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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FIRST REDACTION
OF THE *HISTOIRE ANCIENNE JUSQU'À CÉSAR*
(13TH CENTURY): TEXTUAL VARIATION AND
LINGUISTIC CODING*

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (*HA*) is the title chosen by Paul Meyer for an early 13th-century Old French prose compilation, which survives in over eighty manuscripts.¹ These manuscripts were produced in the time span of roughly two centuries: from the first half of the 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century. The *HA* circulated widely: from Northern France to the Holy Land, and back to France via Italy and the Iberian Peninsula. Throughout its first two centuries of life, the *HA* underwent three major textual and structural transformations. In its current form, the first redaction of the *HA* (first quarter of the 13th century, Northern France) is a universal history, dealing with human events from the crea-

* An earlier version of this essay was presented at the *The Values of French Language and Literature* seminar in March 2017. I would like to thank the participants at the seminar, particularly Simon Gaunt, Adam Ledgeway and Fabio Zinelli, and the anonymous readers at MR for their comments.

1. Many manuscripts of the *HA* are remarkable: copied on vellum, in neat varieties of *libraria*, and sumptuously decorated. The most comprehensive study of the *HA*'s textual tradition is P. MEYER, *Les premières compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne*, in «Romania», xiv 1885, pp. 1-81. For a critical synthesis of the current state of affairs in relation to the *HA*, see R. TRACHSLER, *L'Histoire au fil des siècles. Les différentes rédactions de l'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, in *Transcrire et/ou traduire: variation et changement linguistique dans la tradition manuscrite des textes médiévaux*. Actes du Congrès international de Klagenfurt, 15-16 novembre 2012, éd. par R. WILHELM, Heidelberg, Winter, 2013, pp. 77-95. For an interpretation of the place of history (and fiction) in the *HA* and in its manuscript tradition, see S. GAUNT, *Philology and the Global Middle Ages: British Library Royal Ms 20 D 1*, in MR, xl 2016, pp. 27-47. The text of the *HA* has been partially edited: M. COKER JOSLIN, *The Heard Word: a Moralized History. The Genesis Section of the 'Histoire ancienne' in a Text from Saint-Jean d'Acre*, Jackson, Univ. of Mississippi Press, 1986; M. DE VISSER-VAN TERWISGA, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César: Estoires Rogier*: éd. partielle des manuscrits Paris Bibl. Nat. f. fr. 20125 et Vienne Nat. Bibl. 2576, 2 vols., Orléans, Paradigme, 1995-1999 (sections: Assirians, Thebes, Minotaurus, Amazons and Hercules); M.-R. JUNG, *La légende de Troie en France au Moyen Âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits*, Basel-Tübingen, Francke, 1996; M. LYNDE-RECCHIA, *Prose, Verse, and Truth-Telling in the Thirteenth Century: an Essay on Form and Function in Selected Texts, Accompanied by an Edition of the Prose 'Thebe' as Found in the 'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César'*, Lexington, French Forum, 2000; C. GAULLIER-BOUGASSAS, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, ou 'Histoires pour Roger', châtelain de Lille. L'histoire de la Macédoine et d'Alexandre le Grand*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012; A. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César ou 'Histoires pour Roger', châtelain de Lille, de Wauchier de Denain. L'histoire de la Perse, de Cyrus à Assuérus*, *ibid.*, 2015.

tion to the Gallic wars.² In the second redaction (second quarter of the 14th century, Naples), the *Histoire Ancienne* is genuinely ancient history, and the “matters” of Thebes, Aeneas and Rome are completed by the insertion of the fifth *mise en prose* of the *Roman de Troie* (the so-called *Prose 5*). The Biblical, part of the “oriental” and the Alexander sections, present in the first redaction, are omitted in the second redaction.³ Finally (15th century, France), the manuscripts of the third redaction keep the fifth prosification of Benoît de Sainte-More’s *Roman de Troie*, give a more complete account of the history of the Hebrews after Joseph, and retrieve the Alexander section.⁴

The *HA* was not subject just to structural changes in its editorial project. As is normal in a medieval textual tradition, the text of the first redaction of the *HA* underwent variation on a smaller scale. A host of little changes took place at all levels of the linguistic spectrum: from graphemics and morphology, to lexis and syntax. This sort of variation did not generate a new redaction of the *HA*. Nonetheless, the modifications the text underwent are significant in that the adoption of new, idiosyncratic linguistic solutions

2. The prologue sets a more ambitious plan: «Depuis la Création et les temps bibliques, jusqu’à Babylone, Ninive [...], la venue du Christ, les apôtres et les saints, les empereurs chrétiens, les premiers rois de France, les invasions des Barbares, l’histoire de France. L’ouvrage n’accomplit qu’une moindre partie de ce projet, s’arrêtant aux opérations de Jules César en Gaule en 57 avant J.-C.»: F. MONTORSI, *Sur l’«intentio auctoris» et la datation de l’Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César*, in «Romania», CXXXIV 2016, pp. 151-68 (pp. 151-52). Editions of the twenty verse passages in the first redaction of the *HA*, including the prologue, in DE VISSER-VAN TERWISGA, op. cit., vol. II. *Annexe 2. Les passages en vers dans la totalité du manuscrit P*, pp. 291-308: for the prologue see pp. 291-94.

3. On the second redaction of the *HA*, see L. BARBIERI, *Le ‘epistole delle dame di Grecia’ nel ‘Roman de Troie’ in prosa. La prima traduzione francese delle ‘Eroidi’ di Ovidio*, Tübingen-Basel, Francke, 2005, p. 8; ID., *Roman de Troie Prose 5*, in *Nouveau repertoire des mises en prose (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)*, éd. par M. COLOMBO TIMELLI et al., Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2014, pp. 823-48. Barbieri’s position has been discussed in two reviews: M. BARBATO, in «Revue critique de Philologie Romane», VI 2005, pp. 190-200 (followed by Barbieri’s *Réponse à Marcello Barbato*, *ibid.*, pp. 201-10); A. ROCHEBOUET, in «Romania», CXXVII 2009, pp. 237-51. See also L. BARBIERI, *Trois fragments peu connus du ‘Roman de Troie’ en prose: Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 3, Porrentruy, Archives de l’ancien Évêché de Bâle, Divers 4, Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1850*, in «Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes», XXIII 2012, pp. 335-75. On the third redaction, see A. ROCHEBOUET, *De la Terre Sainte au Val de Loire: diffusion et remaniement de l’Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César au XV^e siècle*, in «Romania», CXXXIV 2016, pp. 169-203.

4. See ROCHEBOUET, *De la Terre Sainte au Val de Loire*, cit., p. 170, and n. 11 and 12. Rochebouet points out that the compilers of the third redaction use the so called *Chronique de Boudouin d’Avesnes* (end of the 13th century) to complete the Biblical and other sections of the *HA*.

provide the text with a score making the same text sound differently. Linguistic micro-variation does not happen randomly. The choice of a new word, e.g. a verb form or a different word order, is the result of a combination of conditions and expectations – i.e. linguistic competence, the education and “taste” of the scribe(s), different *horizons d’attente* –, but responds to grammatical constraints that end up reverberating on the text as a whole: along the way it is given a “form” and along the way it is copied, read, understood, (re)used.

In this article, I consider micro-variance in a selection of manuscripts of the first redaction *HA*. My purpose is to identify how linguistic phenomena intervene in textual variation. To reach this goal, I will analyse how the manuscripts deal with some specific syntactic: passive structures, the position of verbs in subordinate clauses, (non)expression of referential and expletive subject pronouns; clitics; grammatical words (adverbial locutions). In § 1, I will clarify the rationale behind the choice of the manuscripts and the syntactic phenomena under discussion.

1. CORPUS AND APPROACH

In this article, the codex Paris, BNF, MS f. fr. 20125 (= P)⁵ is compared to a set of manuscripts of the *HA*. The criteria for inclusion of manuscripts in my corpus are as follows:

- 1) manuscript P preserves the most complete version of the first redaction of the *HA*;⁶ furthermore, it has a verse prologue, and nineteen verse sections;⁷
- 2) to make the selection representative, I have chosen at least one manuscript from each of the manuscript families of the first redaction of the *HA* identified so far (see below);
- 3) the manuscripts either have a similar date of production, the late 13th century, or they mirror an exemplar that was produced during the 13th century.

For my purposes, it is crucial that they were compiled in a tight chronological window, since this enables a consideration of textual variation and linguistic change in synchrony.

5. For the *sigla* or the manuscripts of the *HA* see below Table 1.

6. The team working on the ERC-funded project *The Values of French Language and Literature* is preparing a complete semi-diplomatic transcription and a digital edition of MS f. fr. 20125, see <<http://www.tvof.ac.uk/>>. All the partial editions of the first redaction of the *HA* that have been published to date are based on this manuscript.

7. See DE VISSER-VAN TERWISGA, op. cit., vol. II. *Annexe 2. Les passages en vers dans la totalité du manuscrit P*, pp. 291-308.

Although the place of production of P is disputed, the work of philologists and art historians on the *HA* confirms that the earliest manuscripts of the *HA* fall into two clearly defined groups, one produced in Acre and the other in Northern France.⁸ As for the first group (see below, I and II), the precise relations between its manuscripts have yet to be established. However, analysis of the textual outline (contents and structure), of the cycles of miniatures, and of variant readings, allow the identification of the manuscript group's basic features:⁹

1. *MS.f.fr. 20125* (= P).¹⁰ Manuscript P has been variously dated from the 1270s to the late 1280s. It is thought to best reflect the oldest version of the *HA*.¹¹ Its place of production is still uncertain. According to the most recent hypothesis, it might have been copied in France from a manuscript produced *Outremer*.¹² On the other hand, the relationship between P's cycle of miniatures and the cycle of the Acre manuscripts is not completely clear (see below, II).¹³

Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 2331 (= Rennes), is a 15th-century manuscript, possibly produced in Brittany. Although Rennes is not a copy of P, the former is close to the latter, and is a key witness for the understanding of the textual configuration recorded in P.¹⁴

Finally, a 14th-century Venetian manuscript: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbi-

8. H. BUCHTHAL, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957; J. FOLDA, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination of Saint-Jean d'Acre*, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1976; Id., *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005; D. OLTROGGE, *Die Illustrationzyklen zur 'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César', 1250-1400*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1989.

9. See OLTROGGE, op. cit.; DE VISSER-VAN TERWISGA, op. cit.; F. ZINELLI, *Au carrefour des traditions italiennes et méditerranéennes. Un légendier français et ses rapports avec l'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César' et les 'Faits des Romains'*, in *Lagiografia volgare. Tradizioni di testi, motivi e linguaggi*. Atti del Congresso internazionale di Klagenfurt, 15-16 gennaio 2015, a cura di E. DE ROBERTO e R. WILHELM, Heidelberg, Winter, 2016, pp. 63-131.

10. In de Visser-van Terwisga's (group G) and in Oltrogge's (group D) classifications, groups I and II are not separated. However, the position of P in this group is distinct in various respects: for the quantity and organization of its textual contents, for the features of the miniature cycle, and, as we will see below, for its discursive and syntactic features.

11. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit.

12. ZINELLI, *Au carrefour des traditions*, cit., p. 110.

13. See ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., for an analysis of the *scripta* and phono-morphologic traits in P.

14. One of the major differences of Rennes in relation to P is the absence of the verse prologue.

bliothek, MS 2576 (= V), is a composite manuscript. This codex passes down a reworked version of the *HA*. However, it shares with P some textual and structural features: namely some, but not all the verse sections, and most importantly the prologue. Alongside parts that are completely rewritten, MS Vienna 2576 transmits sections bearing the same reading as P.¹⁵

ii. *Acre group*. The manuscripts of this group date from the 13th century. They were produced either in Acre or in Italy from exemplars produced *Outremer*. The manuscripts from Acre are: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10175 (= B); Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 562 (= D); London, British Library, Additional 15268 (= L). These manuscripts share some textual traits with P, but also present structural differences (e.g. the verse sections are either omitted or prosified to varying degrees). Three further manuscripts are related to this group: Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 168 (= P3); fr. 9682 (= Pa), and fr. 686 (= P10).¹⁶

Alongside these manuscripts, I will also consider one manuscript of the “short version” of the first redaction of the *HA*: London, BL, Add. MS 19669. The manuscripts of this group are contemporary with the codices of i and ii. They pass down an abridged version of the *HA*-1st redaction.¹⁷

iii. “Short version” - North-eastern France (“Flemish” family). This group of manuscripts was made in the second half of the 13th century in North Eastern France. The group includes the following manuscripts: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 78 D 47; London, British Library, MS Add. 19669; Pommersfeld, Gräflisch-Schönbornsche Schlossbibliothek, MS 295; Aylsham, Blickling Hall 6931.

To sum up, my linguistic analysis focuses on the following manuscripts:¹⁸

15. See M. CAMBI, *Note sull'“Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César” in area padano-veneta (con nuove osservazioni sul ms. Wien, ÖNB, 2576)*, in *Forme letterarie del Medioevo romanzo: testo, interpretazione e storia*. Atti dell'XI Congresso della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza, Catania, 22-26 settembre 2015, a cura di A. PIOLETTI, S. RAPISARDA e A. CALCAGNO, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2016, pp. 145-61; BARBIERI, *Le epistole*, cit.

16. On this last manuscript, see ZINELLI, *Au carrefour des traditions*, cit.

17. The montage and “cut” of the “short version” seems to be based on recognisable patterns of discursive and syntactic selection and combination. In further research, I will return to the textual, discursive and syntactic conditions featuring the “short version”. This line of research will be particularly interesting in the consideration of the second and the third redactions of the *HA*.

18. While the eight manuscripts listed in Table 1 have been consistently compared, I have not made a systematic use of W. In further work I will return to W and Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 686 (= P10) both to verify the argument of this article and to develop research on the syntax of V. See CAMBI, *Note sull'“Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César”*, cit.

