a position that is lower than the one it occupies in V2 contexts but it is still found in the complementizer layer. The finite verb is placed as head Fin while the pronoun is placed as specifier of FamP, namely the projection of Familiar Topics (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). Then, the topicalized constituent is placed in a higher projection in the left periphery.

Following all the more recent studies, that we outlined in the last sections, we can consider Old English a V2 language that activates the articulated complementizer layer. In addition, it is fair to say that Old English can show the possibility of having deviations of the strict V2 word order by showing a V3 word order.

3.8. V1 in Old English

In terms of information structure and verb fronting, it is important to mention the V1 word order in Old English. This word order involves the finite verb in the first position of the sentence followed by the subject and the rest of the sentence. According to Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011), in general, when we are dealing with the information structural content of sentences, an aspect that is always present is the *salience*, namely a certain degree of prominence that is attributed to an element that is part of our information. In order to determine this degree of prominence, some linguistic factors, such as the difference between new and given, the grammatical role of a constituent and the aspect of animacy, are involved (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2011). Their study concentrates on the V1 word order in Old High German because the V1 word order might be analyzed as one of the strategies used to mark a change in the aspect of salience. Following Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011), when the V1 word order in Old High German is triggered, it marks the beginning of a new chapter or a new episode or a new salient scene that is crucial for the further events or discourse. In this case,

Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011) state that the V1 word order may be considered as a device for the structuring of the discourse. Moreover, the V1 word order involves certain types of predicates such as the verbs of motion, the verbs of saying or the inchoative verbs (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2011). These verbs mark respectively a change in the movement, a change of the interlocutors in a discourse and a change in the mental or physical state of a character (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2011). According to Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011), the V1 word order does not place prominence only on a single constituent and considers it as the new information of the sentence but on the entire proposition, considering all the constituents forming it as the new information. With respect to Old English, it is possible to encounter the V1 word order more in poems than in prose texts (Cichosz 2022). An important study has been conducted on V1 sentences and sentences involving the particle *þa* followed by V-S (Cichosz 2022). This is a matter that has been studied for a long time by Pintzuk (1999) and Ringe & Taylor (2014) because there is an open debate on considering them as allostructions, namely similar constructions, or as independent structures. In fact, there are two schools of thought that consider them in two different ways: descriptive studies consider them as separated structures even though they both occur with any type of subject (cited in Cichosz 2022, 302) while generative studies consider them in the same way and thus there is a movement of the verb from V to C (Pintzuk 1999; Ohkado 2004; cited in Cichosz 2022, 302). According to Ohkado (2004), in V1 sentences, it is possible to find the finite verb occupying the first position followed by an adverb that may be analyzed as a support for the V-to-C theory. As we have seen for Old High German, in Old English too the V1 word order is triggered with the aim of being a presentational structure (Mitchell 1985) or to mark a change in the story, in the event or in the discourse (Petrova 2006). Moreover, according to Petrova (2006), in Old English too, when we are dealing with sentences involving a V1 word order, the Focus is placed not only on the subject but on the entire sentence. Following a study conducted by Los (2000) on various texts by Ælfric, the results show that the V1 word order is employed when there is a great change in the story and when there is an unexpected or dramatic twist in the plot while *þa* + V-S word order is employed when the story progresses but without any abrupt change or when we want to signal a continuation in the story or in the event or in the discourse. In terms of projections of the X-bar scheme, the finite verb of a V1 sentence is placed on the high projection of Force as the finite verb of the sentences involving a V2 word order.

3.9. Remarks on the V2 Old English studies

As we have seen throughout the entire chapter, various analyses were carried out during the past years on the left periphery of Old English. From the 1990s until the present day, theories on how to consider Old English have surely changed.

In terms of V2, the various analyses we mentioned in this chapter agree that Old English shows a strict V2 word order in main clauses when the sentence is introduced by operators such as *wh*-constituents, adverbs, negative elements, *þa/þonne* or focalized elements. All these elements trigger a strict V2 word order that triggers the fronting of the finite verb in the second position, followed by full nominal subjects or pronominal subjects. Moreover, Old English shows the possibility of having a pronominal subject/object intervening between a topicalized item and the finite verb. On this issue, we outlined various analyses that differ in how to consider the pronoun. Studies such as the ones carried out by van Kemenade (1987; 1997) and Los & van Kemenade (2006) consider the pronoun that intervenes between the topicalized item and the finite verb as cliticized to the finite verb, resulting in a V2 word order. Here, the topicalized item occupies the position of specifier while the pronoun and the verb occupy the position of head. On the other hand, Fuss (2003) considers the sentences involving a topicalized element or a scene setting frame along with a pronominal subject or object as V3 sentences, namely deviations of the V2 word order. Here, the pronoun is not considered as cliticized to the verb but occupies a position of specifier. In the next chapter, when we analyze the sentences of Old English, we will keep into account Fuss (2003)'s analysis and we will distinguish between the V2 and the V3 word order.

Moreover, during the years, various analyses on the positions that the constituents occupy in the left periphery were carried out. The studies that were carried out before Rizzi (1997) feature a left periphery composed of only one single projection, namely CP. Then, we mentioned studies that feature the analysis of the articulated left periphery carried out by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004). Throughout the entire chapter, it is possible to see that the theories on the positions occupied by the constituents have changed from the beginning until now. We started, as mentioned, by the single projection CP, to a functional head F introduced by Los & van Kemenade (2018) to place the verb when the sentence is introduced by a discourse link or *þ/s-*, occupying SpecCP and the subject is a pronoun, until a differentiation between Old English ForceV2 in V2 contexts and Old English FinV2 in V3 contexts.

The last section of this chapter is dedicated to a comparison between Old and Modern English.

3.9.1. Comparison and considerations on Old and Modern English

In this section, we want to make a brief comparison between Old English and Modern English in order to outline the changes that the English language underwent from its earlier stages to the present time. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and earlier in this chapter, Modern English is considered as a residual V2 language so it is important to define its path.

In this chapter, we analyzed Old English and we came into conclusion that it is a language displaying the V2 word order mostly in main clauses. The V2 word order in Old English is triggered by the presence of a wh-operator, a negative element, adverbs such as *þa*, *þonne* or *nu* occupying the first position of the sentence. Then, the finite verb moves to the complementizer layer too, occupying the second position. This phenomenon has been widely attested throughout the years and linguists confirm that Old English is a V2 language. However, Modern English is the only language that does not display a strict V2 word order among the various languages that are part of the Germanic family group. For this reason, Modern English is considered as a residual V2 language because it is possible to find traces of V2 coming from its earlier stages. As we mentioned in Chapter 1, in general, if we front a constituent in Modern English, the order that follows is S-V, so the subject precedes the verb. In this chapter, we saw that, if we front a constituent in Old English, the majority of the times the order that follows is V-S, so the verb precedes the subject and occupies the second position. Below, we cite two examples in order to outline this difference between Old English and Modern English. Example in (202) shows that in Old English, after having moved the constituent to focalize it, in our case [maran cyððe], from its lower position to the left periphery, the word order is V-S. Therefore, the verb occupies the second position. Example in (203) shows that in Modern English, after having moved the constituent to topicalize it, in our case [my friend], from its lower position to the left periphery, the word order is S-V. Here, we provide the context for (202) in order to confirm [Maran cyððe] as a Focus. The text opens up talking about the figure of God. The author considers him as both the beginning and the end, as the King of all kings and the creator of heaven, earth and all the creatures. No creature is able to understand his will. Then, we find the following sentence.

(202) [Maran cyððe] *habbað englas* to God þonne men.

More affinity have angels to God than men

‘Angels have more affinity to God than men.’

(Ælfric, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, I, 10.3; cited in Fuss 2003, 206, ex.19)

(203) [My friend_i], I have visited him_i yesterday.

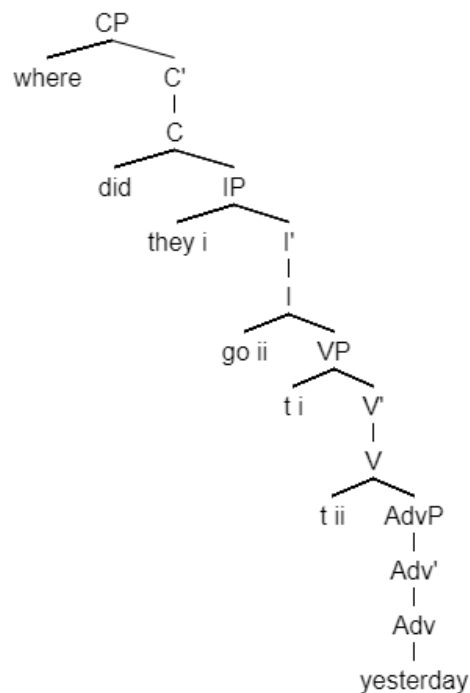
However, it is possible to find cases in Modern English where the finite verb occupies the second position, thus, seems that the phenomenon of V2 occurs, namely wh-questions and declarative sentences introduced by a negation (Pettersen 2022). As we previously mentioned, this characteristic makes Modern English a ‘residual V2 language’. Below, we cite two examples showing these two structures. In (204), the wh-operator occupies the first position and it is followed by the finite verb occupying the second position. In (205), the negation occupies the first position and it is followed by the finite verb occupying the second position.

(204) [Where] *did* **they** go yesterday?

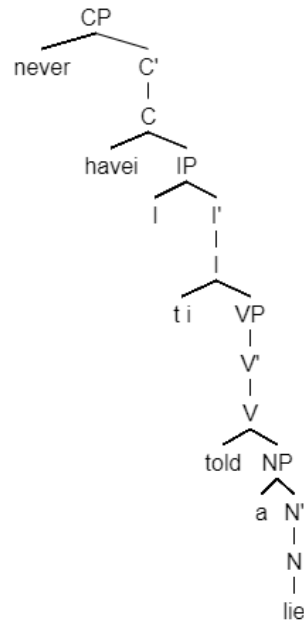
(205) [Never] *have* **I** told a lie

Below, we provide the X-bar schemes of (204) and (205) to demonstrate how these sentences trigger the activation of the complementizer layer and the movement of the finite verb towards C.

(206)



(207)



Therefore, following the analyses carried out during the years, it is possible to say that the English language underwent various changes from its earlier stages to the present-day. If in Old English, V2 was a strict word order always found when the operators mentioned above introduce a main clause, in Modern English V2 is still triggered in questions and in sentences introduced by negation, but not with discourse markers anymore. With respect to the V3 word order, Old English showed it only in particular situations where a constituent is topicalized and occupies the first position or when there is a failure in the inversion of the verb with a full NP as subject due to the presence of a scene-setting frame in the clause-initial position. These structures showed, respectively, the pronominal subject and the full NP subject preceding the verb. Modern English shows the same situation when we want to topicalize a constituent and move it into the complementizer layer. Here, the topicalized item occupies the first position and it is then followed by the subject and the finite verb creating a XP - S -V order. In general, the canonical order of Modern English is S-V-O.

In the next chapter, we will compare Old French and Old English main features, in order to define if these two languages are similar and behave in the same way despite being part of two different groups of language families.

4. CHAPTER 4: Comparison between OE and OF left peripheries

4.1. Introduction on the empirical study

In this chapter, we focus on the empirical study of Old English and Old French left peripheries. Keeping in mind that the main aim of this thesis is to see if these two languages, despite being part of two different language family groups, share similarities, we will compare their left peripheries and investigate how Focus, Topic and V2 interact. In the previous chapters, we outlined different studies on Old English and Old French focusing on how both of them show a possible V2 word order. Moreover, we noticed that both languages show V1 and V3 (or V4) word orders under certain circumstances. For this reason, we will now concentrate on how these two languages activate the complementizer layer and on the way the word orders mentioned above are triggered. Moreover, we will concentrate on how Focus and Topic interact with these structures. In order to do that, we will analyze various texts from Old English and Old French.

4.2. Research questions and an introduction on the materials

In order to conduct this comparison between Old French and Old English left peripheries, we will keep in mind some research questions that we will try to answer here and mostly in the next chapter. Firstly, as previously mentioned, we need to establish how these two languages behave in terms of V2, Focus and Topic due to the fact that they have different origins. We will consider main clauses showing the V2 word order but also the V1 and the V3 (or V4) word orders. We will compare Old English and Old French texts. More precisely, we will conduct a qualitative study on the interaction of Focus and Topic with V2 (and V3/V4/V1) by also establishing, from the context given in the text, if the analyzed structure shows the presence of a Focus or a Topic. We will also establish if a given structure is recurrent in a text and it also has a continuity during time. In addition, we will analyze how these languages started to change and how they behaved in terms of the aspects under examination. For this reason, we will provide examples from the Old English Corpus ‘*York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*’ (YCOE, Taylor et al. 2003) and from the Old French Corpus ‘*Base de français médiéval*’ (Guillot-Barbance et al. 2017 <http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>). The ‘YCOE’ is a corpus with 1.5 million word syntactically-annotated. The ‘*Base de français medieval*’ is a corpus that contains 219 texts dating back the Middle Age (9th century – end

of 15th century). The texts under examination cover different periods so that it is possible to trace the evolution these two languages underwent. For the Old French language, we take into consideration texts such as ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ (Flanders, between 938 and 952), ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ (Anglo-Norman, first half of the 12th century), ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ (Undefined, ca. 1125 or 1230), ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ [Version I] (Picard, second half of the 13th century) and ‘*Conquête de Costantinople*’ (Undefined, between 1199-1213). For the Old English language, we take into consideration texts such as ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (West-Saxon/Anglian, 10th – 11th centuries), ‘*Blickling Homilies*’ (West-Saxon/Anglian, 10th – 11th centuries), ‘*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies I*’ (West-Saxon, 10th – 11th centuries), ‘*Anglo Saxons Chronicles A*’ (West-Saxon, 9th – 10th centuries) and ‘*E*’ (West-Saxon, 12th century), ‘*Ælfric’s Epilogue to Genesis*’ (West-Saxon, XI century). The texts that we analyze date back from the 9th to the 13th centuries and they are all prose texts so that there is no metric involved. Moreover, the texts for the Old French language are written in different dialects such as the Anglo-Norman, Flanders and Picard while the texts for the Old English language are written mostly in the West-Saxon dialect.

The examples coming from the Old English texts have been extrapolated by using specific queries, along with Corpus Search, a java program used with corpora, that helped us identifying the sentences that showed V1, V2, V3 and V4 word orders. In particular, a file .def¹³ has been created as a command to find all the finite verbs in the sentences. Then, this command has been added to all the queries created for V1, V2, V3 and V4. Below, we provide the basic query.

define: verb.def

node: IP*

query: (IP-MAT* iDomsNumber finite_verb)

The difference between the various queries relies on the number added after iDomsNumber, namely 1, 2, 3 or 4. In this way, sentences with V1, V2, V3 and V4 word orders could be identified.

