MERGED AND MOVED:
TOPICS IN OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH*

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ABSTRACT Old and Middle French have two different kinds of topics – one where the resumptive element is a pronoun, the other where it is the C-particle sı. This paper discusses the different properties of these two topicalization strategies based on quantitative data from the 12th to 15th centuries. During this time sı topicalization gets more restricted before sı is reanalysed as the demonstrative pronoun CE. It is argued that while PRON topicalization is based on Merge, sı topicalization is derived by movement. During the period investigated, Old French grammar shifts from V2 grammar to SVO, which also affects the possibilities with respect to topicalization. When movement into the Left Periphery no longer is obligatory for the finite verb, sı topicalization is no longer possible.

1 INTRODUCTION

In Old French, there are two different kinds of topics: those resumed by a personal pronoun (1 a) and those resumed by sı (1 b).

(1) (a) *mes* [*qui or   le diroit*]ᵢ *l'   en **le**ᵢ devroit tenir a*
         but who now it say   DET one him should keep to
         mençongier
         liar

         'but the one who says that should be regarded a liar.'

                                                          (QUESTE,13.449)

(b) [*Icil champion*] **si** *est li anemis*
this champion sɪ is the enemy
'This champion is the enemy'

(graal_cm, col. 184b, l. 2)

The type in (1 a) is identical to the Clitic Left Dislocation strategy of Modern French. The fronted topicalized element is co-referent to a pronoun that is either in clause-initial position (in the case of subjects) or clause-internal (in the case of objects). Just as in Modern French, pronominal objects are clitics on the finite verb. A difference between Old and Modern French is that personal subject pronouns were not clitics (Roberts 1993, Dufresne & Dupuis 1994, Adams 1989, Labelle 2007). I refer to this topicalization pattern as ᴘʀᴏɴ *topicalization*.

The type in (1 b) is what I label *sɪ topicalization*. This structure is sometimes referred to as a focus (Benincà 2006) and sometimes as a left dislocated topic (Donaldson 2015, Meklenborg 2020b). It seems that sɪ in the earliest texts could follow both foci and topics (Wolfe 2020), but from a very early date, the element preceding sɪ is a topic. Studies of the discourse properties of sɪ in the 13th century show clearly that the element preceding sɪ is not focalised. Rather, it conveys ᴅɪsᴄᴏᴜʀsᴇ ᴏʟᴅ information and indicates a topic shift (Meklenborg 2020b). Thus, it is justified to consider the antecedent of sɪ to be a topic rather than a focus. While most of previous the work on second position sɪ provides a unitary analysis for the particle, I suggest that it may be both a minimal and a maximal category.

In this paper I investigate the distribution of these two topicaliztion patterns and show how they are derived in different ways. I argue that ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization targets a higher projection than sɪ topicalization with simple dislocated elements. As Old French loses its V2 grammar, sɪ topicalization disappears, or rather, it is reanalysed as the *c'est* 'it is' structure.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 provides a theoretical backdrop to the analyses presented, while Section 3 presents different approaches to topicalization. Section 4 provides an in-depth presentation of the data, while Section 5 discusses the derivation of the different structures. Finally, the paper is summed up in Section 6.

2 Theoretical backdrop

This paper deals with data from Old and Middle French. The two periods differ sharply with respect to both morphology and underlying structural properties.

In the following, I present certain features of Old French that are relevant in the discussion. First, I briefly present the nominal declension, which is taken to be an important diagnostic in order to distinguish between Hanging Topics and Left Dislocated Topics. Next, I present the Wackernagel/Tobler-Mussafia law, which applies to clitic placement and as such may be used as a tool to decide whether an element occurs clause-internally or clause-externally. Finally, I present the Verb Second word order and certain deviations. The analysis of topics in Old and Middle French crucially hinges on the underlying V2 structure.

2.1 Morphology

Old French has a bicasual system where nouns are either in the nominative or the oblique case. However, this only applies to the masculine (Table 1). Most feminine nouns only distinguish between number, not case. The morpheme *-s* marks masculine nominative case singular and the oblique case plural. This system starts crumbling as final *-s* was no longer pronounced in the 13th century. Togeby (1974: 57) notes that the last author to use the bicasual system coherently, is Froissart (late 14th century). Consequently, to the extent Case marking can be used to distinguish different kinds of topics, this is only reliable in the earliest centuries.

	singular	plural
NOM	li murs	li mur
OBL	le mur	les murs

Table 1   Bicasual declension of masculine nouns

In the 3rd person singular, the pronominal system distinguishes between the nominative, accusative and dative (Table 2). Thus, we can in a number of cases determine Case in the oldest texts. This is relevant as Case marking often is used to distinguish between Hanging topics and Left Dislocation. (See Section 3 for a discussion.)

	'he'	'she'
NOM	il	ele
ACC	le	la
DAT	li	li

Table 2   Personal pronouns, 3rd person singular

2.2 Wackernagel effects

Clitic placement in early Old French shows Wackernagel/Tobler-Mussafia effects (Hirschbühler & Labelle 2000, Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005). Clitics are enclitic on the verb when the clause has a V1 structure, but are proclitic in other contexts. After the beginning of the 13th century, clitics are always proclitic in declarative and interrogative clauses. In (2 a), from around 1130, the object clitic *me* 'me' is enclitic on the verb *veus* 'will', and the pronominal subject *tu* follows it. In later texts the object clitic is preverbal, as in (2 b), from the early 14th century.

(2)   (a)   *Avoi, beau   frere   Hugelin, veus me   tu   dunc*
hey   beautiful brother Hugelin will me you then
issi   guerpir?
this.way   leave

'Hey, my sweet brother Hugelin, will you therefore leave me this way?'

(gormont, p. 16, v 213–214)

(b)   *Di va, me veus tu   avugler?*
hey!   me   will   you   blind

'Hey! Will you blind me?'

(passpal, p. 21, v 517)

In assessing whether dislocates are clause-external or clause-internal in early Old French, clitic placement can thus be used as a diagnostic. This, in turn, is relevant to the discussion regarding the derivation of topicalization structures.

2.3 Verb-second

Old French is a Verb-second language (V2) (Thurneysen 1892, Foulet 1930, Skårup 1975, Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1985, Adams 1989, Roberts 1993, Vance 1997, Rouveret 2004, Labelle 2007, Ledgeway 2012, Meklenborg Salvesen 2013b, Klævik-Pettersen 2018, Wolfe 2015b, 2019, but pace Kaiser 2002, Rinke & Meisel 2009) with partial *pro* drop (see Adams 1987, Vance 1989, Roberts 1993 and subsequent literature). In Middle French, this word order is lost, and the language has a SVO word order.

In this article, I follow Benincà & Poletto (2004) in assuming that the Left Periphery contains three fields, in addition to ForceP and FinP (3). The highest field is FRAME, that precedes Force, while THEME and FOCUS occur between

Force and Fin. Each of these fields contain several positions, but I only indicate the most central ones for this article.

(3)   [FRAME Hanging Topics ... Scene Setters] ... ForceP ... [THEME Topics]... [FOCI Focus] ... FinP...

The V2 property essentially describes languages where the verb always occurs in second position, and where the subject can be pre-verbal or post-verbal. Holmberg (2015) provides the following definition of V2 in derivational terms (4).

(4)   The V2 property:

   (a)   A functional head in the left-periphery attracts the verbal head;

   (b)   This functional head wants a constituent moved to its specifier position.

(Holmberg 2015: 375)

In addition to this definition, it is necessary to assume the existence of a so-called bottleneck (Haegeman 1996, Roberts 2004). This bottleneck ensures that only one element can move into the Left Periphery past the finite verb. Once the specifier of the V2 head is merged, no other element can move into the Left Periphery.

   In a strict V2 language, exceptions to linear V2 word orders are few, if any (see section 2.3.1). Holmberg's condition (a) is taken to be sufficient to characterise a language as a V2 language, thus accepting V1 word orders with the finite verb in the Left Periphery as a subtype of V2. On the other hand, Holmberg's definition does not rule out occurrences of V>2 provided there are elements merged in a position to the left of the V2 head. We may postulate that V2 languages with a V2 surface structure have a visibility requirement (5). V2 languages with a V1 surface structure such as old Sardinian lack this requirement (see Wolfe 2015a,b, 2019).[1]

(5)   The specifier of the V2 head must contain overt phonological material.

It has been reported that early Old French 842–ca 1150 (Hirschbühler & Labelle 2000, Labelle 2007) had a more relaxed V2 syntax than later Old French

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1 Some strict V2 languages also permit V1 clauses, where the initial constituent is not expressed. This may be found in narrative contexts or in colloquial speech. Only verbal arguments may be omitted, not adjuncts. This is an exception to the rule in (5).

(Labelle 2007, Wolfe 2019). Wolfe assumes that this reflects that the V2 head is in a higher position in 13th century French than in the earliest texts (Wolfe 2015b, 2019). He suggests that the finite verb moved to Fin^0 in early Old French, but to $Force^0$ in later Old French. When the finite verb is merged in $Force^0$, there are fewer available positions to its left, thus minimizing the possibilities of generating V>2 word orders. (See Section 3 for a detailed presentation of the structure of the Left Periphery.)

In recent work, van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2021) have refined this analysis by saying that in a Force-V2 language, the finite verb will remain in Fin^0 when a topic moves through SpecFinP to a designated topic position. In Wolfe's original proposal, the finite verb in a Force-V2 language first moves to Fin^0 before it continues its movement to $Force^0$. Introducing a topic between ForceP and FinP thus has as blocking effect on verb movement.

2.3.1 V3 effects in Old and Middle French

Studies on 13th century French word order show that violations to V2 are regular and limited. These occur with certain frame setting adverbials, but first and foremost with fronted adverbial clauses (Vance 1997, Hirschbühler & Labelle 2000, Vance, Donaldson & Steiner 2010, Radwan 2011, Donaldson 2012, Wolfe 2015b, 2019, Klævik-Pettersen 2018). A fronted adverbial clause appears outside the clausal core and is followed by what is a regular V2 clause, like in (6). In (6 a) the fronted adverbial clause is followed by a subject, in (6 b) it is followed by an adverb. In both cases, the main clause following the fronted adverbial clause has a regular V2 syntax.