Table 1. Corpus of the manuscripts

| Group | Shelfmark | Date | Place of production | Siglum ¹⁹ |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| i. 20125-group | Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 20125 | 1270-1280 | Northern France/Acre? | P |
| | Rennes, BM, MS 2331 | 15th century | France | Rennes |
| | London, BL, MS Add 15268 | 1275-1300 | Acre | L |
| | Brussels, KBR, MS 10175 | 1275-1300 | Acre | B |
| ii. Acre-group | Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 168 | 14th century | Bologna? | P ₃ |
| | Paris, BnF, MS f. fr. 9682 | 14th century | France? | Pa |
| | Dijon, BM, MS 562 | 1275-1300 | Acre | D |
| iii. "Short version" | London, BL, MS Add. 19669 | 1275-1300 | Northern France | L ₅ |

My approach to the language of the *HA* is informed by two notions: text language and discursive tradition.²⁰ In its narrowest definition, a text lan-

19. These siglum follow DE VISSER-VAN TERWISGA, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., pp. 12-14.

20. On "text language", see S. FLEISCHMAN, *Discourse Pragmatics and the Grammar of Old French: A Functional Reinterpretation of "si" and the Personal Pronouns*, in «Romance Philology», XLIV 1991, pp. 251-83, and ID., *Methodologies and Ideologies in Historical Linguistics: On Working with Older Languages*, in *Textual Parameters in Older Languages*, ed. by S.C. HERRING, P. VAN REENEN and L. SCHÖSLER, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, Benjamins, 2000, pp. 33-58. On the relation between "text language" and *scripta*, see L. SCHÖSLER-H. VÖLKER, *Intralinguistic and extralinguistic variation factors in Old French negation with "ne-Ø", "ne-mie", "ne-pas" and "ne-point" across different text types*, in «Journal of French Language Studies», XXIV 2014, pp. 127-53; and H. VÖLKER, *Scripta und Variation. Untersuchungen zur Negation und zur Substantivflexion in altfranzösischen Urkunden der Grafschaft Luxemburg (1237-1281)*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2003. In this context, the reinterpretation of the notion of *scripta* in ZINELLI, *Au carrefour des traditions*, cit., is fundamental. For the concept of "discursive tradition", see P. KOCH, *Diskurstraditionen: zu ihrem sprachtheoretischen Status und ihrer Dynamik*, in *Gattungen mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit*, hrsg. von B. FRANK, T. HAYE und D. TOPHINKE, Tübingen, Narr, 1997, pp. 43-79. On the relation between "text language" (as formal codification of different stages of the "dinamica linguistica") and "discursive tradition", see R. WILHELM-F. DE MONTE-M. WITTUM, *Tradizioni testuali e tradizioni linguistiche nella*

guage is a language documented only by written texts.²¹ The notion of text language and the notion of *scripta* share common ground.²² Scholars who work on *scripta* tend to confine the analysis of a medieval language to features that may help us in locating a text in space and time. For this reason, studies in this field have privileged graphemics, phonomorphology and morphosyntax. Recently, Fabio Zinelli has argued for widening the scope to lexis, suggesting that lexemes may be both evidence for localising a text, and for distinguishing features of the written system in use in a given “region”. Thus, for example, depending on the parameters of the object of study (e.g. a manuscript or a textual tradition), words like *arme*, *maronier* or *aigue* are either North-Eastern forms confirming a hypothesis about the material place of production of a written record, or forms attested in North-Eastern records that are used in *Outremer* written documents.²³ In the first case, the focus is on the features of the written system that may tell us something about medieval dialectology; in the second, the focus is on what the written system is teaching us about the textual culture adopted by a community regardless of their homeland.

To date syntax has barely featured in research on *scripta*. Syntax is rigid and less sensitive to diatopic variation than graphemics and lexis.²⁴ On the other hand, studies on the history of syntax are more and more numerous

‘Margarita’ lombarda. Edizione e analisi del testo trivulziano, Heidelberg, Winter, 2011 (particularly § 2: «Intertestualità e interdiscorsività»).

21. FLEISCHMAN, *Discourse Pragmatics*, cit., p. 251 n. 1; ID., *Methodologies and Ideologies*, cit., p. 34, and WILHELM-DE MONTE-WITTUM, *Tradizioni testuali e tradizioni linguistiche*, cit., p. vii.

22. See SCHÖSLER-VÖLKER, *Intralinguistic and Extralinguistic Variation*, cit., p. 128 n. 4. For a different consideration of the notion of *scripta* in relation to *koinè*, see J. KABATECK, *Koinés and Scriptae*, in *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, II. *Contexts*, ed. by M. MAIDEN, J.C. SMITH and A. LEDGEWAY, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013, pp. 143-86.

23. See F. ZINELLI, *Espaces franco-italiens: les italianismes du français médiéval*, in *La régionalité lexicale du français au Moyen Âge*. Volume thématique issu du Colloque de Zurich, 7-8 sept. 2015, organisé sous le patronage de la Société de Linguistique Romane, éd. par M. GLESSGEN et D. TROTTER, Strasbourg, ÉLIPH, 2016, pp. 207-68. In a different vein, see also F. DUVAL, *Les néologismes*, in *Translations médiévales. Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XI^e-XV^e siècles)*, 3 vols., éd. par C. GALDERISI et V. AGRIGORAEI, Turnhout, Brepols, 2011, vol. 1 pp. 499-534.

24. See P. HIRSCHBÜHLER, *On the Existence of Null Subjects in Embedded Clauses in Old and Middle French*, in *Studies in Romance Linguistics. Selected Proceedings from the 17th Linguistic Symposium*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1987, pp. 155-76, and P. HIRSCHBÜHLER - M.-O. JUNKER, *Remarques sur les sujets nuls en subordonnés en ancien et en moyen français*, in «Revue Québécoise de Linguistique Théorique et Appliquée», VII 1998, pp. 63-84, p. 71 on the link between pro (null subject) and factors such as text type, diatopic and diachronic variation. On the diatopic distribution of emphatic negation, see SCHÖSLER-VÖLKER, art. cit.

and refined. Moreover, syntax has a close relation with the text's discursive articulation. A text language is a linguistic manifestation involving grammatical competence as much as intertextuality. If the questions we are asking are not about where a text comes from or where a manuscript has been produced, but rather about textual typology and "genre", then the syntactic features of texts (and their variation) become relevant. Thus an appraisal of syntactic change may be an essential component of the analysis of textual variation, and vice versa. Syntactic analysis of the same text passed down by different manuscripts can improve our knowledge about the grammatical system, while also allowing us to distinguish changes dependent on linguistic constraints (*langue*) from variation related to other factors: notably register and style. Because the relation between textual and syntactic variation, register and discursive organisation, is key to this article, I will refer to text language rather than *scripta* to include syntactic variation.

The term discursive tradition is linked with the notion of text language in that any written language is traditional by definition. Both text language and discursive tradition share an idea of language that considers that any text, as an expression of an individual or as an individual expression, implies linguistic (re)selection and (re)combination of existing (traditional) materials. This approach is appropriate in evaluating a compilation like the *HA*, a work in its own right, with structure and unity, but also a heterogeneous object based on different sources, languages, *formulae* and lexicon.

In her recent edition of the Persian section of the *HA*, Anne Rochebouet suggested that syntax distinguished P from the Acre manuscripts, which she used as control manuscripts for her edition.²⁵ Two traits attracted her attention: the place of the verb in complementiser clauses (the verb often appearing in the third position, not the second, as expected), and the expression of a resumptive personal subject pronoun in coreferential contexts. Crucially, Rochebouet observes that the manuscripts she consulted differ in the treatment of these two syntactic features. Whereas manuscript P has both features, the Acre manuscripts tend to present the verb in the second position and to retain fewer resumptive pronouns. Both issues are linked to two typological features of Old French: the fact that in medieval French the verb tends to occupy the second position in subordinate clauses (V2), and that the expression of the subject is not obligatory (pro-drop).

25. According to the «Alexander Redivivus» collection, an editorial enterprise aimed at editing the *HA* (see the references to Gaullier-Bougassas and Rochebouet above, n. 1), the following are the control manuscripts: D, B, L, P₃, Pa.

According to this characterisation of Old French, manuscript P preserves a linguistically “marked” version of the text («older», as Rochebouet suggests), whereas the manuscripts of the Acre group pass down a text where the language tends to converge with what we know about later 13th-c. Old French prose texts.²⁶

Currently, it is not possible to establish whether manuscript P reflects a peculiar or “archaic” form of the text, later “copyedited” to produce the version transmitted by contemporary manuscripts from Acre; or whether manuscript P reflects a deliberate stylistic refashioning (*archaisant*) of a text that already existed in the form we know from the Acre group. Whatever the case, manuscripts P, Rennes and, where relevant, the codices V and those of the shorter version (see examples taken from L5 below), present a text with a distinct profile in relation to the manuscripts of the Acre group.

Questions arise about the form and the genesis of the text, and about its audience. Sixty or more years after the presumed date of composition of the *HA* (i.e. beginning of the 13th century), there was still a public (albeit small) whose taste was open to a text with formal features that might have characteristics of the “original” of the *HA*, but features that were not to be successful in terms of the *Fortleben* of the text, of the history of French prose, or in the history of French language.

These features are not only syntactic. They are also inherent to the rhetoric and discursive articulation of the text. There are, for instance, ubiquitous signs of oral performance in the text, such as the numerous apostrophes to the audience. But we also have the use of syntactic structures famil-

26. See ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., pp. 32-33: «C'est par sa syntaxe que P se distingue d'emblée des autres quatre manuscrits, car il a souvent recours à l'ordre sujet-complément-verbe dans les subordinées introduites par un conjonctif [*que*, 'that']. La pratique est bien attestée en ancien français, mais ce qui retient l'attention est que cette position centrale du thème de la proposition est à la fois extrêmement fréquente dans P et presque systématiquement modifiée dans les manuscrits de contrôle [...]. Le copiste de P est également friand des procédés de dislocation du sujet, et de la reprise redondante de ce dernier une fois antéposé (§ 5, *Astiage face au berger*, P: *li rois quand il l'entendi si* [...]; Pa: *quant li rois l'entendi il* [...]; D, B, L: *Quant li rois entendi ce il* [...]). On retrouve ces reprises lorsque le sujet est séparé de son verbe par une incise. On ne rencontre jamais en revanche ni ces dislocations, ni les pronoms redondants qui les accompagnent, dans les manuscrits de contrôle. On peut faire l'hypothèse qu'ils ont été gommés, non par chaque copiste mais par un modèle commun aux quatre manuscrits, ou qu'ils sont à l'inverse le résultat de modifications propres à P. Cette organisation de la chaîne linguistique particulière à P peut s'interpréter comme un indice du caractère plus ancien de l'état de la langue du manuscrit par rapport à celui des autres témoins».

iar from epic or hagiographic texts in verse. I will pursue this line of research in further work. Here, and in anticipation of the analysis below in § 3, I will just mention the use in the *HA* of relative subject clauses detached from their antecedent (the so called *relatives non contactuelles*).²⁷ The use of this kind of relative clause is frequent in versified texts where the antecedent and the relative are distributed in two hemistiches or over two lines, as for example:²⁸

Por ce dit l'om en reprover:
Teus quide sa honte venger
Qui en doubles l'aote e creist
(*Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ll. 35953-55)

We find a version of this proverb in the *HA*, where a complementiser clause “quotes” an octosyllabic couplet, in which the second line is contained within the subject relative:

§ 698_05 (P f. 1981b)²⁹

mais | ie ai souent oi dire [et] si est verites | provee que tels cuide uengier sa | honte
qui m[o]lt durement lacroist [et] amonte

(mais je ai sovent oi dire, [et] si est verites provee, que tels cuide vengier sa honte qui m[o]lt durement l'acroist [et] amonte).

Passages in verse are interspersed in P. As the above example shows, the use of verse is not limited to parts of the text where the lines are marked as such: more or less metrically impeccable couplets are frequent and they are one of the formal features of the *HA*.³⁰ In this instance, the manuscript tradition shows a different analysis of the couplet:

27. «Dans une langue typiquement à verbe second, la subordonnée relative subséquente est séparée de son antécédent» (C. BURIDANT, *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*, Paris, CEDES, 2000, § 476, p. 581).

28. The proverb is well attested. See the following example from *Raoul de Cambrai* (quoted by BURIDANT, op. cit., § 476, p. 581): «Tex en ot joie, par le mien esciant, | Qui puis en ot le cuer triste e dolent».

29. L5 f. 1221a reads as P. In this article, the following conventions are adopted for semi-diplomatic transcription: reproduction of medieval punctuation; | indicates line breaks; abbreviations are expanded within square brackets. When a list of manuscripts is given, the manuscript transcribed is always the first one, while the following manuscripts in the list read as the first one (but for punctuation and line breaks).

30. In the *HA*, “detached” relatives play a combinatory role, similar to epic “formulae”. They represent the «lowest level unit of semantic composition» in the set of structures avail-

Mes ie ais souuent oy dire [145rb] [et] si est uerite prouee q[ue] tel cuide sa honte | uengier q[ui] m[o]lt durement la croist [et] amo[n]te· (D f. 145ra-145rb, B f. 188va, L f. 173va, Pa f. 181ra, Rennes f. 202vb).

In the manuscripts of the Acre group (including Pa) and in Rennes, the inversion *sa honte uengier* (versus *uengier sa honte P*) generates a different couplet: «[et] si est verité prouee | que tel cuide sa honte vengier». The difference between P and the rest of the tradition is structural as much as it is rhetorical. P (and L5) adapts the *reprover* (proverb) of the *Chroniques* to a new mold. The rhymes are changed and the couplet is framed within the closed syntactic unit formed by the complement clause and the detached relative.

It is possible that the frequent interruption of continuity of two coordinated elements we often find in P holds a relationship with the hyperbatons so typical of versified narrative texts of the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries. In the following example the syntactic link between the two main verbs (the doubling *departirent/desseurerent*) is broken by the insertion of the direct object (*lor terres [et] lor habitacions*):

§ 241_01 (f. 55va)

[et] lors departirent lor terres | [et] lor habitacions [et] desseurerent |

It is interesting to compare this short passage with the rest of the tradition:

Lors | departirent [et] deceurerent lor terres [et] lor | abitacions· (D f. 41ra, P f. 62rb, Pa ff. 47vb-48ra)³¹

lors departirent lor terres [et] lor | habitacions· (L5 f. 38rb)

Lors departirent lor possessions· (P3 f. 50rb)³²

Et lors departirent leurs terres | et leurs habitacions separerent (Rennes f. 57rb)

None of the manuscripts reads as P. The Acre group (including Pa) reconstitute

able to culminate utterances. Cf. S. KAY, *The Epic Formula: a Revised Definition*, in «Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur», xciii 1983, pp. 170-89, at p. 185.

31. 'And then they [= the two brothers Esau and Jacob] partitioned and chose their land and their houses'. The passage is not in L, where a folio is missing between f. 46 and f. 47 (which roughly corresponds to § 239 and § 240 of *TVOF*'s transcription of the text: available soon in <http://www.tvof.ac.uk>).

32. P3 usually reads like the manuscripts of the Acre group. Apart from the textual variant, P3 f. 50ra is the only manuscript to have a miniature representing the negotiation between Jacob and Esau instead of the dying Isaac surrounded by his sons and family, as in P f. 55rb, D f. 40vb, B f. 61vb, Pa f. 47vb, and Rennes f. 57rb. L5 f. 38ra has a misplaced quadripartite miniature with scenes from the life of Joseph which actually begins later, at f. 39ra.

the continuity between the verbs. P₃ and L₅ conflate the doubling in one verb. In Rennes, one of the conjunctions [*et*] disappears, and the verbs *departirent* and *separerent* (paraphrasing the “old” *dessevrer*) are disposed symmetrically at the beginning and at the end of the clause. This produces a chiasm establishing coordination between two consecutive but distinct states of affairs: 1. *departirent leurs terres*, 2. *leurs habitations separerent*. The strong semantic and syntactic bond between the two verbs in P (and the Acre group) is thus broken.

I will come back to this difference in word order below in § 3, wishing just to note here that the kind of hyperbaton we have in P is ubiquitous in late 12th and early 13th-c. versified literature.³³ The verses are not an original innovation of P, as some irregularities in their transcription clearly indicate. While manuscript P normally sets verses out according to modern convention (one verse per line), there are cases in which verses are transcribed as prose (e.g. f. 321va). This layout for verse is frequent in Romance lyric manuscripts, but unusual for non-lyric genres.³⁴ While this is evidence that P is a copy and raises questions about the progressive loss or prosification of the versified parts within the tradition of the HA, it is clear that in this as in other cases (see below § 3) P preserves a form of the text distinct from the form the text takes in the other manuscripts, including the contemporary codices of the Acre group (including Pa and P₃), Rennes, and L₅.