The examples coming from the Old French texts have been extrapolated by reading the entire texts since ‘*Base de français médiéval*’ catalogues the texts in pdfs available online and for downloading. Therefore, V1, V2, V3 and V4 word orders have been found by reading the entire texts.

¹³ For the finite verbs tags, cf. the part of speech reference guide <https://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/doc/annotation/YcoePos.htm#verbs>.

VBPH|VBPI|VBPS|VBP|VBDI|VBDS|VBD|BEPH|BEPI|BEPS|BEP|BEDI|BEDS|BED|HVPI|HVPS|HVP|HVD
I|HVDS|HVD|AXPI|AXPS|AXP|AXDI|AXDS|AXD|MDPI|MDPS|MDP|MDDI|MDDS|MDD

In order to conduct our study, we will provide both an explanation and some examples of the phenomena under analysis, in order to trace the similarities and the differences between the two languages. Moreover, we will qualitatively evaluate if the examples taken into consideration involve Focus or Topic, relying on the previous context. Therefore, we will define the type of Focus or Topic that are involved in a certain construction. In terms of syntax, we will compare the positions occupied by the various constituents forming a main clause in Old French and Old English. In particular, we will focus on the positions occupied by the first constituent of the main clause under examination, the finite verb and the subject. We will consider both nominal and pronominal subjects. In this way, we are able to compare the results obtained from the texts with what is expected from the literature we outlined in the previous two chapters. In addition, we will provide schemes and charts to highlight the occurrence of the structures in the texts under analysis. To accomplish this, we will work on the total number of words included in a 'X' text and we will compare with the number of structures that are relevant for our analysis.

4.3. Comparison between Old French and Old English V2

In this first section, we concentrate on how V2 works in Old French and in Old English and which are the constituents that trigger this order. In general, when we deal with V2 main clauses, in the first position we find a constituent that might have occupied a lower position and it has been moved to the left periphery, in the second position we find the finite verb and then, the subject, nominal or pronominal, following the finite verb. As we have seen from the previous chapters, Old French allows the presence of, basically, any type of constituent that can be placed as the first element of the main clause, thus creating a V2 word order. On the other hand, Old English has specific operators that can be placed as the first element of the main clause, thus creating a V2 word order.

We will now take into consideration some examples coming from the Old English and the Old French texts under examination. We will compare them and establish the entity of the constituent that moves to the very beginning of the sentence and triggers the V2 word order. We start from the Old French texts.

The first example that shows a V2 word order comes from the text '*Sermon sur Jonas*' (Anonymous, second part of the 10th century), a sermon written by an author who spoke the Flemish dialect. The Old French corpus provides the original version, so we will attempt a translation of the sentences under examination too. Moreover, the version featured in the corpus provides us only a certain part of this sermon (from line 115) and it seems that some constituents were missing so that Poerck, the

author who revised it, attempted to fill the gaps. In the example under examination, the adjective *afflictus* is moved to the very first position of the sentence, followed by the finite verb, *est*, and by the subject, the full NP *Jonas*. The sentence results in a V2 word order.

Context: The sentences that precede the one taken into examination talk about a figure, that is unfortunately difficult to identify because of the 114 missing lines, having mercy as, probably he (because of *il*) has always had, as a sinner. So, he felt free from this lock. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (208) Et [afflictus] *est* **Jonas** [...]
And afflicted is Jonas [...]
 ‘Jonas is afflicted [...]’
 (Anonymous, Sermon sur Jonas, ca. 938-952, 1.119)

Following the preceding context, we can consider the adjective *afflictus* as a Focus bringing to the sentence an information that is totally new. More specifically, it can be considered as an Information Focus that has the aim of being informative (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018, Cruschina 2020). Moreover, the prominence is given to this adjective so that the pronunciation is emphasized. If we take into consideration the few lines that precede this sentence, it is difficult to identify if the subject *Jonas* may be an Information Focus showing prominence too and, thus, the entire sentence is focalized. For this reason, we only consider the adjective *afflictus*, moved from its original position to the front of the sentence, as an Information Focus. If we want to represent this sentence in an X-bar scheme, we use the articulated syntactical representation of the complementizer layer developed by Rizzi (1997), Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004). The adjective, *afflictus*, occupies the position of SpecFocP while the finite verb, *est*, is found in Fin. The subject, *Jonas*, occupies the position of SpecIP.

- (209) [FocP afflictus [Foc' [Foc [FinP [Fin' [Fin est i [IP Jonas [I' [I t+i [VP]]]]]]]]]]]

Below, we provide another example from the text ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ (Anonymous, second part of the 10th century). Here, the constituent occupying the first position of the sentence is a predicate, *egressus*, that is followed by the finite verb, *est*, and the subject *Jonas* (full NP). The sentence results in the V2 word order. We provide the context that precedes the sentence under examination, so that it is possible for us to determine how the first element can be analyzed.

Context: The sermon continues by stating that Jonas is now referring to God as he wants him to take his soul away because he prefers dying than living. Then, the author mentions the Jews and the city of Jerusalem by referring to its destruction mentioned in the gospel. God cries for Jerusalem. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (210) Et [*egressus*] *est* **Jonas** de ciuitate [...]
 And gone away is Jonas from the city [...]
 ‘Jonas went away from the city [...]’
 (Anonymous, *Sermon sur Jonas*, ca. 938-952, l. 132)

In (210), the participle, *egressus*, is placed at the very beginning of the sentence after being moved from its original position. Then, it is followed by the finite verb and the subject. By analyzing the participle in the first position, we can consider it as an Information Focus (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018, Cruschina 2020) as the adjective we had in (208). Its function is to be informative and, thus, give both the hearer and the speaker a new information to place in their common ground knowledge. Here, the participle *egressus*, as the Information Focus, wants to let us know that there is a change in the story that needs to be emphasized. So, this V2 sentence, by placing the participle at the beginning and giving it the status of Focus, wants to emphasize a totally new information, namely Jonas leaving the city. Moreover, *Jonas*, can be considered as the Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018), a term that refers to the Aboutness Topic (Lambrecht 1994), of this sentence that continues by stating that he sat down and looked at the city to see what it will happen. To analyze this constituent, we take into account the studies carried out by Reinhart (1982) and Lambrecht (1994) by stating that *Jonas* is the topic of the sentence because it represents what the sentence is about. The entire proposition revolves around *Jonas* and the rest of the sentence, namely the comment, gives us information that are based on him (Krifka 2008). Therefore, *Jonas* is an information that is already stored in the common ground knowledge of both the hearer and the speaker. If we want to syntactically represent this sentence with an X-bar scheme, we place the

participle *egressus* in the specifier of FocP, the finite verb in the head Fin, while the subject in a lower position (SpecIP). The result will be as in (209).

The next example comes from the text ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ (Anonymous, first half of the 12th century), a prose text that is centered on laws and, more in general, on the juridical domain. The text is divided in rules which are numbered and their subsections. The corpus features the original version that dates back the first half of the 12th century. The text is anonymous but the dialect of the author is the Anglo-Norman. Unlike the previous text ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ that was still mostly written in Latin, ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ is in an ancient form of French. In order to analyze the structures, we make use of the *Anglo-Norman dictionary* (De Wilde et al. 2003) to help us translating the passages under examination. The sentence that we analyze shows a V2 word order with an adverb occupying the first position, *dunc*, followed by the finite verb, *rendrad*, and the subject in a postverbal position, *le chatel*. We give below the context that precedes the sentence under examination.

Context: this is rule number three and it says “If someone is called for theft or robbery, and they swore to come to justice, their pledge had the time of one month and a day to search for the possession. If they can find it within the time, they need to face justice and if they cannot find it, they must demonstrate that, at the time they took an oath, they did not have it or they did not send it away”. Then, we find the following sentence in its subsection.

(211) [Dunc] *rendrad le chattel* [...]

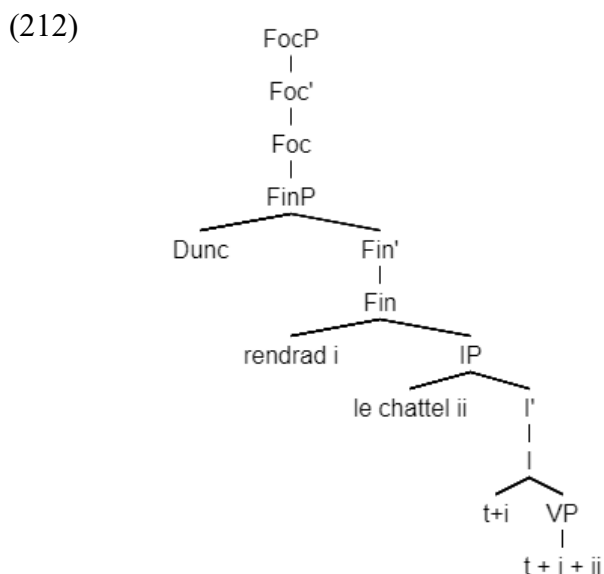
Therefore returns the money (the possession) [...]

‘Therefore, the money returns [...]’

(Anonymous, *Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*, first half of the 12th century, section 3.1)

In (211), the first element is the adverb, *dunc*, which is followed by the finite verb, *rendrad*, and the subject which is a full NP. To analyze this sentence, we take into account the theory developed by Labelle & Hirschbühler (2018) and we consider the adverb as an element that connects the preceding context to what it is said in this first subsection. Therefore, *le chattel*, which follows the finite verb, is the Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) or Aboutness Topic (Lambrecht 1994) of this sentence because it is the crucial point of the entire sentence and the comment that follows revolve around it. Moreover, it has been already mentioned in the previous context, by the

author, by talking about what it happens if someone is accused of stealing from someone a possession. Therefore, it is already part of the common ground knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Below, we provide the syntactic representation of the sentence that we analyzed, by using the X-bar scheme and always considering the left periphery as a complex and articulated area. The adverb is placed as specifier of FinP and the verb as head Fin. The subject is placed as specifier of IP.



Similar to the previous example, rule number nine of ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ shows a main declarative clause that involves a V2 word order with an adverb, *primereinement*, occupying the first position, followed by the finite verb, *rendrad*, and the subject, *l’om*.

Context: the text is referring to rules that must be followed if a man is accused of assault and they kill someone. In fact, the section of the text that opens with rule number 9, is called ‘*de la were*’ that literally refers to the sum that must be paid to the family’s victim. Then, in the next section, namely rule number 9, we find the following sentence.

- (213) [Primereinement] *rendrad l’om* del halsfang a la vedve x sol. [...]
Firstly returns the man the fine to the widow 10 coins [...]
 ‘Firstly, the man returns the fine of 10 coins to the widow [...]’
 (Anonymous, *Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*, first half of the 12th century, section 9)

Example in (213) is similar to the one we cited before in (211). The first element of the sentence, *primereinement*, is an adverb and we analyze it as a link to what has been said in the previous section with what the author wants to provide us in this new section (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018). The second element of this declarative sentence is the finite verb *rendrad*, followed by the indefinite subject, *l'om*. The V2 word order is involved. Moreover, a constituent that can be analyzed as a Focus is *a la vedve x sol*, because it is a totally new information that is introduced in this sentence. Therefore, the indirect object *a la vedve x sol* is analyzed as an Information Focus with the aim of being informative and adding new information to the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018).

The two examples from '*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*' (Anonymous, first half of the 12th century) are similar: they both involve an adverb as a link to the previous context. For this reason, if we want to syntactically represent the example in (213), we can take into account the X-bar scheme in (212). The complementizer layer is activated due to the adverb in the first position and the verb moving to a higher projection than it was before. Therefore, *primereinement* saturates the position of SpecFinP, *rendrad* saturates the position of Fin and *l'om* saturates the position of SpecIP. The rest of sentence occupies lower positions as NP (direct object) and as PP (indirect object).

The third Old French text that is analyzed from the corpus is called '*Queste del Saint Graal*' and it dates back ca. 1225 or 1230. This is an anonymous prose text written by an author whose dialect we do not know. As far as the genre is concerned, this is a novel. The first example that we take into account shows a V2 word order involving a constituent, an NP, occupying the first position, the finite verb in the second position, followed by a nominal subject. Below, we provide the context so that it is possible to analyze the chosen sentence.

Context: the first chapter is set in Kamaalot where during the Pentecost eve, the companions of the round table have reunited. The subsection that precedes the sentence under analysis provides us a scene involving Lancelot, Galaad, a kid and a madame. When they were busy talking, a kid enters the room and he places in front of Galaad. This kid is very pretty so that the most beautiful woman in the room took his hand and she goes in front of Lancelot crying and begging him to let this kid become a knight. Lancelot looks at the kid and he agrees in letting him become a knight. So, Lancelot asks when this ceremony of initiation must take place. The woman wants it to happen the same night or the following day so Lancelot says that it will be as she prefers. Then, in a new subsection, we find the following sentence.

(214) [Cele nuit] *demora* laienz **Lancelot** [...]

This night stays there Lancelot

‘This night, Lancelot stays there [...]

(Anonymous, *Queste del Saint Graal* ca. 1225 or 1230, 4, 160c)

The example in (214), shows a constituent, *cele nuit*, that is moved from its original position and it is now occupying the first position of the sentence. This constituent can be analyzed, as we have seen before, as a temporal constituent that links the previous context with what the author wants to convey to us in this new sentence (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018). Then, the finite verb *demora* is found in the CP after being generated in a lower projection in VP. The subject, *Lancelot*, found after the finite verb, can be analyzed as an Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018), or Aboutness Topic, following Lambrecht’s (1994) definition, namely representing ‘what the sentence is about’. *Lancelot* is an information that we already find in the common ground knowledge of both the hearer and the speaker because it has been mentioned before. It also represents the main subject of this sentence. If we want to syntactically place these constituents, the complementizer layer is activated and we place *cele nuit* in SpecFinP, the finite verb, *demora*, in Fin and the adverb along with the subject in lower positions in IP.

Below, we analyze another example coming from the text ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ (Anonymous ca. 1225 or 1230). Here, the first position is occupied by a wh-operator, followed by the finite verb in the second position and a pronominal subject. In order to analyze this sentence, we provide the context.

Context: The previous section refers to a battle where Galaad was defeated because all the spears were thrown at him. A big and dangerous fight starts. Even the ones who were defeated before, they stood up to fight again. This fight lasts until the afternoon where his men were surrounded and they understood they could not do anything else. So, some left. When Galaad saw that they could not do anything, he meets a man who was wearing religious clothing. The two enter a castle, Galaad disarmed and a lady asked to him what he thinks about what was happening because, for sure, people will come back to fight this night and attack the castle too. Then, the question under examination is uttered.

