

## ON THE UNIFIED CHANGE OF DIRECTIONAL/ASPECTUAL VERB PARTICLES IN FRENCH\*

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MICHELLE TROBERG  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO MISSISSAUGA

JUSTIN LEUNG  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

**ABSTRACT** The categoric loss of verb particles in the history of French remains problematic in diachronic accounts of Medieval French syntax and Romance syntax in general. There is surprisingly little convergence in the literature about the cause of change and previous quantitative studies in the last 10 years are inconclusive about whether or not the particles pattern as a single unified change or as a series of gradual low-level lexical changes. To address this issue, we test the hypothesis that the Constant Rate Effect (CRE; Kroch 1989) applies to this phenomenon by examining the time course of change of four verb particles: *jus* ‘down’, *fors/hors* ‘out’, *arrière* ‘back’ and *avant* ‘forward’ as they appear in 770 texts that date from 1150 to 1699. Our findings, supported by the statistical tools of logistic regression and mixed-effects Poisson regression, establish that the particles change at a constant rate, consistent with an analysis whereby the loss of each particle is a reflex of an underlying grammatical change. The study is preceded by a description of the syntax of Medieval French verb particles from a generative perspective. The findings have important implications for the typological shift involving resultative secondary predication that occurred during the evolution from Latin to Modern French.

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\* We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers and Yela Schauwecker for their detailed and helpful comments on previous versions of this work; Derek Denis for his valuable methodological suggestions; former Research Opportunity Program and work-study students Meena Ahmad, Maya Krol, Emily Krusky, Adam Sarouj, Shelby Scarpelli, and Patricja Wyslobloka for their work in coding the data; and participants at the Canadian Linguistic Association 2020 annual conference for their constructive remarks. All remaining errors are of course our own.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Evidence of directional/aspectual verb particles in the oldest French texts, their robust presence through the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and their disappearance from the textual record during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries have been the object of a considerable number of studies from Foulet's (1946) seminal examination of *jus* 'down' and *sus* 'up/on', through Buridant's (1987, 2000) panoramic description of the system, to the work of Mireille Tremblay, Heather Burnett, and colleagues, who propose the first formal and quantitative treatments of these elements.

Medieval French verb particles are well known for their function in specifying the direction of a motion event, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. *et qu'il al-ast hors et parl-ast*  
 and that=he go-3SG.PST.SBJV out and speak-3SG.PST.SBJV  
*à luy*  
 at him  
 'and that he would go out and speak to him'  
 (*Reg. crim. Chât.*, I, 382)
- b. *Un-s message-s arriere cort*  
 a-NOM.SG messenger-NOM.SG back run.3SG.PRS  
 'A messenger runs back' (*Chrétien de Troyes, Charette*, 186)
- c. *Lors saut avant Girflez et dist a la*  
 then jump.3SG.PRS forth Girflet and say.3SG.PRS at the  
*reïne :*  
 queen  
 'Then Girflet hastens forward and says to the queen.'  
 (*Mort le roi Artu*, p. 213)

Directional readings often extend to aspectual interpretations, emphasizing the terminus point of an existing scalar change, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. *li ont jus la tieste cop-é-e*  
 him.DAT AUX.3PL.PRS down the head cut-PST.PTCP-F  
 'they cut his head down/off' (*Mousquet, Chronique*, 22705)
- b. *si le but tout-e hors.*  
 si OBJ.F.SG drink.3SG.PST all-F.SG out  
 'and (she) drank it all up.' (*Beaudouin de Sebourc*, 186)

Particles can also have purely aspectual meanings. The restitutive reading of

*arriere* ‘back’ can apply to non motion events such as that in (3 a), while *avant* ‘forth’ can contribute either a continuative (3 b) or inchoative meaning (3 c).

- (3) a. *et puis leissié re-froid-ir et arriere bouill-ir*  
and then let.2PL.PRS re-cool-INF and back boil-INF  
‘then let (it) cool and come back to a boil’  
(Phébus, *Livre de chasse*, 117)
- b. *ne jeo n’en sai avant cunt-er*  
NEG I NEG=of.it know.1SG.PRS forth tell-INF  
‘nor am I able to go on telling about it’  
(Marie de France, *Lais (Lanval)*, 112)
- c. *Le champ ont avant recouvr-é*  
the field AUX.3PL.PRS forth recover-PST.PTCP  
‘They started to take back the field’ (Wace, *Roman de Brut*, 126)

Apart from the challenge of properly defining the Medieval French verb particle and establishing its distribution, the central question for any diachronic study has been how these elements relate to other aspects of Medieval French syntax and why they disappeared when they did. The goal of the present study is to report the findings of a fine-grained quantitative study of four particles from 1150 to 1699 that assesses the time course of change as it relates to the Constant Rate Effect (CRE; Kroch 1989). The study is augmented by a Poisson regression analysis, which is particularly well-suited to the data. The results of our study establish that the particles change at a constant rate, consistent with an analysis whereby the loss of each particle is a reflex of an underlying grammatical change and casting doubt on proposals that the loss of particles is the result of a series of gradual low-level lexical changes. The method and results also highlight the challenges involved in measuring changes in argument structure, particularly those that involve tracking specific lexical items, not only from a statistical point of view, but also in the handling of the data in a theoretically-informed way. What emerges is the importance of capturing only the contexts that reveal the underlying change and setting aside the confounding contexts.

In terms of assessing the correlation between verb particles and other morphosyntactic phenomena in Medieval French, the findings provide a baseline to which other quantitative studies can be compared. For example, we analyze the particles as elements of a type of complex resultative secondary predication that had several syntactic reflexes. A straightforward prediction is that there would be a statistical correlation among the loss of all the reflexes. On the other hand, Buridant (1987) proposes that there is a correlation

between the grammar of the verb particles and that of disjunctive OV word order. Both of these hypotheses can, in principle, be tested against the results of the present study.

Similarly, the time course of change of the particles, as presented here, can also provide a way of assessing the cause of the change. We show that by 1250 the frequency of particles begins to decline, or, put another way, it is from this point that we observe the diffusion of the innovative non-particle grammar. A reasonable assumption would be to situate the trigger for the change during the 12th century.