The rest of this paper is structured as follows: in § 2, I approach the relationship between thematic progression and organisation of the text. This section is concerned with the relationship between textual organisation and the way in which information is conveyed. The choice and use of personal pronouns and other proforms, like demonstratives, is in close relation with the signposting of narrative discretion: referential forms may start a

33. Consider for instance the following two passages from the *Roman de l'estoire dou Saint Graal*: «[...] par les diz / Fist des prophetes annoncer / Sa venue en terre, et huchier / Que diex son fil envoieroit / Ça jus aval [...]» (ROBERT DE BORON, *Roman de l'estoire dou Saint Graal*, éd. par W.A. NITZE, Paris, Champion, 1927, vv. 4-8); «Et la maison si reampli / de la précieuse fleureur / De l'oignement et de l'odeur / Que chascuns d'eus se merveilla» (*ibid.*, vv. 251-53).

34. See P. BOURGAIN, *Qu'est-ce qu'un vers au Moyen Âge?*, in «Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes», CLXVII 1989, pp. 231-82, now in *Id.*, *Entre vers et prose: l'expressivité dans l'écriture latine médiévale*, éd. par C. GIRAUD et D. POIREL, Paris, École des Chartes, 2015, pp. 53-97, and L. LEONARDI, *Le origini della poesia verticale*, in *Translatar i transferir. La transmissió dels textos i el saber (1200-1500)*. Actes del primer col·loqui internacional del Grup Narpan «Cultura i literatura a la baixa edat mitjana», Barcelona, 22-23 de novembre de 2007, ed. A. ALBERNI, L. BADIA i LL. CABRÉ, Santa Coloma de Queralt, Obrador Edèndum, 2009, pp. 267-315.

new section, designate topic continuity or discontinuity, designate a new paragraph.³⁵

In § 3, I will analyse features involved in discursive and clausal linkage strategies, particularly those including syntactic discontinuity. The following will be given attention: the position of constituents in passives, the position of the verb in subordinate clauses and the (non)expression of the personal subject pronouns. I will compare P with other manuscripts of the first redaction of the *HA*. As mentioned above, the aim is to explore how (micro)variation is sensitive to some syntactic features present in the textual tradition of the first redaction of the *HA*.

2. SEGMENTATION OF THE NARRATIVE AND THEMATIC PROGRESSION

In manuscript P and in most of the *HA*'s manuscript tradition, rubrics, together with initials, articulate the text's main divisions.³⁶ Intermingled visual and aural signals create an audio-visual medium. The editorial plan of the oldest manuscripts of the *HA* included text and a whole host of visual cues: ranging from the shape and type of the script to the miniatures.

For the sake of clarity, I will call paragraphs the textual strings between two rubrics.³⁷ Manuscript P and other codices show that scribes were aware they needed to impose an order on the sequence of stories they were compiling (as is usual with a work of such dimensions).³⁸

35. See A. DUFTER, *Subordination et expression du sujet en ancien français*, in *Actes du xxv^e Congrès international de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, Innsbruck, 3-8 septembre 2007, 7 vols., éd. par M. ILIESCU, H.M. SILLER-RUNGGALDIER et P. DANLER, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2010, vol. II pp. 443-58.

36. The textual tradition of the *HA* does not divide it into books. However, a few manuscripts present traces of a correspondence between the codicological structure and the organisation of the contents in thematic units (e.g. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS f. fr. 17177). Some manuscripts distinguish between *matières*: e.g. Pa, where along with rubrics, initials and other decorative/functional devices, the workshop provided it with running titles (written by the same hand responsible for the body of the text) that map the work: e.g. «adan» (f. 3v), «de caym» (f. 4r), «eneas» (f. 135r) and so on.

37. At present, the label "paragraph" is applied to a codicological unit, and is not given a "narratological" interpretation along the lines of the "thematic paragraph" as defined in S. FLEISCHMAN, *Tense and Narrativity: from Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction*, Austin, Univ. of Texas Press, 1990.

38. On the episodic nature of long medieval narratives («a consequence of being performed in multiple internally cohesive segments, much like television serials»), see FLEISCHMAN, *Tense and Narrativity*, cit. A fine analysis of the relation between story telling and the use of tenses in Old and Middle French, with considerations that help define "fiction" and historiography was already offered by D. SUTHERLAND, *On the Use of Tenses in Old and Middle French*,

In manuscript P, a paragraph may start:

- 1) with a vocative (the narrator addressing the audience) the function of which is either to begin a new narrative unit or a digression (moralisation);
- 2) a “scene-setter”, typically an adverbial clause, expressing the spatial and temporal coordinates of the action (event or state of affairs);³⁹
- 3) a determiner phrase (including proper names and proforms) recollecting of information already known to the audience.

These ways of beginning a paragraph concern how information (old and new) is packaged and delivered:

(1a)

§ 614_01-03 (P f. 161rb-161va)⁴⁰

Li rois la|tins receut les presens [et] ili|oneus se teut sans plus di|re· [et] li rois pansa ne mie por les pre|sens queneas li auoit enuoies⁴ | mais por le mariage de sa fille· E | savez vos por quoi il en pensoit | adonques⁵ porce quil lauoit otro|iee a doner premerainement par | lenortement de sa feme qui estoit | roine [et] amata nomée a un mout | uailant chivalier fort [et] hardi· | turnus estoit apeles fiz le roi dau|nus de la cite dardea qui asses estoit | prouchaine de Laurente· a celui [161va] ot li rois en conuent si com je uos | di quil li donroit laiuiene· mais a|pres ot il respons de ses deus quil | neli donast mie ains la donroit | a un estrange home qui uenroit | a nauie en son roiaume· Segnor | [et] dames por ce pensa li rois latins | quar gries choze estoit

in *Studies in French Language and Mediaeval Literature presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1939, pp. 329-37.

39. In generative accounts of Old French sentences, scene-setters are placed in an external position at the left-periphery, before hanging topics.

40. The passages in (1a)-(1d) are in the following manuscripts: D f. 117va, B f. 155vb, L 139va-139vb, P3 ff. 146va-147ra, Pa f. 145rb, Rennes ff. 163vb-164ra, with no relevant variants, apart from the fact that *Amata* is consistently spelled *Amara*. The punctuation of these manuscripts is more analytic, showing awareness of the syntactic breaks. See, for instance D f. 117va: «Leroi latin ressut les presenz· [et] ilio|neus se tut sans plus dire· Le roi | pensa· ne mie por les presens q[ue] eneas li | auoit enuoies: mes por le mariage de | de sa fille· [et] saues uoz por quoi il en pen|soit adonq[ue]s:». As it is very often the case, L5 f. 99rb shows a more concise account: «Li rois latins recut les pre|senz [et] y|lioneus setot sanz plus di|re [et] li rois pansa· non mie por les prese[n]z | que eneas li auoit enuoiez mes por le | mariage de sa fille· [et] sauez uos por q[uo]i | porce quil lauoit otroie a donner par | lenhortement la reine sa fille qui ama|ta ert nomée a ·i· m[o]lt uailant ch[eualie]r qui | turnus iert nomez fil leroi daunus | de la cite dardea qui estoit pres de laure[n]ce· a celui ot conuent li rois quil li do[n]roit lauine mes il ot respons de ses diex | quil ne li donnast mie· einz la do[n]roit | a ·i· home estrange· qui uenroit a nauie | en son roiaume· por ce pansoit li rois ou | il donroit sa fille ou a ·i· haut home de | sa contree ou a ·i· home estrange·». For an exhaustive survey and theoretical reflection on medieval punctuation, see A. LAVERENTIEV, *Tendances de la ponctuation dans les manuscrits et incunables français en prose, du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, 2 vols., Thèse de Doctorat, Lyon, École Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines.

(Li rois Latins receut les presens et Ilioneus se teut sans plus dire. Et li rois pensa ne mie por les presens qu'Eneas li avoit envoiés, mais por le mariage de sa fille. E savés vos por quoi il en pensoit adonques? Por ce qu'il l'avoit otroiee a doner premerainement par l'enortement de sa feme, qui estoit roine et Amata nomee, a un mout vaillant chivalier fort et hardi, Turnus estoit apelés, fiz le roi Daunus de la cité d'Ardea qui assés estoit prouchaine de Laurente. A celui [161va] ot li rois en convent, si com je vos di, qu'il li donroit Laivine. Mais après ot il respons de ses deus qu'il ne li donast mie, ains la donroit a un estrange home qui venroit a navie en son roiaume. Signor et dames, por ce pensa li rois Latins quar griés choze estoit [...]).

Within the paragraph subunits are marked in the manuscript by linguistic and non-linguistic devices (i.e. decorated flourish blue initials, uppercase red letters). Other signs of punctuation, like the punctus interrogativus or the inverted semi-colon, may intervene to signal the modality of the string (i.e. interrogatives or exclamatives).

In (1a), not all features of P's layout are reproduced: namely a blue initial signpost marking the beginning of a new paragraph. A determiner phrase (*Li rois Latins*) picks up the narration from where it was left at the end of the previous paragraph. We are at the heart of the Aeneas section. King Latin must take a decision about the future of his daughter Lavinia. A decision that will lead to a war and the killing of Turnus by Aeneas. The theme of the passage, the king's preoccupation with the decision he has to make about his daughter, does not change over the passage. Crucial new information about Amata's intentions as regards their daughter Lavinia, and about Turnus, the anti-Aeneas, is introduced in two steps.⁴¹ First, a direct interrogative addressed to the audience is the tool for the narrator to digress from the narrative line to supply more essential information. Secondly, the action that is the origin of the conflict between wife and husband over Lavinia's future and then between Turnus and Aeneas, is given by means of a tail-head circular distribution of the elements of the passage (1b in italics):

(1b)

Por ce qu'il l'avoit otroiee a doner premerainement par l'enortement de sa feme, qui estoit roine et Amata nomee, *a un mout vaillant chivalier fort et hardi, Turnus estoit apelés [...]* A celui [161va] ot li rois en convent, si com je vos di, qu'il li donroit Laivine.

41. As for the distinction between "topic" and "theme" in recent literature on information packaging, see K. LAMBRECHT, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994; and S. CRUSCHINA, *Information and discourse structure*, in *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, ed. by A. LEDGEWAY and M. MAIDEN, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2016, pp. 596-608.

A further narratorial address to his audience completes the explicative digression on the cause of the king's torment and of the war to come between Rutilians and Trojans:

(1c)

§ 614_03-05 (P f. 161va)⁴²

Segnor | [et] dames por ce pensa li rois latins | quar gries choze estoit a sage ho|me de desfaire ce quil auoit otroie dendroit le mariage en uers un | haut prince de la contree por un es|trange home. E plus gries choze | estoit encore destre contre la uolen|te a ses deus qui celui mariage desuoloient. Quant li rois latins | ot porce pense un petit il haussa | le visage. [et] si respondi haitieme[n]t | au message qui dite auoit la parole. [et] si dist troiens frere.

(Segnor et dames, por ce pensa li rois Latins quar griés choze estoit a sage home de desfaire ce qu'il avoit otroié, dendroit le mariage en vers un haut prince de la contree por un estrange home. E plus griés choze estoit encore d'estre contre la volenté a ses deus qui celui mariage desuoloient. Quant li rois Latins ot por ce pensé un petit, il haussa le visage, [et] si respondi haitieme[n]t au message qui dite avoit la parole, [et] si dist: «Troiens frere [...]»).

Vocatives and other emphatic expressions illustrated in (1b) and (1c) suggest that the narrative follows an unbroken thread, but not in a linear fashion: rather it is as if for the thread to be maintained, it had to be rewound at regular intervals. To move forwards the narrator constantly looks and makes us look back.⁴³

Examples (1a) and (1c) show the informative digression taking the form of Latin's inner thought. The king receives the presents from Ilioneus and remains in pensive silence. All the way through the paragraph, the verb *penser* operates as the thematic backbone. Indeed, the passage can be read focusing on inflected forms of *penser* as textual flags: so *penser* appears in coordination in § 614_01 [et] li rois pansa; within the interrogative that follows in § 614_02 «E savez vos por quoi il en pensoit adonques?» (the modality of the textual string is marked by the red initial and the *punctus interrogativus*); and finally, within a temporal clause, which resumes the narration and leaves the ground clear for action again, in the form of direct speech (1d):

42. Cf. L5 f. 99rb: «Einz la do[n]roit | a ·i· home estrange qui uenroit anaue | en son roiaume por ce pansoit li rois ou | il donroit sa fille ou a ·i· haut home de | sa contree ou a ·i· home estrange. Q[ua]nt | li rois latins ot pansé il respondi aume|saige. Biau frere».

43. Consider ubiquitous formulas such as «si com je vos ai dit ariere» or «si com je vos dirai avant», which strengthen narrative cohesion but without breaking the flow.

(1d)

§ 614_05 (P f. 161va)

Quant li rois Latins | ot porce pense un petit il haussa | le uisage· [et] si respondi
haitieme[n]t | au message qui dite auoit la paro|le· [et] si dist troiens frere· les dons
[...]

(Quant li rois Latins *ot por ce pensé un petit*, il haussa le visage et si respondi haitie-
ment au message qui dite avoit la parole et si dist: «Troiens frere [...]»).

In examples (1a)-(1d), while chronology structures the narrative line, it is the restitution of a cause-effect chain that allows the full comprehension of the state of affairs. Narratives like the *HA* tend to reduce the autonomy of the background in relation to the foreground.⁴⁴ Grounding relevance is fully at stake only when dealing with reported speech. The marking up of interruptions, resumptions or new beginnings generates a recursive schema whereby textual boundaries determine the way the story is told and is intended to be perceived, understood and retained.⁴⁵

3. DISCONTINUOUS STRUCTURES

Given this constraint on thematic linear progression, what is the redactor's room for manoeuvre to supply, deviate from, or elide information?⁴⁶ In what follows, I will attempt an answer to this question relying on the notion of discontinuity. The terms "discontinuity" and "discontinuous structures" are used here to indicate the lack of textual continuity between de-

44. A trait that the *HA* shares with other 13th-century prose narratives: see B. COMBETTES, *L'émergence du texte argumentatif en français: type de texte et diachronie*, in *Genre et Textes: déterminations, évolutions, confrontations. Études offertes à Jean-Michel Adam*, éd. par M. MONTE, Lyon, Presse Univ. de Lyon, 2015, pp. 225-37, at p. 232.

45. On discursive signals in French, see M. HANSEN-B. MOSEGAARD, *The Functions of Discourse Particles: A Study with Special Reference to Spoken French*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1998; in Italian: C. BAZZENELLA, *I segnali discorsivi*, in *Grammatica dell'italiano antico*, a cura di L. RENZI e G. SALVI, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2010, pp. 1339-58 (with bibliography). See also FLEISCHMAN, *Tense and Narrativity*, cit., § 1.6.4: the use of a scene-setting adverbial clause to open a paragraph (or one of its subunits) is often referential «only to the linear disposition of the discourse: the adverb "now" often means "at this point of the narration", while "next" and "then" function as textual sequencers».