- (215) [Que] *volez vos*, fait il, que je sache ? [...]
What want you, says he, that I know? [...]
 ‘What do you want me to know? said he [...]’
 (Anonymous, *Queste del Saint Graal*, ca. 1225 or 1230, § 63)

In (215), the element that occupies the first position of the sentence is the wh-operator *que*. Then, it is followed by the finite verb *volez* and the pronominal subject *vos*. In terms of Focus and Topic, the wh-operator *que* can be analyzed as an Information Focus (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) where the main stress is given. So, the wh-operator is emphasized and the author wants to provide, through it, new information. On the other hand, the pronominal subject *vos* can be analyzed as a Familiar Topic (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) because it refers to the lady who was already introduced and mentioned in the context. The main aim is to maintain a Topic consistency (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). If we want to syntactically place these three elements in the X-bar scheme, the complex CP must activate to host them. The wh-operator is placed in SpecFocP, the finite verb, after being moved from a lower position, occupies the position of Fin and the pronominal subject occupies the position of SpecIP.

‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ is an interesting text because, along with the V2 word order, it already shows many constructions that we can find in Modern French too. For instance, if the author wants to pose a question, they use the three strategies, namely inversion, intonation and ‘est-ce que’, that we mentioned in Chapter 2, in the section comparing Old French and Modern French. It will be interesting to analyze it in further sections in terms of V3.

The fourth Old French text that is analyzed in terms of V2, Focus and Topic is ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ [Version I], a religious prose text that dates back the second half of the 13th century. It is an anonymous text written by an author who spoke the Picard dialect. The first example shows an adjective occupying the first position of the sentence, followed by the finite verb and the subject (full NP). In this case, there is only one line before the analyzed sentence.

Context: This is the life of the queen saint Bathilde.

- (216) [Beneois] *soit Nostres Sires* [...]
Blessed are our Lords [...]
 ‘Our Lords are blessed [...]’
 (Anonymous, *Vie de Sainte Bethilde*, second half of the 13th century, line.2)

In (216), the first position is occupied by the adjective *beneois*. This sentence opens a totally new sequence so the adjective *beneois* can be analyzed as a Focus and more specifically as an Information Focus. The main stress is given to this constituent so that the entire relevance is given to it (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018). Syntactically speaking, this example is similar to the previous one, so the adjective *beneois* saturates the position of SpecFocP, the finite verb *soit* occupies the position of Fin while the subject *Nostres Sires* saturates the position of SpecIP.

The fifth Old French text that is part of this qualitative analysis on Focus, Topic and V2 is ‘*Conquête de Constantinople*’, a prose text written by Geoffroi de Villehardouin between 1199 and 1213. The corpus features the original version of the text and we are in the historical domain. The sentence under examination shows an adverb placed as the first element of the sentence, followed by the finite verb, a full NP subject and the rest of the sentence. Below, we provide a glimpse of what is happening in the preceding sections. The sentence that we analyze opens paragraph 11.

Context: The first section provides us an introduction on the origin of the crusade that has brought to the conquest of Constantinople. Nine paragraphs are reserved to all the crucified people giving full lists of Lords, Barons, Earles and the diocese. Then, we find the following sentence.

(217) [Après] *pristrent li baron* un parlament a Soissons [...]

Then gave the baron a word in Soissons [...]

‘Then, the baron gave a speech in Soissons [...]’

(Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, between 1199 and 1213, sec.11)

In (217), the constituent that occupies the first position of the sentence is the adverb *après*, followed by the finite verb *pristrent* and the full NP subject *li baron*. The adverb *après* can be analyzed as a link between what has been said in the previous sections and what the author wants to provide us in this section (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018). The full NP subject *li baron* is found after the finite verb and it can be analyzed as an Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) or Aboutness Topic (Lambrecht 1994) since the entire sentence, that comes after, revolves around this figure (Reinhart 1982). Moreover, we already know from the previous context that a baron figure may be involved in the story. If we want to syntactically represent these constituents, *après* occupies the position of SpecFinP and the finite verb *pristrent* occupies the position of Fin after being moved from a lower position. The subject *li baron* occupies the position of SpecIP after being moved from

a lower position, in order to be near the finite verb. The constituent *un parlement* is the object of this main clause and it is an NP, followed by the PP, *a Soisons*.

As we outlined from these examples contained in different Old French prose texts, various projections of the complementizer layer are activated with sentences involving a V2 word order. Moreover, all these examples showed that, in Old French, it is possible to find various constituents occupying the first position and, thus, triggering a V2 word order. Adverbs, adjectives, noun phrases, participles and wh-operators can trigger the V2 word order. This proves the fact that Old French is a freer language when it comes to choosing the element that occupies the first position of the sentence and that triggers the V2 word order. Now, we will turn to Old English and we will analyze the sentences that show a V2 word order. As we anticipated in the previous chapter, Old English is a language showing a strict V2 word order only under certain circumstances (*þa*, *þonne*, *nu*, a wh-operator, adverbs). After analyzing the Old English texts, we will compare the results we found in the two languages. In order to attempt a translation of the Old English texts, we made use of the *Bosworth Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (online) (Tichy & Rocek 2019).

The first Old English text that we analyze from the YCOE corpus is '*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*', a prose text dating back the 9th – 10th centuries. This text is written in the West Saxon dialect and it is a travelogue. We follow the edition featured in the corpus '*Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the "Beowulf" Manuscript*' (Orchard 1995) and we provide a translation of each example in Modern English. Before analyzing the chosen sentence, we provide, as we did for the Old French texts, the context so that it is possible to establish the entity of the constituents composing the sentence.

Context: Section eight starts by saying that Alexander and his army arrived in India. There, they conquered the nation and took it away from Porus, the king. Alexander writes that the king's army was huge. Here, they took four hundred elephants, so that Alexander's army could place themselves. They also entered the part of the city where the king lived. There, they saw all the golden and personal belongings of the king. So, section nine starts by saying that when Alexander had the possibility to take possession of all the belongings, he wanted to explore India.

(218) [þa] *becwom ic on Caspian þat lond mid ealle mine herige.*

Then come I in Caspian the land with all my army

'Then, I come in the Caspian land with all (the members of) my army.'

(coalex.o23_9.2.62, Alexander's Letter to Aristotle 9th – 10th centuries)

Example in (218) shows the particle *þa* occupying the first position of the sentence, followed by the finite verb, *becwom* and the subject, in this case a personal pronoun, *ic*. As mentioned above, this is a case in which Old English shows a strict V2 word order where the finite verb is placed in the second position. This particle *þa* introduces us to something new that is happening in the narration of the letter. Here, the subject is a pronoun but due to the fact that the sentence is introduced by *þa*, it is found after the finite verb. *ic* is always referring to Alexander who is writing the letter and he is the main topic of this sentence, to which the rest of the proposition refers to.

We provide another example from the text ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ that involves a V2 word order but this time the subject is a full NP. It is the beginning of section 35 of the letter. Below, we provide the context, so that it is possible to analyze the constituents forming the sentence.

Context: When they arrived into the land, they saw some women and men who told him that they were Indians. Alexander and his army took a look at the surroundings and at the beauty of this land. Then, we find the following sentence. This sentence opens a new section.

(219) [þa] *cwom se bisceop þare stowe us togeanes.*

Then came the bishop the place to us

‘Then, the local bishop came to us.’

(coalex.o23_35.1.434, Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (219) shows a sentence involving a V2 word order. The element that occupies the first position is the particle *þa* that triggers a strict V2 word order. In fact, the second position is occupied by the finite verb *cwom* and this time, the finite verb is followed by a full NP, *se bisceop* as the subject. As the previous example, the particle *þa* introduces a new event happening in the narration. In (219), unlike (218), the subject can be analyzed as an Information Focus (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) because it is a new figure that needs to be placed in the common ground knowledge of the hearer and the utterer.

By analyzing these two sentences from the text ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ we can see that the V2 word order is triggered in a specific situation, namely with the particle *þa* introducing the sentence. Moreover, the V2 word order behaves in the same way even though the subject in (218) is a personal pronoun and in (219) is a full NP.

The next text that we analyze from the corpus is called ‘*Blicking Homilies*’, a prose text dating back the 10th – 11th centuries. This text is written in the West Saxon dialect and it is a homily. We follow the edition featured in the corpus ‘*The Blickling Homilies*’ (Morris 1967) and we provide a translation in Modern English. Along with the use of the dictionary, we consulted ‘*The Blickling Homilies of the 10th century*’ (Morris 1880). Below, we provide the first example under analysis and the context that precedes it.

Context: the first part of the section, reserved to the annunciation to Mary brought by the angel, opens up with a comparison of the two figures of Mary and Eve. When Eve gave birth, life was sorrowful due to the fact that her child was conceived after a sin while by giving birth to Jesus, Mary brought joy and purity to the world. So, the angel will be meeting the Virgin Mary. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (220) [Forðon] wæs **se engel** sprecende to ures Drihtnes meder [...]
Therefore was the angel speaking to our Lord mother [...]
‘Therefore, the angel spoke to our Lord’s mother [...]’
(coblick.o23_3.17.20, Blickling Homilies, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (220) shows the first position occupied by the adverb *forðon* that triggers a strict V2 word order where the finite verb moves from the position where it is generated, V, to C. Therefore, it occupies the second position of the sentence. Then, it is followed by the subject, *se engel*, which is a full NP. The adverb *forðon* can be analyzed as an item opening a new scene namely the angel in front of Mary who is ready to tell her the sweet news. In terms of the subject, the angel is already mentioned in the previous sentences so it is a figure that is already present in the common ground knowledge of both the hearer and the speaker. Moreover, as we saw in the previous examples, for the fact that the sentence is introduced by an adverb, the nominal subject is found after the finite verb.

We provide another example taken from the text ‘*Blicking Homilies*’ and the context that precedes the sentence under analysis. This example shows another situation in which a strict V2 is activated in Old English.

Context: The sentences that precede the one under examination refer to the Virgin Mary as the person who gave life to Lord. She praised the Lord. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (221) [Ne] *herede heo* hine no mid wordum anum, ac mid ealre heortan.
Not praised she him not with words only, but also with all heart
 ‘She did not praise him only with words, but also with all (her) heart.’
 (coblick.o23_13.166.144, *Blicking Homilies*, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (221) shows a negative element, *ne*, occupying the first position of the sentence. Then, it is followed by the finite verb, *herede*, and the pronominal subject *heo*. As we saw in the previous chapter, negative elements can be found at the beginning of a main clause and thus they trigger a strict V2 word order in Old English. Moreover, even in this case, the subject, which is a pronominal one, is placed after the finite verb. The pronominal subject refers to Mary and we already know her from the previous context.

The two examples, taken from the text ‘*Blicking Homilies*’ (10th – 11th centuries), that we analyzed, show sentences involving other two situations in which the V2 word order is strictly triggered, namely with the presence of an adverb and the presence of a negative element. Moreover, as we saw from the examples taken from ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’, the subject, nominal (220) or pronominal (221), is always placed after the finite verb.

The next Old English text that we analyze is ‘*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies I*’ and it dates back the 10th – 11th centuries. It is written in the West Saxon dialect and it is part of the genre of the homilies. We follow the edition featured in the YCOE namely ‘*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series*’ (Clemoes 1997). Before analyzing a sentence showing a V2 word order, we provide the context that precedes it and a translation.

Context: The sentences that precede the one under analysis involve the figures of the devil, Adam and Eve. The devil realized that Adam and Eve were created and that they might obtain the control of the place from where it has fallen, namely the heaven. So, it decides to appear to them under the form of a serpent to take its revenge. It goes to Eve and ask her why the fruit in front of them was forbidden. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (222) [Pa] *cwað þat wif*. God us forbead þas treowes wastm, [...]
Then spoke the woman. God us forbade the (of) tree fruit [...]
 ‘Then, the woman spoke: “God forbade us the fruit of the tree [...].”’
 (cocathomI.o3_1:183.131.127, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies I*, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (222) is similar to the one we had in (219). The element occupying the first position is the particle *þa* followed by the finite verb *cwað*. So, the particle *þa* triggers a strict V2 word order where the verb ends up being in the second position. Then, the subject, *þat wif* (full NP) is placed right after the finite verb. As the example in (219), the adverb *þa* introduces to a new sequence in the narration.

The next examples under analysis come from the historical text ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*’ Manuscript A and Manuscript E. Manuscript A dates back the 9th – 10th centuries while Manuscript E dates back the 12th century. We will take into consideration the edition that is featured in the YCOE, namely *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Plummer 1965) for both Manuscripts and we provide a translation in Modern English.

Context: It’s the year 449 when Mercian and Valentinian began to rule and their reign lasted for seven winters. Battles are fought against various populations. Then, the section gives us an introduction of three important populations that came to Britain, namely the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes and it tells us the descendants. It is here that we find the following sentence. Below, we provide both the version in Manuscript A and the version in Manuscript E.

(223) [Of Eald Seaxon] *common Eastsexa & Suðsexa & Westsexan.*

Of Old Saxon came Essex and Sussex and Wessex

‘From the Old Saxon, the people of Essex, Sussex and Wessex came.’

(cochronA.o23_449.11.145, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Manuscript A, 9th-10th centuries)

(224) [Of Eald Seaxum] *coman East Seaxa & Suð Sexa & West Sexa.*

Of Old Saxon came Essex and Sussex and Wessex

‘From the Old Saxon, the people of Essex, Sussex and Wessex came.’

(cochronE.o34_449.15.134, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Manuscript E, 12th-13th centuries)

The examples in (223) and (224) are interesting because they show the V2 word order with a constituent, *of Eald Seaxon*, that moves from the position where it is generated to the first position of the sentence. This is a particular V2 word order because the first position is not occupied by an operator as the literature of Old English showed. *Of Eald Seaxon* is analyzed as a Contrastive Topic,

namely a constituent that leads to alternatives that do not have any effect on the Focus domain and it creates oppositional pairs (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). In fact, the sentence that precedes and the sentence that follows the one under analysis are introduced by constituents creating oppositional pairs: [*Of Iotum*] *comon Cantware & Wihtware [...]* (sentence that precedes) and [*Of Angle*] *comon se a siððan stod westi betwyx Iutum & Seaxum. East Engla. Midel Angla. Mearca & ealle Norðhymbra* (sentence that follows). Therefore, this V2 word order is triggered by the presence of a topicalized item placed at the very beginning of the sentence. This situation differs from the ones we saw before because, according to the literature, in Old English the strict V2 word order is triggered only with certain operators placed in the first position. Moreover, this example opens up a question on the positions occupied by the various constituents, especially by the finite verb, due to the fact that it is a topicalized item the first constituent of the sentence. We will address this matter at the end of this section when we provide the positions occupied by the constituents in the X-bar scheme. Between Manuscript A and Manuscript E, there is a difference in terms of spelling and orthography because we may find little differences from one Manuscript to the other.