Finally, our findings have a number of important implications both for how the particles relate to the Medieval French prepositional system and for the broader debate involving the grammar of early Romance particles, a topic at the fore in addressing languages that do not clearly fall into either a satellite-framed or verb-framed typology, as proposed in [Talmy \(1972, 1991, 2000\)](#) and discussed and debated in much subsequent work. The pattern of change supports a within-type distinction between strong verb-framed languages such as Modern French, and weak verb-framed languages such as Medieval French.

The study is organized as follows: Section 2 presents an overview of the meaning and distribution of verb particles in Medieval French. Section 3 presents the dominant proposals about what caused the loss of Medieval French verb particles and introduces the specific claim that we seek to test. Section 4 discusses previous quantitative studies of verb particles, their aims, methods, and conclusions. Section 5 describes the present study, its methodological approach and the results of the analysis. Section 6 provides a discussion of the findings. Section 7 concludes with some implications and areas of future study.

## 2 MEDIEVAL FRENCH VERB PARTICLES

### 2.1 *Inventory*

Verb particles with directional and aspectual meanings are a pan Romance phenomenon, reflexes of Latin locative adverbs or prepositional phrases, and survive to varying degrees in most Romance languages. There is no consensus on the properties that define Medieval French verb particles, so inventories vary widely. [Burnett & Tremblay \(2009\)](#) identify ten, which cover three basic pairs of directional possibilities.

- (4) *arriere* ‘back’; *avant* ‘forward’  
*ens* ‘in’; *hors/fors* ‘out’

*sus* ‘up’; *jus* ‘down’  
*amont* ‘up’; *aval* ‘down’  
*contremont* ‘up’; *contrevail* ‘down’

We understand directional/aspectual verb particles to be intransitive prepositions (Cappelle 2004, McIntyre 2007). Importantly, they are syntactically distinct from the same forms functioning as canonical transitive prepositions. While this may seem trivial given that prepositional elements in Indo-European languages often have multiple functions, it is not in French, a language which, throughout its history, has allowed prepositions to occur with null referential and non-referential/generic objects, known, since Zribi-Hertz (1984), as “orphan prepositions”. Foulet (1946) points out the difference between the particle use (5a) and prepositional use with a null object (5b). Similar contrasts are described in Tremblay, Dupuis & Dufresne (2003).

- (5) a. *Il dist qu’il chevauch-eroit, ce qu’il*  
 he say.3SG.PST that=he ride-3SG.COND that which=he  
*n’avoit pièça fait, et lev-a*  
 NEG=AUX.3SG.PST in.a.long.time do.PST.PTCP and rise-3SG.PST  
*sus et chevalch-a.*  
 up and ride-3SG.PST  
 ‘He said that he would ride, which he hadn’t done in a long time, and he got up and rode.’ (Villehardouin, §35)
- b. *Quant li vaslé-s vit qu’ils*  
 when the.NOM.SG valet-NOM.SG see.3SG.PST that=they  
*s’en fui-oient, si pren-t il le cheval*  
 REFL=Of.it flee-3PL.PST.IPFV si take-3SG.PRS he the horse  
*le balliu qu’il avoit ochis, si*  
 the ballif who=he AUX.3SG.PST kill.PST.PTCP si  
*monte il sus.*  
 mount.3SG.PRS he up  
 ‘When the young man saw that he was fleeing, he took the horse of the bailiff, who he had killed, and he climbed up on it.’ (Robert de Clari, XXII, 3)

Crucially, orphan prepositional uses involve an implicit object whereas particles do not. Fagard (2019) illustrates how similar Modern French forms, often treated as particles, are in fact indexical. Following a test suggested by Tom Rainsford, Fagard demonstrates the basic referentiality of the implicit complement of orphan prepositions. Fagard’s example (15) is reproduced below:

- (6) *il est sort-i dehors/ il est*  
 he AUX.3SG.PRS exit-PST.PTCP outside he AUX.3SG.PRS  
*mont-é en haut, et il est toujours là*  
 go.up-PST.PTCP in high and he is still there  
 ‘he went outside/ he went up(stairs), and he is still there’

In contrast, English directional verb particles are not indexical.

- (7) \*? *He went out/ he got up, and he is still there.*

The prepositional elements listed in (4) can thus be used intransitively (like an unergative verb) or transitively (with an overt or implicit object). The only exception may be *jus* ‘down’, which does not have an indexical use in our corpus.

Some approaches, however, treat intransitive prepositions (i.e., particles), orphan prepositions, and terms such as *bas* ‘low’ and *haut* ‘high’ as a single functional class called particles or satellites.<sup>1</sup> Their inventories of so-called particles is thus necessarily larger; Buridant (2000) lists 35, while Fagard (2019) tracks 22 lexical items in his quantitative study of verb particles.<sup>2</sup> Our account diverges from these approaches since it treats intransitive prepositions, orphan prepositions, and adverbs of location as distinct categories, as the historical evidence also suggests. Crucially, only the particles—the intransitive prepositional elements—disappear categorically.

## 2.2 Distribution

It has been well-established in the literature that Medieval French directional particles are phrasal. They commonly undergo movement operations such as topicalization (8a), scrambling (8b), and they can be modified by the degree quantifier *tout* ‘all’ (8c); see discussion in Burnett & Tremblay (2009), among others.

1 *Bas* ‘low’ and *haut* ‘high’ are not clearly prepositional; outside of their nominal uses, they are gradable, occurring with degree modifiers such as *plus* ‘more’, *moult* ‘very’, *si* ‘so’, *bien* ‘quite’, etc., which is not a property of prepositional elements. The same is true of *près* and *loin*.

2 Fagard accounts for the more restricted use of complex forms such as *en bas*, *en haut*, *dessus*, *dedans*, etc. in Modern French as a change in their status; they were once members of the verb-particle paradigm, but are no longer. We, on the other hand, treat them as never having been particles and always having been transitive (orphan) prepositions. What has changed is the range of verbs that they can occur with, a result of v/Path bundling. See also Rainsford (2019a,b), who presents a number of solid arguments in favour of treating *de*-forms as different from directional particles.