(6) (a) *Quant venu furent li baron,   la   dame lor=dist*
         when came were the noblemen the lady them=said
         sa   raisson
         her reason
         'When the noblemen had arrived, the lady told them her plans.'
                                              (belinc, p.154, v.5039)

     (b) *Quant ot   Rollant qu' il ert en la rereguarde,*
         when heard Roland that he was in the rearguard
         ireement parlat a sun parastre
         angrily talked to his godfather
         'When Roland heard that he should be in the rearguard, he spoke angrily to his godfather'

                                              (roland v.761)

Further evidence that fronted adverbial clauses are clause-external comes from the (albeit rare) cases where they precede a V1 structure. In (7), from *Roland*, the clitic *i* is enclitic, which is expected when the finite verb is in initial position, following the Wackernagel/Tobler–Mussafia law. Consequently, the fronted adverbial clause in (7) is not integrated and does not count as the first constituent of a V2 clause. If it were integrated, *i* would have been proclitic.

(7)   *se il poet, murrat=i veirement*
           if i can die=there truly
           'and if he can, he will surely die there'

                                                   (roland, p.66, v.615)

A similar pattern is observed in old Germanic languages. Kiparsky (1995) claims that fronted adverbial clauses in these languages were not integrated into the clause, but clause external. In (8), we see examples of this where the fronted adverbial clause appears outside of the V2 scheme. It is also telling that Haegeman and Greco find that in West Flemish there are fronted adverbial clauses that trigger V3 word order Haegeman & Greco (2018a,b), Greco & Haegeman (2020). Vance et al. (2010) consider the V3 word order that arises with fronted adverbial clauses as a new development in French, pointing towards the loss of V2. However, given the data from other medieval languages, it would seem that these structures are archaic rather than innovative.

(8)   (a)   *Dhuo ir himilo garanuui frumida*   (Old High German)
              when he heaven's equipment created
              dhar wwas ih
              there was I
              'when he fashioned the heavens, I was there'

                                                   (I 91, from Axel 2007: 228)

      (b)   *Do Jacob hort daz chorn in*   (Middle High German)
              when Jacob heard that grain in
              Egipten waz. er sprach zu sinen svnen (...)
              Egypt was he spoke to his sons
              'When Jacob learned that there was grain in Egypt, he said to his sons...'

                                                   (from Paul 2007: 463)

(c) *Nu   dræpær maþær man   mæþ kniui.*   (Early Old Swedish)
    now kills   man   man with knife

    han ökir   sina sak mæþ fiuratighi markum
    he   increases his   fine with forty   marks

    'If a man kills another man with a knife, he increases his fine by forty marks.'

        (*Östgötalagen*, from Meklenborg 2020a: 118)

So far we have seen that adverbial clauses are invisible to the V2 word order scheme, in other words that they occur outside the clausal core. Interestingly, we find the same pattern also with nominal constituents that contain an embedded clause; in other words, when they either contain a relative clause (9 b) or when they themselves assume the role of a free relative (9 b).[2]

(9) (a) [*Noz cumpaignuns, que oümes tanz chers,*] *Or   sunt il*
         our companions that had so   dear now are they

         morz
         dead

         'Our companions that we held so dear, now they are dead.'
                  (ROLAND,161.2195)

    (b) [*Qui chu vaslet porroit avoir*], *fist   li   marchis, il*
         who this valet could have   made the marshal he

         porroit bien aler en le tere de Constantinoble et
         could well go   in the land of Constantinople and

         prendre viandes   et   autres coses, car li   vaslés en
         take   provisions and other things for the valet of.it

         est drois oirs.
         is   right heir

         'Whoever has this valet, said the marshal, he could enter into the land of Constantinople and take provisions and other things, for the valet is the rightful heir [of Constantinople].'
                  (clari, p. 16)

It would thus seem that all fronted constituents that contain a finite verb appear clause-externally in Old French. However, there does not seem to be any semantic or syntactic reason for the extra-clausal position of these fronted clauses. Hinterhölzl suggests that V2 is not only linked to syntactic requirements but also to prosody. A central notion is the ICPE (10).

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2 The notion free relative may refer to either a non-headed relative clause (introduced by *qui* 'who') or to a personal pronoun acting as the antecedent.

(10)   Interface condition on the determination of the phase edge
          (ICPE):
          Vfin must occupy a left-peripheral position in its prosodic
          phrase in the phase head.

                                                    (Hinterhölzl 2017: 213)

The implication of this is that the finite verb must raise to Force^0 when a base-generated element occupies a FRAME position. In a V2 language that does not observe the ICPE, base-generated elements may precede a regular V2 structure. We must thus assume that Old French did not adhere to the ICPE rule, and that there was no prosodic constraint that would force verb movement into a high position when an adverbial clause was merged in the FRAME of the Left Periphery.

3   TOPICALIZATION

In a topicalized structure an element which is normally resumed by an element in the clausal core occurs in a left peripheral position of the clause.[3] In this paper, I look at topicalization that corresponds to an argument in the clause that follows. I refer to the fronted constituent as the *topic* or the *dislocate*. The constituent in the clausal core is sometimes called a resumptive as it is is co-indexed with the dislocate.

While working essentially with adverbial resumptive structures, Meklenborg (2020a: 94–96) distinguishes between specialized and generalized resumptives. Specialized resumptives have their own semantic content that must match that of the fronted element. Generalized resumptives are semantically completely bleached. This way they are only resumptives from a syntactic point of view. The distinction may be extended also to topicalization structures. In this paper, PRON topicalization clearly has a specialized resumptive, while SI is a generalized resumptive. This way, in the case of SI, there is a certain overlap between adverbial resumption and topicalization.

Topicalization is a cover term for different positions in the Left Periphery. While Rizzi (1997) originally postulated the presence of recursive topics, Benincà & Poletto (2004) suggest that topics occur in two fields in the Left Periphery, divided by ForceP. I follow their model, as presented in (3), repeated in (11).[4]

(11)   [FRAME Hanging Topics ... Scene Setters] ... ForceP ... [THEME
          Topics]... [FOCI Focus] ... FinP...

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3 This is not always the case, especially in languages that permit null arguments.
4 For a different model, see Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007).

The essence of Benincà and Poletto's model is that topics (at the very least) fall into two groups: Hanging Topics (HT) and Left Dislocated Topics (LDT). Discussing data from Italian, they find that the fundamental difference between these is that a HT is marked for person and number, while LDTs are marked for person, number and Case. It follows that HTs must always be in the nominative case (*nominativus pendens*). While there can only be one HT in a clause, there can be several LDs.

3.1 Topics in Modern French

The analysis for Italian is not necessarily amenable to all other languages. Comparing French and Norwegian, Helland, Meklenborg & Lohndal (2020), Meklenborg, Helland & Lohndal (2021) find very few formal traits that distinguish the two types of topics. Not even the *nominativus pendens* seem to hold as the hallmark of HTs cross-linguistically. For Modern French, Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes & Sleeman (2004) note that there are no prosodic or pragmatic differences between HTs and LDTs. This does not, however, lead to the conclusion that they are the same thing. Even if they are difficult to distinguish in isolated clauses, Delais-Roussarie et al. (2004) find that HTs and LDTs behave differently with respect to islands. In (12) the dislocate violates island restrictions if it is a PP (12 a), but not when it is a DP (12 b). Delais-Roussarie et al. (2004) argue that the PP is a LDT, while the DP is a HT, and that the former is moved and the latter base-generated.

(12) (a) *[A Marie]$_i$, je connais le flic qui lui$_i$ a retire
       to Mary I know the cop who her has withdrawn
       son permis.
       her licence
       'I know the cop who withdrew Mary's licence.'

    (b) [*Marie*]$_i$, je connais le flic qui lui$_i$ a retire
       Mary I know the cop who her has withdrawn
       son permis
       her licence
       'I know the cop who withdrew Mary's licence.'

However, de Cat (2007) argues that island effects can not be a reliable test for movement. Instead, she discusses different tests such as Weak Cross-over effects, parasitic gaps, relativized minimality, and reconstruction effects with respect to Left Dislocation. One example concerns variable binding. In (13 a) the quantifier *chaque maître* 'each master' can bind the possessive *ses* 'his'. When the DP is a dislocate, the quantifier can no longer bind the possessive,

and a distributive meaning is no longer accessible (from de Cat 2007: ex. 19 and 20) .

(13) (a) [*Chaque maître*]$_i$ *a renvoyé un de ses$_{i/x}$ disciples.*
every master has returned one of his disciples
'Every master has returned one of his disciples.'

(b) [*Un de ses$_{*i/x}$ disciples*]$_j$, [*chaque maître*]$_i$ *l$_j$' a*
one of his disciples every master him has
renvoyé.
returned
'Every master has returned one of his disciples.'

Based on these tests, de Cat (2007) concludes that LDTs in Modern French must have been base-generated *in situ*, just like HT. As we will see in the next section, this is in stark contrast to Germanic, where LDTs have been moved.

3.2 Topics in Modern Germanic

In this section we turn to Germanic. Even though French is a Romance language, the old language has a number of so-called Germanic features (Mathieu 2006, 2007). In section 5.3, we will see that also certain topics in Old and Middle French behave more like Germanic LDTs than Modern French ones.

The structure of LDTs in Modern Germanic V2 languages is very different from French. The dislocate is always adjacent to its resumptive pronoun, which acts as the first constituent of the V2 clause (14).

(14) (a) [*Bilen*]$_i$, *den$_i$ har jeg solgt.*   (Norwegian)
car it have I sold
'I have sold the car.'