The last Old English text is called ‘*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*’ and it is an epilogue text that dates back the XI century. This prose text is written in the West Saxon dialect. We will follow the edition that is featured in the YCOE corpus, namely ‘*The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis*’ (Crawford 1922). Below, we provide the context that precedes the analyzed sentence so that it is possible to identify Foci and Topics.

Context: The sentences that precede the one under analysis talks about the figure of Theodorus, who is weakened from the fight. His army was entrusted to Halende and even God fought for him. Then, the figures of the senators are mentioned by saying that they are now very much weak.

- (225) [þa] *sende he* sona to þas ealdormannes sunu mid micclum fultum, [...]
Then sends he soon to these senators the son with great help, [...]
 ‘Then, he sends the son to these senators with great help, [...]’
 (coepigen.o3_49.34, *Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*, 11th century)

As in the previous examples, in (225) too, the particle *þa*, if found as the first element of the sentence, triggers a strict V2 word order and introduces a new sequence in the history. Then, this particle is followed by the finite verb *sende* occupying the second position and the subject, *he* that

follows the finite verb. The pronoun *he* might refer to the figure of Halende that was introduced in the previous context. In this case too, the subject is a pronoun and it is still found in a postverbal position occupying the specifier position of the first projection we encounter after the one occupied by the finite verb.

If we want to syntactically place the constituents of all these examples from the Old English texts, we can consider the study carried out by van Kemenade (2020) on the positions the constituents in a V2 word order occupy. When dealing with a V2 word order, the first constituent is placed in SpecForceP, while the verb in Force, then the nominal or the pronominal subject occupies the first specifier position that is available in the X-bar scheme and it is lower than the one occupied by the finite verb. In fact, *þa/þonne*, *ne* and the *wh-* operators are placed in SpecForceP in order to define the pragmatic function of the sentence: *þa/þonne* are used to open up a new narrative sequence, *ne* is used to introduce a negative sentence while the *wh-* operator is used to introduce an interrogative sentence. However, as we anticipated, examples such as (223) and (224) show a particular case of the V2 word order. In fact, there, the first constituent is a topicalized item instead of an operator as we know from the Old English literature. The question that might arise is: is the verb still found in Force and does the topicalized constituent saturate the position of SpecForceP? Due to the fact that the first constituent is a topicalized item, we may place the XP in SpecTopP so that it saturates its own topical projection, then the finite verb is placed in a lower projection in Fin and the subject saturates the position of SpecIP. This analysis is similar to the one of Old French.

As we could see from the examples that we analyzed for both Old English and Old French, Old French is a language that shows a freer possibility of having a V2 word order since any type of constituent is capable of triggering this word order. On the other hand, Old English is a language in which the V2 word order is strictly reserved to specific cases (except for the ones in (223) and (224)) involving precise operators in the first position. As mentioned in the previous chapter, sentences introduced by the particle *þa* are considered as propositions with the aim of explaining a progress in the story that does not involve any abrupt change (Los 2000). Moreover, when it comes to the first constituent, in Old French there is the possibility of having both focalized and topicalized items, while Old English shows mostly operators. The two languages behave in the same way in terms of nominal and pronominal subjects, namely they are always found after the finite verb when the V2 word order is involved.

Below, we provide the statistics on the occurrence of the V2 word order in the texts we analyzed in this section. For the Old French texts, the calculation is based on a reading of the texts and on a research sentence by sentence. For the Old English texts, the query provides us the number of hits,

namely the number of boundary nodes that contain the searched structure. We start from the texts preserved in the Old French corpus '*Base de français médiéval*'. The text '*Sermon sur Jonas*' (Anonymous, second part of the 10th century) shows 4 cases of the V2 word order with an incidence of 0,49% (total words: 815). As we previously stated, this text has missing parts and it is still mostly written in Latin. The text '*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*' (Anonymous, first half of the 12th century) shows 14 cases of the V2 word order, in which both the sentences with an O-V-S word order and an S-V-O word order have been taken into account, with an incidence of 0,63% (total words: 2197). The text '*Queste del Saint Graal*' (Anonymous, ca.1225 or 1230) has been statistically analyzed in samples due to the length of the text. We took into consideration the first six chapters of the text. The text shows 96 cases of the V2 word order with an incidence of 0,08% (total: 107677). The first six chapters of the text show a great variety of V2 sentences triggered by various constituents. The text '*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*' [Version I] (Anonymous, second half of the 13th century) shows 33 cases of the V2 word order with an incidence of 0,31% (total words: 10573). In this text, the majority of the cases are S-V-O but there are also several wh-questions showing the inversion V-S. This text shows a more complex structure with a great number of embedded sentences. The text '*Conquête de Constantinople*' (Geoffroi de Villehardouin, between 1199 and 1213) shows 132 cases of the V2 word order with an incidence of 0,71% (total words: 18449). In the result, we consider both sentences with a S-V-O word order but also the ones introduced by elements that trigger the verb fronting. This text shows more sentence where the verb fronting is triggered than the ones showing a S-V-O word order.

We provide here the results for the texts preserved in the Old English corpus YCOE too. The text '*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*' (Ælfric, 10th – 11th centuries) shows 108 hits with the V2 word order. The incidence is 1,48% (total words: 7271). Most of the cases show a movement of the verb towards the second position of the sentence. The text '*Blicking Homilies*' (10th – 11th centuries) shows 638 hits with the V2 word order. The incidence is 1,5% (total words: 42506). In counting, both the S-V-O structures and the ones showing a V2 word order involving verb fronting have been considered. The text '*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies P*' (Ælfric, 10th – 11th centuries) shows 2879 hits with the V2 word order. The incidence is 2,711% (total words:106173). In this case too, the query has counted both sentences showing a S-V-O order and the structures showing a V2 word order involving verb fronting. The texts '*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A and E*' (9th – 10th centuries; 12th century) show respectively 251 hits and 707 hits with the V2 word order. The incidence is respectively 1,72% (total words: 14583) and 1,74% (total words: 40641). In this case too, the query has counted both sentences showing a S-V-O order and the structures showing a V2 word order involving verb fronting. The text '*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*' (Ælfric, 11th century) shows 15 hits

with the V2 word order. The incidence is 1,55% (total words: 965). In this case too, the query has counted both sentences showing a S-V-O order and the structures showing a V2 word order involving verb fronting. As we may notice, the occurrence of V2 in Old French prose texts is lower than the occurrence of V2 in Old English texts. Moreover, between the various texts of Old English, there is no major difference.

Below we provide the chart where we place the results of the analysis.

	Number of sentences showing the V2 word order.	Total number of words for each analyzed text.	Occurrence of the analyzed structure (%).
(OF) Sermon sur Jonas	4	815	0,49%
(OF) Lois de Guillaume le conquérant	14	2197	0,63%
(OF) Queste del Saint Graal [first six chapters]	96	107677	0,08%
(OF) Vie de Sainte Bathilde	33	10573	0,31%
(OF) Conquête de Constantinople	132	18449	0,71%
(OE) Alexander's Letter to Aristotle	108	7271	1,48%
(OE) Blicking Homilies	638	42506	1,5%
(OE) Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I	2879	106173	2,711%
(OE) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A	251	14583	1,72%
(OE) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E	707	40641	1,74%
(OE) Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis	15	965	1,55%

Table 1: Results of the V2 analysis

4.4. Comparison between Old French and Old English V1

In this section, we will deal with main clauses of both Old French and Old English that show a V1 word order where the finite verb is placed at the very beginning of the sentence, followed by the

subject and the rest of the sentence. We analyze the various texts and compare the examples of the two languages in terms of left periphery, Focus and Topic.

An example of the V1 word order is taken from the text ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ (Anonymous, ca. 1125 or 1230). Below, we provide the context so that we are able to analyze the constituents.

Context: While they are talking, a young gentleman entered there and he said to the king: “King, we have marvelous news for you”. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (226) « Queles ? » *fet li rois* « [...] »
“Which ones?” said the king “[...]”
‘Which ones?’ said the king ‘[...]’
(Anonymous, *Queste del Saint Graal* ca. 1225 or 1230, §7, p. 5)

Example in (226) shows a sentence, *fet li rois*, involving a finite verb occupying the first position and followed by the subject, *li rois*. The constituent, *li rois*, is already known by the person who is reading the text because we encounter him in the context. For this reason, it could be considered as a Familiar Topic with the main goal of maintaining a topic consistency (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). It is placed after the finite verb.

In ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’, it seems that the V1 word order is employed in specific cases, namely when the author wants to report who is the person uttering a sentence. In fact, the cases where it is possible to spot a V1 word order are similar: *fet li rois*, *fet mes sires Gauvains*, *fet il*, *fet la reïne au vaslet*, *fet ele*. These V1 word orders are usually found in a direct speech context. On the other hand, the majority of the text, both in the direct speech parts and in the discursive parts, shows V2, V3 and S-V-O as the most used word orders.

It is possible to find the V1 word order also in the text ‘*Conquête de Costantinople*’ (Geoffroi de Villehardouin between 1199 and 1213). Here, the author makes use of the V1 word order with the same purpose it had in the previous text, namely reporting the person who is uttering the sentence. Examples from this text are: *fait li dux*, *fait il* and the subjects are always considered as Topics due to the fact that they are already mentioned and known from the previous context.

It is fair to say that we do not find many cases of the V1 word order in the Old French prose texts that we took into analysis. Starting from the one written in the 10th century onwards, we find few cases of the V1 word order only in two texts, due to a specific context where the author seems to

require it. In fact, below, we cited examples only from ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ (Anonymous ca. 1225 or 1230) and ‘*Conquête de Constantinople*’ (Geoffroi de Villehardouin between 1199 and 1213) and not from ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ (Anonymous second part of the 10th century), ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ (Anonymous first half of the 12th century) and ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ [Version 1] (Anonymous second half of the 13th century).

These examples from the Old French texts are interesting because we may consider them as cases of *quotative inversion*¹⁴. This type of structure may be found in narrative texts after a direct-speech sentence. The interesting aspect is to understand which type of movement it involves and which are the positions occupied by the various constituents. First of all, according to Collins & Branigan (1997), in a quotative inversion, the subject must precede the complements (except for the cases in which a heavy-NP as subject is involved) that the verb needs and it is found after the finite verb. Therefore, the subject must be placed in a specifier projection that is on the left of the intermediate projection V’, namely in SpecVP (Collins & Branigan 1997). This means that the verb undergoes a movement in order to be found before the subject. According to Collins & Branigan (1997), an aspect that supports an internal VP analysis of the subject in quotative inversion is the behavior of the floating quantifiers because, in these types of sentences, they are never found on the right of the subject. For this reason, the subject remains in its original position namely in SpecVP. Then, according to Collins & Branigan (1997), the finite verb must raise to a higher projection, namely AgrP¹⁵. The fact that the verb raises and places in Agr is supported by the impossibility of having a negation¹⁶ with quotative inversion (Collins & Branigan (1997)). Therefore, the syntactic analysis considers the subject in situ in SpecVP while the verb is placed in Agr. Then, the two needs to agree with each other, so the subject is placed in SpecAgrP and the verb in I (Collins & Branigan 1997). In this regard, the sentences that we found in the Old French texts might be considered, instead of V1 sentences, as cases of quotative inversion, without involving the complementizer layer.

Below, we provide examples from the Old English texts so that we are able to make a comparison between the two languages.

The first example comes from the text ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (10th – 11th centuries). As we did for the previous examples, we provide the context so that it is possible to analyze the constituents composing the sentence in terms of Focus, Topic and V1.

¹⁴ Quotative Inversion: ‘sentences in which a direct speech complement to a verb of saying is preposed or postposed may trigger an inversion between the subject and the finite verb’ (Collins & Branigan 1997)

¹⁵ Collins & Branigan (1997) makes use of AgrP. In our study we make use of the IP position but we can equalize the two terms.

¹⁶ With quotative inversion, it is not possible to find a negation. If the verb raises past the projection of the negation (NegP) or it remains under NegP, the sentence results as ungrammatical (Collins & Branigan 1997).

Context: The person speaking is the one writing the letter (Alexander). Alexander and his army lit up fires, played his trumpets and ate some food. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (227) *Was hit* þa an tid to afenes [...] *Was it then an hour to night-time* [...] *‘It was then an hour to night-time [...]*
(coalex.o23_17.2.178, Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle 10th – 11th centuries)

The example in (227) shows a finite verb, *was*, placed in the first position and followed by the pronoun, *hit*, occupying the second position. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a sentence like this showing a V1 word order can be analyzed entirely as a Focus marking a transition in the story and in the discourse (Petrova 2006). The main goal is to be informative and bring brand new information to the hearer and the speaker (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018). In this case, the aim is to provide an information about time.

Another example showing a V1 word order is taken from the text ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (10th – 11th centuries). Below, we provide the context so that it is possible to analyze the constituents composing the sentence in terms of Focus, Topic and V1.

Context: it is early in the morning and they arrived in a different area of India. At the moment they arrived there, they saw men and women who seemed like beasts. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (228) *Waron hie* nigon fota uplonge, [...] *Were they nine feet tall, [...]* *‘They were nine feet tall, [...]*
(coalex.o23_29.3.346, Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle 10th – 11th centuries)

The example in (228) shows a finite verb, *waron*, placed at the very beginning of the sentence, followed by the pronoun *hie* and the rest of the sentence. In this case, we can analyze the pronoun *hie* as an Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) or Aboutness Topic (Reinhart 1982; Lambrecht 1994) and it represents the subject of the discourse. Everything that comes after it,

namely the comment, is related to our Information or Aboutness Topic and tells us more about it. The pronoun *hie* can be seen as a Topic because we already stored, in our common ground knowledge, the information about the men and the women, the protagonist and their army encountered.

As we could see from these first two examples from ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (10th – 11th centuries), it is possible to find cases of the V1 word order in Old English prose texts. In general, this text shows the presence of the V1 word order mostly with the verb ‘to be’ occupying the first position. Then, this order can be associated with both Foci or Topics based on the main goal of that sentence. As we have seen, in (227), the entire sentence is analyzed as a Focus providing us new information while in (228), the subject is analyzed as a Topic as it comes from an already given information and it is the subject of the discourse to which the comment refers. Below, we provide other examples from the Old English texts to see if the pattern is the same and if the presence of the V1 word order fades with time.

The next example involving a V1 word order comes from the text ‘*Blicking Homilies*’ (10th – 11th centuries). Below, we provide the context so that it is possible to analyze the sentence in terms of V1, Focus and Topic. As in the previous section, we also consulted ‘*The Blicking Homilies of the 10th century*’ (Morris 1880).