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- (8) a. *Jus descend-irent*  
 down descend-3PL.PST  
 ‘Down they went’ (Mongiage Guillaume 1, 29)
- b. *Sa lance lessa jus cheoir*  
 his lance let.3SG.PST down fall.INF  
 ‘As for his lance, he let it fall down’ (Brut, 1155, 124)
- c. *Sire, Nachor s’est tout hors mis De*  
 Lord Nachor REFL=AUX.3SG.PRS all out put.PST.PTCP of  
*notre loy*  
 our law  
 ‘My lord, Nachor has removed himself entirely from our  
 authority’ (Miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat, 1.1360)

Medieval French particles are frequently found in combination with verbs whose denotations entail a change of location (9). Often, the particle expresses a directional meaning already present in the verb (10 a–c) or the prefix (10 d). In these cases, the particle further elaborates on the direction lexicalized in the verb.

- (9) Orientation with change of location verbs
- a. *et mesire Gauvains vient avant*  
 and lord Gawain come.3SG.PRS forth  
 ‘and Lord Gawain comes forward’ (Mort le roi Artu, p. 106)
- b. *Atant vint d’une chambre fors la pucele*  
 then come.3SG.PST of=a chamber out the girl  
 ‘Then the girl came out of a bedroom’  
 (Chevalier au Lion, 94d.3949)

(10) Pleonastic uses

- a. *Del munt u furent sunt aval*  
 of=the hill where be.3PL.PST AUX.3PL.PRS down.hill  
*aval-é*  
 go.down-PST.PTCP  
 ‘From the hill where they had been, they went down’  
 (Guillaume, 25)
- b. *par les degrez descend-ent jus*  
 by the stairs descend-3PL.PRS down  
 ‘they go down via the stairs’ (Marie de France, *Lais* (Lanval), 96)

- c. *le=font monter par les degrez amont an*  
 him=make.3PL.PRS ascend.INF by the stairs up.hill in  
*la sale*  
 the room  
 ‘they had him go up via the stairs into the room’  
 (*Conte du Graal*, 367e. 1757)
- d. *et pour chou retourn-oit ariere en Babilone*  
 and for this return-3SG.PST.IPFV back in Babylon  
 ‘and for this he returned back to Babylon’  
 (*Beaudouin de Sebourc*, 133)

Particles also occur with translative motion verbs that have descriptive content about how the Theme moves along its path (11 a–b) or the conditions under which it was caused to move (11 c–f).

- (11) a. *Un-s message-s arriere cort*  
 a-NOM.SG messenger-NOM.SG back run.3SG.PRS  
 ‘A messenger runs back’ (*Chrétien de Troyes, Charette*, 186)
- b. *li aigue en coul-a jus*  
 the.NOM.SG water of.it flow-3SG.PST down  
 ‘the water flowed down from it’ (*Aiol*, 89)
- c. *tantost les=gettent et vomissent hors*  
 immediately them=throw.3PL.PRS and vomit.3PL.PRS out  
 ‘immediately they hurl and vomit them out’ (*Purification*, p. 59)
- d. *il escouoit la lance jus*  
 he shake.3SG.PST.IPFV the lance down  
 ‘he shook the lance down’  
 (*Olivier de La Marche, Mémoires II*, 132)
- e. *il le=vonche hors et le=giete de son*  
 he it=summon.3SG.PRS out and it=throw.3SG.PRS of his  
*cors*  
 body  
 ‘he summons it out and throws it from his body’  
 (*Queste del Saint Graal*, 163)
- f. *Et de mon cuer hors les=bany*  
 and of my heart out them=banish.PST.PTCP  
 ‘And from my heart banished them out’  
 (*Miracle de saint Panthaleon*, 319)



Similar to examples involving verbs of change of location, Medieval French particles occur with causative change of state verbs to emphasize the result state of the internal argument (12 a–c).<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, certain verbs which do not themselves have scalar attributes, like *boire* ‘drink’, *manger* ‘eat’, and *paiier* ‘pay’, but which select incremental themes as their internal argument, can occur with the particle *hors*. Like English completive *up*, *hors* ‘out’ expresses a maximum degree of affectedness: the Theme being completely paid out (12 d) or completely drunk out (12 e); see McIntyre (2002, 2003).

- (12) a. *Fait hors vuidier Toute sa chambre*  
do.SG.PRS out empty.INF all her chamber  
‘She has her whole room emptied out’ (Pisan, *Fortune* t. 3, 41)
- b. *Enz vit une chandoille esprise Par l’uis*  
inside saw a candle torch through the=door  
*qui est overz arriere*  
which is opened back  
‘Inside, he saw a torch through the door which is opened back’  
(*Perceval* 2, ep. 34, p. 494)
- c. *Le sanc jus de ses plaies tert*  
the blood down of his wounds wipe.3SG.PRS  
‘He wipes the blood off of his wounds’  
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Charette*, 89)
- d. *Et ne furent pas adont tout hors paiiet*  
and NEG be.3PL.PST NEG then all out pay.PST.PTCP  
‘and they were not then all paid out’ (Froissart, *Chroniques*, 153)
- e. *si le but tout-e hors.*  
*si* it.F.SG drink.3SG.PST all-F.SG out  
‘and she drank it [the goblet] dry.’ (*Beaudouin de Sebourc*, 186)

In addition to its spatial meaning, the particle *arriere* ‘back’ has a restitutive meaning, whereby an entity regains a former location or state.

- (13) a. *ou revient arriere hors pour scout-er et regard-er*  
or re-comes back out for listen-INF and watch-INF  
*et soy=ressui-er.*  
and REFL=re.dry-INF  
‘or [the deer] comes back out in order to listen and watch and to dry off.’  
(Phébus, *Chasse*, 161)

<sup>3</sup> See section 3.1 for a discussion of verbs such as *terdre*, *vomir*, *escorre*, *vocher*, and *banir* as lexicalizing transitional semantics.