46. In further work currently in preparation, I will analyse instances of reported speech and absolute structures in the framework of a broader reflection on ellipsis: i.e. omission of lexical material in syntactic contexts which may well require it. Ellipsis is often associated with the omission of conjunctions in parataxis and coordination (juxtaposition), but is also one of the main features of transition or "slipping" from indirect to direct speech.

pendent elements of syntactic groups. While I make no strong theoretical assumptions about what is or is not marked in structural terms, I use terms like “fronting” or “dislocation”, to highlight a peculiarity of the syntax of manuscript P in relation to the other manuscripts and texts or to what we know about the history of the syntax of French.⁴⁷

3.1. *Passives*

Manuscript P shows a strong tendency to stuff the left of syntactic strings with information. This is done through the embedding of complements or clauses within the textual chain. Moreover, discontinuity reverberates throughout the tradition in different ways. In long strings like the passive structure in (2), up to two locutions can intervene within a relative clause, where, in turn, the logical subject (*des aigues*) is placed immediately after the grammatical subject (expressed by the relative subject pronoun *qui*), so that the auxiliary verb comes in third position and the lexical verb at the end of the clause:

(2)

§ 593_01 (P f. 150va)

Entrues quil sechoient lor | chozes qui des aigues si | com ie uos ai dit estoient |

47. In the literature, discontinuity and discontinuous distribution describe linguistic structures where configuration is not a prominent category in marking semantico-syntactic relationships between different lexical items: subject/object, predicate and so forth. See A. LEDGEWAY, *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic Typology and Change*, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2012. ID., *Late Latin Verb Second: The Sentential Word Order in the 'Itinerarium Egeriae'* (in press), comes back to this issue analysing sentential word order in a late Latin work, the *Itinerarium Egeriae*. From this point of view, discontinuity is not a typological feature of Old French. Although the problem is still open, Old French is considered a Verb Second (V2) language: this means that if there are two noun phrases and a verb, an Old French sentence has the verb in the second position: SVO or OVS. See CH. MARCHELLO-NIZIA, *L'Évolution du français: ordre des mots, démonstratifs, accent tonique*, Paris, Collin, 1995; B. VANCE, *Syntactic Change in Medieval French Verb-Second and Null Subjects*, Dordrecht, Kluwer, 1997; E.C. MATHIEU, *The Left-Periphery in Old French*, in *Research on Old French: The State of the Art*, ed. by D. ARTEAGA, Dordrecht, Springer, 2013, pp. 327-50; M. ZIMMERMANN, *Expletive and Referential Subject Pronouns in Medieval French*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2014. A final remark: the examples that follow derive from my research on subordination in Old French using the *HA* as a starting point and a case study. In line with recent scholarship, I define subordination as the asymmetrical relation between the “base” of a state of affairs (scene, event, action), and its “profile”, the base being the part of any state of affairs (scene, event, action) that is given cognitive prominence. For this terminology see R.W. LANGACKER, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, vol. 2. *Descriptive Application*, Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1991, and subsequently elaborated in S. CRISTOFARO, *Subordination*, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2003.

petit sen falloit ia corrompues | eneas monta sor une roche [et] si | esguarda par lamer

(Entrues qu'il sechoient lor chozes qui des aigues, si com je vos ai dit, estoient petit s'en falloit ja corrompues, Eneas monta sor une roche et si esguarda par la mer [...]).

In passives, the relation between the logical subject (i.e. the “real” subject of the lexical verb: in this case *corrompre*) and the patient (the grammatical subject, i.e. the subject with which the inflected form of the auxiliary [*estoint*] agrees) is inverted. Appearing “high” in the textual string, the logical subject (*des aigues*) is given a salient position. The textual tradition by and large mirrors the syntax of manuscript P. A partial exception is in manuscript Pa (f. 134vb), which reads as follows:⁴⁸

(3a)

Entant come il | sechoient leur choses qui des ai|gues estoient moilliees si come ie uo[us] | ai dit· estoient poi sen failli ia cor|rompues· Eneas monta sur une roche [135ra]

Through *estoint moilliees*, manuscript Pa (or its exemplar) sets a relation of cause and effect between corrosive agent (*aigues*) and patient (*leur choses*). Punctuated, the passage in Pa may read:

(3b)

Entant come il sechoient leur choses, qui des aigues estoient moilliees, si come ie vo[us] ai dit (estoint poi s'en failli ja corrompues), Eneas monta sur une roche [...]

In (3b) the clause *estoint poi s'en failli ja corrompues* is interpreted as part of a parenthesis. In this case, Pa seems isolated. It is of course theoretically possible that P rewrote a stage of the text reflected by Pa. Whatever the case, what matters here is the existence of a link between textual variation and the disposition of the constituents in a passive clause with “raised” agent.

In (4a), the subject of the root clause, *Adans*, is separated from its auxiliary (*fu*) by the causal clause setting the premise (the original sin; the agent, God, is not mentioned):

48. The manuscripts D f. 109va, B f. 145vb, Rennes f. 152va, P3 f. 135va-135vb read as P (L f. 131vb omits *petit s'en falloit*). There is no passive construction in the shorter version of the passage in L5 f. 93va-93vb: «Tantost com les ences furent | getees il issirent des nes aterre [et] si ses]bandirent [et] essuierent· q[ua]r grant fo[93vb]rest auoit entor leport».

(4a)

§ 03_21 (P f. 5ra)

A|dans por un comandament quil | trespasa^t fu mis fors de paradis· [et] | enbatus en paine· [et] il [et] tuit cil qui | apres lui uendroient·

(Adans, por un comandament qu'il trespasa, fu mis fors de paradis, [et] enbatus en paine [et] il [et] tuit cil qui après lui vendroient).⁴⁹

Two passive clauses are coordinated by polysyndeton. The pair of subjects *et il et tuit...* depends grammatically on the third-person singular passive periphrasis (*fu ... enbatus*). However, the conditional in the adjunct subject relative has a regular third-person plural form, and is placed at the end of the string, being separated from *qui* by a prepositional phrase (*apres lui*).

In the case of both (2) and (4) the tradition tends to retain discontinuity, although not in the same way, as (3a) suggests. As the passage in (4b) shows, the textual tradition presents a slightly different combination of the elements:

(4b)

Adam po[r] | ung seul co[m]mandeme[nt] quil trespasa | fut mis hors de paradis et trebuche | en peine et labeur· et lui et to[us] ceulz | qui apres lui uendroie[n]t· (Rennes f. 3va)

Car por un comandement q[ue] adam | trespasa il fu mis fors de paradis [et] en|batus enpoine· [et] tuit cil qui uendroi|ent apres lui· (D f. 3ra, B f. 22ra, P3 f. 3rb-3va, Pa f. 3rb)

Car | adam por un comandement quil | trespasa fu mis fors de paradis | [et] embatus enpoine^t [et] il [et] tuit cil | qui apres lui uindrent· (L f. 4ra)

In P, the position of *Adam* as the subject of the main clause entails the expression of the personal subject pronoun within the relative object clause. The Acre manuscripts elaborate differently the cause/effect sequence. The conjunction *car* sets the premise clause of the causal explanation. Another order of the elements follows, with the overt presence of the third-person singular subject pronoun. In L the resumptive subject pronoun is not present.

A stemma may clarify the chronology of the variation displayed by examples (2)-(4). However, these examples show that there are syntactico-semantic factors in which variation is always present. This suggests that tex-

49. L5 f. 5ra reads as P.

tual variation can be sensitive to features like fronted constituents and segmentation of the textual string through adverbs or adverbial locutions.

3.2. *Word order in subordinate complement clauses*

As mentioned above, Anne Rochebouet noticed that fronting in declarative clauses and resumptive personal pronouns are traces of an «organisation de la chaîne linguistique particulière à P [qui] peut s'interpréter comme un indice du caractère plus ancien de l'état de la langue du manuscrit par rapport à celui des autres témoins». ⁵⁰ Although this is far from being a frequent case in P, examples (5) to (9) below clarify the conditions whereby some complementiser finite clauses have the verb in the third position. ⁵¹

Example (5) confirms Rochebout remarks:

(5)

§ 703_01-02 (P f. 200ra-200rb) ⁵²

[et] si dient li pluisor [et] conte[n]t | que il auint un ior que il estoie[n]t | essamble· si perdi li uns un cou|telet que li autre li emblerent | Cil uint au roi [et] si li dist que il | son coutelet li feist rendre· quar | tolu li auoit ne sai li quels· [et] [200rb] emble [ensamble L5 f. 123va] par felonie·

([et] si dient li pluisor [et] conte[n]t que il avint un jor que il estoie[n]t essamble, si perdi li uns un coutelet que li autre li emblerent. | Cil vint au roi [et] si li dist que il son coutelet li feist rendre, quar tolu li avoit, ne sai li quels, [et] emblé par felonie) ⁵³

Cil uint au rois si li | dist q[ui]l li feist rendre son cotel (D f. 146rb, B f. 189va, L f. 174va, Pa f. 182rb) ⁵⁴

(6)

§ 173_06 (P f. 40vb)

[et] si | iura esau a iacob quil celui uen|dage li tendroit fermement toz | les iors de sa uie

50. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., p. 33.

51. In a recent paper delivered for the seminar of the project *The Values of French*, Adam Ledgeway has studied cases of V1, V2 and V3 configurations in declarative and embedded complement clauses in the *Eneas* section of P. Although on a relatively limited sample (12,428 words = 10% ca. of the textual content of P), the results confirm that P presents a reduced number of cases of V3 order in complement clauses: 12,1% of V3 clauses, against the 85,6% of V2. The percentage of V3 is low but not insignificant. The study of P as a whole and its comparison with other manuscripts of the *HA* will give us a clearer idea of the frequency and contexts of V3.

52. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., § 4, p. 87.

53. Rennes f. 203ra and L5 f. 123va read as P.

54. In P3, transcription of the *HA* is interrupted before the end of section Rome 1.

[et] si jura Esau a Jacob qu'il celui vendage li tendroit fermement toz les jors de sa vie)

[et] si iura esau a iacob q[ui] ceste | uente li tendroit ferme tos les iors de sa uie· (D f. 30va, B f. 55ra, L f. 35va)

et si iura esau | a iacob que ceste uente lui te[n]droit ferme touz les iors de | sa uie (Rennes f. 41va, P3 f. 37ra)

Et si li iura quil li tenroit ferme | celle uente tous les iours de sa uie· (Pa f. 35ra)

[et] siiura esau aiacob | que cele uendue litenroit il fermeme[n]t | toz les iorz de-sauie· (L5 f. 29rb)

In (6), P and the Acre manuscripts have the same word order. The other manuscripts have the verb in the second position: Rennes and P3, Pa present the order SVO (the indirect object is always a clitic, *li/lui*). Notice that L5 has a OVS order, with V2 configuration.

(7)

§ 619_04 (P f. 163vb)

Ja Turnus | ne mezentius ne sen peussent | esleecier que ie de lor gens ne lor | feisse domage· mais or proi ie nos | deus quil de toi mesleecent si q[ue] | tu puisses repaier ioious [et] en | uie quar ie ameroie asses meaus | a morir que ie ta mort ueisse·

(Ja Turnus ne mezentius ne s'en peussent esleecier que je de lor gens ne lor feïsse domage. Mais or proi je nos deus qu'il de toi m'esleecent, si que tu puisses repaier joious [et] en vie quar je ameroie asses meaus a morir que je ta mort veïsse)⁵⁵

Ja turnus ne mezentius ne se | peussent esleessier q[ue] ie delor genz ne lor | feice domage· (D f. 119rb, B f. 158ra, L f. 141vb, P3 f. 149ra, Pa 147vb)

ia turnus ne meze[n]te[us] | ne sen peussent esioyr que de leurs | gens ne leur feysse dommaige (Rennes f. 166rb)

Again, (7) shows that P agrees with the Acre group (including P3 and Pa) as for the V3 order in a negative structure. Rennes "restitutes" the verb to the second position (being clitics, *ne leur* do not count).

In (8) and (9), none of the manuscripts retain P's order, except L5:

(8)

§ 705_06 (P f. 201ra)⁵⁶

Quant assemble fure[n]t | tuit li rois astriages qui obliee | auoit la grant felonie [et]

55. L5 f. 100va differs here: «Qvant uint aumouoir lareine plora | [et] lirois acola son fil· he: biaux filz se | ie fusse ausi iones come ie soloie apaines | ten laissaise aller sanz moi ne ia sibien ne | seseust gaitier turnus que ie ne li feisse | damaige grant».

56. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., § 6, p. 88. L5 f. 124ra reads as P.

la gra[n]t | desloiaute que il auoit faite: | charge a arpallum tote la cure | de la bataille
[et] quil sa gent me[n]ast [et] ordenast [et] si comanda que | tuit a lui obeissent·

(Quant assemblé fure[n]t tuit li rois, Astriages, qui obliee avoit la grant felonie [et]
la gra[n]t desloiaute que il auoit faite, charge a Arpallum tote la cure de la bataille
[et] qu'il sa gent menast [et] ordenast [et] si comanda que tuit a lui obeissent)

qua[n]t | esemble furent tous le roy astia|ges qui oubliee auoit la grant | felonie et la
grant desloiaute q[ue] | il auoit faite· Car ia a arpal[us] | de toute la bataille et qui
menast | et ordonnast sa gent et si co[m]ma[n]da | que tous alui obeysent· (Rennes
f. 204ra)

Quant | assemble furent toz les rois: astiages q[ui] | obliee auoit la g[ra]nt desloiaute
[et] la feloni|e: charia a arpallus tote la cure de la ba|taille· [et] q[ui] | menast sa gent
[et] ordenast· [et] si | comanda q[ue] toz obeiscent a lui· (D f. 146vb, B f. 190rb)

Q[ua]nt tos | furent assemblees [Quant assemble furent tuit Pa f. 183ra]: le roi astia-
ges | q[ui] auoit obliee la g[ra]nt desloiaute [et] | la felonie q[ui] | ot faite arpalus li |
charia [quil auoit faite a arparllum li char|ia Pa f. 183ra] tote la cure de la bataille· [et]
| q[ui] | ordenast [et] menast sa gent· [et] si co|manda q[ue] tos obeyscent alui· [qui
obeysent tuit a lui· Pa f. 183ra] (L f. 175rb, Pa f. 183ra)

(9)

§ 705_08 (P f. 201ra)⁵⁷

Lors lor dist q[ue] | il sparticum deuoient aidier [et] re|tenir a segnor [et] si le no-
massent cy|rum tres ore [des ore L5 f. 124rb] en auant

(Lors lor dist q[ue] il Sparticum devoient aidier [et] retenir a segnor, [et] si le nomas-
sent Cyrum tres ore en avant)

Lors lor dist | qui deuoient aidier sparticus [et] tenir a | segnor· (D f. 146vb, B f. 190rb,
L f. 175rb)

Lors leur dist | quil deuoit aydier a sparticus | et le tenir a seigneur· (Rennes f. 204rb)

Lors | leur dist quil deuoient aidier et tenir [183rb] a seignor sparticum· (Pa f. 183ra-
183rb)

In (9), a different word order entails some significant formal differences: hyperbathion in the Acre group; coordination of two distinct clauses in Rennes (*aydier a sparticus + le tenir a seigneur*);⁵⁸ in Pa, *sparticum* as direct object (declined as a Latin accusative) is placed at the end of the clause, after *a sei-
gnor*.

57. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., § 6, p. 88. L5 f. 124rb reads as P.