Context: This is the chapter regarding the annunciation brought by the angel to the Virgin Mary. The passage compares the first mother who gave birth to mankind and has brought affliction to the world. It was a great affliction so that all men were born in pain, lived in pain and departed in pain. Now, the Virgin Mary brought to the world blessings. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (229) *Lufian hie* nu forþon eall wifa cynn & wera, [...]
Love they now therefore all sweet and kind woman [...]
‘Therefore, they love all sweet and kind woman [...]’
(coblick.o23_5.48.45, *Blicking Homilies*, 10th – 11th centuries)

The example in (229) shows the finite verb, *lufian*, occupying the first position of the sentence and thus forming a V1 word order. Here, the grammatical subject of this sentence, *hie*, is in the plural form. So, it may be possible to consider it as a Topic and more specifically as a Continuing or Familiar Topic (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) so that it maintains a Topic consistency.

The next example comes from the text ‘*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*’ (10th – 11th centuries). Below, we provide the context that precedes the analyzed sentence so that we can analyze the constituents in terms of V1, Focus and Topic.

Context: The entire passage is talking about Stephen who prayed the Lord so that he could redeem the people who wounded him. Stephen was more afflicted of these people’s sins than his own wounds. Stephen kneeled down and prayed the Lord that he would redeem Saul. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (230) *Wearð ða Stephanes **ben** fram Gode gehyred, [...]*
Was then Stephan’s prayer from God heard [...]
‘Then, Stephan’s prayer was heard from God [...]’
(cocathomI.o3_3:202.110.558, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (230) shows a finite verb, *wearð*, placed in the first position and then followed by a constituent and the nominal subject of this sentence. In this case, the subject, *ben*, can be analyzed as a Familiar Topic due to the fact that it maintains a consistency with the topic of the previous sentence (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). It is still the referent of the passage the whole discourse revolves around.

The next examples come from the text ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*’, Manuscripts A (9th – 10th centuries) and E (12th – 13th centuries). As we did for the previous section on V2, we consider the V1 sentences from the two manuscripts and we compare them to see the differences. Below, we provide the context that precedes the sentence under analysis.

Context: It’s the year 658. Here, Cenwalh fought with the Welsh. This battle was fought after he came back from East-Anglia. He had been exiled there for three years. Then, we find the following sentence. We provide both the versions from Manuscript A and Manuscript E.

- (231) *Hæfde hine **Penda** adrifenne, & rices benumenne. Forþon he his swostor anforlet.*
Had him Penda driven, and kingdom deprived. Therefore he his sister gave up
‘Penda had driven him and deprived him of his kingdom. Therefore, he gave up on his sister.’
(cochronA.o23_658.3.345, *Anglo Saxon Chronicle A*, 9th – 10th centuries)

- (232) *Hafde hine Penda adrefedne. & rices benumene forþan þat he his swustor forlet.*
Had him Penda driven, and kingdom deprived therefore he his sister gave up
‘Penda had driven him and deprived him of his kingdom. Therefore, he gave up on his sister.’
(cochronE.o23_658.2.490, Anglo Saxon Chronicle E, 12th – 13th centuries)

These two examples show a finite verb, *hæfde/hafde*, which represents the auxiliary in this case, placed in the first position and followed by both the subject and the object. If we take a look at the two versions of the sentence under examination, we may spot that there are differences in terms of how words are written. For instance, the finite verb goes from *hæfde* to *hafde*, the past participles go from *adrifenne* to *adrefedne* and from *benumenne* to *benumene*, the adverb goes from *forþon* to *forþan*, the noun goes from *swostor* to *swustor* and the verb goes from *anforlet* to *forlet*. In (231) and (232), we can analyze the pronoun *hine* as the topic of the sentence, the main argument of what we find in the comment. The pronoun *hine* can be analyzed as an Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) or Aboutness Topic (Reinhart 1982, Lambrecht 1994) as it is the subject of the aboutness condition. The rest of the sentence gives us new information about the pronoun *hine* which corresponds to Cenwalh. On the other hand, *Penda*, the grammatical subject of the sentence, can be analyzed as an Information Focus (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) since this figure is introduced in this moment as the person who caused both the exile of Cenwalh and the loss of his reign. This sentence gives us information on the person who has exiled Cenwalh and what he did to exile him. It is a crucial point of the story where we get to know the person who has exiled Cenwalh. We provide another example coming from the text ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*’. Below, we provide the context that precedes the sentence under analysis.

Context: It’s the year 894. King Alfred gathered his army and advanced. He decided to separate his army into two parts, half at home and half there. The king was advancing and another was coming homewards. The Danes remained behind because the king was wounded in the fight. When the king heard that various men were going towards various parts of the country, he decided to go to Exeter with his force. There, he was joined by citizens and other reinforcements and they went east. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (233) *Was Hasten þa þar cumen mid his herge, þe ar at Middeltune sat*
Was Hasten there come with his force, who at Milton sat down
 ‘Hasten came there with his force, who before sat down at Milton.’
 (cochronA.o23_894.43.1045, Anglo Saxon Chronicle A, 9th – 10th centuries)

The sentence in (233) shows a finite verb, *was*, that is placed in the first position. Then, it is followed by the subject of this sentence, namely *Hasten*. This figure was mentioned in the section that precedes the one we took into consideration, namely the one of year 893. *Hasten* can be identified as a Continuing or Familiar Topic, as the main goal might be of maintaining a topic consistency (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). In the case of this example, it is possible to find the section dedicated to year 894 only in Manuscript A and not in Manuscript E. Therefore, a difference that we may encounter while analyzing the manuscripts containing the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is that some parts might not be featured in Manuscript E.

The next example comes from the text ‘*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*’ (11th century). This text shows only one example involving a V1 word order. Below, we provide the context so that we are able to analyze the relations between V1, Focus and Topic.

Context: The consul should guide them all and be the eldest. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (234) *Feng þonne oder to, odres geares firste, to þam ylcan anwealde, [...]*
Took then one, the other of the year in a time, to the same government, [...]
 ‘He took then one, the other in a time of the year, to the same government [...].’
 (coepigen.o3_17.15, Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis, 11th century)

This sentence shows a finite verb, *feng*, placed in the first position. This time the subject is an implied one, referring to the consul. This entire V1 sentence can be analyzed as a Focus with the aim of bringing new information to the common ground knowledge, namely the consul choosing a person and marking a shift in the narration (Petrova 2006).

As we noticed from the examples taken from both Old French and Old English texts, there is a great difference between the cases in which we can find a V1 word order. Old French prose texts only show the possibility of finding a V1 word order in a specific occasion, namely reporting the person who has just spoken while Old English prose texts show more and different cases of sentences

starting with a V1 order. In both Old French and Old English texts, the V1 word order occurs with a pronominal or a full NP subject, placed right after the verb or after another element placed between the subject and the finite verb. All the examples coming from the Old French texts involve the verb ‘to say’ as it reports who is the person that has just uttered the sentence. In Old English, the examples show different verbs placed in the first position and thus forming a V1 word order mainly with the aim of introducing a new sequence of the story or a change that needs to be signaled in the narration (Petrova 2006). On the basis of the personal research done through the Old English texts, the verb ‘to be’ as auxiliary or copula is the most commonly found when it comes to the V1 word order. Moreover, both Old French and Old English show a diminishing frequency of the V1 word order from the texts written in the 10th – 11th centuries and the ones written in the 12th – 13th centuries.

Below, we provide the statistics on the occurrence of the V1 word order in the texts we analyzed in this section. As we did in the previous section, for the Old French texts, the calculation is based on a reading of the texts and on a research sentence by sentence. For the Old English texts, the query provides us the number of hits, namely the number of boundary nodes that contain the searched structure. We start from the texts preserved in the Old French corpus ‘*Base de français médiéval*’. The texts ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ (Anonymous, second part of the 10th century), ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ (Anonymous, first half of the 12th century) and ‘*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*’ [Version 1] (Anonymous, second half of the 13th century) show 0 cases of the V1 word order with, thus, an incidence of 0%. The text ‘*Queste del Saint Graal*’ (Anonymous, ca.1225 or 1230) has been statistically analyzed in samples due to the length of the text. We took into consideration the first six chapters of the text. The text shows 162 cases of the V1 word order with an incidence of 0.15% (total: 107677). The first six chapters of the text involve only cases of V1 sentences that might be analyzed as quotative inversion too. The text ‘*Conquête de Constantinople*’ (Geoffroi de Villehardouin between 1199 and 1213) shows 17 cases of the V1 word order with an incidence of 0,09% (total words: 18449).

We provide here the results for the texts preserved in the Old English corpus YCOE too. The text ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (Ælfric, 10th -11th centuries) shows 38 hits with the V1 word order. The incidence is 0,52% (total words: 7271). The text ‘*Blicking Homilies*’ (10th – 11th centuries) shows 92 hits with the V1 word order. The incidence is 0,21% (total words: 42506). The text ‘*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies I*’ (Ælfric, 10th – 11th centuries) shows 11 hits with the V1 word order. The incidence is 0,11% (total words: 106173). The texts ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A and E*’ (9th – 10th centuries; 12th century) show respectively 7 hits and 13 hits with the V1 word order. The

incidence is respectively 0.049% (total words: 14583) and 0.003% (total words: 40641). The text ‘*Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis*’ (Ælfric, 11th century) shows 1 hit with the V1 word order. The incidence is 0,10% (total words: 965). These structures involving a V1 word order are used when there is an important shift in the story that need to be addressed (Petrova 2006). As we may notice, the V1 word order is less present, in the texts analyzed, than the V2 word order. Results show that V1 is uncommon in Old French prose texts. Old English shows some cases of V1 even though the occurrence is lower than the occurrence of V2. Moreover, earlier Old English prose texts show more cases of V1 than later prose texts.

Below we provide the chart where we place the results of the analysis.

	Number of sentences showing the V1 word order.	Total number of words for each analyzed text.	Occurrence of the analyzed structure (%).
(OF) Sermon sur Jonas	0	815	0%
(OF) Lois de Guillaume le conquérant	0	2197	0%
(OF) Queste del Saint Graal [first six chapters]	162	107677	0.15%
(OF) Vie de Sainte Bathilde	0	10573	0%
(OF) Conquête de Constantinople	17	18449	0,09%
(OE) Alexander's Letter to Aristotle	38	7271	0,52%
(OE) Blicking Homilies	92	42506	0,21%
(OE) Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I	11	106173	0,11%
(OE) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A	7	14583	0.049%
(OE) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E	13	40641	0.003%
(OE) Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis	1	965	0,10%

Table 2: Results of the V1 analysis

4.5. Comparison between Old French and Old English V3/V4

In this section, we concentrate on a comparison between Old French and Old English in terms of V3 structures but also on the possibility of having a V4 word order. We take into consideration all the texts that we analyzed in the previous sections so that it is possible to identify how these two languages behave when a V3 word order is triggered. We will provide examples showing this word order and we will make some considerations on the types of constituents we may find in the first position. Moreover, we will establish which are the positions occupied by the various constituents composing the sentence.

We start by analyzing the text ‘*Queste del saint Graal*’ (ca. 1225 or 1230) in terms of the V3 word order. We provide the context that precedes the sentence under analysis so that it is possible to determine how to consider the element occupying the first position. Below, we give various examples that show different constituents and structures triggering the V3 word order.

Context: The king addresses to Lord Gauvain and says that he must save his benevolence. Lancelot is a better knight than him. Lancelot told Lord Gauvain that the sword he is using will touch him again. Lord Gauvain answers that if he has to die, he will do that by the will of his lord. Then, we find the following sentence.

(235) [Quant li rois ot ceste parole] [si] *se repent* de ce que mes sires Gauvains a fet.

When the king heard these words thus PRO (he) regretted what Lord Gauvains has done

‘When the king heard these words, thus, he regretted what Lord Gauvains has done.’

(Anonymous, *Queste del Saint Graal*, ca. 1225 or 1230, § 8)

Example in (235) shows a sentence in which the finite verb of the main clause occupies the third position. This is due to the presence of a subordinate clause introduced by *quant* placed at the very beginning of the sentence, *quant li rois ot ceste parole*, but also to the presence of *si* that is found between the initial subordinate clause and the finite verb. In this sentence, the subject is implied so we place a PRO. If the sentence showed the pronominal subject, *he*, or the full nominal subject, *the king*, the verb would have occupied the fourth position. If we want to syntactically represent this sentence, we need to highlight the fact that *si* may be considered in various ways and it may occupy also different positions. According to Donaldson (2012), *si* is considered as an adverb that occupies

SpecFocP while the initial subordinate clause saturates SpecFrameP and the finite verb, *repent*, saturates moves from Fin to Foc. According to Meklenborg Salvesen (2013), *si* is considered as a conjunction occupying the SpecFin position. Then, the verb is found in Fin.

Below, we provide an example that is similar to the one in (235) but, this time, the subject is not implied. The context is given so that it is possible to analyze the constituents that compose the sentence.

Context: The queen and Galaad spoke for quite some time so that the night fell. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (236) [Quant il fu auques anuitié] [et il fu hore de dormir], **li rois** *prist* Galaad [...]
When it was somewhat night time and it was time to sleep, the king grabbed Galaad [...]
[...]
'When it was fairly night time and it was time to sleep, the king grabbed Galaad [...]'
(Anonymous, *Queste del saint Graal*, ca. 1225 or 1230, § 15)

Example in (236) shows a sentence in which the finite verb occupies the fourth position. The first position is occupied by *quant il fu auques anuitié*, then by the coordination *et il fu hore de dormir* and the third position by the subject of the main clause, *li rois*. The finite verb *prist* is in the fourth position. Here, Galaad can be analyzed as an Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) or as an Aboutness Topic (Lambrecht 1994) because the comment that follows revolve around his figure. In fact, the sentence continues by stating that he is brought to his bedroom to get him ready to sleep. If we want to syntactically represent this sentence using the X-bar scheme, we place the initial subordinate clauses in high positions in the CP, the subject of the sentence in SpecFinP and the verb in Fin, after being generated in lower positions.

The next example is taken from the text '*Vie de Sainte Bathilde*' [Version I] (Anonymous, second half of the 13th century). This sentence involves a V3 word order with a constituent that is dislocated and now occupies the first position of the sentence. Below, we provide the context that precedes the sentence under examination.