- b. *Vus fuissiez mielz ariere es très*  
 you be.2PL.PST.SBJV better back in.the tents  
 ‘You would be better back in the tents’  
 (Wace, *Roman de Brut*, 614)

Similarly, *avant* ‘forward/forth’ can contribute a continuative interpretation to the event much like English *on* (14a) or an inchoative interpretation (14b).

- (14) a. *ne jeo n=en=sai avant cunter*  
 NEG I NEG=of.it=know forth tell  
 ‘nor am I myself able to go on telling about it’  
 (Marie de France, *Lais (Lanval)*, 112)
- b. *il s’entre-commencent a regard-er et semont li*  
 they REFL=between-start to watch-INF and encourage the  
*uns l’autre de parl-er avant.*  
 one the=other to speak-INF forth  
 ‘they start to look at each other and encourage one another to  
 begin speaking.’  
 (*Mort le roi Artu*, 134)

These data reveal a productive and robust particle system compared to most modern Romance varieties which are reduced in both inventory and distribution. Northern Italian verb particles are well-known for being exceptional in their productivity, but still, Medieval French shows evidence of an even broader distribution. Rhaeto-Romance, on the other hand, presents an exceptionally productive particle system, closer to what one finds in languages like German and English (see Mair 1984, Andry 1993, 1999, Ebnetter 1994, Vicario 1997).

### 2.3 Replacement

The various contributions that verb particles make to the interpretation of an event, as outlined in the previous section, are replaced by a number of concurrently existing alternatives. For example, in contexts where the directional meaning of the particle is crucial to the interpretation of the motion event, specifically when the verb has very little encyclopedic content, the verb-particle combination is replaced by a verb with richer lexical content. Some straightforward examples are given below.

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- (15) a. *aller hors* ‘go out’ > *sortir* ‘exit’  
b. *aller sus* ‘go up’ > *monter* ‘mount/ascend’  
c. *aller jus* ‘go down’ > *descendre* ‘descend’  
d. *aller arriere* ‘go back’ > *retourner* ‘return’

Pleonastic particles, those that double a directional meaning present in the verb itself—see the examples in (10)—often have no replacement at all. In a preliminary study, Burnett (2010) tracks the decline in frequency of four pleonastic verb-particle pairs in relation to the rise in the use of bare verb counterparts, listed in (16), to show that each patterns as a linguistic replacement over five centuries.

- (16) a. *issir hors* ‘exit out’ > *issir*;  
b. *entrer ens* ‘enter in’ > *entrer*;  
c. *monter sus* ‘mount up’ > *monter*;  
d. *descendre jus* ‘descend down’ > *descendre*

Phrasal prepositions and morphologically complex prepositions with an implicit complement (a.k.a., orphan prepositions), such as *en arriere* ‘in back’, *en avant* ‘ahead’, (*au*) *dehors* ‘outside’, *dedans* ‘inside’, can act as replacements in certain contexts. As shown in example (17), the meaning of the particle and its PP replacement are not always perfect equivalents given that particles are intransitive while the PP replacements are indexical. Troberg & Burnett (2017) present a study which tracks the replacement of *arriere* by *en arriere* and *avant* by *en avant* in directional contexts and which shows how each pair patterns as a clear case of linguistic replacement; as the frequency of the particles *arriere* and *avant* diminishes, the frequency of their PP counterparts rises.

- (17) a. *aller arriere* ‘go back’ > *aller en arriere* ‘go back/backward’  
b. *aller avant* ‘go forward’ > *aller en avant* ‘go ahead’  
c. *sortir hors* ‘exit out’ > *sortir dehors* ‘exit out(side)’  
d. *entrer ens* ‘enter in’ > *entrer dedans* ‘enter in(side)’

Finally, aspectual interpretations arising from the presence of a particle are replaced by various other lexical items. For example, restitutive *arriere* can be replaced by the iterative prefix *re-* or by its adverbial analogue *encore* ‘again’, which, in many cases, imply returning to a previous state or condition. Inchoative and continuative *avant* can be replaced by verbal elements that mark aspect or by periphrasis specific to the context.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Burnett & Tremblay (2012b) for a study on the interaction of *re-* and *arriere*.

- (18) a. *bouillir arriere* ‘bring back to a boil’ > *rebouillir* ‘reboil’ / *bouillir encore* ‘boil again’
- b. *parler avant* ‘speak forth’ > *commencer à parler* ‘begin speaking’ / *s’adresser la parole* ‘address (someone)’; *continuer à parler* ‘continue speaking’

Successive translations of the same work offer plenty of naturally occurring examples of replacement. For example, translations of St. Jerome’s Vulgate from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward show various strategies at play for marking direction, as mentioned above.<sup>5,6</sup>

<i>Bible historale</i> (1291–1295)			<i>La sainte bible</i> (1910)	<i>New King James</i>	
Si lessa <b>aler hors</b> un corbel,	1530: Et laissa le Corbeau <b>aller</b> ,	1587: Et <b>envoya</b> un corbeau,	Il <b>lâcha</b> le corbeau,	and sent out the raven,	Genesis 8:7
s’en fouy et <b>s’en issi hors</b>	1587: s’enfuit, et <b>sortit dehors</b> .	1717: s’enfuit et <b>sortit hors du logis</b> .	s’enfuit <b>au dehors</b> .	and fled and ran outside.	Genesis 39:12
Ysaac dist <b>viens avant</b> fils	1530: Isaac dit: mon fils <b>approche icy</b>	1621: Isaac dist, Mon fils, <b>approche toy</b>	Isaac dit à Jacob: <b>Approche</b> donc, [...] mon fils	Then Isaac said to Jacob, “Come near, [...], my son	Genesis 27:21

**Table 1** Biblical translations of directional particles.

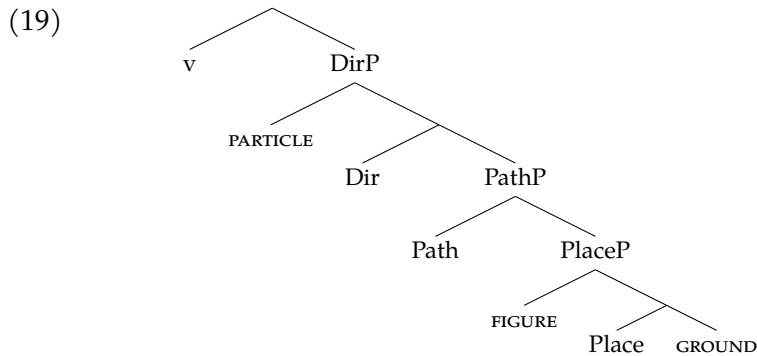
### 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1 *Particles and resultative secondary predication*

Our quantitative study is informed by a view of directional verb particles as elements of an extended PP resultative secondary predicate following [Svenonius \(2010, et subseq.\)](#), also compatible with a somewhat sparser representation for secondary predicates as proposed in [Ramchand \(2008\)](#). The basic ingredients are shown in (19).