(b) [*Die Man*]$_i$, *die$_i$ mag ik niet.*   (Dutch)
the man him like I not
'I don't like that man.'
(from de Vries 2007: 235)

(c) [*Der Gärtner*]$_i$, *der$_i$ ist der Mörder.*   (German)
DET gardener that is DET killer
'The gardener is the killer.'
(from Altmann 1981: 247)

There are differences between the different languages with respect to the resumptive pronoun (a d-pronoun or a p-pronoun), but the structure itself is

the same. There is a quasi consensus in the literature that structures like the ones in (14) have been derived by movement (Grohmann 2000, Grewendorf 2002, Boeckx & Grohmann 2005, de Vries 2007, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Meklenborg Salvesen 2013b, but pace Frey 2004). Evidence for this is found in the same tests as the ones used by de Cat (see the previous section). One piece of evidence comes from reconstruction effects. In Norwegian, for instance, a dislocate can contain a reflexive possessive that must have been c-commanded by the subject at some point in the derivation, thus indicating movement. The possessive *sin* indicates that the possessor is identical to the subject, and no other reading is accessible.

(15)   [*Bilen*   *sin$_j$*]$_i$,   *den$_i$*   *er*   [*alle*   *nordmenn*]$_j$ (Norwegian)
             car.DET   POSS   it   is   all   Norwegian

             opptatt   *av.*
             concerned   of

             'All Norwegians are concerned with their car[s].'

Two different models for the derivation of LD topics in Germanic have been proposed: The big XP (Grewendorf 2002) and the Copy Spell Out model (Grohmann 2000, Boeckx & Grohmann 2005). Grewendorf's analysis suggests that what is moved into the specifier of the V2 head is a big XP that contains an XP in its specifier and a pronoun in its head. After the Merge of the V2 head, the XP is extracted and moves into the specifier position of the LD head. The derivation of (15) would be as in (16). I assume that the head associated with V2 is Fin^0 (pace Østbø 2007, Eide 2011).

(16)   [$_{LD}$ [$_{DP}$ Bilen sin] [$_{LD^0}$ [$_{FinP}$ [$_{DP}$ ~~bilen sin~~ [$_{D^0}$ den]] [$_{Fin^0}$ er ...]]]]]

In Grohmann's model, a simple XP moves into the specifier of the V2 head and is further attracted to the topic position. As the V2 head needs overt material in its head, the trace of the moved XP is spelled out. Principle C induces that it take the form of a resumptive pronoun and not the moved XP.

(17)   [$_{LD}$ Bilen sin [$_{LD^0}$ [$_{FinP}$ ~~bilen sin~~ $\Rightarrow$ den [$_{Fin^0}$ er ...]]]]]

Both analyses have the advantage that they provide an explanation for the apparent V3 structure that would be a violation of V2. The fact that the dislocate moves *through* the V2 head reconciles the bottleneck hypothesis with the observed V3 structures. If the dislocate had not moved, we would expect that LD structures in the Germanic languages would not require adjacency. This is not the case. The clause in (18), where the two initial elements have different references, is sharply unacceptable.

(18)   *Bilen   sin,   han   har   solgt   den.   (Norwegian)
       car.DET POSS he   has   sold   it
       'He has sold his car.'

The only way to rescue the clause in (18) would be by inserting a substantial prosodic break. This break, however, induces a different reading, namely that of a HT (Faarlund 1992, Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997, Eide 2011).

In other words, we see that while both HTs and LDTs in Modern French have been base generated, topics in Germanic have been moved into their surface position. This is uncontroversial with respect to LDTs and slightly more debated with respect to HTs. The discussion of base generation vs. movement will be central in Section 5.

4   THE DATA

Tests like the ones used by de Cat are difficult to use when it comes to a language of which we only have written sources. We can not test reconstruction effects, WCO effects or other hallmarks of movement/base-generation unless they occur spontaneously in the manuscripts. For the discussion of the derivation of topics, I lean on circumstantial evidence such as general word order requirements and other structural patterns. In this section, I present the data without suggesting any analysis, but I get back to a structural analysis in Section 5.

The data presented in this section stem from three different sources. First and foremost I have searched the digital corpora *Modéliser le changement : les voies du français* (MCVF) (Martineau 2008) and the *Base du français médiéval*[5] (BFM) (Guillot-Barbance, Heiden & Lavrentiev 2017). In addition, I have added examples that I have manually retrieved from *La Mort du roi Arthur*, edited by Hult (2009). References in upper-case letters are to the MCVF; in lower-case letters to the BFM.

The texts used for the quantitative analysis are all drawn from the MCVF corpus. The texts are the ones that overlap with the Penn Historical French Corpus, and the philological information is based on the latter's website.[6] For a detailed presentation of the corpus, see the Appendix. In order to present the phenomena diachronically, the texts have been divided into centuries, indicated in Table 3.

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5 http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr.
6 The implication of this selection is that the two texts *Leis Willelme* and *Morchesne* have not been included in the statistics as these do not occur in the PHFC. The PHFC is larger than the MCVF, and an overview is found at https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/corpus-ling/frenchTexts.html.

Date	genre	words	texte	filename
12th century				
c1100	vers asson.	29,818	*La chanson de Roland*	ROLAND
1106–1121	rhyme	11,018	Benedeit : *Le voyage de Saint Brendan*	BENEDEIT_BRENDAN
1160–1170	rhyme	33,489	Marie de France: *Lais*	MARIEF_LAIS
c1170, 1177–1180	rhyme	42,423	Chrétien de Troyes: *Yvain*	YVAIN
TOTAL		116,748		
13th century				
after 1205	prose	34,560	Clari, Robert de: *La conquête de Constantinople*	CLARI_CONSTANTINOPLE
c1225	prose	36,909	*La Queste del Saint Graal*	12XX-QUESTE
first half of 1200s	prose	4,690	*Sermon anonyme sur sainte Agnès*	ANONYME_SERMON
c122x	prose, vers asson	10,203	*Aucassin et Nicolette*	AUCASSIN
c122x	prose	26,577	*Pseudoturpin*	PSEUDOTURPIN
TOTAL		78,379		
14th century				
1309	prose	76,806	Joinville, Jean de: *Mémoires*	JOINVILLE_MEMOIRES
137x	rhyme	53,287	Machaut, Guillaume de: *La prise d'Alexandrie*	ANONYME_ALEXANDRIE
betw. 1369 and 1400	prose	221,129	Froissart, Jean: *Chroniques*	FROISSART
TOTAL		351,222		
15th century				
c1450	prose	34,926	*Les XV joyes du mariage*	XV-JOIES
betw. 1456 and 1467	prose	154,242	*Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*	ANONYME_CNN
1498	prose	44,626	Commynes, Philippe de: *Mémoires*	COMMYNES_MEMOIRES
TOTAL		233,794		

Table 3   Texts used (MCVF)

In what follows, I first present ᴘʀᴏɴ-topicalization in 4.1 before I turn to sɪ-topicalization in 4.2. The diachronic change is presented in 4.3.

4.1   PRON topicalization

A left dislocate can be resumed by a pronoun in the core clause. This is the same pattern as the one found in Modern French. The only difference is that the subject pronoun is not yet cliticized in the earliest texts (Roberts 1993, Dufresne & Dupuis 1994, Adams 1989, Labelle 2007). This way, calling the structure Clitic Left Dislocation would be a misnomer.

The dislocate can correspond to the subject (19) or the direct object (20). The resumptive pronoun can be the personal pronoun (19 a), a demonstrative (19 b) or the demonstrative *ce* (19 c).

(19) **The dislocate is co-referent to a subject**

    (a) [*Li niés   Marsilie*]$_i$, *il$_i$ ad   num Aëlroth;*
         the nephew Marsilius he had name Aëlroth
         'Marsilius' nephew was called Aëlroth'
                               (ROLAND,93.1171)

    (b) [*Li Freisnes*]$_i$, *cele$_i$ fu   celee*
         the Freisne   this.one was hidden
         'The Freisne was hidden.'
                               (MARIEF_LAIS,.1114)

    (c) [*Garvalf*]$_i$, *ceo$_i$ est beste salvage;*
         werewolf   that is   beast savage
         'The werewolf is a savage beast.'
                               (MARIEF_LAIS,.1242)

When the dislocate corresponds to a direct object, the resumptive pronoun is always a personal pronoun.

(20) **The dislocate is co-referent to a direct object**

    (a) [*Ceste bataille*]$_i$, *veirement la$_i$=ferum.*
         this   battle   truly   it=make
         'we shall truly fight this battle'
                               (ROLAND,70.846)

    (b) [*Vostre proecce*]$_i$, *Rollant, mar la$_i$=veïmes!*
         your   bravery   Roland bad it=saw
         'I wish we had never seen your bravery, Roland.'
                             (ROLAND,131.1747)

We find several instances where the dislocate is in the nominative even though it corresponds to a direct object (21).

(21)   [*Li amiralz*]$_i$, *il ne=l$_i$ crent ne ne   dutet*
       the emir   he NEG=him fear nor NEG fear
       'As for the emir, he (= Charlemagne) does not fear him.'
                              (ROLAND,259.3570)

In Modern French, a dislocate that corresponds to an indirect dative object must normally be a DP (Delais-Roussarie et al. 2004). This contrasts with Italian, where the dislocate can be a PP. It seems, however, that this pattern goes back to the earliest stages of French. In the MCVF there are no instances

of a fronted PP followed by a resumptive pronoun in the dative. In fact, there is only one dislocate PP followed by PRON topicalization (22), but this is not a dative object.

(22)   [*De   ces   bidaus   qui   la   estoient venu*]_{*i*},
of   these officers who there were   come

en_i=i=avoit   auquns   qui   en   estoient alé
of.it=there=was somebody who from.there were   gone

et   parti de lors compagnons pour pillier   a
and left   of their companions for plundering in

Rainmes.
Reims

'Among the officers who had come there there were some who had gone with their friends to plunder Reims.'

(FROISSART,422.8512)

Thus it seems that dislocate elements corresponding to indirect dative objects are ruled out.

A common context for PRON topicalization is instances where the dislocate contains a finite verb. This can be DP + relative clauses (23) or free relatives (24). These dislocates can correspond to both subjects (23 a), (24 a and 24 b) and direct objects (23 b), (24 c).

(23) **The dislocate is a DP + relative clause**

(a) [*Noz cumpaignuns, que oümes tanz chers*]_{*i*}, *Or   sunt*
our   friends   that had   so   dear   now are

il_i   morz
they dead

'Our friends who we held so dear, now they are dead.'