58. Notice the prepositional accusative with *aidier*.

In all these examples, the word order with raised subject and direct object (SOV) occurs with commissive (expressing a promise) or directive (expressing an order) verbs, or, in (7), locutions taking the imperfective subjunctive (hence with the same semantic value and illocutionary force as commissive and directive verbs): *ne s'en peussent esleecier que ie [...] ne lor feisse [...]*. In the same example, this is confirmed by the complementiser phrase introduced by *proi ie* (followed by *qu'il de toi m'esleecent*). Finally, the chiasitic structure of the comparative *ie [...] meaus [...] que ie [...]* appears with the repetition of the first-person singular pronoun and the consequent verb final.

Anne Rochebouet observed that her control manuscripts did not have the same configuration as P. The above examples confirm her observation, while complementing it with further information. In (6), manuscript Rennes shows the raising of the direct object but does not make use of the presumptive personal subject pronoun (*[...] que ceste uente lui te[n]droit ferme touz les iors de sa vie*). Similarly, in (7) Rennes does not repeat the personal subject pronoun (*que de leurs | gens ne leur feysse dommaige*). In (8), Rennes and one of the Acre manuscripts, L, have the SVO order for the following: *et qui menast et ordonnast sa gent*. Manuscript D shows a different combination of the elements, with the direct object placed between the two coordinated verbs: *[et] q[ui]l menast sa gent [et] ordenast*.⁵⁹ The word order with verb in the third position within a complement clause tends to isolate manuscript P (and often L5) from the rest of the tradition, which behaves differently according to a series of small-scale but relevant choices, as we also saw in (9).

Verb final order does not feature only in complement clauses. In the following example, the verb in third position is found in an adverbial clause:

(10)

§ 797_08 (P f. 234ra)⁶⁰

Et | quant il ceaus ot uencus il en ala | as dranceiens·

(Et quant il ceaus ot uencus, il en ala as dranceiens [...])

et quant il ot yceulz vaincus il | sen ala aux daceiens (Rennes f. 236va)

[et] quant il ot uencu ciaus il sen ala | as draceryens (D f. 172ra, B f. 218ra, L f. 203va, Pa f. 213rb).

Again, the tradition confirms Rochebouet's schema opposing P to the rest

59. In this case, it is manuscript D that has the marked order.

60. L5 f. 150ra reads as P.

of the Acre manuscripts. Other examples of the same pattern can be found elsewhere, as for example in the relative object clause in (11):⁶¹

(11)

§ 216_07 (P f. 50^{rb})

[et] bien saches queles neme siue[n]t | mie por amor queles uers moi a|ient com eles funt par lor enfa[n]s | qui avec moi enuienent

([et] bien sachés qu'eles ne me sive[n]t mie por amor qu'eles vers moi aient, com eles funt par lor enfa[n]s qui avec moi en viennent)

et bien sachies q[ue] elles ne me | suiuent mie pour lamour quilz | layent envers moy tant co[m]me | elles font pour leurs enfans q[ui] | avecques moy sen vienent[n]t (Rennes f. 51^{rb})

[et] bien saches [Et saches L f. 43^{ra}] q[ue] elles ne me | siuent mie tant por amor q[ue]lles aient | uers moi [a moi Pa f. 43^{ra}]: come por les enfans q[ui] avec | moi uienent (D f. 37^{ra}, B f. 57^{va}, L f. 43^{ra}, P3 f. 45^{rb}, Pa f. 43^{ra})

[et] bien saiches queles ne me sieuent | mie por amor que eles aient enu[er]s moi | tant com por lor enfanz qui auoc moi | enuiennent (L5 f. 35^{ra})

In this case, none of the manuscripts (not even Rennes or L5) read like P, with the exception of V:

ebien sakes q[ue]le neme siue[n]t par amors q[ue]le u[er] moy [30^{vb}] aient come ele font par lor enfans qauec moy e[n]uienent | (V f. 30^{va}-30^{vb})⁶²

In (12), the conclusive relative clause with the verb-final word order in P (and V)⁶³ is differently “paraphrased” throughout the tradition:

(12)

§ 231_05 (P ff. 52^{rb}-53^{va})

E quant ce fu fait il sespar|sent par la uile si detrenchere[n]t [53^{va}] toz les homes quil trouerent sa[n]s | les femes [et] sans les petiz anfans | quil en prisons en menerent

(E quant ce fu fait, il s'esparsent par la vile, si detrenchere[n]t [53^{va}] toz les homes qu'il troverent sa[n]s les femes [et] sans les petiz anfans qu'il en prisons en menerent)

61. Notice that all the manuscripts present the subject relative clause that ends the passage with the verb in third position.

62. Since it is a composite, factitious codex, V requires an independent study. However, this and other examples in this paper confirm that when P and V share the same version of the *HA*, they also seem to share similar sources. See example (14) below.

63. V f. 32^{ra}: «[et] q[ua]nt toz ce fufait il se espa[n]dire[n]t por la uile si detre|kiere[n]t tozles homes q[ui] [si] trouerent sans les femes [et] sans les | petis e[n]fans q[ue] en p[ri]xon menerent».

[et] q[ua]nt ce fu | fet il sespandirent par la uille· [et] si detren|cherent tos les homes
q[ui] trouerent· sans | les femes: [et] les petis enfans q[ui] prissons | en menerent
(D f. 39^{va}, B f. 60^{rb})

Et q[ua]nt ce fu fait il sespandirent par | la uille·[aual la uille Pa f. 46^{ra}] [et] si de-
trencherent tos les | homes q[ui] trouerent sans les femes· | [et] les petis enfanz
q[ui] enmenerent [menerent P3 f. 48^{ra}] | prisons [quil pristrent [et] en mene|rent
Pa f. 46^{ra}] (L f. 45^{vb}, P3 f. 48^{ra}, Pa f. 46^{ra})

[et] q[ua]nt cefu fet | il sespandirent parmi la uille· [et] detranche|rent toz leshomes
quil trouerent sanz | les fames [et] sanz les petiz anfanz quil e[n]menerent pris-
(L5 f. 37^{rb})

et quant ce | fu fait ilz sespandirent par la ville | si detraincherent tous les hommes
| et occirent sans les femmes et en[55^{rb}]fans quilz enmeneren[t] en prison | (Rennes
f. 55^{ra}-55^{rb})

Finally, the same pattern can be observed in the following negative clause:

(13)

§ 229_02 (P f. 53^{ra})

li pluisor | se teurent qui de tel choze preu | conseiller nesi sauoient

(li pluisor se teurent qui de tel choze preu conseiller ne si sauoient [...])

li pl[us]sor | seteure[n]t q[ue]detel cose par co[n]seiler ne sauoie[n]t· (W f. 32^{ra})

pluseurs deulz se teu|rent qui de telle chose pas co[n]seillier ne sauoient (Rennes
f. 54^{vb})

li plusor seturent qui | deceste chose consillier nesorent· (L5 f. 36^{va})

Li pluissors se turent q[ui] de ceste chose ne | sauoient mie [pas P3 f. 48^{ra}] asses
conseillier· (D f. 39^{rb}, B ff. 59^{vb}-60^{ra}, L f. 45^{va}, P3 f. 48^{ra}, Pa f. 45^{vb})

Although it is not a case of verb final in subordination, (14) is an example of how strong continuity in a noun phrase can be interrupted by the insertion of the verb (*ou Rachal sa fille estoit L5 / ou sa fille Rachel estoit Rennes / ou Rachel estoit sa fille P*), whereas this is not the case in the other manuscripts, including L5 (but not V):⁶⁴

(14)

§ 216_13 (P f. 50^{rb})

Lors reuint la | ou rachel estoit sa fille qui les | deus en auoit aportes·

64. Again V f. 30^{rb} reads like P: «Lors e[n]uint laon rakel estoit sa fille q[ue]le diex | enaouie[n]t aportes».

(Lors revint la ou Rachel estoit sa fille qui les deus en avoit aportés)

Lors reuint la ou rachel | sa fille estoit qui les dieux en avoit | apportez (Rennes f. 52ra)

lors reuint la ou ra|chal sa fille estoit qui avoit les diex ap|portez (L5 f. 35ra)

Lors [Et lors Pa f. 43rb] re|uin [reuint B f. 57va, L f. 43rb, uint P3 f. 45rb] la ou estoit sa fille rachel q[ui] les dex | avoit [ot L f. 43rb, en avoit P3 f. 45rb] enportez (D f. 37ra, B f. 57va, L f. 43rb, P3 f. 45rb, Pa f. 43rb)

In (14) the verb separates the noun phrase and the modifier/head order of the elements of the nominal group is inverted: whereas in P *sa fille* is in apposition, in other manuscripts the proper name is the attribute (or modifier).

In light of examples (5) to (14), it is interesting to observe that Rennes sometimes presents the marked order of the elements, against the rest of the tradition, including P:

(15)

§ 1207_01 (P f. 362va)

La fu si fimbria | menes a desesperance quil sossist | a ses mains meismement dune | spee ens ou temple esculapii·

(La fu si Fimbria menés a desesperance qu'il s'ossist a ses mains meismement d'une espee ens ou temple Esculapii)⁶⁵

la fu si | symbria menez a desesperance quil soc|cist ases mains meismement dune espee | enz outemple esculapui (L5 f. 233ra)

La fu fimbria si menes | a desesperance q[ui] [quil B f. 322va, L f. 310va] meismement socist a | ces mains dune espee· el temple escapu|lij· [esculapij Pa f. 319vb] (D f. 265rb, B f. 322va, L f. 310va, Pa f. 319vb)

La fut fimbria | si mal mene a desesperance q(ue) | lui meismes a ses mains socist | dune espee (Rennes f. 361va)

Examples like (15), together with cases like (5) and (6), offer more evidence supporting the hypothesis of the existence of an exemplar mirroring a stage of the text from which P and Rennes independently derive and which they independently reproduce or modify.

65. As for the form *sossist*, with the grapheme ⟨ss⟩ instead of ⟨c⟩/⟨cc⟩, see L. MINERVINI, *Le français dans l'Orient latin (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles). Éléments pour la caractérisation d'une scripta du Levant*, in «Revue de Linguistique Romane», LXXIV 2010, pp. 119-98, at pp. 149-52.

3.3. (Non)expression of the subject and impersonal verbs

In this section, my purpose is to focus on the (non)expression of the subject in the textual tradition of the *HA*.⁶⁶ I will consider cases in which making sense of a passage depends on how we interpret the presence/absence of the subject (be it nominal or pronominal).

As noted, the second main syntactic feature of manuscript P highlighted by Rochebouet is the presence of a referential pronoun in contexts where its antecedent is easily identifiable. In the following examples, the personal pronoun resumes the expressed nominal subject from which it is separated by the presence of lexical material, like the adverbial clause in (16):

(16)

§ 700_11 (P f. 199va)

Quant en|si lot mariee la damoisele fu as|ses tost ensainte· [et] astiages q[ua]nt | il le sot il fist garder [et] sauoir | quel enfant ele auroit au ior q[u]e | ele seroit delivree·

(Quant ensi l'ot mariee, la damoisele fu asses tost ensainte, [et] Astiages, q[ua]nt il le sot, il fist garder [et] savoir quel enfant ele auroit au ior q[u]e ele seroit delivree)

Quant ensi lot ma|riece [ot mariee Pa f. 181vb]: la damoisselle fu asses tost enseinte· | [et] astiages q[ua]nt il le sot il fist garder [et] sa|uoir quel enfant elle auroit au ior q[ue]lle | seroit deliuree· (D f. 145vb, B f. 189ra, Pa f. 181vb, L5 f. 123ra, Rennes f. 202va)

Q[ua]nt ensi lot mariee· la damoi|selle fu asses tost ensainte· Q[ua]nt | astiages le sot: il fist sauoir q[ue]l enfant elle auroit au ior q[ue]lle se deli|ureroit· (L f. 174ra)

As expected, the word order and the use of the resumptive pronoun are preserved throughout the tradition. In Old French, the expression of the subject pronoun with topicalised and highly accessible subjects is frequent. Furthermore, the frequency of the expression of coreferential subject pronouns in embedded clauses is much higher than in root clauses. In light of this, the presence of the subject pronoun in subordinates like the one shown here is not surprising.⁶⁷

It is interesting, then, to observe the behaviour of other manuscripts in similar contexts. In the following example, we observe that the personal pronoun (in *il laisserent/laissierent*) is expressed in manuscript P (including Rennes, V, L5) but not in the rest of the tradition:

66. The most comprehensive study on the topic to date is in ZIMMERMANN, op. cit.

67. According to ZIMMERMANN, op. cit., this is one of the peculiar traits of Old French, and distinguishes it from Italian and Spanish, which are considered prototypical pro-drop languages.

(17)

§ 231_04 (P f. 53rb)

E quant uint ala ues|pree cil de la uile qui gius auoie[n]t | tote ior fais de diuerses manieres | deuant lor ydeles· [et] deuant lor y|magenes· il laisserent la feste si | mangerent asses [et] burent selo[n]c | lor usage· [et] puis se coucherent

(E quant vint a la vespree, cil de la vile qui gius auoie[n]t tote ior fais de diverses manieres devant lor ydeles [et] devant lor ymagenes, il laisserent la feste si mangerent asses [et] burent selo[n]c lor usage, [et] puis se coucherent [...])

[et] q[ua]nt uint ala ues|pree cil delauile qui ioe auoient deua[n]t | lor ydres [et] lor ymaiges tout leior· il lais[37ra]serent lor feste [et] mengerent [et] burent assez | leior selonc lor usaige [et] puis secouchere[n]t (L5 ff. 36vb-37ra)

Et quant vi[n]t | au vespre ceulz de la ville qui auoie[n]t | toute iour fait ieux de diuerses manieres deuant leurs ydoles et | deuant leurs ymages· ilz laissere[n]t | la feste si mangerent assez et bu|rent selon leur vsaige et puis se | coiucherent (Rennes f. 55ra, Vienna f. 32ra)

[et] q[ua]nt uint a la uespree cil | de la uille q[ui] iuec auoient tot le ior fet [auoient fait tout le ior B f. 60ra, L f. 45vb] | de diuerces manieres deuant lor yd[o]les | [et] leur ymages laisserent la feste· Asses | mangierent [et] burent selonc lor usage· | Puis se couchierent (D f. 39rb, B f. 60ra, L f. 45vb, P3 f. 48rb, Pa f. 46ra)

I will consider the non-expression of the expletive pronoun with the impersonal verb below, in example (21) and commentary.

In (18), the subject pronoun 1SG frames a prepositional phrase with a “strong” pronoun (*a toi*) and a weak series of oblique pronouns in chiasmus:

(18)

§ 637_12 (P f. 173rb)

Mais por lamor que ie auoie a toi le tauoie ie donee [et] otroiee |

(Mais por l’amor que je avoie a toi, le t’auoie je donee [et] otroiee)⁶⁸

mes por lamor | que ie auoie atoi la tauoie ie donnee [et] | otroiee (L5 f. 105ra)

Manuscript Rennes reads like P but avoids the repetition of the 1SG subject pronoun:

mais | pour lamour que iauoie a toy | la tauoie donnee et attrouiee (Rennes f. 176ra)

68. As for *le* in (19), a direct object, feminine, singular, see CH.-TH. GOSSEN, *Grammaire de l’ancien picard*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1976², § 63, pp. 121-22.