<sup>5</sup> Thank you to Maya Krol for providing this data.

<sup>6</sup> *La Sainte Bible : en françoys, translâtée selon la pure et entière traduction de Saint Hierome* (1530); *La Sainte Bible approuvée par les theologiens de Louvain* (1587); *La Sainte Bible françoise* Frizon (1621); *La sainte bible trad. en françois* (1717).



Set within the localist framework of Jackendoff (1983) and employing the conceptual apparatus first introduced in Talmy (1972) for describing static locations, this model of the extended PP builds on the formal framework first proposed in Koopman (2000), then den Dikken (2010). PlaceP contains the locative predicate which situates the Figure in relation to the Ground. In an extended PP, PlaceP is shorthand for a series of functional heads that build, compositionally, the denotation of the region in which the Figure is located. Dominating PlaceP, PathP encodes scalar semantics: often interpreted as a change of location or state. In English, the morphemes *to* and *from* have been argued to be exponents of Path while in Modern Romance, a small class of directional verbs lexicalize this head (Folli & Harley 2020). Svenonius (2010) defines English directional particles like *up*, *down*, *over*, *back*, *out*, etc. as functions that restrict the set of possible Path denotations; for instance, if “into the room” denotes the set of paths terminating in the room, then “up into the room” denotes the subset of paths that are oriented upward. Svenonius proposes that directional particles merge as the specifier of DirP, a projection dominating PathP, although in the absence of evidence of an independently lexicalized head Dir<sup>o</sup>, one might take the view that such particles merge as the specifier of PathP.

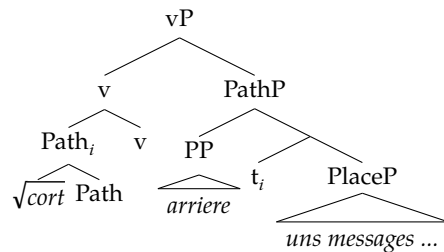
We take the view that Medieval French verb particles merge as specifiers of PathP while the accompanying verb, whose meaning must be associated with scalar change, is merged at Path.<sup>7</sup> Like English, Medieval French particles restrict the set of path denotations. For example, *aller ens* ‘to go in’ restricts

<sup>7</sup> Verbs that most commonly occur with particles clearly lexicalize a scale: inherent directed motion (*entrer* ‘enter’, *aller* ‘go’) and change of state (*vider* ‘empty’, *ouvrir* ‘open’), but many verbs are only contextually associated with scales. Manner verbs such as *courir* ‘run’, *trotter* ‘trot’, *glisser* ‘slide’, *voler* ‘fly’, *couler* ‘flow’, etc. are often used in contexts where the manner of motion is de-emphasized and an inferred ordering relation is privileged (i.e. there is a starting point and, by means of a relatively simple pattern of motion, a predictable change of location arises). This contextual support appears to be sufficient to license a PathP construction. A handful of incremental theme verbs, two of which are mentioned in (12), also license this construction. Our views on scalar change follow Rappaport Hovav (2008, 2009), Levin &

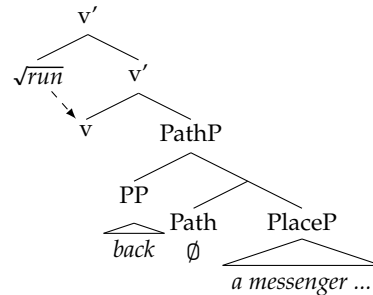
the set of “going” paths to those that cross a boundary separating outside from inside, while *aller arriere* ‘to go back’ restricts the set of paths to those that lead back to a location formerly occupied by the Figure.

This example illustrates a major typological distinction between English and Medieval French, namely where the lexical content of the verb is initially merged. In Medieval French verb-particle expressions, the lexical root is initially merged in Path and raises to *v*. The example in (1b) would have a derivation like that shown in (20a) below. On the other hand, English has dedicated Path exponents (e.g. *to*,  $\emptyset_{TO}$ , *from*). This fact allows manner roots, which do not necessarily lexicalize transition semantics, to externally merge higher (i.e. manner incorporation). We formalize this as adjunction to *v'* followed by merger with *v*, using a mechanism similar to Matushansky’s (2006: 86–89) m-merger (a morphological operation that applies after syntax) as implemented in Folli & Harley (2020), although the analysis does not hang on this choice. The English equivalent to (20a) is shown in (20b) where the manner root externally merges with unaccusative *v*<sup>o</sup>.

(20) a. *uns messages arriere cort*



b. *a messenger runs back*



Note that the structure in (20b) predicts that English will be able to easily generate phrases such as *dance back*, in contrast to the structure in (20a), which should not. In the Medieval French grammar of verb-particle constructions, the verb must be associated with scalar change. Because ‘dance’ usually involves nonscalar change, it would not be felicitous in this derivation.<sup>8</sup> This basic difference between the structure of motion event expression in a language like English and a language like Medieval French corresponds to Talmy’s two-

Rappaport Hovav (2010).

<sup>8</sup> In the absence of native speakers and with only closed corpora to guide us, we face the familiar obstacle in historical linguistics of not being able to establish negative evidence. It is not entirely certain therefore that *dancer arriere* ‘dance back’ is indeed ungrammatical as predicted here. We can simply make the empirical observation that after a thorough corpus search of the verb *dancer* and similar verbs of nonscalar change, we found no occurrences of them with a particle.

way typological distinction known as satellite-framed grammars (Path is lexicalized as a satellite of the verb) versus verb-framed grammars (Path is always lexicalized as a verb) (Talmy 1991, 2000), discussed further in section 6.