(ROLAND,161.2195)

(b) [*Les aventures   que j' en=sai*]_{*i*}, *Tut par rime*
the adventures that I of.it=know all by rhyme

les_i=cunterai.
them=tell

'I will tell all the stories that I know in verse.'

(MARIEF_LAIS,.2066)

(24) **The dislocate is a free relative**

(a) [*Ki   herbe voelt*]_{*i*}, *il_i la=prent   en gisant.*
who grass wants   he her=takes in resting

'Whoever wants grass, he [the horse] eats it while lying down.'

(ROLAND,184.2526)

16

(b) *car* [*qui ainme*]*ᵢ*, *ilᵢ est en espans*,
  for who loves   he is in suspense
  'For whoever loves is in suspense'

<div align="right">(YVAIN,84.2929)</div>

(c) [*ceulz qui cheoient*]*ᵢ il lesᵢ=occioient*
  those who fell   he them=killed
  'He killed those who fell.'

<div align="right">(JOINVILLE_MEMOIRES,161.1802)</div>

4.2 SI topicalization

Sɪ in Old French has numerous interpretations. It may be the possessive de-terminative (*si chevaler* 'his knights'), it may be an adverb (*si luign* 'so far'; or *si fet* litt. 'so did'), an adverbial conjunction or a resumptive.[7] The three latter forms of sɪ are all derived from the Latin adverb *sic* 'such'.

As an adverbial conjunction, it occurs in clause initial position introducing consecutive events. In (25), there are two instances of (*et*) sɪ; both may be translated by '(and) then'. When sɪ is used, the clause often has a pro subject (Foulet 1930, Fleischman 1991). The use of the conjunction sɪ becomes less frequent over time (Wolfe 2018).

(25)   [*CLAUSE 1 Einsi   s'=en=vont   grant aleüre entre*
          this.way ʀᴇꜰʟ=of.it=go big   speed between
        Lancelot et   le   chevalier et   l'   un des   escuiers
          Lancelot and the knight   and the one of.the squires
        avuec els] [*CLAUSE 2 et si font   tant   que il*
          with them   and sɪ make so.much that they
        vienent a l' ostel ou   il   orent geü la   nuit
          come   to the hostel where they had rested the night
        devant] ; [*CLAUSE 3 si descent Lanceloz toz sanglenz, qui'*
          before   sɪ descend Lancelot all bloody   that
        il estoit navré   durement]
          he was   injured heavily
        'This way Lancelot, the knight and one of the squires rode quickly so that they arrived at the hostel where they had slept the night before. Then, Lancelot dismounted all covered in blood, for he was badly injured.'

<div align="right">(MortArtu I-24)</div>

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7 Note that the conditional subjunction has the form *se* 'if', which only later becomes sɪ. See also Section 4.3.3.

As a resumptive element it occurs in second position of the clause, following a subordinate clause, a PP, an adverb or a DP. Previous analyses of second position sɪ have considered it to be an adverbial (Foulet 1930, Skårup 1975), a marker of topic contiuity (van Reenen & Schøsler 2000), an expletive (Ferraresi & Goldbach 2003, Rouveret 2004, Meklenborg Salvesen 2013a) or an adverbial particle (Wolfe 2018, Meklenborg 2020a,b) (see Wolfe 2018, 2020 for a complete overview). In this paper, I take a different stance, claiming that a unitary analysis of second position sɪ is not possible, and that it may be both a particle and an expletive, both a minimal and a maximal category, building on recent work by Meklenborg (2020b).

While first position sɪ may be translated by 'and then', second position sɪ appears to be semantically bleached when it follows nominal, prepositional and adverbial constituents. This way it resembles *so* in Early New High German (Thim-Mabrey 1987) or *så* in Modern Mainland Scandinavian (Meklenborg 2020a). In Meklenborg's definition, sɪ is a generalized resumptive in that it is not dependent on the semantics of its antecedent. So while ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization has a resumptive element that clearly has the same reference as the dislocate, no such thing can be said for sɪ topicalization. Sɪ has the capacity to pick up any dislocate, regardless of its syntactic or semantic nature. As such, it functions like a syntactic resumptive rather than a semantic one.

Even though second position sɪ has an adverbial origin, it is also used after arguments, especially subjects (26).[8]

(26) **The dislocate is co-referent to the subject**

    (a) [*Li fus de lui*] *si enbraise Cume buche de fornaise*
         the fire of him sɪ burns like mouth of fireplace
        'The fire that came from him burned like a fireplace.'
                                  (BENEDEIT_BRENDAN,54.630)

    (b) *Et* [*cele*] *si li=demanda qui il estoit.*
         and this sɪ him=asked who he was
        'And she asked him who he was.'
                                          (MortArtu II-7)

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8 The fact that an adverbial generalized resumptive may follow topics that correspond to arguments in the clause is not exclusive to Old French. The same use is found in other medieval languages, and also in Modern Fenno-Swedish, the variety of Swedish spoken in Finland.

    (i) *Och båten så gick ...*   (Fenno-Swedish)
        and boat.ᴅᴇꜰ så went
        'And the boat went ...'
        (from Harling-Kranck 1998: 119)

It is rare to find sɪ topicalization after a dislocate that does not correspond to the subject. In the MCVF corpus, I found only two examples of non-subject dislocates: a direct object in (27 a) and an indirect dative object in (27 b). Both are from *La Chanson de Roland*, one of the earliest Old French texts.

(27) (a) [*Reis Vivien*] *si succuras en Imphe,*
    king Vivien sɪ help in Imphe
    'You will help king Vivien in Imphe.'

               (ROLAND,291.3998)

  (b) [*A l' emperere*] *si toldrat la curone.*
    of the emperor sɪ lift the crown
    'You will take the crown from the emperor.'

               (ROLAND,116.1540)

Sɪ topicalization is also found after DP + relative (28) and after free relatives (29).

(28) **The dislocate is a DP + relative clause**

[*La damoisele a qui tu as parlé*] *si est li*
the maiden to whom you have talked sɪ is the
anemis li mestres d' enfer
enemy the master of hell
'The maiden you talked to is the enemy of the lord of Hell.'

             (graal_cm, col. 186d, l. 12)

(29) **The dislocate is a free relative**

[*Cil qui n' a esté compainz de la queste del*
the.one who ɴᴇɢ has been party of the quest of.the
saint Graal] *si se=departe de ci, car il n' est pas*
Holy Grail sɪ ʀᴇꜰʟ=leave of here for it ɴᴇɢ is ɴᴇɢ
droiz qu' il i=remaigne
right that he here=stay
'Anyone who has not taken part in the quest for the Holy Grail should leave, for it is not right that he stays here.'

             (qgraal_cm, col. 223d, l. 31)

4.3 Diachronic change

Comparing ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization to sɪ topicalization, we find that the intertextual variation is considerable. At a first glance, it would seem that sɪ topicalization has its heyday in the 13th century, where it accounts for 42% of the

topicalization structures. However, there are two texts that contribute to this result: *Clari* and *Pseudoturpin*. While the 12th and 14th century has slightly more than 10% of sɪ topicalization, this number raises to 36% in the 15th century. The reason for this is one text: *XV joies*. If this text is left out of the statistics, sɪ topicalization accounts for 19% of the topicalization structures in this century (8/43).

If both kinds of topicalization are considered together, we see that topicalization becomes increasingly less common over time. In the 12th century, the ratio of topicalized clauses compared to the number of words is $4.8 \cdot 10^{-4}$ (e.g. 4.8 cases per 10.000 words), while it falls to $2.95 \cdot 10^{-4}$ in the 15th century. However, again there is important inter-textual variation. In the 12th century, we see that topicalization is more common in *Roland* and *Brendan* than in Marie de France or *Yvain*. This can be related to style, but I will not speculate as to the causes of the variation.

The core data are presented in Table 4.

words	text	PRON topicalization		SI topicalization		other		Rate of topicalization	
		no.	ratio	no.	ratio	no.	ratio	no.	ratio
12th century									
29,818	Roland	20	0.80	4	0.16	1	–4	25	$8.38 \cdot 10^{-4}$
11,018	Saint Brendan	10	0.83	2	0.17	0	–	12	$10.89 \cdot 10^{-4}$
33,489	Marie de France	11	1.00	0	–	0	–	11	$3.28 \cdot 10^{-4}$
42,423	Yvain	6	0.75	2	0.25	0	–	8	$1.89 \cdot 10^{-4}$
116,748	TOTAL	47	0.84	8	0.14	1	–2	56	$4.8 \cdot 10^{-4}$
13th century									
34,560	Clari	4	0.36	7	0.64	0	–	11	$3.18 \cdot 10^{-4}$
36,909	La Queste	4	1.00	0	–	0	–	4	$1.09 \cdot 10^{-4}$
4,690	Sermon	8	1.00	0	–	0	–	8	$17.06 \cdot 10^{-4}$
10,203	Aucassin et Nicolette	2	0.67	1	0.33	0	–	3	$2.94 \cdot 10^{-4}$
26,577	Pseudoturpin	1	0.14	6	0.86	0	–	7	$2.63 \cdot 10^{-4}$
78,379	TOTAL	19	0.58	14	0.42	0	–	33	$4.21 \cdot 10^{-4}$
14th century									
76,806	Joinville	15	0.63	9	0.38	0	–	24	$3.12 \cdot 10^{-4}$
53,287	Alexandrie	15	0.83	2	0.11	1	–6	18	$3.38 \cdot 10^{-4}$
221,129	Froissart	58	0.92	2	–3	3	–5	63	$2.85 \cdot 10^{-4}$
351,222	TOTAL	88	0.84	13	0.12	4	0.38	105	$2.99 \cdot 10^{-4}$
15th century									
34,926	XV joyes	1	–6	17	0.94	0	–	18	$5.15 \cdot 10^{-4}$
154,242	CNN	35	0.85	6	0.15	0	–	41	$2.66 \cdot 10^{-4}$
44,626	Commynes	8	0.80	2	0.20	0	–	10	$2.24 \cdot 10^{-4}$
233,794	TOTAL	44	0.64	25	0.36	0	–	69	$2.95 \cdot 10^{-4}$

Table 4   Main tendencies

If we consider the type of the dislocate, we see that there is no particular pattern that stands out over time. This is presented in Table 5.