As for the rest of the manuscripts, the Acre group (including P₃ and Pa) expresses the *ie* subject and shows the modern order dative/accusative:

(19)

Mes por lamor q[ue] ie auoie a | toi ie te lauoie donee [et] otroiee (D f. 126^vb, B f. 164^ra, L f. 150^va, P₃ f. 158^vb, Pa f. 157^ra)

As far as the order of the group of oblique clitic pronouns is concerned, the Old French order accusative/dative is the norm in P.

In (20), the double clitic occurs in proclisis, at the start of the clause; this position is allowed by the fronting of the prepositional phrase (*por ce*):

(20)

§ 591_04 (P f. 149^va)

Por ce leuos di | ie ore [encore, in other manuscripts] que ie uoill que uos saches | que de iaphet [et] de troiens orfent | li francois totes ores comensance· |

(Por ce le vos di je ore que je voill que vos sachés que de Japhet et des troiens orent li francois totes ores comensance [...])⁶⁹

Notice the postverbal position of the subject pronoun in the matrix clause and, once again, the expression of the subject pronoun in an embedded context.

The interest of the passage presented in example (21) rests on the interpretation of the impersonal verb *anuiter* ('to get dark'):⁷⁰

(21)

§ 590_07-08 (P f. 149^rb)

mais norent | mie les trois parties dou jor corues | quant il lor leva sitres orible tem|peste et si grande conques a paines | oi nus hom parler de plus crueuse | quar il

69. L5 f. 93^ra reads differently: «Porce uos dige que deiaphet | [et] des troiens orent li francois coumence|ment».

70. In recent work on the relative chronology of change in expression of expletive and referential pronouns and in the argumental structure of French verbs, Marchello Nizia (CH. MARCHELLO NIZIA, *Le Français en diachronie: douze siècles d'évolution*, Paris, Ophrys, 1999, based on EAD., *L'Évolution du français*, cit., and L. SCHØSLER, *Permanence et variation de la valence verbale: réflexions sur la construction des verbes en ancien français, en moyen français et en français moderne*, in *Actes du XXII^e Congrès international de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, Bruxelles, 23-29 juillet 1998, éd. par A. ENGLEBERT et al., 2 vols., Niemeyer, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag-Forum Wissenschaft Hochschule, 2000, vol. II pp. 407-18), argues: «c'est la structure argumentale même qui a changé dans le passage du latin au français. L'AF est encore au stade latin de ce point de vue: l'expression du sujet (ou argument-1) n'est pas obligatoire, celle de l'objet direct ou indirect (ou argument-2) l'est» (MARCHELLO NIZIA, *Le Français en diachronie*, cit., p. 45).

sambloit que tuit li maistre | ·iiii· uent uentassent [et] si feïssent lor | pooirs et lor forces de la mer esmouoir | [et] de la hautece trosques en abisme· | [et] adonc anuita eneas et sa compag|nie· E quant la nuis fu uenue a|donc comensa a toner et a eclistrer | si fort et si pesme tans a faire auec | ce de plueuies conques [...]

(Mais n'orent mie les trois parties dou jor corues, quant il lor leva si tres orible tempeste et si grande c'onques a paines oï nus hom parler de plus crueuse quar il sambloit que tuit li maistre ·iiii· vent ventassent. Et si feïssent lor pooirs et lor forces de la mer esmouoir et de la hautece trosques en abisme, et adonc anuita Eneas et sa compaignie. E quant la nuis fu venue, adonc comensa a toner et a eclistrer si fort et si pesme tans a faire [...] c'onques [...]).

According to the dictionaries, the verb *anuitier* may be used in three ways. 1) As an impersonal verb, with or without the expression of its expletive subject. 2) It may appear in an intransitive (inaccusative) construction, associated with an external subject which is not an agent: e.g. *la nuis anuite* (see below 23, 24, 25). 3) It can be used in an inergative construction with an external subject coded as an agent ('someone spends the night somewhere').

The segmentation of the string in manuscript P (i.e. the punctus after *Eneas et sa c.* and the upper case red letter «E» for the conjunction that starts the following "segment") suggests at least three ways to make sense of the passage. First, *Eneas et sa compaignie* are the subjects of *anuita*. In this case, the verb *anuitier* would mean 'to spend the night'. This is how Godefroy interprets this passage from the *HA*.⁷¹ The *faute d'accord* between a third person singular conjugated verb (*anuita*) and a plural subject is not necessarily an issue: this is a frequent phenomenon in the *HA* and more broadly in medieval French texts. The Anglo-Norman Dictionary on line, s.v. has a case of *anuitier* ('to spend the night'): see, e.g., the 14th-c. *Holkman Bible*: *Jhesus entrat en Betanie & anuytoyt dedenz*: in this case, *Jhesus* is the subject.⁷² However, *anuitier* is used there in a dynamic and clearly defined spatial context (verb of movement *entra* + preposition *dedenz*). This is not the case in (21). Not only is there no spatial reference, but it has to be supplied by contextual inference.

71. Gdf s.v. refers to the passage in (22). A further example that does not seem entirely relevant is referred to in *FEW*, vii 214b (nox): *Floriant et Florete* (ca. 1275): *Floriant et Florete*, ed. by H.F. WILLIAMS, Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Publications, 1947, v. 7060: «Ne vous poez pas anuitier».

72. Quoted in *AND*, s.v. (<http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/anuitier>).

A second possibility would be to consider *Eneas et sa compagnie* as complements of *anuiter*. In which case, we should suppose a progressive meaning associated with *anuiter*: 'it got dark on Eneas and his companions'. The use of intransitive *anuiter* elsewhere with *la nuis* as subject and the dative pronoun, *li*, would support this interpretation:

(22)

§ 418_05-06 (P f. 94va)

tant que ce uint a | la quarte nuit quil torna son | chemin uers la mer a destre· [et]
| mout sesmerueilloit en lui me|isme quantot le ior deuant na|uoit ueu borc ne
chasteau ne uille· Cele nuis li anuita mout or|rible quar li airs torbla [et] obscu|ri de
grant maniere· [et] il entra | ioste lamer en une grant forest | pleniere· (= Rennes f.
95ra)

([...]) tant que ce vint a la quarte nuit qu'il [= Polynices] torna son chemin vers la mer
a destre, [et] mout sesmerueilloit en lui meisme qu'en tot le jor devant n'avoit veu
borc ne chasteau ne vile. Cele nuis li anuita mout orrible quar li airs torbla [et] ob-
scuri de grant maniere, [et] il entra joste la mer en une grant forest pleniere)

Q[ua]nt ui[n]t [tant que ce uint Pa f. 82ra] | a la quarte nuit il [quil Pa f. 82ra] torna
son chemin a destre | uers la marine· [et] m[o]lt semerueilloit en li | meismes q[ue]
entot le ior deuant nauoit ueu | borc ne chastel ne uille· Celle nuit li anui|ta m[o]lt
orible· car li air trobla [et] oscurzi de | g[ra]nt maniere· [et] il entra en une forest
ioste | la mer g[ra]nt [et] pleniere· (D f. 69vb, B f. 94rb, L f. 80va, P3 f. 84ra-84rb, Pa
f. 82ra)

Here *anuiter* is an intransitive verb with two overt arguments: a subject, *la nuis*, and a complement (*li*). The other manuscripts read as P: the structure therefore is not problematic. Dictionaries give various examples of *anuiter* used exactly as in (22). See the following two cases taken from TL, s.v. *anuitier* (r 407):

(23)

Ja mais ne cuit que il m'anuit | Nule (= *Nule nuis*), quant j'istrai de cesti (*Lai de l'Ombre*, v. 462)

(24)

Cis jors qui ne puet anuiter (*Roman de la Rose*, v. 20943)

In both cases the subjects (*la nuis* and *le jors*) are semantically redundant. Nonetheless they give a dynamic nuance to *anuiter*, which could fit also in (21). Example (24) from the *Roman de la Rose* does not have the complement. The fact that the datives in (22) and (23) are pronominal rather than

nominal may not be a problem since non-prepositional datives with noun phrases are attested in P (but not retained in manuscripts where the preposition is given) as shown in (25):

(25)

§ 1131_04 (P f. 340ra)⁷³

Et il fist tant quil par traison | prist le roi iugurta si le fist loier | [et] enchaenier si le liura silla

(Et il [= li roi Bocus] fist tant qu'il par traison prist le roi Jugurta, si le fist loier [et] enchaenier, si le liura Silla [...])

Notice that the argumental structure of the predicate in (25) is different from *anuitier*: *liurer* is a transitive verb requiring a subject and both a direct and indirect object. When *anuitier* means 'to get dark on someone' (as in examples 23, 24), we may infer that the superficial expression of the subject is also a requirement. In (21), the predicate *anuita* has no subject. For this interpretation to be fully satisfactory, there should be a correspondence between the non-expressed subject in (21) and *cele nuis* as subject in cases like (22). If this is true, then the structures *la nuis anuita* + [dat.], and [Ø] *anuita Eneas et sa compaignie* are analogous. We might then ask whether the determiner phrase within the adverbial temporal clause that follows, *quan la nuit fu venue* (21), an anaphora resuming the state of affairs introduced by *anuita*, renders the expression of the subject unnecessary:

(26)

[...] *anuita* [...] E quant la nuis fu venue

My hypothesis is that verbs like *anuitier* are inherently impersonal. First, it is very frequent to have an expletive null subject in structures where an impersonal verb is preceded by lexical material like an adverb: e.g. *Adonc anuita* [Ø] in (21). Secondly, periphrasis like *la nuis* or *le jour anuite*, with a redundant subject, are variations that do not actually modify the impersonal structure, since *la nuis/le jours* are not referential in a way that is similar to expletive subjects. There is one difference, however: the non-expression of the expletive subject is a possibility of the grammar of manuscript P, whereas the expression of the (quasi)nonreferential subject *la nuis anuite* (or *il anuite*) + dative is systematic. If this is the case, then *anuita* here is constructed as an impersonal verb *without* expletive subject. The consequence would be that the passage is not complete, the lacking bit being in the other manuscripts.

73. Cf. D f. 248vb: «si le liura a cylla».

This difference in structure (*anuit* with or without overt subject) probably explains why the manuscripts read the passage differently. Indeed, the variant readings suggest that we have here a textual problem that may be related to how this verb is read. Consider Rennes's rendering of this passage (which is replicated by the Acre mss, including P3 and Pa):

(27)

Mes norent mie [pas L f. 130ra, Pa f. 133va] les ·iij· p[ar]s | del ior corues q[ua]nt il lor leua [q[ui]l lor leua L f. 130ra] si tres orible | tempeste [et] si g[ra]nt conq[ue]s a pines oyst p[ar]ller nus hom de plus cruouse· [de plus grant ne deplus | cruouse· Pa f. 133va] Car il se[m]bloit q[ue] toz les ·iiij· mestres uenz uenta|cent· [et] si feicent lor pooir [et] lor force [leur force [et] leur po|oir L f. 130ra] de | la mer esmouoir de la hautece iusq[ue] en la|bisme· [et] donc anuita· Eneas [et] sa co[m]pai|gnie orent g[ra]nt paor· [et] q[ua]nt la nuit fu uenue· donc comensa a tonner [a to|noirre faire Pa f. 133va] [et] aesclister [a tonner | et a espartir et esclairer Rennes f. 150rb, atoner [et] aesp[ar]tir [et] si pesme tens a faire L f. 130ra] si fort [et] si pesme tens afere (D f. 108va, B f. 144va-144vb, L f. 130ra, Rennes f. 150ra-150rb, P3 f. 134vb, Pa f. 133va)⁷⁴

en abisme· Et donc anuita· Eneas et sa compaignie orent grant paour· et quant la nuit fut [150rb] venue donc commença a tonner [...] (Rennes, f. 150ra-150rb)

In light of this, two hypotheses are possible. Either P (or its exemplar) has a lacuna corresponding to the loss of *orent grant paour*, or the exemplar of Rennes and the other manuscripts did not understand the passage as it is preserved in P and rewrote it.⁷⁵ In either case, we have here further evidence for a separation of P from the rest of the tradition. This is all the more interesting given the close textual relationship between Rennes and P. The implication should be that the lacuna or the rewriting took place at a very early stage in the textual tradition.

3.4. *Demonstratives*

Example (28) presents a different textual issue. Here rather than the non-expression of the subject, the concentration of referential forms (cohesive demonstratives, personal pronouns, etc.) may be the source of the difficulty in the passage:

74. Different phrasing in L5 f. 93ra: «mais norent mie m[o]lt erre quant uneg[ra]nt | tempeste uint m[o]lt horrible [et] coumenca | atoner [et] afaire sipemse tens que nus ne | leporroit croire».

75. Which would then be a variant significant for stemmatic purposes.

(28)

§ 608_17-18 (P f. 158^{rb}-158^{va})

Teseus dist au roi son pe|re quensi le feroit il se li deu len [158^{va}] laissoient reporter la uie· mais q[ua]nt | il fu uenus en crete li rois minos | auoit une fille adriana estoit no|mee cele· quant ele uit theseus | si bel [et] de si grant proece· Ele len | ama forment [et] si li dist

(Teseus dist au roi son pere qu'ensi le feroit il se li deu l'en [158^{va}] laissoient rapporter la vie. Mais quant il fu venus en Crete li rois Minos avoit une fille, Adriana estoit nomee. Cele, quant ele vit Theseus si bel et de si grant proece, ele l'en ama forment et si li dist [...]).

Although presenting the same text, comparison with other manuscripts reveals an interesting difference in punctuation:

(29)

Theseus [115^{va}] dist a son pere q[ue] ensi le feroit il se les dex | len lessioient rapporter la uie· [lame P3 f. 144^{rb}] Mes q[ua]nt | il fu uenus encrete le roi minos auoit | une fille· adriana estoit nomee· Celle | q[ua]nt elle uit theseus si biau [et] de si tres gr|ant proece elle lama forment· [et] si dist (D f. 115^{rb}-115^{va}, B f. 153^{rb}, L f. 137^{ra}, Rennes f. 160^{vb}, P3 f. 144^{rb}).

Thus P has a punctus after *cele*, whereas the manuscripts of the Acre group (including P3) and Rennes have a punctuation mark before the demonstrative. Pa and L5 read differently:

Theseus dist a son pere q[ue] | ensi le feroit il se li dieu len laissoie[n]t | rapporter la uie· Quant il fu uenus | en crete· li rois minos auoit une fil|le qui adriane estoit nomee· Celle | uit theseus si bel et de si tres grant | proesse· que elle le nama forment· | Et si li dist (Pa f. 142^{va})

Theseus li dist que si fe|roit il se li dieu uoloient· Q[ua]nt il fu uenuz | en crete li rois minos auoit une fille adri|ana estoit nomee· Q[ua]nt ele uit theseus si | bel· ele lama m[o]l [et] si li dist (L5 f. 97^{vb})

In Pa the demonstrative pronoun introduces a consecutive and not a temporal clause. In L5 the demonstrative is not present, allowing the repetition of two clauses with the same structure (*Q[ua]nt il [...]* / *Q[ua]nt ele [...]*). Pa and L5 illustrate a way to cope with a difficult passage through the elimination of either the demonstrative or the temporal adverb.