It is worth recalling here the remarkable range of verbs in Medieval French that can lexicalize scalar change (Path), as briefly demonstrated in section 2.2. While directional verbs like *aller* ‘go’, *venir* ‘come’, *descendre* ‘go down’, *monter* ‘go up’, *sortir* ‘exit’, etc. are unsurprising, other verbs such as *vomir* ‘vomit’, *escorre* ‘shake’, and *terdre* ‘wipe’, *vochier* ‘call’, and *banir* ‘banish’ are less obvious candidates—at least for English speakers—for lexicalizing translational change of location or change of state. Removal verbs such as ‘washing’ and ‘wiping’ denote changes of state in Modern Romance (see Masini 2005, Mateu & Rigau 2010), and this holds for Medieval Romance as well. For example, *terdre X* can mean ‘wipe/wash away X’; the verb itself denotes result. In contrast, the English equivalents denote activities and thus require the presence of a particle to obtain a removal reading: *wipe the stain \*(away)*.

- (21) *Quant de lermes ses pechiez tiert*  
when of tears her sins washes  
‘When with tears she washes her sins away’ (Macé de la Charité,  
*Bible*, end of 13<sup>th</sup> c.; Greimas, A. J., *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français*.  
Larousse, 1999)

The examples in (22) show that *vomir* ‘vomit’ and *escorre* ‘shake’ can also be construed as change of state verbs.

- (22) a. *Et Cerberus le vomira Par la gueulle et par les*  
and Cerberus it vomited by the mouth and by the  
*narines*  
nostrils  
‘And Cerberus spat it up through its mouth and nostrils’  
(Cene dieux, c.1492, 126; DMF)
- b. *Tant qu’il puisse le fruit escorre*  
much that=he could the fruit shake  
‘In so far as he could shake the fruit down’  
(Guill. Best. Div., 1099, Hippeau; Godefroy 1881: 431)

As shown in examples (12 d, e), even certain incremental theme verbs like

*boire* ‘drink’ and *payer* ‘pay’ can occur with a completive Path particle.<sup>9</sup>

From a structural point of view, a constellation of facts supports the syntactic derivations proposed in (20), in particular, the idea that Medieval French verb particles are first merged within a secondary predicate as opposed to a position outside the vP. In (23 a) and (24), the vP remnant, which includes the Figure, the particle, and the PP expressing the Ground, raises to the CP domain. This is a common topicalization pattern which reflects the strict vP-internal order predicted in an extended PP, where PathP dominates PlaceP and in which the Figure (*le sanc; tes ennemis*) raises out of PlaceP to check accusative case. For concreteness, a derivation is given in (23 b) using traces to show movement.

- (23) a. [*Le sanc jus de ses plaies*] *tert*  
 the blood down of his wounds wipe.3SG.PRS  
 ‘He wipes the blood off of his wounds’  
 (Chrétien de Troyes, *Charette*, p. 89)
- b. [CP [vP [*le sanc*] t<sub>tert</sub> [PathP [*jus*] t<sub>tert</sub> [PlaceP t<sub>sanc</sub> *de ses plaies*]]] *tert*  
 [TP pro t<sub>tert</sub> ... t<sub>vP</sub>]]
- (24) [*Tes ennemis hors d’entour toy*] *Chace et*  
 your enemies out from=around you chase.3SG.PRS and  
*de-boute.*  
 down-push.3SG.PRS  
 ‘He chases away and pushes out your enemies from around you’  
 (*Mir. de Barlaam et Josaphat*, 253)

Auxiliary alternations provide further evidence for the particle as an element of a secondary predicate. When a particle occurs with motion verbs in a compound tense, the *être* ‘be’ form of the auxiliary is selected (*ert* in 25 a), signalling unaccusativity. This contrasts with the same verb used to express an activity, for which the *avoir* ‘have’ form of the auxiliary is selected (*ont* in 25 b), signalling unergative syntax. The systematic cooccurrence of certain particles and the auxiliary *être* in these contexts suggests that the particle and the subject of the clause are in a predication relation within the vP.

- (25) a. *Se ele an=ert alee fors,*  
*si she of.it=AUX.3SG.PST go.PST.PTCP out*  
 ‘and she had gone out (of it)’ (*Le Chevalier au Lion*, p. 92, f. 3509)

<sup>9</sup> We follow Troberg (2019) in which *boire* and *payer* are derived as a changes-of-state (much like removal verbs) in the context of an incremental theme and the completive particle *hors*.

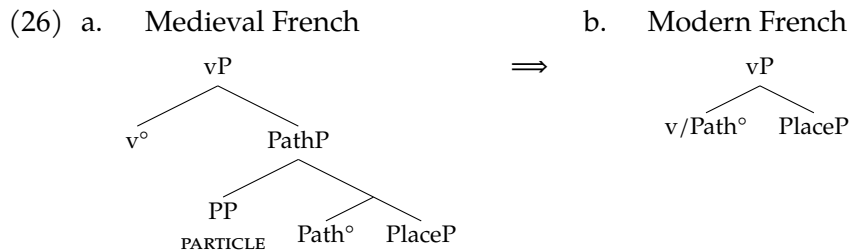


- b. *Tant*      *ont*      *alé*      *qu'il* [...]
   
 so.much    AUX.3PL.PRS    GO.PST.PTCP    that=he
   
 'So much did they go about that ...'      (*Aiol*, 8176)

Finally, a crucial aspect of our approach to Medieval French verb particles is that these elements are predicted to only occur in a grammar that has a syntactically distinct Path projection. In the following section, we take the view that Modern French does not have a productive verb-particle system like Medieval French precisely because it does not have a syntactically distinct Path projection. In Modern French, Path is bundled with unaccusative *v* into one head. This point is discussed in the following section.