	DP		DP + relative		Free relative		Other	
	pers.	*si*	pers.	*si*	pers.	*si*	pers. p.	*si*
12th century								
Roland	20	2				2		1
Brendan	1		2		3		1	2
Marie	2		6		3			
Yvain	3	1	1		2	1		
TOTAL	26	3	9	–	8	3	1	3
13th century								
Clari	1	6		1	3			
Queste			1		3			
Sermon	3		2		3			
Aucassin	1	1	1					
Pseudoturpin	1	4		2				
TOTAL	6	11	4	3	9	–	–	–
14th century								
Joinville	2	6	9	2	3		1	1
Alexandrie	3	1	1		10	1	1	
Froissart	23	2	15		18		1	
TOTAL	28	9	25	2	31	1	3	1
15th century								
XV		16				1		
CNN	10	5	11		13	1		
Commynes	2	2	2		4			
TOTAL	12	23	13	–	17	2	–	–

Table 5   The dislocate

Pron topicalization dominates after all kinds of dislocates with the exception of DPs in the 13th and 15th century. In turn, this is due to two texts: *Clari* and *XV Joyes*.

4.3.1   Changes in pron topicalization

In considering the different types of pron topicalization, I have made a distinction between personal pronouns *per se*, true demonstratives and the demonstrative *ce* (Table 6). Demonstratives belong to the *cil* 'this one' or *cist* 'that one' series and are inflected for person and number. *Ce* 'this' is originally the neuter form of the demonstrative and has been considered a structure apart. Both (*i*)*ço* and *ça* 'that' have been assigned to this category.

The most remarkable change that takes place in pron topicalization from the 12th to the 15th century is the rise of *ce* as the resumptive pronoun. While only 6% of all pron topicalization in the 12th century has *ce*, this is true for more than half of all instances of pron topicalization in the 15th century. At

	total	personal		demonstrative		*ce*	
	no.	no.	ratio	no.	ratio	no.	ratio
12th century							
Roland	20	19	0.95	1	–5	0	–
Saint Brendan	10	8	0.80	0	–	2	0.20
Marie de France	11	9	0.82	1	–9	1	–9
Yvain	6	5	0.83	1	0.17	0	–
TOTAL	47	41	0.87	3	–6	3	–6
13th century							
Clari	4	2	0.50	0	–	2	0.50
La Queste	4	3	0.75	0	–	1	0.25
Sermon	8	4	0.50	1	0.13	3	0.38
Aucassin et Nicolette	2	2	1.0	0	–	0	–
Pseudoturpin	1	0	–	1	1.0	0	–
TOTAL	19	11	0.58	2	0.11	6	0.32
14th century							
Joinville	15	7	0.47	0	–	8	0.53
Alexandrie	15	12	0.80	0	–	3	0.20
Froissart	58	47	0.81	0	–	11	0.19
TOTAL	88	66	0.75	0	–	22	0.25
15th century							
XV joyes	0	0	–	0	–	0	–
CNN	34	16	0.49	0	–	18	0.51
Commynes	8	2	0.25	0	–	6	0.75
TOTAL	44	18	0.44	0	–0	24	0.55

Table 6   PRON topicalization – types of resumptive

the same time, we see that topicalization where the resumptive pronoun is a regular demonstrative is fairly limited and not attested after the 13th century.

When PRON topicalization has *ce* or a true demonstrative as its resumptive, its function is almost always that of a subject.

(30) (a) [*Li Freisnes*]$_i$, *cele*$_i$ *fu* *celee;*
the Fresne this.one was hidden
'The Fresne was hidden.'   (MARIEF_LAIS,.1114)

(b) [*Sainte Souphie en griu*]$_i$ *ch'*$_i$ *est Sainte Trinités en*
holy Sophie in Greek that is holy Trinity in
franchois.
French
'Holy Sophie in Greek is Holy Trinity in French.'
                    (CLARI_CONSTANTINOPLE,84.2105)

There is only one exception to this, found in *Brendan*, where *iço* is the direct object.

(31)   [*Que cumandat*]$_i$,   *iço$_i$ fait   unt*
        what   commanded   that   done   had

        'They did what he had ordered.'

                                                (BENEDEIT_BRENDAN,41.270)

When the resumptive is a personal pronoun, it can be both the subject or the direct object. In the 13th century almost all dislocates with a personal pronoun as the resumptive correspond to the subject, but in other centuries there is no clear tendency (Table 7).

	total	subject		direct object	
	no.	no.	ratio	no.	ratio
12th century					
Roland	19	13	0.68	6	0.32
Saint Brendan	8	0	–	8	1.0
Marie de France	9	5	0.56	4	0.44
Yvain	5	3	0.	2	0.
TOTAL	41	21	0.51	20	0.49
13th century					
Clari	2	2	1.0	0	–
La Queste	3	3	1.0	0	–
Sermon	4	4	1.0	0	–
Aucassin et Nicolette	2	1	0.50	1	0.50
Pseudoturpin	0	0	–	0	–
TOTAL	11	10	0.91	1	–9
14th century					
Joinville	7	1	0.14	6	0.86
Alexandrie	12	10	0.83	2	0.17
Froissart	47	28	0.60	19	0.40
TOTAL	66	39	0.59	27	0.41
15th century					
XV joyes	0	0	–	0	–
CNN	16	12	0.75	4	0.25
Commynes	2	0	–	2	1.0
TOTAL	18	12	0.67	6	0.33

Table 7   PRON topicalization – function

4.3.2 Changes in sɪ topicalization

As we have already seen, sɪ topicalization takes place when the dislocate corresponds to the subject of the clause. The most important change with respect to this kind of topicalization regards the verb of the main clause. This is presented in Table 8.

	total	verb = *estre*		verb ≠ *estre*	
	no.	no.	ratio	no.	ratio
12th century					
Roland	4	0	–	4	1.0
Saint Brendan	2	0	–	2	1.0
Marie de France	0	0	–	0	–
Yvain	2	0	–	2	1.0
TOTAL	8	0	–	8	1.0
13th century					
Clari	7	3	0.43	4	0.57
La Queste	0	0	–	0	–
Sermon	0	0	–	0	–
Aucassin et Nicolette	1	0	–	1	1.0
Pseudoturpin	6	4	0.67	2	0.33
TOTAL	14	7	0.50	7	0.50
14th century					
Joinville	9	6	0.67	3	0.33
Alexandrie	2	1	0.50	1	0.50
Froissart	2	2	1.0	0	–
TOTAL	13	9	0.69	4	0.31
15th century					
XV joyes	17	17	1.0	0	–
CNN	6	6	1.0	0	–
Commynes	2	2	1.0	0	–
TOTAL	25	25	1.0	0	–

Table 8   Sɪ topicalization and the verb

While sɪ topicalization in the 12th century is unrestricted with respect to the verb, it gradually changes into being used exclusively with the verb *estre* 'to be'.

In 4.2, I showed that there are only two instances where the dislocate of sɪ corresponds to a non-subject in the MCVF, and both these examples are retrieved from *Roland*, e.g. the oldest text in the corpus. If we combine these two observations, we can assume that there is a diachronic change in the use

of sı topicalization as in (32). These observations are in line with those made by Wolfe (2018).

(32)   STAGE 1: S, DO, IO + all kinds of verbs
STAGE 2: S + all kinds of verbs
STAGE 3: S + *estre*

Stage 1 is descriptive of the earliest texts from the beginning of the 12th century ((27 b), repeated as (33 a)). Stage 2 corresponds to the 12th to the 14th centuries (33 b), while stage 3 corresponds to the 15th century (33 c).

(33) (a) [*A l' emperere*] *si toldrat la curone.*
of the emperor sı lift the crown
'You will take the crown from the emperor.'
INDIRECT OBJECT + *tolir* 'lift'

(ROLAND,116.1540)

(b) [*Aucassins*] *si cevauce.*
Aucassin sı rides
'Aucassin rides.'
SUBJECT + *chevaucher* 'ride'

(AUCASSIN,.639)

(c) [*Le troisiesme enseignement que mon pere me=bailla*] *si*
the third lesson that my father me=gave sı
fut que jamais n' espousasse femme d' estrange region.
was that never NEG marry woman of strange region
'The third lesson my father gave me was never to marry a foreign woman.'
SUBJECT + *estre* 'be'

(ANONYME_CNN,336.7423)

The cline in (32) implicates a specialisation of sı topicalization that can not be observed with PRON topicalization. However, in the next section, I argue that this diachronic change overlaps with the use of *ce* as the resumptive in PRON topicalization, leading to the eventual reanalysis of the structure.

4.3.3 *Sı and cE*

PRON resumption with cE shares the same characteristics as stage 3 sı topicalization: cE always follows a subject and the verb is always a form of *estre* 'be'. However, the choice of verb seems to be more pertinent than the function of

	verb = *estre*		verb ≠ *estre*	
	pers. pron.	CE/SI	pers. pron.	CE/SI
12th century				
Roland	4	–	15	4
Saint Brendan	–	1	8	2
Marie de France	1	1	8	–
Yvain	1	–	4	2
TOTAL	6	2	35	8
13th century				
Clari	1	5	1	4
queste	1	1	2	–
Sermon	1	3	3	–
Aucassin et Nicolette	–	–	2	1
Pseudoturpin	–	4	–	2
TOTAL	3	13	8	7
14th century				
Joinville	–	14	7	3
Alexandrie	2	3	10	2
Froissart	6	13	41	–
TOTAL	8	30	58	5
15th century				
XV joyes	–	17	–	–
CNN	1	24	16	–
Commynes	–	8	2	–
TOTAL	1	49	18	–

Table 9   Personal pronouns vs. SI and CE

the resumptive. Although numbers are limited and must be handled with care, there seems to be a clear tendency. This is presented in Table 9.