Context: The messenger told the kids the news. The king listened to what he had to say. The crown of the reign is mentioned. The news is spread around the city so an answer from the kids is expected. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (237) [Li message] **lor** *respondirent* [...]
The message they answered [...]
 ‘The message, they answered [...]’
 (Anonymous, Vie de Sainte Bathilde, second half of the 13th century, <169a>)

Example in (237) shows a constituent that has been dislocated to the left periphery and occupies the first position of the sentence. *Li message* occupied a lower position in the X-bar scheme and, there, it has been given the status of Topic. Then, it has been topicalized and moved to the front of the sentence. Therefore, this constituent can be analyzed as a Familiar Topic (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) in order to keep a continuity with the main topic of the previous sentences, namely the news. In this case, the topicalized item is followed by the subject, which is a pronominal one, *lor*, and then by the finite verb, *respondirent*, showing a V3 word order. The pronominal subject is considered as an element on its own and not as cliticized to the finite verb. For this reason, it creates a V3 word order. If we want to syntactically represent this sentence, we place the constituent *li message* as SpecTopP, or more specifically in SpecFamP, then the pronominal subject is placed in SpecFinP, after being generated in SpecVP and passing through SpecIP. The finite verb is placed in Fin, after being generated in V and passing through I.

The next example comes from the text ‘*Conquête de Costantinople*’ (Geoffroi de Villehardouin, between 1199 and 1213). Below, we provide the context that helps us to identify the constituents that are part of the sentence under analysis.

Context: The previous section refers to the duke who sends his advice. These advices come from the wisest men on earth. Then, they went to Saint Mark’s chapel which is considered as the most beautiful and there, they listened to the mass where they could leave a message. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (238) [Quant la messe fu dite], **li dux** *manda* por les messages [...]
When the mass was said, the duke sent out the messages [...]
 ‘When the mass was said, the duke sent away out messages [...]’
 (Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Costantinople*, between 1199 and 1213, sec.26)

Example in (238) shows a subordinate clause that occupies the first position of the sentence and it is then followed by the subject, the full NP *li dux*, and by the finite verb *manda*. The presence of the initial subordinate clause creates with the subject and the verb a V3 word order where the verb occupies the third position. The subject of the main clause is *li dux* and it is known from the previous context. If we want to syntactically organize the elements of this sentence in the X-bar scheme, we place the initial subordinate clause in SpecFrameP while the subject and the finite verb saturate, respectively, the positions of SpecFinP and Fin.

Therefore, in the Old French prose texts that we analyzed, it is possible to find both V3 and V4 word orders. These word orders are mostly triggered when a subordinate clause introduced by ‘*quant*’ is placed at the beginning of the sentence. Then, other cases show the presence of a topicalized item dislocated into the CP. Based on the constituents that compose a sentence, they occupy different positions in the articulated CP. If the sentences showed pronominal subjects, the latter have been considered as constituents on its own and thus creating V3 or V4 word orders. It is important to say that the first Old French texts did not show proper V3 word orders. This confirms that the V3 word order is more visible starting from the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century. Now, we will turn to the Old English texts in order to study how this language behaves in terms of V3/V4. Some sentences can be potentially ambiguous, since in Old English it was possible to have main clauses with the verb in final position (Bech 2001); however, as it will become evident from my study, there is evidence to suppose that the verb has been indeed fronted in these sentences, since in some of them other constituents follow the finite verb.

The first Old English text from which we provide an example is ‘*Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*’ (10th – 11th centuries). Below, we provide the context that precedes the sentence under examination.

Context: The context that precedes the sentence under examination refers to Alexander and his army. Beside the difficulties they have already encountered, now they have to deal with a very huge beast. The beast had three horns and it was full of fierce. Then, we find the following sentence.

(239) [Pat deor] [**Indeos**] *hatað dentes tyrannum.*

That beast Indians call Dentestyrannus

‘The Indians call the beast Dentestyrannus.’

(coalex.o23_15.17.149, *Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle*, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (239) shows a sentence involving a V3 word order where the finite verb is placed after two constituents. The first constituent is a NP that can be analyzed as a topicalized item. It recalls the main topic of the previous sentences being the beast that Alexander and his army have to deal with at the moment. So, we might analyze it as a Familiar Topic (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). Then, the topicalized item is followed by the subject and the finite verb. In this case, this V3 sentence shows a full NP as subject of the sentence. As mentioned in the previous chapter, we usually find a full NP as subject in V3 word order when we have a scene-setting element occupying the first position (Fuss 2003). With a topicalized item placed in the first position of the sentence, the V3 word order is usually triggered with a pronoun as the subject (Fuss 2003). If we want to syntactically organize these elements, we can follow van Kemenade’s (2020) theory on the positions the constituents occupy in the articulated CP. The constituent, *Pat deor*, is placed in SpecFamP, while the NP *Indeos* is placed in SpecFinP. The finite verb occupies here a lower position that is still in the CP, namely Fin. It reaches this position after being generated in V and passing through I.

The next example comes from the text ‘*Blicking Homilies*’ (10th – 11th centuries) and shows a V4 word order in which the finite verb is found in the fourth position. Below, we give the context to introduce the sentence under analysis. In order to translate it, we also consulted ‘*The Blicking Homilies of the 10th century*’ (Morris 1880).

Context: Mary is amazed by the message she received from the angel. Mary has been thoughtful on how it will be the encounter with Lord. Then, we find the following sentence.

- (240) **Se heofonica ærendwreca** [hire] [*þa*] *cyþde* [...]
The heavenly messenger her then revealed [...]
 ‘Then, the heavenly messenger revealed to her [...]’
 (coblick.o23_7.70.70, *Blicking Homilies*, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (240) is a particular sentence because it shows a sentence involving a V4 word order, so the verb is found in the fourth position, but with the first position occupied by the subject of the sentence, namely *se heofonica ærendwreca*. Then, the subject is followed by the pronominal object *hire* and the adverb *þa*. In the fourth place, we find the finite verb *cyþde*. This is an interesting sentence in which the adverbial element *þa* is not found at the beginning of the sentence but after the subject and the pronominal object.

According to Catasso, Coniglio, De Bastiani & Fuss (2021), the position that *þa/þonne* occupy in a sentence is related to information structure. In fact, the analysis states that when *þa/þonne* are placed in medial position of a sentence, they are considered as Topic markers (Catasso, Coniglio, De Bastiani & Fuss 2021). For this reason, the particle *þa* in our sentence is preceded by constituents that are considered as Topics due to the fact that they are already mentioned in the previous context. Old English is a language that shows various cases of V3/V4 word orders that involve these adverbs in a medial position and, thus, they are considered as Topic markers (Catasso, Coniglio, De Bastiani & Fuss 2021).

The next example comes from the text ‘*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*’ (10th – 11th centuries) and it involves a V3 structure with the verb placed in the third position. Below, we provide the context that we need to look at in order to analyze the constituents.

Context: The sentences that precede the one under analysis are reserved to God, the figure who created all the creatures, the earth and the heavens. It is difficult for the other creatures to understand God because he is the origin of everything. Then, we find the following sentence.

(241) [þurh his wisdom] **he** *geworhte* ealle þing.

Through his wisdom he built all things

‘Through his wisdom, he built all the things.’

(cocathomI.o3_1:179.16.18, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I*, 10th – 11th centuries)

Example in (241) shows a sentence where the verb is placed in the third position. The constituent that occupies the first position, *þurh his wisdom*, was firstly generated in a lower position after the finite verb and then, it is moved in the CP. This constituent can be analyzed as the main Topic of the sentence where everything that comes after tells us something about that constituent. It is the Information Topic (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2018) or Aboutness Topic (Reinhart 1982; Lambrecht 1994). Then, this topicalized constituent is followed by the subject of the sentence, namely the pronoun *he* that is considered as a proper constituent and not as cliticized to the verb and as an element maintaining a topic consistency from what was previously said. For this reason, the verb is found in the third position and the entire sentence shows a V3 word order. If we want to syntactically organize these constituents, we place the first constituent in SpecShiftP, the pronoun in SpecFamP while the finite verb in Fin.

The next example comes from the piece ‘*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*’ and it shows a V4 word order. We provide both the versions coming from Manuscript A and Manuscript E. Below, we give the context that precedes the sentence under analysis.

Context: It’s year 668 and the section opens up with this sentence.

(242) [Her] *Ʒeodorus mon hadode* to ercebiscep.

This year man Teodorus consecrated archbishop

‘This year, Teodorus was consecrated archbishop.’

(cochronA.o23_668.1.361, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 9th – 10th centuries)

Example in (242) shows a sentence involving various constituents and the finite verb placed in the fourth position. The first position is occupied by the scene-setting element *her* that usually triggers V3 word orders (or more) if paired with a nominal subject. Then, the second element in the sentence is the direct object (full NP) *Ʒeodorus* while the third element is an indefinite pronoun, *mon*, and it represents the subject. As we analyzed in the previous chapter, sentences with scene-setting elements occupying the first position, involve the presence of a nominal subject and not a pronominal one. In this case, it is interesting to notice that the subject is an indefinite pronoun and that the direct object, the full NP *Ʒeodorus*, has been moved in order to be found before the subject. Moreover, *Ʒeodorus* can be analyzed as a focalized item giving us a totally new information.

If we take into consideration the same section but in Manuscript E, we see that the entire sentence is different from the one in (242). Below, we provide the version featured in Manuscript E.

(243) [Her] *Uitalianus se papa gehadode* Theodorus to arcebiscep & sende hine to Brytene.

This year Vitalianus Pope consecrated Theodorus archbishop and sent him to Britain

‘This year, Pope Vitalianus consecrated Theodorus archbishop and sent him to Britain.’

(cochronE.o34_668.1.511 / 668.1.512, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 12th – 13th centuries)

In (243) the sentence is transformed into a V3 word order, where the finite verb, *gehadode*, occupies the third position. The element occupying the first position is always the scene-setting element *her*. Then, it is followed by the subject of the sentence, namely *Uitalianus se papa*, and the finite verb. If we want to syntactically place these elements in the X-bar scheme, we may place the scene setting element in SpecForceP, then the subject in SpecFinP, after being generated in a lower position and the finite verb in Fin, after being generated in a lower position.

In this case, the text *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* shows a difference in the type of the produced word order between the two Manuscripts. In one Manuscript we have a V4 order while in the other Manuscript we have a V3 order. Moreover, in Manuscript A, we have the direct object placed in the left periphery so moved from its original position. In Manuscript E, the direct object is found after the finite verb.

In this section we analyzed sentences from the Old French and the Old English texts that showed the V3 word order or more (V4). As we could notice from the examples, both languages involved these word orders. Old French produces sentences with a V3 or a V4 word order if the main clause is introduced by an initial subordinate clause ‘quant’ or if the sentence topicalizes a constituent that previously occupied a lower position. Old English produces sentences with a V3 or a V4 word order when a topicalized item along with a pronominal subject (except for the example in (239)) are involved or when the sentence is introduced by a scene setting element followed by a nominal subject (except for the example in (242)). Moreover, there is the possibility of finding V3/V4 word orders where the first element is the subject but, in this case, it seems that the V3/V4 orders are less marked than having the sentence introduced by a topicalized item and, thus, creating these orders. In terms of the positions occupied by the constituents, they are similar in the two languages but it always depends on the constituents involved in the sentence. Old French mostly places its finite verb either in Foc or in Fin while Old English mostly places its finite verb in Fin.

Below, we provide the statistics on the occurrence of the V3/V4 word orders in the texts we analyzed in this section. As we did in the previous section, for the Old French texts, the calculation is based on a reading of the texts and on a research sentence by sentence. The two orders are calculated together. For the Old English texts, the query provides us the number of hits, namely the number of boundary nodes that contain the searched structure. We start from the texts preserved in the Old French corpus ‘*Base de français médiéval*’. The text ‘*Sermon sur Jonas*’ (Anonymous, second part of the 10th century) shows 0 cases of the V3/V4 word orders with an incidence of 0% (total words: 815). The text ‘*Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*’ (Anonymous, first half of the 12th century) shows 3 cases of the V3/V4 word orders with an incidence of 0,13% (total words: 2197).

These three cases show a verb placed at the very end of the sentence. The text *‘Queste del Saint Graal’* (Anonymous, ca.1225 or 1230) has been statistically analyzed in samples due to the length of the text. We took into consideration the first six chapters of the text. The text shows 105 cases of the V3/V4 word orders with an incidence of 0.09% (total words: 107677). The first six chapters of the text involve V3/V4 sentences mostly due to the presence of initial subordinate clauses. The text *‘Vie de Sainte Bathilde’* [Version I] (Anonymous, second half of the 13th century) shows 45 cases of the V3/V4 word orders with an incidence of 0,43% (total words:10573). The majority of these examples are initial subordinate clauses. The text *‘Conquête de Constantinople’* (Geoffroi de Villehardouin between 1199 and 1213) shows 32 cases of the V3/V4 word orders with an incidence of 0,17% (total words: 18449).

We provide here the results for the texts preserved in the Old English corpus YCOE too. The text *‘Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle’* (Ælfric, 10th – 11th centuries) shows 115 hits with the V3 word order and 105 hits with the V4 word order. The incidence is, respectively 1,58% and 1,44% (total words: 7271). The text *‘Blicking Homilies’* (10th – 11th centuries) shows 811 hits with the V3 word order and 546 hits with the V4 word order. The incidence is, respectively 1,90% and 1,28% (total words: 42506). The text *‘Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies I’* (Ælfric, 10th – 11th centuries) shows 2399 hits with the V3 word order and 981 hits with the V4 word order. The incidence is, respectively, 2,25% and 0,93% (total words: 106173). The texts *‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A and E’* (9th – 10th centuries; 12th century) show respectively 625 and 1361 hits with the V3 word order. The incidence is, respectively, 4,29% (total words: 14583) and 3,35% (total words: 40641). Then they show respectively 213 hits and 588 hits with the V4 word order. The incidence is, respectively, 1,46% (total words: 14583) and 1,44% (total words: 40641). The text *‘Ælfric’s Epilogue to Genesis’* (Ælfric, 11th century) shows 19 hits with the V3 word order and 15 hits with the V4 word order. The incidence is, respectively, 1,97% and 1,55% (total words: 965). We need to keep in mind that the statistics for Old English take into consideration also examples where the verb might be found as the as the last element of the sentence. Therefore, these statistics need to be analyzed with caution.

Below we provide the chart where we place the results of the analysis.

	Number of sentences showing the V3/V4 word orders.	Total number of words for each analyzed text.	Occurrence of the analyzed structure (%).
(OF) Sermon sur Jonas	0 (total)	815	0%
(OF) Lois de Guillaume le conquérant	3 (total)	2197	0,13%
(OF) Queste del Saint Graal [first six chapters]	105 (total)	107677	0.09%
(OF) Vie de Sainte Bathilde	45 (total)	10573	0,43%
(OF) Conquête de Constantinople	32 (total)	18449	0,17%
(OE) Alexander's Letter to Aristotle	115 (V3) and 105 (V4)	7271	1,58% and 1,44%
(OE) Blicking Homilies	811 (V3) and 546 (V4)	42506	1,90% and 1,28%
(OE) Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I	2399 (V3) and 981 (V4)	106173	2,25% and 0,93%
(OE) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A	625 (V3) and 213 (V4)	14583	4,29% and 1,46%
(OE) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E	1361 (V3) and 588 (V4)	40641	3,35% and 1,44%
(OE) Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis	19 (V3) and 15 (V4)	965	1,97% and 1,55%

Table 3: Results of the V3/V4 analysis

In the next section, we outline the conclusions we can trace after the qualitative analysis of V1/V2/V3 and V4 in Old English and Old French texts.