While the use of a resumptive pronoun is no surprise in contexts like (28), and whereas the expression of the subject in subordinate clauses is

largely expected, the use of the demonstrative *cele* is more problematic. There are three possibilities:

- 1) Marked expression of the demonstrative pronoun at the end of the clause: [...] *une fille: Adriana estoit nomee, cele. Quant ele [...], ele [...]*;
- 2) Topicalised expression of the demonstrative to open a new clause: [...] *une fille, Adriana estoit nomee. Cele, quant ele [...], ele [...]*;
- 3) The oscillating position of the punctus indicates the difficulty found by the scribes in interpreting a faulty passage.⁷⁶

The following examples are cases of verbal periphrasis comparable to *estre nome(e)*, with the participle in final position and with a demonstrative pronoun beginning a new clause:

(30a)

§ 722_01 (P f. 207r^b)

[et] si estoit iu|dit par droit non apelee· Ceste estoit | caste dame et bone de la lignee

[et] si estoit iudic | par droit nom apelee· Ceste [Cest L f. 181r^a] estoit chas|te dame
[et] bone de la lignee (D f. 151v^a)⁷⁷

(30b)

§ 792_03 (P f. 232v^a)

mais ni auoit | celui qui len osast araisner ne | faire nulle semblance fors que | uns tres-
stos sous parmenius a|uoit a nom· cil parla au roi as|ses paouusement [et] sili dist· |

(mais n'i avoit celui qui l'en osast araisner ne faire nulle semblance, fors que uns
trestos sous, Parmenius avoit a nom. Cil parla au roi asses paverusement [et] si li
dist: [...])⁷⁸

mais | ny auoit cellui qui lui en osast p(ar)|ler | ne riens dire ne faire nul sembla(n)t |
fors que vng tout seul homme· par|menius auoit a nom· Cestui p(ar)|la | au roy assez
paouusement et si li dist· (Rennes f. 235r^b)

(30c)

§ 1234_02-03 (P f. 370r^a)

Segnor [et] | dames cil iulius cesar dont uos |aues oi parler maintes fois ot | une fille
iulia fu nomee qui m[o]lt | fu bele [et] de grant segnorie· Cesti | auoit eue pompeius
a feme mais | morte estoit adonques

76. It seems possible that Pa (see above) reworked the passage regularising it.

77. Identical punctuation in B f. 195v^a, L f. 181r^a, Rennes f. 201v^a, Pa f. 189r^b, L5 f. 130r^a.

78. Same punctuation in the following: D f. 170v^b, B f. 217r^a, L f. 202r^a, Pa f. 212r^b, L5 f. 149r^a. Pa has the same punctuation as the other manuscripts, but shows slightly different phrasing (closer, but not identical, to P and Rennes): «Mais ni a|uoit celui qui leu ozast araisner ne | faire nulle samblance· fors que un | tout soul home parmenius auoit no[m] | Cil parla au roi asses paorusement et | si li dist». L5 reads verbatim as P.

(Segnor [et] dames cil Iulius Cesar, dont vos aues oi parler maintes fois, ot une fille, Iulia fu nomee, qui m[o]lt fu bele [et] de grant segnorie. Cesti avoit eue Pompeius a feme, mais morte estoit adoncques [...])

Seigneurs cesti | Jullius cesar dont vous auez oy | parler mainte ffois ot vne | fille Julia fut nommee qui | moult fut belle et de grant sei|gnorie· Ceste auoit eue pom|peius a femme· mais morte | estoit adoncques· (Rennes f. 370ra)

Seignors | cist iulius cesar dont uoz aues oy parler [270vb] meinte fois ot une fille· q[ui] iuslia fu no|mee· m[o]lt belle [q[ui] m[o]lt | fu belle Pa f. 323vb] [et] de g[ra]nt segnorie· Ceste | avoit eue pompeius a feme ·mes mor|te estoit adonq[ue]s· (D f. 270ra-270rb, B f. 328va, Pa f. 323vb)⁷⁹

(30d)

§ 610_07 (P f. 159rb-159va)

Segnor [et] dames de cele [ceste Rennes f. 161vb] terre o eneas | ariua estoit sires uns rois latinus [159va] estoit apeles qui null oir nauoit | fors cune mout tres bele fille· cele [icelle Rennes f. 161vb] | estoit laiune apelee· li rois latinus | ses peres estoit ia auques daage·

(Segnor [et] dames, de cele terre o Eneas ariva, estoit sires uns rois, Latinus [159va] estoit apeles, qui null oir n'auoit fors c'une mout tres bele fille: cele estoit Laivine apelee. Li rois Latinus ses peres estoit ja auques d'aäge [...])⁸⁰

Seignors de celle terre ou | eneas ariua estoit sires un roi· latinus es|toit apeles· [un roi q[ui] latinus estoit apeles· L f. 137vb] q[ui] nauoit nul hoir· mes une tres | belle fille· Celle estoit apelee laiune· Le | roi latin son per estoit ia daage· (D f. 116ra, B f. 154ra, L f. 137vb, P3 f. 145ra, Pa f. 143va)⁸¹

decele terre estoit sires lirois latins | quinauoit nul oir fors une bele fille | qui laiune estoit apelee· lirois latins | ses peres estoit auques daaige (L5 f. 98rb)

Examples (16) and (31) show the same trait: a subject noun phrase is resumed by a personal pronoun subject after an adverbial temporal clause:

(16)

§ 700_11⁸²

Quant en|si lot mariee la damoisele fu as|ses tost ensainte· [et] astiages q[ua]nt | il le

79. Manuscripts L and L5 do not have the Caesar section.

80. Same punctuation in Rennes f. 161vb.

81. P3 f. 145ra reads differently: «Seignors de celle | terre ou eneas ariua estoit sires | et rois latinus estoit appelez qui».

82. Cf. also the following P § 602_02 (f. 154vb): «Li rois, quant il le sot, fu mout dolans et tantost rasambla ses gens».

sot il fist garder [et] sauoir | quel enfant ele auroit au ior q[u]e | ele seroit delivree (= D f. 145vb and the rest of the mss)

(Quant ensi l'ot mariee, la damoisele fu asses tost ensainte, [et] Astiages, q[ua]nt il le sot, il fist garder [et] sauoir quel enfant ele auroit au ior q[u]e ele seroit delivree)

(31a)

§ 703_11 (P f. 200rb)⁸³

Onques sparticus | quant il oi le roi astiages parler | il ne sespoori de nulle choze ains | respondi [et] dist que il roi lauoient fait· [et] por ce en uoloit daus | tenir iustice·

(Onques Sparticus, quant il oi le roi astiages parler, il ne s'espoöri de nulle choze, ains respondi [et] dist que il roi l'avoient fait, [et] por ce en voloit d'aus tenir justice)

Onq[ue]s sparticus q[ua]nt il oy le roi as|tiages parler [parler ensi· B f. 189vb, ensi parler L f. 174vb] ne sespoeri de nulle chose· [riens Pa f. 182va] | Ainz respondi [et] dist q[ui]l lauoient fet roi | [et] porce en uoloit diaus tenir iustise· (D f. 146rb, B f. 189vb, L f. 174vb, Pa f. 182va)⁸⁴

(31b)

§ 704_01 (P f. 200va)⁸⁵

li rois quant | il lentendi si sen esmerueilla m[o]lt | [et] si en ot grant ire enuers celui | cui il lot premerainement coma[n]de a ocire·

(Li rois, quant il l'entendi, si s'en esmerueilla m[o]lt, [et] si en ot grant ire envers celui cui il l'ot premerainement coma[n]de a ocire)

li rois q[ua]nt il en|tendi ce si sen m[er]uilla m[o]lt [et] en ot grant | ire enuers celui cui il lot premiereme[n]t | coumande a occirre (L5 f. 123vb)

Q[ua]nt li rois entendi ce il | se merueilla m[o]lt· [et] si en ot g[ra]nt irre [[et] si ot grant irre L f. 175ra] uers | celui q[ui]l ot premierement comande a oc|cirre· (D f. 146va, B f. 190ra, L f. 175ra)⁸⁶

Despite having the order Adverb/ Subject as in the manuscripts of the Acre group, Pa (f. 182vb) reads like P:

Quant li rois len|tendi si sen merueilla moult et si en | ot grant ire enuers celui a cui il ot p[re]m[er]ainement comande a occirre lenfa[n]t· |

It follows that a paradigm may be established, where a nominal subject is

83. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., § 4.

84. L5 f. 123vb reads like P.

85. ROCHEBOUET, *L'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, cit., § 5.

86. Rennes f. 203va-203vb reads like P.

separated from the verb by an adverbial clause, in which case a resumptive personal pronoun is often expressed:

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (16) [et] <i>Astiages</i> | quant <i>il</i> [...] | <i>il</i> fist garder [...] |
| (31a) <i>sparticus</i> | quant <i>il</i> [...] | <i>il</i> ne sespoori [...] |
| (31b) <i>li rois</i> | quant <i>il</i> [...] | si sen esmerueilla |

Similarly, *cele* may be considered the topicalised subject in (28) and (29):

[...] une fille, Adriana estoit nomee. Cele, quant ele [...], ele [...]

The punctuation practice of manuscript P could contradict this interpretation. The punctus after *cele* indicates a syntactic break between *cele* and the adverbial temporal clause that follows, which is often the case in manuscript P. It is normal when a demonstrative pronoun in P begins a new clause that it is preceded by a punctus (see examples 30a to 30d). However, while the presence of punctuation in P allows us to make an interpretive hypothesis, the absence of punctuation makes things more complicated. As it is often the case in medieval punctuation, the scribe of P does not always mark the distinction between two syntactic units by punctuation:

(32)

§ 799_03 (P f. 234r)⁸⁷

Et a|donc auoit il un maistre philoso|phie· Callistenen estoit nomes· | cil auoit este ses compains en es|cole sous aristocle son maistre ce|lui fist il ocire·

(Et adonc auoit il un maistre philosophie, Callistenen estoit nomes. Cil auoit esté ses compains en escole sous Aristocle son maistre. Celui fist il ocire)⁸⁸

Il auoit ·j· maistre phi|lozophe· calistenem estoit nomme | Cestui auoit est son compaignon en | lescole soubz arisote son maistre· | Cellui fist il occire· [Celui fist ocirre D f. 172ra, B f. 218ra] (Rennes f. 237ra)⁸⁹

87. From this perspective, the punctuation of the other manuscripts shows a correspondence between syntactic breaks and use of punctuation.

88. L5 f. 150rb: «Et donc auoit il mestre philoso|phe».

89. Same punctuation as in Rennes in the following: D f. 172ra, B f. 218ra, Pa f. 215ra, L5 f. 150rb (it reads verbatim like P, but adds the punctus before *Celui*, the last demonstrative pronoun at the end of the passage). L ff. 203vb-204ra omits the passage (= § 799_03 and § 799_04, according to the reference system of the TVOF edition of P). Another example where a demonstrative subject pronoun signposts the start of a new clause: no punctuation mark (apart from the line break) highlights the syntactic pause: § 912_01 (P f. 274va): «Or auint apres ceste

In (32) a punctus “regularly” separates *cil avoit* from what precedes; however, no punctuation marks the strong syntactic pause between the clause finishing in *son maistre* and the following clause *celui fist il ocire*. In light of this, while we may say that punctuation marks a break between *cele* and the *quant*-clause that follows, we cannot safely state that the absence of punctuation makes the demonstrative *cele* part of the preceding textual string.

The *tournure* in P is clumsy, as is demonstrated by the hesitation of the scribes in placing the punctuation (before/after *cele*). Manuscripts Pa and L5 have a correct text: it could be evidence for two attempts to cope with a textual problem present in their sources. But in absence of a stemma, we cannot rule out that either Pa or L5 inherit the good reading from a lost exemplar. In any case, the very fact that Pa and L5 cope with the situation keeping either one or the other of the textual hurdles, subsequently adapting the rest, is consistent with the presence of both the demonstrative and the adverbial temporal clause throughout the tradition. While the possibility of a rare construction with *cele* positioned at the end of the clause cannot be ruled out, this would be unparalleled in manuscript P and heavily marked here. Finally, the evidence gathered above regarding *cele* as topicalised subject of the new string seems plausible but infelicitous. Which makes a slip at a high stage of the textual transmission (or even authorial) not impossible. Examples (30) and (31) show the frequency of constructions with clause initial demonstratives, followed by adverbial clauses and resumptive pronouns. I think that it would not be so difficult to imagine that (28) and (29) reproduce a text where a scribe, under the influence of so many analogous *ournures*, may have added by mistake either the demonstrative (cf. reading in L5) or the adverbial clause (cf. Pa).

3.5. Pronoun or adverb?

In the following example, the manuscripts hesitate in trying to make sense of a difficult passage involving the use of a personal pronoun or of a form that looks like a personal pronoun:

(33)

§ 621_16 (P f. 165ra)

[et] te iur ni|se se sort oz deus que si tu me ra|maines mon pere si que ie le uoi|e' ia
naurai si grant honor ne si | grant segnorie que ie ne meite dou | tot en ton conseil
de ce que ie aue|rai affaire [et] si te donrai ·ij· riches | copes dor· [et] si te [et] si li deu

des|confiture quen cartage | ot un nouveau empere|or hasdrubal fu apeles par no[m] | cis as-
sambla grans gens [et] gra[n]s os».

nos done[n]t | tel eur que nos puissons conq[ue]rre | lombardie [et] la proie prendre
[et] de|partir iene ti faudra que tu naies | le riche destrier sor quoi tu uois t[ur]nus
seir [et] son riche escu [et] son riche haume·

The interpretation of *ie* in *[et] departir iene ti faudra...* is problematic. In this case, the variant reading is of little help. The double negative structure put in the mouth of Ascanius in manuscript P is not present in the other manuscripts, where the phrasing differs:

(34)

et si te iure nis[us] | sur tous noz dieux que se tu me | ramaine mon pere que ie le
voie | ia naurai si grant honneur ne | si grant seignorie que ie ne mette | du tout en
tout en ton conseil de | ce que iaurai a faire et si te don|nerai ·ij· riches copes [...] et
se les dieux nous | donnent tel eur que nous puis|sions conquerer lombardie et | la
proie prendre et departir· ie | te donnerai le riche destrier sur | quoy tu voiz turnus
cheuau|cher et son riche escu et son ri|che heaume (Rennes f. 167va, Pa f. 148va)

[et] si te iur nisus sur toz noz dex q[ue] ce | tu me remains mon pere q[ue] ie le uoie⁹⁰
ia | naurai si g[ra]nt honor ne si g[ra]nt seignorie | q[ue] ie ne met dout tot ne mon
conseill de ce q[ue] | ie beerai a fere· [et] si te donrai ·ij· riches | copes [...] [et] se les
| dex noz donent tel eur q[ue] noz puissons co[n]querre lombardie [et] la proie
prendre⁹¹ ie | te donrai le riche destrier sur quoi tu uois | turnus seoir· [et] son riche
escu [et] son riche | heaume· (D f. 120rb, L f. 143ra)

Et si te iure nisus sor toz | les diex que se tu nous ramenes | mon pere ie naurai si
grant honor | ne si grant seignorie que ie ne | mete dout tout en ton conseil de | ce
que ie penserai a faire· Et si te donra⁹⁰ ·ij· coupes dor et⁹¹ riches [...] Et se les diex
nouz donent tel he|ur que nouz co[n]questons lombar|die· et la proe prendre ie te
donrai | le riche destrier· sur quoi tu voiz tur|nus seoir· et son riche escu et son riche
hyalme· (P3 f. 150rb)

The manuscripts of the Acre group (including Pa and P3) and Rennes keep the first, but not the second double negative. Invariably, *ie* < EGO is the subject of *donrai*. This co-ordinates with the series of inflected forms of *donner* that follow: *et si te donrai ·ii· riches copes*, *et se les dex nos donent*, and just a little later the last words of the long list of riches that Ascanius is promising Nisus: *et sor tot ce te donrai je une partie de la terre que li rois Latinus a or en sa baillie* (§ 621_16). While it is not possible to say whether P has a rewriting of what we find in the rest of the tradition or vice versa, P may well preserve the *lectio difficilior*.