In the 12th century, there is no difference between the two groups: personal pronoun account for 75 % of all the clauses where the verb is *estre* 'be', while they account for 81% of the clauses with other verbs. The difference is not statistically significant (χ^2: p=0.675693). However, already in the 13th century, there is a tendency to use SI/CE with *estre*. 81.3% of the clauses with *estre* have SI/CE, while both personal pronouns and SI/CE can be used with verbs other than *estre* This difference is statistically significant (χ^2: p=0.044311). Come the 14th century, the division of labour is crystal clear: when the verb is *estre*, the resumptive is SI/CE in 78.9% of the cases; when the

verb is not *estre*, the resumptive is a personal pronoun in 92.1% of the cases. This too is statistically significant (χ^2: p=0).

As we have seen, sɪ is used with different kinds of verbs in the earliest texts. Cᴇ, however, is only used with the verb *estre*. If we compare the use of these two resumptives (Table 10), it is difficult to see a clear pattern. It is only in the 13th century that sɪ is more common than cᴇ, but as late as the 15th century, they are equally common. In this century the intertextual variation is considerable. In the *XV joyes* all instances of *estre* have sɪ, while in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* 75 % of the clauses with *estre* have cᴇ.

	ce	si
12th century		
Roland		
Saint Brendan	1	
Marie de France	1	
Yvain		
TOTAL	2	–
13th century		
Clari	2	3
queste	1	
sermon	3	
Aucassin et Nicolette		
Pseudoturpin		4
TOTAL	6	7
14th century		
Joinville	8	6
Alexandrie	2	1
Froissart	11	2
TOTAL	21	9
15th century		
XV joyes		17
CNN	18	6
Commynes	6	2
TOTAL	24	25

Table 10 Sɪ and cᴇ: s + *estre*

The fact that one text prefers cᴇ and the other sɪ might be an indication that the two have merged and that what we find is simply an orthographic variation. Two independent changes that have taken place in the history of French could have led to the reanalysis of sɪ and cᴇ as one and the same form. One concerns phonological change, the other lexical change as will be explained in the following section.

4.3.4 Relevant changes in the phonetic and lexical system

In Late Latin or Early Gallo-Romance [k] underwent palatalisation. In front of [e] it turned into an affricate [ts]. It is telling that the demonstrative pronoun *ce* in the *Séquence de sainte Eulalie* (ca 881) of is spelled *czo*[9], mirroring the pronounciation [tse]. However, in the 13th century, affricate consonants in Old French were reduced to fricatives, and [ts] became [s] (Pope 1956: 92–93, 279, 450). In other words the demonstrative CE was no longer pronounced [tse], but [se]. Thus, in the 13th century, the difference between SI and CE was the vowel: [se] vs. [si].

Also, the conditional adverb undergoes change during this period. In the earliest texts, conditional clauses are introduced by *se*, but the adverb changes into *si* in the 14th century. Pope notes that Latin *si* turned into [se], and that the final vowel was weakened in the early Old French period (Pope 1956: 216). She suggests that as the weakened vowel was elided in front of vowels, the sequence *s'il* 'if he' was interpreted as *si il*.[10] This development was enforced by influence by southern dialects that had developed *si* in pre-vocalic position. This way we get the following change: *si > se > si*.

In order to pinpoint the time of the change, I have searched all clauses that contain a fronted adverbial subordinate clause[11] in the MCVF corpus and manually selected the ones beginning with *se* or *si*. We find that there are only isolated examples of *si* as the conditional adverbial before the 15th century (Table 11). The majority of these examples stem from Marie de France. While Froissart consistently uses *si*, *se* is not used as the conditional adverb in the 15th century.

(34) (a) *Se vous me=voliés croire, fist   il, je vous=dourroie*
       if   you   me=will   believe made he   I   you=give
       boin   conseil.
       good   advice
       'If you believe me, he said, I will give you good advice.'
                              (CLARI_CONSTANTINOPLE,37.930)

      (b) *si Dieu plaist, bientost   seront ainsi   en France!*
          if   God   like   well.early be   this.way in France
          'If God approves, we will soon enough be in France.'
                                 (ANONYME_CNN,472.10196)

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9 *Ce* is derived from Late Latin *ecce hoc*, so the *o* in *Eulalie* reflects a stage where the *o* has not yet turned into *e*.

10 Note that Modern French has retained this elision even though *i* normally does not elide: *s'il vous plaît*, litt. 'if it pleases you'.

11 Query: node: IP-MAT* query: (IP-MAT* iDomsNumber 1 CP*)

	se	si
12th century		
Roland	2	–
Saint Brendan	–	–
Marie de France	2	4
Yvain	4	–
TOTAL	8	4
13th century		
Clari	2	–
queste	1	–
sermon	–	–
Aucassin et Nicolette	2	–
Pseudoturpin	–	–
TOTAL	5	–
14th century		
Joinville	5	1
Alexandrie	–	–
Froissart	6	–
TOTAL	11	1
15th century		
XV joyes	–	7
CNN	–	16
Commynes	–	–
TOTAL	–	23

Table 11   SE and SI in conditional clauses

To sum up, we find two processes that lead to the destabilisation of the difference between SI and CE. First, the affricate becomes a fricative in the 13th century, reducing the difference between the two words to the difference in vowel. Then, in the 15th century, the conditional adverb *se* is reanalysed as *si*. We must assume that the reanalysis process takes place over time, and when it is manifested in the texts, it has been a feature of the spoken language for quite some time. In other words, we see how the linguistic environment leads to a destabilizing of the distinction between SI and CE, making a reanalysis merging the two plausible.

5 Derivational properties

So far, no attempt has been made to distinguish different kinds of topics. Above (p. 10), I said that I minimally assume that there are two different kinds of topics that can possibly be identified as Hanging Topics (HT) and Left Dislocated Topics (LDT), where HTs are higher in the Left Periphery than LDTs. As outlined above (sections 2.3 and 3), Benincà & Poletto (2004) suggest that the Left Periphery may be divided into zones, where the outer zone, to the left of ForceP, is the FRAME, where HTs are located together with Scene Setters. To the left of ForceP is the Theme, with different kinds of topics. Immediately below this are Foci (35).

(35)   [Frame Hanging Topics ... Scene Setters [FocusP [Theme Topics [Foci Focus [FinP]]]]]

In order to distinguish between HTs and LDTs, case matching is often used as a diagnostic tool. We will discuss this in the next section.

5.1 Case matching

Case matching is often taken to be a test to distinguish between HTs and LDTs. The assumption is that HTs correspond to the Latin *nominativus pendens* and are not marked for case (Benincà & Poletto 2004). LDTs, on the other hand, should be case marked and correspond to the resumptive element in the core clause. In the data, several examples have case matching, like in (36).[12]

(36) (a) [*Les   diz   l'   abét*]$_i$, *cil   les$_i$=crement*
          the.OBL words.OBL the abbot those them.ACC=feared
          'They feared the words of the abbot.'
                                        (BENEDEIT_BRENDAN,47.455)

   (b) [*Li   duze   per*]$_i$,   [*por ço   qu' il*
          the.NOM twelve peers.NOM for   that that they.NOM
          l'=aiment   tant],   *Desfi=les$_i$ ci,   sire.*
          him=loved as.much defeat=them here sir
          'As for the twelve peers who loved him so much, defeat them here, sir'
                                        (ROLAND,24.303)

While the examples in (36) easily may be considered to be LDTs due to case matching, we also find examples where case matching is not observed, as in

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12 Note that while the pronominal system distinguishes between the nominative, accusative and dative, the nominal system only distinguishes between nominative and oblique case.

(37).[13] If the basic distinction between HT and LDT is whether or not case matching is observed, the following example must thus be a HT.

(37)   *et*   [*ses*   *lïons*]$_i$ *nel$_i$=rehet*   *mie.*
          and   his.NOM   lion.NOM   NEG=him.ACC=comfort   NEG
          'And his lion does not comfort him.'

                                                         (YVAIN,132.4570)

Matters are, however, more complicated. If we follow Donaldson (2012) in assuming that fronted adverbial clauses occupy a Scene Setting position, we must assume that all dislocates preceding these are HTs. And if HTs may not be marked for case, we assume that all dislocates preceding an adverbial clause are in the nominative case. This is not so. In (38 a) there is case matching, and the dislocate is in the oblique case. In (38 b) there is no case matching, and the dislocate is in the nominative case, while it is co-indexed with a pronoun in the accusative case.[14]

(38) (a) [*Sun*   *cumpaignun*]$_i$,   [*cum*   *il*   *l'$_i$=at*   *encuntret*],
             his.OBL   companion.OBL   when   he   him.ACC=has   met
             si=l$_i$ *fiert amunt sur l'*   *elme*   *a*   *or*   *gemet*
             SI=him   hits on.top over the   helmet   of   gold   ornamented
             'When he had met his companion, he hit him on top of his
             helmet ornamented with gold'

                                                       (ROLAND,149.2013)

      (b) [*Cils*   *nobles*   *rois*   *dont*   *je vous conte*]$_i$,
             this.NOM   noble.NOM   king.NOM   of.whom   I   you   tell
             [*Toutes les fois*   *qu'*   *en sa*   *nef*   *monte Et*   *il*   *vient*
             all   the times that in   his   ship   go   and   he   comes
             dedens la   *mer haute*], *Il*   *le$_i$=couvient*   *estre sans*
             inside the sea   high   it   him.ACC=befalls   be   without
             faute
             fault
             'As for this noble king about whom I am telling you. Every time
             he boarded his ship and went to sea, he had to be without sin.'
                                    (ANONYME_ALEXANDRIE,.824)

Based on these observations, we must conclude that there is no obligatory case matching between the dislocate and the pronominal resumptive. What

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13 In (37) the subject is not expressed, but the pro subject is co-indexed with *li* 'him' in the preceding text, in turn referring to Yvain.

14 This is unexpected as *covenir* 'befall' is a dative verb where the experiencer should be in the dative, not the accusative.

is more, HTs can be case marked.[15] Case matching is thus no viable test for determining whether or not the dislocate is a HT or a LDT.

5.2 [+FIN] and [−FIN] dislocates

In Section 2.3.1, we saw that fronted constituents that contain a finite verb occur outside the V2 scheme in Old French. This also applies to clauses that are either free relatives or DP + relatives and that act as dislocates. I follow Meklenborg (2020b) and propose that fronted nominal constituents that contain a relative clause are [+FIN], while those who do not are [−FIN]. These labels must be understood as telling of the *internal* structure of the DP, which will, obviously, on a superior level, be DPs.