### 3.2 *v/Path*<sup>°</sup> bundling

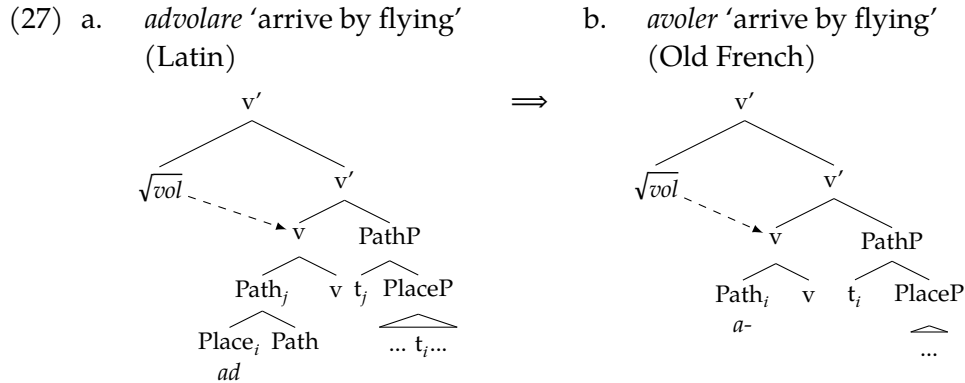
We adopt the view that particles disappear from the grammar of Medieval French as a result of the bundling of Path<sup>°</sup> and unaccusative *v*<sup>°</sup>. These categories are distributed across two distinct functional heads in Old French, as described in section 3.1, but were reanalysed as a unified function, and thus as a single category in the lexicon, during the Middle French period; see [Pylkkänen \(2002, 2008\)](#) and [Harley \(2017\)](#) for split or bundled *v*<sup>°</sup> and Voice<sup>°</sup> as a point of parametric variation. Once verbs such as *aller* 'go', *sortir* 'go out', *descendre* 'go down', etc. are reanalysed as the bundled category *v/Path*<sup>°</sup>, verb particles, which merge between these two heads as a specifier of PathP, are ruled out, as shown in (26).



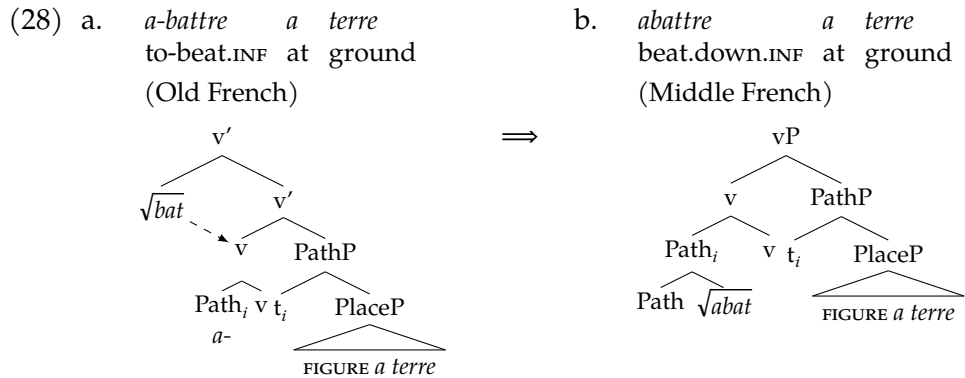
Evidence of an independent Path projection was robust in Latin, which had a rich system of verbal prefixes with directional and aspectual meaning. Following [Acedo-Matellán \(2010, 2016\)](#), these essentially locative elements raise from Place<sup>°</sup> through Path<sup>°</sup> before merging as a prefix to a manner verb (27 a).<sup>10</sup> [Troberg & Burnett \(2017\)](#) propose that by the Old French period, these verbal prefixes, naturally susceptible to grammaticalization, had been reanalysed as

<sup>10</sup> [Acedo-Matellán \(2010, 2016\)](#) uses a slightly different mechanism to model what we present here as head movement.

discrete exponents of Path, having lost their derivational relationship with Place in the system here entertained (27b).



The directional/aspectual preverb system in Old French allowed manner incorporation and was thus a veritable satellite-framed mini-subsystem of the grammar. However, the morpho-phonological erosion of the prefixes continued to undermine evidence of the system. Well-worn prefixed verbs such as *a-river*: to-shore 'arrive', *a-porter*: to-carry 'bring', *a-battre*: to-beat 'beat down', etc. were ambiguous at best concerning the status of the prefix; they could either be derived productively as manner verbs with the raising of a Path prefix (28a), or they could be analyzed as monomorphemic Path verbs (28b). Certainly, by Middle French, most only had the latter analysis.



This process of univerbation underlies the demise of the satellite prefix-system, but what effect did it have on the particle system? On the one hand, univerbation *per se* does not rule out particles; a particle such as *jus* 'down' can and did merge as the specifier of Path in both (28a) and (28b). On the other, univerbation of prefixes with verbal roots that generally do not occur with particles—the vast majority, in fact—introduce a new possible parse whereby

Path is bundled with *v* as a single syntactic head. For instance, in Old French, *arriver* ‘arrive’ would have been derived as a complex verb, much like *a-battre* in (28 a), but since this verb did not occur with particles, after univerbation there would have been nothing preventing a bundled *v/Path* parse, like that shown in (26 b); see Tremblay et al. (2003).<sup>11</sup> With the erosion of the satellite-framed prefix system, verb particles themselves would thus become a crucial cue for learners that Path is a discrete syntactic projection.

### 3.3 The rise of *v/Path*<sup>o</sup> bundling

The puzzle is thus *why* particles fall out of the grammar given their phonological salience and robust frequency in the OF textual record. In fact, their distribution appears to have been expanding due to contact with Middle English (see Schauwecker 2019). We make the basic assumption that particles fell out of the grammar as a consequence of drastically diminished evidence of a syntactically independent PathP and thus the acquisition of a simpler parse that bundles the feature Path with *v* in one unique head. The confluence of at least two factors appears to be at play.