5. CHAPTER 5: Conclusions and outlooks

5.1. Conclusions on Old English and Old French V2

In Chapter 4, we analyzed various texts coming from the two corpora of Old English and Old French. As we could see from the results and in line with the theory, both Old English and Old French show a good number of structures involving a V2 word order proving that both languages can be considered as such and, also, that the left periphery has a great importance in these cases. Our statistical sample also shows that the incidence in Old French is lower than in Old English. This analysis can certainly be refined, but it can be a starting point for new analyses on the frequency of V2 in Old French and Old English in a comparative perspective. However, the two languages show a great difference in terms of the elements that can be placed as the first constituent of the sentence. As we noticed, Old French is a freer language when it comes to the element that can occupy the first position of the sentence. In the prose texts under analysis, it was possible to see that the V2 word order in Old French is triggered by a focalized item, a topicalized item, a wh-operator, an adverb, an adjective, a noun phrase, a temporal element, a participle and so on. Therefore, this result is in line with what the literature on Old French says about the first constituent triggering the V2 word order, namely that could be basically of any type. In Old French, the first constituent is considered as a focalized item, as a topicalized item or as a linker to what was previously mentioned in the discourse. On the other hand, as we have seen from both the theory and the analysis of the prose texts, Old English shows a strict V2 word order only under certain circumstances, namely when operators such as wh-operator, negative elements or *þa/þonne* and an adverb introduce the sentence. For this reason, we can confirm what the theory anticipated for Old English, namely the fact that the V2 word order is here stricter than in Old French. In the examples taken into account, we had the possibility to find only one case in which the first element deviates from what it is stated in the theory, namely having a topicalized constituent dislocated in the left periphery that triggers the V2 word order. Therefore, in Old English, the element that occupies the first position is mainly an operator that introduces an interrogative (wh-operator), a negative sentence (negative element) or a particle introducing to a new sequence of the discourse (*þa/þonne*).

Moreover, as we noticed in the examples under analysis, Focus and Topic can be found in these sentences according to their main aim of providing new information or referring back to what was previously presented or to what we consider as the main subject of the discourse.

5.2. Conclusions on Old English and Old French V1

In terms of the V1 word order, thanks to the analysis carried out on the prose texts, we had the possibility to notice a great difference between Old French and Old English. The majority of the Old French prose texts that we took into consideration did not show any type of V1 word order. The only two texts that show a possible V1 word order, it was called into question due to a possible case of quotative inversion. The results we found in this chapter show an interesting difference with what we could demonstrate in Chapter 2 by analyzing various poems. Therefore, in Old French, the V1 word order is not very common in prose texts as it was in poems. The cases we found in the prose texts are related to the direct speech. On the other hand, the Old English prose texts under analysis showed various cases involving the V1 word order where the verb is fronted, thus, undergoes a movement, and is placed as the first element of the sentence. As expected from the theory, sentences showing a V1 word order in Old English are usually found when there is a significant change in the story or in the characters that needs to be addressed (Petrova 2006). Sentences showing a V1 word order are analyzed as all-Focus, bringing new materials or significant changes to the story. Therefore, we can conclude that there is a great difference between Old French and Old English prose texts in terms of V1. Firstly, a possible V1 word order is less present in the earliest Old French texts but a bit more present in later texts while in Old English is more present in earlier texts than in the later ones. For this reason, we might ask ourselves the reason why this word order begins to fade with time and probably switches with *þa* + V-S which is considered as a particle introducing a new sequence of the story to the reader. Moreover, in Old English, the V1 word order seemed to have a proper function namely introducing a new sequence with significant changes. We cannot tell if the examples found in Old French texts might be considered as such or as having a proper function due to quotative inversion.

5.3. Conclusions on Old English and Old French V3

In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, we outlined what the literature of Old French and Old English states and we mentioned the presence of a deviation from the V2 word order with V3/V4 word orders. From the results obtained in this chapter, we can confirm that the prose texts in Old English and Old French show cases of the V3 and the V4 word orders. Except for the very first texts written in the 10th century, the Old French prose texts under analysis, showed various cases of V3 (or V4) sentences. Among the examples that we analyzed, most of them showed initial subordinate clauses introduced by *quant*. These structures trigger a V3 or V4 word order with the main clause that follows. We analyzed sentences with both pronominal and nominal subjects but also with a PRO.

Moreover, as expected from the theory, we found some examples where a topicalized constituent has been dislocated into the left periphery, followed by a pronominal subject and the finite verb. With respect to Old English, the examples analyzed confirm what the theory states namely the V3/V4 word orders as a deviation from the V2 word order. We found these orders, as the literature included, when we topicalize a constituent in a sentence involving a pronominal subject or when the sentence is introduced by a scene setting element paired with a nominal subject. Moreover, we have found one sentence that deviates from what the literature anticipates. In this example, a topicalized constituent is dislocated in the left periphery, followed by a nominal subject and still triggering a V3/V4 word order. Due to the command given to the query, the examples in the Old English prose texts did not show any type of correlative structures as the ones we found in Old French (initial subordinate clauses). Below, we provide an example to show that Old English shows these types of sentences.

(244) [Michahel se heahengel se wæs ealra engla ealderman], **he** *wæs* ymen singende mid eallum þæm englum.

Michael the archangel who was all angels chief he was hymns singing with all the angels

‘Michael the archangel, who was the chief of all the angels, he was singing hymns with all the angels.’

(coblick,LS 20 [AssumptMor [BIHom_13]]:147.153.1802)

For this reason, both Old English and Old French show the possibility of deviating the V2 word order thanks to V3 or V4 word orders. However, Old English shows more cases of V3/V4 involving a specific topicalized item dislocated into the left periphery and less cases of correlative structures while Old French shows more cases of V3/V4 involving initial subordinate clauses than a topicalized item dislocated into the left periphery.

5.4. Questions raised from the analysis

This last section is dedicated to further considerations and questions that raised following the analysis carried out on the prose texts. Regarding Old French, scholars have hypothesized that due to the contact with the Franks, this language has been influenced in terms of V2. For this reason, Old French differs from other Romance languages. With regard to Old English, we need to take into

consideration the influence of the Scandinavian languages but also the changes that we mentioned in Chapter 3 and that happened in 1066 due to the Norman Conquest. The Old English texts that we analyzed date back to the period before the Norman Conquest and the contact with Old French. Therefore, questions may rise:

- Which changes did the contact between Old French and Old English bring?
- How did the strict system of Old English change when it got in contact with the freer Old French one?

If we take into consideration Middle English, it shows a gradual loss of the V2 word order due to the increasing need of placing the subject on the left of the finite verb (van Kemenade 2012). Therefore, according to van Kemenade (2012), the subject placed before the verb becomes a norm. Another question that might arise is: what if this gradual loss of V2 is caused by the contact with Old French? Since the Old French prose texts from the 12th/13th centuries that we analyzed showed a great number of V3/V4 structures but also S-V-O sentences, we must not exclude this hypothesis. We conclude this thesis by leaving these questions open and thinking on how these two languages influenced each other until the modern versions we know nowadays.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Marianne. 1987. "From Old French to the theory of prodrop." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5, 1–32.
- Altiner, Cennet. 2018. "Teaching of Focus Structures in English". *Journal of Education and Training Studies*. Vol.6 no. 11a. Redfame Publishing.
- Bech, Kristin. 2001. *Word order patterns in Old and Middle English: A syntactic and pragmatic study*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bergen.
- Benincà, Paola. 2001. "The Position of Topic and Focus in the Left Periphery". In G. Cinque & G. Salvi (eds.) *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Amsterdam: Elsevier-North Holland, pp. 39-64
- Benincà, Paola. 2006. "A detailed map of the left periphery of medieval Romance". In: Zanuttini, R., Campos, H., Herburger, E., Portner, P. (Eds.), *Crosslinguistic Research in Syntax and Semantics: Negation, Tense, and Clausal Architecture*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC, pp. 53-86.
- Benincà, Paola & Poletto, Cecilia. 2004. "Topic, Focus, and V2 Defining the CP Sublayers. The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. Vol.2. Oxford University Press.
- Biber, Douglas, Johansson, Stig, Leech, Geoffrey, Conrad, Susan, & Finegan, Edward. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Essex: Pearson Education, Ltd.
- Catasso, Nicholas, Coniglio, Marco, De Bastiani, Chiara & Fuß, Eric. 2021. "He then said...: (understudied) deviations from V2 in early Germanic". In *Journal of Historical Syntax*, Volume 5, Article 17. pp. 1-39.
- Charolles, Michel. 1978. *Introduction aux problèmes de la coherence des textes*. 38. pp. 7-41.
- Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen. 1991. *On the typology of Wh Questions*, doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1950. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1970. "Remarks on nominalization." In *Reading in English Transformational Grammar* edited by Jacobs, Roderick A. and Rosenbaum, Peter S., 184-221. Waltham, MA.
- Chomsky, Noam & Lasnik, Howard. 1977. "Filters and control", *Linguistic Inquiry* 8, 425-504.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding* (Studies in generative grammar). Foris Publications - Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Cichosz, Anna. 2022. "Old English V-initial and $\bar{p}a$ -VS main clauses: Independent constructions or allostructions?". In *Constructions and Frames*, Volume 14, Issue 2. pp. 301-336.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1982. "Topic Constructions in Some European Languages and Connectedness," in K. Ehlich & H. van Riemsdijk, (eds.), *Connectedness in Sentence, Text and Discourse*, Tilburg University, Tilburg, 7-41 (reprinted in E. Anagnostopoulou, H. van Riemsdijk & F. Zwarts, eds. (1997) *Materials on Left Dislocation*. Benjamins, Amsterdam, 93-118).
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A-bar Dependencies*. MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Collins, Chris & Branigan, Phil. 1997. "Quotative inversion". In *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, Vol.15, No.1. Springer. pp. 1-41.
- Côté, Marie H. 1995. "Concurrence grammaticale, conditions d'apprehensibilité et changement syntaxique: la chute de V2 en français et en anglais". Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Département de linguistique et de traduction, Université de Montréal.
- Cowan, Ron. 2008. *The Teacher's Grammar of English*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cruschina, Silvio. 2012. *Discourse-Related Features and Functional Projections*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cruschina, Silvio. 2020. *L'anteposizione focale: contrasto e tipi di Focus*. University of Helsinki.
- Culicover, Peter. 1996. "On distinguishing A'-movements". *Linguistic Inquiry* 27.445-63.
- den Besten, Hans. 1977. "On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules." Manuscript, University of Amsterdam. Published in 1981 in *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 20: 1-78. Published in 1983 in *On the Formal Syntax of the Westgermania: Papers from the 3rd Groningen Grammar Talks*, Werner Abraham, (ed.), 47-131. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- den Besten, Hans. 1989. *Studies in West Germanic Syntax*. Rodopi, Amsterdam.
- Donaldson, Bryan. 2012. "Initial subordinate clauses in Old French: Syntactic variation and the clausal left periphery". *Lingua* 122 (2012) 1021-1046. University of Texas at Austin.

- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2007. *Information structure: The syntax-discourse interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferraresi, Gisella & Goldbach, Maria. 2003. "Particles and sentence structure: a historical perspective." In *Syntactic structures and morphological information*, ed. Uwe Junghanns and Luka Szucsich. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Féry, Caroline. 2001. "Focus and Phrasing in French". *Audiatu Vox Sapientiae. A Festschrift for Arnim von Stechow*.
- Frascarelli, Mara & Roland Hinterhölzl. 2007. "Types of topics in German and Italian". In Kerstin Schwabe & Susanne Winkler (eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form: generalizations across languages*, 87–116. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fuß, Eric. 2003. "On the historical core of V2 in Germanic.". *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 26, 195-231.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 2017. *The main and embedded clauses in the history of English: changes in assertive and non-assertive complements*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2018. "Discourse, sentence grammar and the left periphery of the clause." In Alessandro Capone, Marco Carapezza, Franco Lo Piparo (eds.) *Further Advances in Pragmatics and Philosophy. Perspectives in Pragmatics, Philosophy & Psychology*, vol 18. 153-175 Springer, Cham.
- Grad, Anton, 1956. "L'inversion du sujet dans la principale précédée d'une subordonnée en ancien français". *Razprave SAZU* 2, 65-90.
- Gundel, Jeanette. 1985. 'Shared knowledge' and topicality. *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol.9, issue 1. 83-107.
- Gundel, Jeanette K. & Thorstein Fretheim. 2004. "Topic and Focus". In Laurence R. Horn & Gregory L. Ward (eds), *Handbook of Pragmatics*, 175–196. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Haeberli, Eric. 1999. *Features, Categories and the Syntax of A-positions: Synchronic and Diachronic Variation in the Germanic Languages*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Geneva.
- Hinterhölzl Roland, Petrova Svetlana. 2011. *Rhetorical relations and verb placement in OHG* in C. Berry; M. Grabsky, *Salience: Multidisciplinary perspectives on its function in discourse*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 173-201
- Holmberg, Anders. 2011. "Verb Second.". In *Syntax – an International Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Research*, ed. T. Kiss and A. Alexiadou, HSK Series. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Verlag.

- Huddleston, Rodney & Pullum, Geoffrey K. 2005. *A Student's Introduction to English Grammar*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Jackendoff, Ray S. 1977. *X-bar syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure* (Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 2). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard. 1984. *Connectedness and binary branching* (Studies in generative grammar). Foris Publications.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1990. "Indo-European origins of Germanic syntax. Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University." [To appear in *Language Change and Verbal Systems*, Adrian Battye and Ian Roberts, eds.]
- Koopman, Willem. 1995. *Verb-final main clauses in Old English prose*. *Studia Neophilologica* 67: 129–144.
- Krifka, Manfred. 1992. "A framework for focus-sensitive quantification". *Proceedings of the conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory 2*. 215-36. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2008. "Basic notions of information structure." *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55, 243-276.
- Kroch, Anthony & Taylor, Ann. 1997. "Verb Movement in Old and Middle English: Dialect Variation and Language Contact."
- Labelle, Marie. 2007. "Clausal architecture in early Old French", *Lingua* 117, 289–316.
- Labelle, Marie & Hirschbühler, Paul. 2018. "Topic and Focus in Old French V1 and V2 structures". *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue Canadienne De Linguistique*, 63(2), 264-287.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lasnik, Howard & Mamoru, Saito. 1992. *Move alpha*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lasnik, Howard, & Lohndal, Terje. 2010. "Government-binding/principles and parameters theory". *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, 1(1), 40-50.
- Lemieux, Monique & Dupuis, Fernande, 1995. "The locus of verb movement in non-asymmetric verb second languages: the case of Middle French". In: Battye, A., Roberts, I. (Eds.), *Clause Structure and Language Change*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 80–109.
- Los, Bettelou. 2015. *A Historical Syntax of English*. Edinburgh University Press.