Both PRON topicalization and SI topicalization can have both types of dislocates. With SI topicalization, we find a structurally different behavior between the two. This behaviour is not observed in the case of PRON topicalization, as will be clear in the next sections.

(39) [+FIN]

    (a) [*Qui voldroit leu aeisié querre Por s' amie metre*
        who would place easily search for his friend place
        et celer,] *Mout li=covandroit loing aler Einz qu' il*
        and hide much him=suited far go before that he
        trovast si covenable.
        finds so suitable

        'Whoever searches a convenient place to hide his friend, he will need to travel long before he finds anything that is suitable.'

                                    (CligesKu, p.75b, v.5563)

    (b) [*Chis qui en Blakie estoit fuis*], *si y=fu si*
        the.one who in Blakie was escaped SI there=was so
        povres qu' il ne se=pooit warir,
        poor that they NEG REFL=could save

        'The one who had escaped to Blakie was so poor he was not able to save himself.'

                                    (CLARI_CONSTANTINOPLE,21.511)

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15 This has also been observed for Norwegian (Meklenborg et al. 2021).

(40) [−FIN]

   (a) *Sansun li dux, il vait ferir l' almaçur.*
      Samson the duke he goes hit   the emir
      'Duke Samson hits the emir'

                             (ROLAND,98.1278)

   (b) [*Chus Burus*] *si fu aprés rois de Blakie,*
      this   Burus sɪ was after king of Blakie
      'This Burus was next to the king of Blakie.'
                   (CLARI_CONSTANTINOPLE,108.2679)

Cliticization patterns may also provide evidence that [+FIN] dislocates are located outside the core clause (see Section 2.2). However, there are very few examples where a [+FIN] dislocate precedes a clitic structure. We find two topics in Roland followed by a pronominal structure. In (41 a) the pronoun is in its strong form (*sei*), while in (41 b) it is a clitic on the verb (*s'*). The meter can play a role here: In (41 a), *sei* appears in initial position after the caesura, while in (41 b) it is in an internal position in the hemistich. Thus the structural position of the topic can be secondary in these cases.

(41) (a) [*Ki hume traïst*] *sei ocit e altroi.*
       who man kills   REFL kills ans other
       'Who kills a man betrays himself and the others.'
                       (roland, p.274, v.3959)

   (b) [*Ki or   ne voelt a mei venir*], *s'=en=alt !*
       who now NEG will to me come   REFL=of.it=go
       'Whoever does not want to come before me now should leave.'
                       (roland, p.236, v.3339)

5.2.1   *[+FIN] dislocates with SI and PRON topicalization*

As we have already seen, the word order following a [+FIN] initial element (be it an adverbial clause or a [+FIN] DP) is that of a regular V2 clause. This implies that the element following the [+FIN] element acts as the initial constituent of a V2 clause. If there is sɪ topicalization, sɪ may be substituted by any XP acting as initial constituent. Consequently, we must assume that sɪ itself is a maximal category in these structures. Sɪ is always adjacent to its dislocate.

(42) [*les racines qui remedrent*] *si gitarent puis granz bois.*
 the roots that disappear sɪ throw then large woods
 'The roots that are removed make the largest forest fall'
(PSEUDOTURPIN,272.245)

If what follows the [+FIN] dislocate is an instance of ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization, there is only adjacency if the dislocate is co-indexed with the subject and the core clause has a SV structure (43 a). If the dislocate corresponds to an object, adjacency is ruled out on independent grounds as pronominal objects are clitics.

(43) (a) [*Ki herbe voelt*]$_i$, *il$_i$ la=prent en gisant.*
 who grass wants he her=takes in resting
 'Whoever wants grass [the horses] takes it while lying down.'
(ROLAND,184.2526)

 (b) [*Les aventures que j' en=sai*]$_i$, *Tut par rime*
 the adventures that I of.it=know all by rhyme
 les$_i$=cunterai.
 them=tell
 'I will tell you in verse all the adventures that I know.'
(MARIEF_LAIS,.2066)

When the [+FIN] dislocate in ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization is a DP + relative, we find two different patterns. If the dislocate corresponds to the subject, the word order in the core clause is predominantly SV in all texts and all periods. However, when the dislocate corresponds to the direct object, we can observe a change over time, as presented in Table 12. In the 12th century, the predominant structure in the main clause is a V2 structure with a null subject. Come the 14th century, the word order in the main clause is predominantly SV (44). In the 15th century, we see some examples of postverbal subjects, but no example of *pro* drop, as expected.[16] The difference with respect to the structure of the main clause thus seems to be more the reflex of the underlying grammatical structure and unrelated to the status of the dislocate. In the following, I argue that the dislocate of ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization is merged in a higher position than the clausal core throughout the history of French.

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16 It should be noted that one of these examples has a structure that would permit inversion also in Modern French.

	dislocate = S			dislocate = O			
	SV	XP–SV	XP–VS	SV	XP–VS	XP–V–pro	VS
12th century							
Roland	2		1			1	
Brendan	1					4	
Marie	5			1		3	
TOTAL	8	–	1	1	–	8	–
13th century							
Clari	3						
Queste	4						
Sermon	5						
Aucassin	1						
TOTAL	13	–	–	–	–	–	–
14th century							
Joinville	9			3			
Alexandrie	12					1	
Froissart	22	1		8			
TOTAL	43	–	–	11	–	1	–
15th century							
CNN	21			2	1		
Commynes	4			1			1
TOTAL	25	–	–	3	1	–	1

Table 12   PRON topicalization: The main clause with a [+FIN] dislocate

(44)   [*A   ce   que   li   contes   de   Montfort   pensoit*]$_i$,   *je*
          of   that   that   the   count   of   Montfort   thought   I
          le$_i$=vous=dirai
          it=you=tell

          'I will tell you everything about the thoughts the count of
          Montford had.'

                                                                (FROISSART,487.9992)

The fact that [+FIN] dislocates precede the core clause implies that they occur in a high position, that we have identified as FRAME. In the case of [+FIN] nominal dislocates, I have argued that the exact position is that of HT. The question is then what is the origin of these topics. Have they been merged or moved?

Old French in the 13th century is considered to be a strict V2 language with a Force-V2 structure (Wolfe 2015b, 2019). Earlier stages are taken to have a Fin-V2 structure, with access to more positions to the left of the finite

verb than later varieties. Importantly, this does not mean that the bottleneck was less strict in earlier versions of French. In early Old French as in later Old French, only one element was able to move through the bottleneck – elements preceding the preverbal constituent had to be merged there (see also Holmberg 2015). The implication of this analysis is that the [+FIN] dislocate has to be merged *in situ* and not moved into its surface position. Neither stage of French observes the Interface condition on the determination of the phase edge (see page 9) that implies that the finite verb must move to the head of base-generated material in the Left Periphery, leaving no room for V>2 word orders.

5.2.2 [−FIN] *dislocates*

When we examine the word order with [−FIN] dislocates in PRON topicalization, we find the same pattern as with [+FIN] dislocates: When the dislocate corresponds to the subject of the clause, the word order is SV; when the dislocate corresponds to the direct object, the word order is much freer, as shown in Table 13. In the 12th century, it seems clear that what follows the [−FIN] dislocate is a regular V2 clause.

	dislocate = S				dislocate = O			
	SV	XP–SV	XP–VS	other	SV	XP–VS	XP–V–pro	other
12th century								
Roland	11	1			1		2	2
Brendan					2		1	1
Marie	2							
Yvain			1				2	
TOTAL	13	1	1	–	3	–	5	3
13th century								
Clari	1							
Sermon	3							
Aucassin					1			
Pseudoturpin	1							
TOTAL	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14th century								
Joinville					3			
Alexandrie	2				1			
Froissart	16				9			
TOTAL	18	–	–	–	13	–	–	–
15th century								
CNN	7	1			1			
Commynes	2							
TOTAL	9	1	–	–	1	–	–	–

Table 13 PRON topicalization: The main clause with a [−FIN] dislocate

In the case of sɪ topicalization, the situation is different. There is always adjacency between the dislocate and sɪ, also with [−FIN] dislocates. Whereas a [+FIN] dislocate can be followed by a regular V2 structure in the absence of sɪ, this is not the case with [−FIN] dislocates. Sɪ can not be replaced with any other maximal category as the initial element of the V2 clause as this would generate a V3 structure that is simply not found (see among numerous others Vance 1997, Radwan 2011, Wolfe 2015b, 2019, Klævik-Pettersen 2018). Based on this observation I make the claim that sɪ with [−FIN] dislocates is a minimal category. I return to the derivation of [−FIN] dislocates in the next section.

Another interesting aspect of sɪ topicalization with [−FIN] dislocates is that they are also found in embedded contexts. I have not found any examples of either [+FIN] dislocates or [−FIN] dislocates with ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization in embedded contexts.[17]

(45) *Voirs est, fet   soi Morgain, je ne   sai   se vos le*
      true   is   make   ʀᴇғʟ Morgan I   ɴᴇɢ know   if you it
      savez encore, que Lanceloz del   Lac   si aime la
      know   yet   that Lancelot of=the   Lake sɪ love the
      roïne Guinievre, vostre feme
      queen Guinevere   your   wife

      'The truth is, said Morgan, I don't know if you already know it, that Lancelot of the Lake loves the queen Guinevere, your wife.'
      (MortArtu IV-15)

5.3 Tying up the loose ends

The data discussed so far do not reveal any fundamental differences between [+FIN] and [−FIN] dislocates in ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization. Both can precede adverbial clauses, and both can or cannot be case matched. In the case of sɪ topicalization, however, the situation is different. While the dislocate in ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization can be separated from the core clause, the dislocate in sɪ topicalization must be adjacent to sɪ. Further, we have seen that the core clause that follows the dislocate in a ᴘʀᴏɴ topicalization structure is a regular V2 clause. When the dislocate does not correspond to the subject, the dislocate and the XP preceding the finite verb have different references, generating a true V3 structure. With sɪ topicalization, we find the same pattern with [+FIN] dislo-

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17 In the cases of doubly embedded adverbial clauses, these will typically occur with complementizer doubling, and the complementizer *que* appears in the position otherwise filled by sɪ in a main clause (Ledgeway 2005, Meklenborg Salvesen 2014, Meklenborg Salvesen & Walkden 2017, Meklenborg 2020b).

cates, but crucially not with [−FIN] topics. Above, I have argued that [+FIN] dislocates are HTs regardless of the type of topicalization, and that they have base generated in that position. I have not suggested any analysis for [−FIN] dislocates.