90. Sic.

91. Expunctuated.

There are two possibilities. The first is *ie = je* < EGO, as in the rest of the tradition. If this is the case, *faudra* is a first-person singular of the indicative future of *falloir*. The *-a* ending for the first-person singular is attested in Picard.⁹² This would be consistent with other Northern and North-Eastern forms present in P. In this context, the occurrence of the oblique clitic *ti* would support the supposition: again, *ti* is well attested in Picard documents.⁹³

A second hypothesis would imply *ie* < IAM. On the one hand, *ie* may be a banal mistake for *ia* (IAM). A minimal correction, *ie ne > j[a] ne* (< IAM NON), would give: ... *et departir, j[a] ne t'i faudra que tu n'aies*... This could well be the sense of the passage. The next example highlights the similarities between two structures in the passage exemplified in (33):

(35)

[...] si tu me ramaines mon pere si que ie le voie, *ja* n'avrai si grant honor ne si grant segnorie que je ne meite dou tot en ton conseil de ce que je ave|rai a ffaire, [et] si te donrai [...]

[...] [et] si li deu nos done[n]t tel eur que nos puissons conq[ue]rre Lombardie [et] la proie prendre [et] departir, *je [= ja]* ne ti faudra que tu n'aies le riche destrier [...]

In P, the grammatical group *iene* (< IAM NON) is written in one word. In this case, the grapheme <e> reflects the phonetic weakening of final /a/. The neutralisation of /a/ (/ə/), final vowel of word or syllable, is a common phenomenon in French. However, the graphic representation of this phenomenon in the specific group *iene* < IAM NON, seems otherwise unattested. Nonetheless, three points make plausible the hypothesis that *ie ne* is an adverbial locution. First, manuscript P features numerous cases of graphemic oscillation between final <a>/<e> in other grammatical words (particularly clitics: hence with a weak/absent lexical accent): for example, P makes frequent use of the Picard definite and personal pronoun clitic *le* for feminine singular *la*. Secondly, although unattested in P, adverbs like *jenever* (< IAM MAGIS), which is analogous to *ie ne* (< IAM NON) in terms of word formation and phono-morphological context, are attested in the *Dictionnaire Etymologique de l'Ancien Français* (s.v. *ja*). Thirdly, and crucially, manuscript P has

92. See BURIDANT, op. cit., § 217.3, p. 270.

93. And in P, at least in one case: § 265_05 (P f. 607b): «Si dirai un sou petit de iudas son fill por meaus continuer [et] suir apres la matere [et] le storie puis reuiendra [reuiendrai D f. 447b] a ioseph qui menes en estoit en seruage en egypte». Cf. GOSSEN, op. cit., § 65, p. 124.

at least one other occurrence of *ie ne = ja ne*. Here *ie ne* appears again in coordination with *ia ne*:

(36)

§ 788_05 (P f. 231vb)

E por ce fist il [= Daires] letres faire que il en|uoia au roi alixandre· [et] si li manda | que il de sa mere [et] de sa feme [et] de | ses serors· [et] de ses fils [et] de ses filles | eust merci· [et] il li rendroit· [et] li don|roit tot le tresor de perse· [et] le tre|sor de mede· o il auoit dor [et] d'argent | [et] de pierres precieuses mout tres | grant habundance· mais alixan|dres meismes li remanda par ses | letres propres qua ce ne satendist mie· quar ie ne li rendroit ne ia | ne les raueroit en toz les iors de sa | uie·

(E por ce fist il [= Daires] letres faire que il envoia au roi Alixandre. [Et] si li manda que il de sa mere [et] de sa feme [et] de ses serors [et] de ses fils [et] de ses filles, eüst merci, [et] il li rendroit [et] li donroit tot le tresor de Perse [et] le tresor de Mede, o il auoit d'or [et] d'argent [et] de pierres precieuses mout tres grant habundance. Mais Alixandres meïsmes li remanda par ses lettres propres qu'a ce ne s'attendist mie, quar *ie ne li rendroit ne ia ne les raveroit* en toz les iors de sa vie)

In this case, the manuscripts read unanimously *ia ne [...] ne ia ne [...]*:

(37)

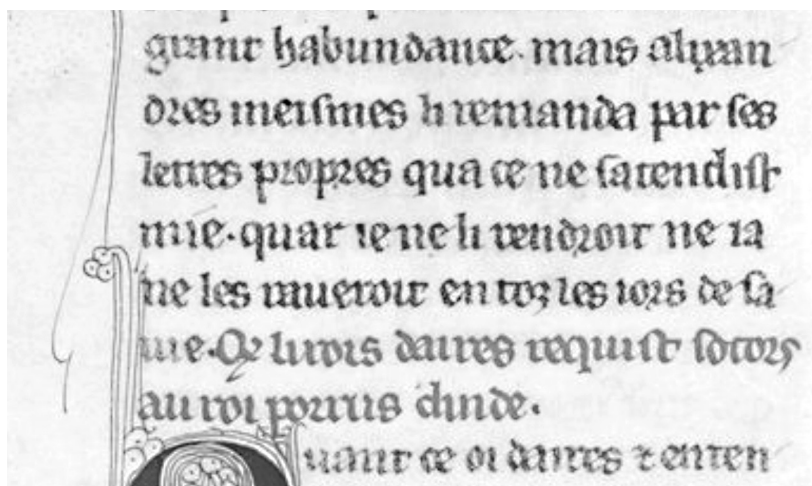
Mes alixandre me|ismes li remanda par ces letres preupres | q[ue] ace ne satendist mie· Car ia ne li ren|droit ne ia ne les rauoit en toz les iors | de sa uie· (Rennes f. 170ra)

mais alixandres meismes liremanda par ses | letres propres qua ce ne satendist mie | Car ia ne li randroit ne ia ne les rauoit | entoz les iorz desauie· (D f. 148ra)

Gaullier Baugassas corrects manuscript P, printing: *quar ja ne li rendroit*.⁹⁴ But if what I have argued is correct, the reading of P may be retained in both cases.

On linguistic grounds, De Visser-van Terwisga, followed by Rochebouet, have contended that manuscript P preserves a stage of the first redaction of the *HA* older than that of the *Acre* manuscripts. To be more precise, De Visser-van Terwisga considered that some of P's idiosyncratic forms are traces of a geographically located and chronologically older linguistic stratum: according to her analysis, the data account for a version of the text compiled before 1260s in Northern France (in an area having Lille as its main political and cultural centre).

94. With a note after first *ja*, stating: «je, corrigé d'après B, D, P, Pa (L folio manquant)» (GAULLIER-BOUGASSAS, ed. cit., § 31, 20, p. 137).



MS f. fr. 20125, f. 231vb (§ 788_05)

Among the traits she considered, the following are particularly relevant: the rhyme *matire : dire* (verses 254-55 of the prologue); the possessive *sen for son*, of which there is only one instance in the Thebes section; the diphthongation in reflexes of Latin A in words like *tiel* (prologue) or *siel* (< SALE, P f. 31va).⁹⁵ To these features, we could add some peculiar lexical forms like *crebe* (< KREPPIA) for *creche*, or the verb *laiier* (for *laisser*), both clearly documented in North-Eastern sources.⁹⁶ All these features are consistent with a documentary geographical distribution that spans the Hainault and the Pas-de-Calais.

A form like *ie ne*, in (35) and (37), seems very rare. However, as noted, we find *je/ge* (< IAM) along with *mais/mes* < MAGIS, while *gemais*, *jemais* or *jemés* are consistently attested in texts located in the East or in the South-East. In stratigraphic terms, if the parallelism between the two syntagmatic compounds (*ie+ne* and *je/ge+mais*) holds, we have evidence here for an Eastern trait: which would be consistent with the Haute-Marne stratum identified by de Visser-van Terwisga.

95. See GOSSEN, op. cit., and DE VISSER-VAN TERWISGA, *Histoire ancienne*, cit., vol. II p. 51. De Visser interprets these forms as “relics”, taking the expression from M. BENSKIN-M. LAING, *Translations and “Mischsprachen” in Middle English Manuscripts*, in «So meny people, longages and tongue»: *Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by M. BENSKIN and M.L. SAMUELS, Edinburgh, Benskin & Samuels, 1981, pp. 55-106.

96. As for *crebe*, see FEW, XVI 391b, s.v. *krippia; as for *laiier*, see BURIDANT, *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*, cit., § 227, p. 285.

Is the presence of a trait like *-omes* in rhyme, direct reported speech and in narratorial interventions consistent with a tendency to treat the voiced parts of the text differently from the rest? In this regard, it is not without interest that in both cases *ie ne* appears in reported speech: direct in (37), indirect in (40). Furthermore, examples like (37) and (41) show once more that manuscripts P and Rennes behave differently in relation to the same trait. It is possible that manuscript Rennes “modernised” forms like *ie ne* and *-omes*, and this seems likely for examples (37) and (41). However, the fact that *ie ne* has not been retained by any of the manuscripts, including Rennes, makes it plausible to suppose that the rephrasing and editing of the passages in the above examples has taken place quite early, which would confirm both the separation and the relative antiquity of the textual and linguistic outline of manuscript P. On the other hand, the linguistic and formal data on which I have commented, combined with the considerations about the older linguistic strata documented by de Visser-van Terwisga, point to the existence of an exemplar, common to manuscript Rennes and the Acre manuscripts, sharing traits that distinguish it from the version of P.

4. CONCLUSION: TIME, SPACE, STYLE

What do the above examples teach us about the *HA*'s early transmission? What do the formal and linguistic features I have discussed tell us about how the first “editors” of the *HA* intended it to be experienced (as opposed to just read)? If we can assume that a manuscript is more than a textual repository, then manuscripts are “informants”, albeit of a special kind. As shown in various recent work on Old French and other medieval varieties of Romance languages (namely Old Italian), the assessment of the linguistic traits in manuscripts can be fruitful at all levels of the analysis, including syntax.⁹⁷

First, on the basis of the evidence gathered, we can say that as early as the 1280s, the *HA* was accessible in three forms: the P version, the Acre version and the “shorter” version (in this paper represented by the reading from L5). Manuscripts V (when relevant) and Rennes have a text closer to P than the rest of the tradition. However, Rennes proves to be more active than V. Although it is a manuscript whose antecedent bears strong similar-

97. See BURIDANT, *op. cit.*; WILHELM-DE MONTE-WITTUM, *op. cit.*; E. DE ROBERTO, *Varietà medievali e descrizione del sistema. Note alla 'Grammatica dell'italiano antico'*, in «Romanische Forschungen», CXXVI 2014, pp. 487-510, and SCHÖSLER-VÖLKER, *art. cit.*

ities to manuscript P, Rennes often behaves like the Acre manuscripts when faced with the structures considered in § 3.⁹⁸ Despite being part of the short version group, L5 very often reads like P: which suggests that both P and the short version worked from similar sources. In the second place, by the end of the 13th century, a series of idiosyncratic linguistic options (like *ie ne* [...], *-omes*, *crebe*), were preserved almost exclusively by P. To understand and retain them required a copyist with suitable familiarity or competence.

In recent approaches to the linguistic analysis of medieval Romance languages, documentary or practical texts are opposed to literary texts in a broader sense (romance, narrative prose, didactic prose...). Documentary records would offer «un meilleur témoignage» for the appraisal of linguistic data in time and space.⁹⁹ It is true that we can better date and locate documentary records in the vernacular, as compared to literary texts. From this point of view, the documentary is essential in trying to fix the coordinates of a linguistic trait in time and space. However, if we are interested in understanding other dimensions of linguistic variation, e.g. diaphasic: register and style, and diamesic (medium), we need a corpus whereby Old French is a name for a reality subject to internal differentiation as much as to lines of continuity across time and geographic domains.¹⁰⁰ Elisa De Roberto has recently suggested an approach that would allow us to focus on the linguistic “behaviour” that may be inferred from textual evidence: most notably on the basis of comparative analysis of a representative corpus of manuscripts.¹⁰¹ In his *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*, Claude Buridant made a first attempt that goes in this direction: his goal was to reflect on how medieval textuality may enlighten us about the perception of variation in time and space, as much as in register, and therefore about the fixity of traditions: “generic”, discursive, etc. In the light of this, a “literary” corpus should also be considered.

From this perspective, some interesting tendencies emerge from the

98. Very often, but not always: see example (15).

99. See L. BALON-P. LARRIVÉE, *L'ancien français n'est déjà plus une langue à sujet nul: nouveau témoignage des textes légaux*, in «Journal of French Language Studies», xxvi 2016, pp. 221-37, at p. 222.

100. CH. MARCHELLO NIZIA, *De SO à SV: vers le sujet obligatoire et antéposé en français, les dernières phases d'un changement*, in «Journal of French Language Studies» (published online 9 march 2017: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-handi-language-studies>).

101. See DE ROBERTO, *Varietà medievali e descrizione del sistema*, cit. This approach was strongly recommended by FLEISCHMAN, *Methodologies and Ideologies*, cit., p. 33.

manuscripts I have examined in this article. For example, the presence of linguistic traits marked diatopically tends to increase in verses, reported speech and in the parts in which the narrative is interrupted by the narrator who “speaks in his own voice”: it is as if the medium guided the selection. What is more, this tendency is systematically attenuated in the manuscripts. In a similar vein, dislocations, hyperbaton or other idiosyncratic clausal or phrasal word order may sometimes echo *tourmures* that recall the versified literary tradition of the end of the 12th and the beginning of 13th century. This makes for a prose redolent of verse. As we have seen this was also a trait that was not retained by the manuscripts. Is this a hint as how, and according to what lines of grammatical and rhetorical change, prosification took place? Was P’s scribe (or the scribe of his exemplar) nodding to medieval audiences well accustomed to epics and versified hagiography? Did features linguistically pertaining to different “levels” coalesce in a textual configuration suitable for oral performance? Was the absence of these features in most of the manuscript tradition pointing to a different audience and horizon of expectations?

The purpose of this paper was twofold: first, to improve our understanding of the “letter” of the text of the *HA*; secondly, to start a systematic survey of the linguistic conditions for microvariation. These aims are framed by research on the relationship between textual and linguistic variation through manuscripts. The goal is to enlighten what manuscripts may *tell* us about the relation between grammar and textual variation. By “grammar”, I do not mean here a closed and normative system, but rather a system of systems. The study of the grammar of a text reveals how different syntactic phenomena related to discourse (i.e. norm, tradition, register, style) interact with other levels of the analysis (graphemics, phono-morphology, lexicon) and crystallise on the manuscript page.

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