- Los, Bettelou & van Kemenade, Ans. 2018. "Syntax and the morphology of deixis: the loss of demonstratives and paratactic clause linking". In *Atypical Demonstratives: Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics*. Mouton de Gruyter (pub), 127-158.
- Marchello-Nizia, Christiane. 1999. *Le français en diachronie : douze siècles d'évolution*. Paris : Ophrys.
- Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax, Vol. 1: Concord, the parts of speech, and the sentence*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax Vol. 2: Subordination, independent elements, and element order*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Morris, Richard. 1880. *The Blicking Homilies of the 10th century*. Pub. for the Early English text Society, by N. Trübner & Co.
- Nespor, Marina & Vogel, Irene. 1986. *Prosodic Phonology*. Dordrecht : Foris.
- Pettersen, Espen K., 2021. "V2, phases, et périphérie gauche : remarques sur la topicalization en Français et en Norvégien". In Christine Meklenborg, Terje Lohndal & Kathrine Asla Østby (eds.) *Syntax, semantics and acquisition: In honor of Hans Petter Helland*, Oslo Studies in Language 12(1), 2021. 87–104.
- Pettersen- Klævik, Espen. 2022. "Full V2, no V2, residual V2: Exploring variation through phases" In *Residual Verb Second in Romance*, eds. Silvio Cruschina, Antonio Fábregas & Christine Meklenborg Nilsen. Special issue of *Isogloss. Open Journal of Romance Linguistics* 8(3)/5, 1-25.
- Petrova, Svetlana. 2006. "A discourse-based approach to verb placement in early West- Germanic" In *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure (ISIS)* 5, eds. Shinichiro Ishihara, Michaela Schmitz and Anne Schwarz, 153-185. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag.
- Pintzuk, Susan. 1993. "Verb seconding in Old English: verb movement to Infl", *The Linguistic Review* 10, 5–35.
- Pintzuk, Susan. 1999. *Phrase Structures in Competition. Variation and Change in Old English Word Order*. Routledge
- Polinsky, Maria. 1999. Review of "Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents", by K. Lambrecht. *Language*, 75(3), 567–582.
- Pollock, Jean-Y. 1989. "Verb Movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP". *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No.3, 365-424. The MIT Press.
- Prince, Ellen. 1981. "Towards a taxonomy of given-new information". *Radical pragmatics*, ed. by Peter Cole, 223-55. New York: Academic Press.

- Reinhart, Tanya. 1982. "Pragmatics and Linguistics: An Analysis of Sentence Topics". *Philosophica*. 27. Monograph Collection (Matt-Pseudo).
- Rinke, Esther, and Meisel, Jürgen M. 2009. "Subject inversion in Old French: Syntax and information structure". In *Proceedings of the workshop "Null Subjects, Expletives, and Locatives in Romance"*, ed. Georg A. Kaiser and Eva-Maria Remberger, 93–130. Arbeitspapier Nr. 123. Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery". In *Elements of Grammar*, edited by Liliane Haegeman, Kluwer International Handbooks of Linguistics. 281-337. Springer, Dordrecht.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. "On the Position "Interrogative" in the Left Periphery of the Clause". In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*, ed. Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi, 287–296. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Roberts, Ian. 1993. *Verbs and Diachronic Syntax*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Roberts, Ian. 2004. "The C-system in Brythonic Celtic Languages, V2 and the EPP". In *The Structure of CP and IP: Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax*, ed. Luigi Rizzi. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Safir, Ken. 2017. "Weak crossover". *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Pp 1-40.
- Salvesen Meklenborg, Christine. 2013. "Topics and the left periphery: a comparison of Old French and Modern Germanic", in Terje Lohndal (ed), *In search of Universal Grammar: from Old Norse to Zoque*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 131–171.
- Salvi, Giampaolo. 2004. *La formazione della struttura di frase romanza: ordine delle parole e clittici dal latino alle lingue romanze antiche*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie; Bd. 323. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth O. 1986. "On Derived Domains in Sentence Phonology". *Phonology Yearbook* 3. 371–405.
- Sitaridou, Ioanna, 2004. "The licensing of null subjects in Old French". Talk, University of Ottawa, September 13.
- Skårup, Povl. 1975. "Les premières zones de la proposition en ancien français". *Revue Romane*, special issue 6.
- Swan, Toril. 1994. "Old English and Old Norse initial adverbials and word order". In Toril Swan, Endre Mørck & Olaf Janse Westvik (eds.), *Language Change and Language Structure: Older Germanic Languages in Comparative Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 233–270.

- Szűcs, Péter. 2021. “On English topicalization and left-dislocation from an information-structural perspective”. 114-127. ResearchGate.
- Titov, Elena. 2013. “Do contrastive topics exist?”. *Journal of Linguistics* 49.2. 413-454.
- Travis, Lisa. 1984. *Parameters and effects of word order variation*: MIT dissertation.
- Vance, Barbara S. 1997. “Old French as a V2 Language”. In: *Syntactic Change in Medieval French. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, vol 41. Springer, Dordrecht.
- Vance, Barbara, Donaldson, Bryan, Steiner, Devan B. 2010. “V2 loss in Old French and Old Occitan: the role of fronted clauses”. In: Colina, S., Olarrea, A., Carvalho, A.M. (Eds.), *Romance Linguistics 2009: Selected Papers from the 39th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 301—320.
- van Gelderen, Elly, 2006. *A History of the English Language*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- van Gelderen, Elly, 2019. “Main and embedded clausal asymmetry in the history of English. Changes in assertive and non-assertive complements”. *Linguistic Variation*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.118-140.
- van Kemenade, Ans. 1987. *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- van Kemenade, Ans. 1997. “V2 and embedded topicalization in Old and Middle English”, in Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent (eds), *Parameters of morphosyntactic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 326–352.
- van Kemenade, Ans. 2000. *The syntax of early English*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Kemenade, Ans. 2012. “Rethinking the loss of V2”. In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford University Press, 1182-1199.
- van Kemenade, Ans, Salvesen Meklenborg Christine. 2020. “Issues in the left periphery of Old French and Old English: Topic types and the V2 constraint”. In *Continuity and Variation in Germanic and Romance*, 248-274.
- Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Walkden, George. 2016. *V2*. University of Manchester.
- Walkden, George. 2017. “Language contact and V3 in Germanic varieties new and old”. *J Comp German Linguistics* 20, pp. 49–81.

- Walker, Marilyn A., Joshi, Aravind Krishna, Prince, Ellen Friedman. 1998. *Centering Theory in Discourse*. Clarendon Press.
- Westbury, Josh. 2016. “Left Dislocation: a typological overview”. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus 50*. Vol.10.
- Zwart, C. Jan-Wouter. 1991. “Clitics in Dutch: evidence for the position of INFL”. *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik 33*. 71–92.
- Zwart, C. Jan-Wouter. 1993. *Dutch syntax: a Minimalist approach*: Groningen dissertation.
- Zwart, C. Jan-Wouter. 1997. *Morphosyntax of verb movement: a Minimalist approach to the syntax of Dutch*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Zwart, C. Jan-Wouter. 2001. “Syntactic and phonological verb movement”. *Syntax*. Vol.4. 34–62.

Old French texts

- Anonymous [1040], *La vie de Saint Alexis* (La vie de Saint Alexis, poème du XI^e siècle. éd. par Gaston Paris, Paris, Champion, 1967). [Alexis].
- Anonymous [ca.1000], *La vie de Saint Léger* (éd. Par D’Arco Silvio Avalle, Pavia, Tipografia del libro, 1967). [slethgier]
- Anonymous [ca. 1190] *Li quatre livre des reis* (Li quatre livre des reis, éd. par Ernst Robert Curtius, Dresden, Niemeyer, 1911). [QLR].
- Anonymous [XII century], *Couronnement de Louis* (Rédaction AB) (Les Rédactions en vers du Couronnement de Louis, éd. par Yvan G. Lepage, Paris). [CoLouis2].
- Anonymous [ca.1100], *Chanson de Roland* (éd. par Gérard Moignet, Paris, Bordas, 1972). [roland]
- Anonymous [ca.1140], *Chanson de Guillaume* (La Chanson de Guillaume, éd. par Duncan McMillan, Paris, Picard, 1949-1950). [ChGuill].
- Anonymous [ca. 1150], Petit, A. (Ed.), *Roman de Thèbes* (Le roman de Thèbes). Honoré Champion, Paris, 2008.
- Anonymous [1150], *Moniage Guillaume*. Première rédaction (Les deux rédactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume, éd. par Wilhelm Cloetta, Paris, SATF, tome 1, 1906). [MoniageG1].
- Anonymous [ca. 1267], Palermo, J. (Ed.), *Le roman de Cassidorus* (Le roman de Cassidorus). Société des anciens textes français, Paris, 1963. [Cassidorus].
- Anonymous: *Le Roman de Tristan en prose* (beginning of the 13th century). [trist-prose]
- Anonymous [second half of the X century], *Sermon sur Jonas*, édité par Guy de Poerck, Gent, Romanica Gandensia, 1956. [jonas]

- Anonymous [1st half of the XII century], *Lois de Guillaume le conquérant*, édité par J. Matzke, Paris, Picard, 1899. [leiswillelm]
- Anonymous [ca.1225 or 1230], *Queste del saint Graal*, édité par Christiane Marchello-Nizia et Alexei Lavrentiev, Lyon, ENS de Lyon, 2019. [qgraal_cm]
- Anonymous [second half of the XIII century], *Vie de sainte Bathilde (Version I)*, édité par Anders Bengtsson, Lund, Lund University Press, 1996. [SBath1]
- Adgar [late XII century], *Collection de miracles* (éd. par Pierre Kuntsmann, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1982). [adgar].
- Benedeit [1106–1121], *Voyage de Saint-Brandan (The Anglo-norman Voyage of St Brendan*, éd. par Ian Short et Brian Merrilees). [Brandan].
- Chrétien de Troyes [ca. 1177-1181], *Chevalier au Lion ou Yvain* (éd. par Pierre Kunstmann, Ottawa; Nancy, Université d'Ottawa, Laboratoire de Français Ancien ; ATILF, 2009). [YvainKu].
- Chrétien de Troyes [ca.1181-1185]. *Conte du Graal (Perceval)* (éd. par Pierre Kunstmann, Ottawa; Nancy, Université d'Ottawa, Laboratoire de Français Ancien ; ATILF, 2009). [PercevalKu].
- Chrétien de Troyes [ca. 1165], *Erec et Enide (Erec et Enide)*. (éd. par Pierre Kunstmann, Ottawa ; Nancy, Université d'Ottawa, Laboratoire de Français Ancien ; ATILF, 2009). [ErecKu].
- Geoffroi de Villehardouin [between 1199 and 1213], de Feral, E. (Ed.), *Conquête de Constantinople (La conquête de Constantinople)*. Paris, Belles Lettres, 1961 [villehardouin1].
- Marie de France [ca.1160] *Lais* (éd. par Jean Rychner, Paris, Champion, 1966). [mf].

Old English texts

- Anonymous [ca. X century], *The Wanderer*. Manuscript: Exeter Book. Cited in: *A Guide to Old English* 5th edition. Mitchell, Bruce & Robison, C. Fred. Blackwell Publishers, 1992.
- Anonymous [ca.VIII century], *Beowulf, Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*. Klaeber 1950. [Beo]
- Anonymous [ca.X century], *The Seafarer*. Manuscript: Exeter Book. Cited in: *A Guide to Old English* 5th edition. Mitchell, Bruce & Robison, C. Fred. Blackwell Publishers, 1992.
- Anonymous [ca. IX century], *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Plummer, Charles. 1965 (1892-1899). *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reissued D. Whitelock, Oxford 1952. Manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173. [cochronA.o23].

- Anonymous [ca. XII century], Anglo Saxon Chronicle, Plummer, Charles. 1965 (1892-1899). *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reissued D. Whitelock, Oxford 1952. [cochronE.o34].
- Anonymous [ca. X/XI centuries], Blicking Homilies, Morris, Richard. 1967 (1874-1880). *The Blickling Homilies*. EETS 58, 63, 73. London: Trübner. [coblick.o23].
- Anonymous [ca X century], Orosius, Bately, Janet. 1980. The Old English Orosius. EETS s.s. 6. London: OUP. Manuscript: London, British Museum, Add. 47967. [coorosiu.o2].
- Ælfric [ca. X/XI century], The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church vol 1, Clemoes, P. 1997. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*. EETS s.s. 17. Oxford: OUP. Manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.28. [cocathom1.o3].
- Ælfric [ca. X/XI century], The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church vol 2, Godden, M. 1979. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*. EETS s.s. 5. London: OUP. Manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.28. [cocathom2.o3].
- Ælfric [ca 992/ XI century], Preface to Genesis, Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis*. EETS 160: 76-80. London: OUP. Reprinted with additions by N.R. Ker 1969. Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian, Laud 509. [coprefgen].
- Ælfric [ca. XI century], Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis, Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis*. EETS 160: 333-76. London: OUP. [coepigen.o3].
- Ælfric [ca. X century], Colloquy on the Occupations, ed. Henry Sweet in First Steps in Anglo-Saxon. Oxford, 1897.
- Ælfric [ca. X/XI centuries], Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, Orchard, Andrew P.M. 1995. *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the "Beowulf" Manuscript*. Pp. 224-52. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. [coalex.o23].

SITOGRAPHY

- Aubrey, Mike. 2012. "A note on Lambrecht (1994) on sentence accents". <https://koine-greek.com/2012/09/20/a-note-on-lambrecht-1994-on-sentence-accents/>

CORPORA

Taylor, Anne, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths. 2003. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English (York Corpus)*.

Guillot-Barbance, Céline, Heiden, Serge et Lavrentiev, Alexei. 2017. « Base de français médiéval : une base de référence de sources médiévales ouverte et libre au service de la communauté scientifique », *Diachroniques*, n 7, pp.168-184.

DICTIONARIES

Tichy, Ondrej & Rocek, Martin. 2019. Bosworth Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (online) <https://bosworthtoller.com/>

De Wilde, Geert et al. 2003. Anglo-Norman Dictionary (online) <https://anglo-norman.net/>