(46)   [$_{HT}$ [[+FIN] PRON topics ∨ [+FIN] SI topics] ... V2

In the case of [−FIN] dislocates with PRON topicalization, we find the same pattern as with [+FIN] dislocates, namely that they precede a regular V2 clause. If the dislocate had not been base generated in the Left Periphery, we would have to assume that the Left Periphery in Old French permitted that multiple elements move across the finite verb, in other words that there is no operative bottleneck. As all studies on word order show that 13th century French was a strict V2 language, there is no reason to assume movement of [−FIN] dislocates in the case of PRON topicalization.[18] This gives us the model in (47).

(47)   [$_{HT}$ [[± FIN] PRON topics] ... V2

As we have already seen, when the dislocate of SI topicalization is [−FIN], SI cannot be substituted, and we have drawn the conclusion that it must be a minimal category. If SI were a maximal category in SpecFinP, the model would make two predictions: (1) that the [−FIN] dislocate had been base-generated; (2) that SI could be substituted by any XP. As we have seen, these predictions are not carried out.[19]

We have also observed that there is always adjacency between the dislocate and SI. An analysis must account for this adjacency and at the same time explain why SI is a minimal category.

Meklenborg (2020b) assumes that the derivation of the [−FIN] dislocates in SI topicalization is similar to the derivation of LDTs in Germanic: An XP is moved through the bottleneck and attracted to a specifier in the Left Periphery. In Germanic, the trace (in Grohmann's model (Grohmann 2000)) is spelled out as a pronoun in the specifier of the V2 head. In the case of Old French, SI is the lexicalisation of the head of the projection to which the XP

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18 Both [+FIN] and [−FIN] dislocates in Old French are in all likelyhood HT even though we can not exclude that some of them are LTDs, but we are unable to determine that. Interestingly, this is also the conclusion Delais-Roussarie et al. (2004) draws for Modern French (that only has PRON topicalization): There is a difference between HTs and LDs, but the difference is subtle and in most cases it is impossible to tell.
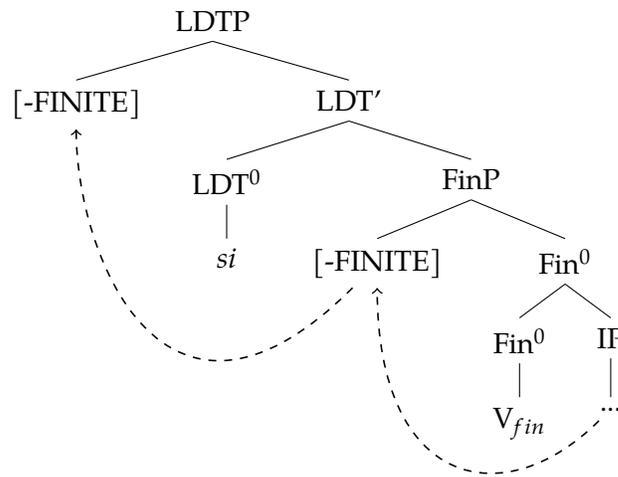
19 One reviewer asks why not consider SI to be a maximal category in SpecFinP with a null subject in the clause. This model is ruled out because a [−FIN] dislocate + a regular V2 structure is not attested.

moves. The derivation differs from the Germanic languages in that the trace in SpecFinP is not spelled out. We assume that when no overt material intervenes, the closest higher head is visible from Fin^0 and may as such satisfy the visibility criterion.

Thus, it is sı that assures the grammaticality of the clause as it is visible from the V2 head and satisfies the visibility requirement. Given the dichotomy between HT and LDT, I assume this projection is LDT^0. The structure of the Left Periphery is subsequently the following (48).

(48) $[_{HT}$ [[± FINITE] PRON topics ∨ [+FINITE] sı topics] ...
$[_{LDT}$ [[-FINITE] sı topics] ... V2

(49) The derivation of [−FIN] dislocates in sı topicalization

Wolfe (2015b, 2019) assumes that the finite verb in early Old French moves to Fin^0, while in Old French in the 13th century, the verb moves to $Force^0$. The derivation in (49) implies that in the case of sı topicalization with [−FIN] dislocates, the finite verb remains in Fin^0. This is also what has been proposed by van Kemenade & Meklenborg (2021). Nothing in the model presented here is incompatible with verb movement to $Force^0$ in the case of PRON topicalization or sı topicalization with [+FIN] dislocates.

5.4 Further developments

Sı is a C-particle that has been merged in the Left Periphery (Wolfe 2018, Meklenborg 2020a,b), and when V-movement to the Left Periphery is lost,

sɪ topicalization disappears. If the sɪ structure had been retained with the re-organisation of the clausal structure, we would expect the word order LDT–sɪ – subject – verb, which we do not find. Above (Section 4.3.3), I have argued that sɪ is renalysed as cᴇ, which functions as the subject of the clause. As such, cᴇ is in SpecTP.

The reanalysis of sɪ to cᴇ is not a grammaticalization process that is caused by fundamental linguistic principles, such as the change from phrase to head (see van Gelderen 2004). This is a change that is caused by ambiguity in the input and possibly fueled by an ongoing process where V2 is eventually lost.

This reanalysis does not affect the position of the dislocate, only the structure and consequently the derivation. In the later texts, we do not have data that can indicate whether or not the dislocate has reached its surface position by base generation or by movement, and we need to leave this question to future research. However, there are data that strongly suggest that sɪ topicalization is associated with List Interpretation elements. The first indication of this stems from Joinville in the 14th century, and it is systematically exploited in *The XV Joyes de mariage* (around 1450). According to Benincà & Poletto (2004), List Interpretation Topics (LIT) occupy the lowest topic projection, located in the ᴛʜᴇᴍᴇ field, right below Left Dislocation. Similar data have not been retrieved from the earliest period.

(50) (a) [*La seconde partie du livre*] *si parle de ses granz*
the second part of.the book sɪ talks of his great
chevaleries et de ses granz faiz d' armes.
achievements and of his great actions of weapon
'The second part of the book tells the story of his great acts of chivalry and his mastery of arms.'
(JOINVILLE_MEMOIRES,2.7)

(b) [*La tierce joye de mariage*] *si est que, aprés ce que*
the third joy of marriage sɪ is that after that that
le jeunes homs et sa femme, qui est jeune, ont
the young man and his wife who is young have
bien prins de plaisances et delectacions, elle devient
well taken of pleasure and pleasure she becomes
grousse
pregnant
'The third joy of marriage is when the wife gets pregnant after the young man and his young wife have enjoyed themselves.'
(XV-JOIES,18.366)

These structures can also contain CE (51), which is what we expect given an analysis that involves reanalysis of SI and CE.

(51)   [*La premiere ville que on trueve en alant en Escoce*],
       the first   city that one finds in going to Scotland
       c' est la Mourlane
       that is the Morham

'The first city one finds when going to Scotland is Morham.'[20]

(FROISSART,217.3907)

6   CONCLUSION

In this paper I have investigated two topicalization patterns that are found in Old French, namely PRON topicalization and SI topicalization, based on quantitive data. PRON topicalization is more common than SI topicalization in all periods investigated. Whereas SI topicalization becomes restricted to cases where the dislocate is co-referent with the subject, no such restriction applies to PRON topicalization. For independent reasons there is a reanalysis of the SI structure where it merges with the demonstrative CE as the resumptive element of the core clause.

Whereas SI is always adjacent to its dislocate, this is not the case with PRON topicalization. Consequently, structures with PRON topicalization display a true V3 word order where the two initial elements have different references. As Old French has a V2 word order, this indicates that the dislocate in PRON topicalization must have been base generated in the Left Periphery. The adjacency between the dislocate and SI, however, points in the direction that the dislocate has moved through SpecFinP to its surface position. At the same time, [+FIN] dislocates display a different behaviour, suggesting that these occupy a higher structural position, also when the resumptive is SI. This way, we can identify the following model for the diachronic development of topicalization patterns in French (Table 14).

	Hanging Topic	Left Dislocated Topic	List Interpretation Topic	finite verb
V2-grammar	[+FIN] PRON			$Force^0 \vee Fin^0 \vee C^0$
	[+FIN] SI merged	[−FIN] SI moved	[−FIN] SI moved	Fin^0
SVO-grammar	[±FIN] PRON merged	[±FIN] PRON merged	[−FIN] SI/CE	T^0

Table 14   Diachronic change

20 I am indebted to David Willis, who identified Morham as the correct place.

This development also has implications for the analysis of the verbal position in Old French V2 clauses. With PRON topicalization, it is unclear exactly where the finite verb resides. HT is the highest projection in the hierarchy, and as such, the finite verb can be under Force^0, Fin^0 – or even C^0 if there is no split CP (Klævik-Pettersen 2018). In the cases of [−FIN] SI topicalization, the finite verb must be under Fin^0.

Further research is needed in order to verify the hypothesis presented here. One big part of the puzzle that deliberately has been left out is the one concerning the information structural properties of the dislocate. A natural assumption is that PRON topicalization should have a larger scope than [−FIN] SI topicalization, given that it is located higher in the hierarchy. Establishing this is an endeavour in itself, and I leave this to future research.

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APPENDIX: MCVF TEXTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BFM Base du français médiéval
CLD Clitic Left Dislocation
DP Determiner Phrase
HT Hanging Topic
ICPE Interface Condition on the determination of the Phase Edge
LDT Left Dislocated Topic
MCVF Modéliser le changement: les voies du français
PP Preposition Phrase
WCO effects Weak Cross-Over Effects

Merged and moved: Topics in Old and Middle French

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