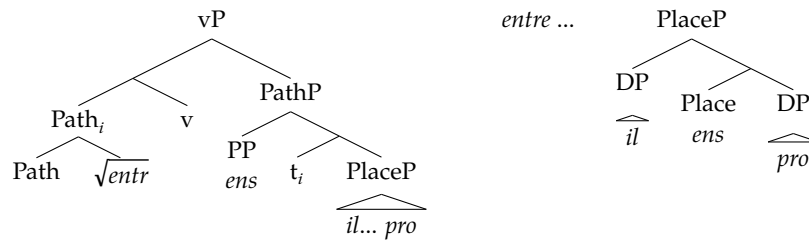
The first factor is that not every utterance containing a particle-like element provided unambiguous evidence for PathP. In many contexts, Medieval French verb particles were ambiguous between an intransitive preposition merged as the specifier of PathP and an orphan preposition merged within PlaceP. Example (29) below involving *entrer ens* ‘enter in’, very frequent in the texts, would be ambiguous. The PP *ens* could be read as ‘in(ward)’ or as ‘inside (the castle walls)’.

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<sup>11</sup> An anonymous reviewer questions whether the root *riv-* was still independently interpreted in Old French. It appears to have been so: it was used as a noun meaning ‘shore’, as an unprefixated verb (*river*) meaning ‘come to shore, dock’ (*qui bien naige, bien rive* ‘who swims well always comes to shore’) and with a specialized meaning of ‘attach’, as in attach a boat to the shore. *Ariver* itself had the primary (causative) meaning of bring to shore ([*ils*] *nous arrivèrent devant une heberge* ‘They brought us to shore in front of an inn.’ – Joinville, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, as cited in Greimas, A. J. 1992. *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français*. Paris: Larousse) and a secondary meaning of to come into contact with the shore. Certainly by Middle French, the relation to water and shore had been significantly bleached.

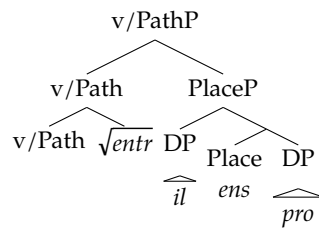
- (29) *Lors lui eurent la porte, et il entre*  
 then him.DAT open.3PL.PRS the gate and he enters.3SG.PRS  
*ens.*  
 in  
 Particle reading: ‘Then they open the gate for him, and he goes  
 in(ward)’  
 Orphan preposition reading: ‘Then they open the gate for him, and  
 he goes inside (the castle walls)’ (Arras, 103; c. 1392–1393)

- (30) a. Particle analysis                      b. Orphan preposition analysis



The particle analysis requires an independent PathP, but the orphan preposition analysis does not. Without an intervening Spec,PathP between v and Path, the orphan preposition analysis of *ens* in (29) is susceptible to a parse whereby the Path property of *entr-* is lexical rather than derived, i.e. a bundling analysis, which involves no movement at all.

- (31) Orphan preposition bundling analysis



A parse such as that in (31) would be favoured on left-to-right incremental processing grounds; a structural least-effort principle favours this simpler derivation over the intransitive parse (30 a) involving raising. Meanwhile, if directional particles were indeed vulnerable to an alternate parse in contexts like (29), this fact alone could not have brought about the demise of the particles since the preference for a transitive parse would have always existed. This demonstration simply shows that clear evidence for directional particles was not nearly as robust as it might initially seem to be.

In this light, the resultative secondary predicate of Middle French, in which verb particles merge as a specifier of PathP, would have been cued in only

very specific contexts, some of which we outline below. Semantic cues would require the P-element to be non-indexical, such as the example in (5 a) and aspectual uses of the particles, such as (3 a), both repeated here.

- (32) a. *Il dist qu'il chevauch-eroit, ce qu'il*  
 he say.3SG.PST that=he ride-3SG.COND that which=he  
*n'avoit pieça fait, et lev-a*  
 NEG=AUX.3SG.PST in.a.long.time do.PST.PTCP and rise-3SG.PST  
*sus et chevalch-a.*  
 up and ride-3SG.PST  
 'He said that he would ride, which he hadn't done in a long  
 time, and he got up and rode.' (Villehardouin, §35)
- b. *et puis leissié re-froid-ir et arriere bouill-ir*  
 and then let.2PL.PRS re-cool-INF and back boil-INF  
 'then let (it) cool and come back to a boil'  
 (Phébus, *Livre de chasse*, 117)

Straightforward syntactic cues for PathP would have involved the co-occurrence of both the particle and an overt PlaceP expression such as that in (33) where an orphan preposition parse is impossible.

- (33) *Arieres ens ou cloistre ala.*  
 back in at.the cloister went  
 'He went back into the monastery.' (Vie du pape saint Grégoire.  
*Légende du bon pécheur*, ms. A3, 1100; Buridant 1987)

For the particle *fors/hors* 'out', the syntactic cue for particlehood involves the presence of both the particle and PlaceP with raising of one so that they are non-adjacent given that *hors de* was reanalysed as a locution.

- (34) *Del temple les a fors geté*  
 of.the temple them AUX out thrown  
 'He threw them out of the temple' (*Troie*, 22309; Buridant 1987: 183)

A second factor in the loss of the particles may have involved changes in word order possibilities. Two types of raising are typical of Old French: raising of an XP to CP as a requirement of a V2 grammar and raising of vP-internal elements to the middle field. The latter phenomenon produces the ordering of particles and non-finite verb forms especially characteristic of Old French. Buridant (1987: 172), for example, observes that raising of particles in non-finite contexts occurs in the vast majority of cases, in both Old French glossaries and texts.

- (35) a. *si l=a jus trebuchié*  
 and him=AUX down make.fall  
 ‘and he pushed him down’  
 (Gautier de Coinci *Miracles de Notre-Dame* (Livre Second))
- b. *Je ne puis mes avant aler*  
 I NEG can more forward go  
 ‘As for myself, I cannot go any farther’ (Renart IX, -9238a)

If the favoured position of particles (and not orphan prepositions - perhaps even to their exclusion) was to the left of the non-finite verb, then raising to the middle field would have provided abundant evidence of a discrete Path projection. It would follow, then, that the loss of such movement might greatly obscure the grammar of verb particles. Zaring (2010) measures the loss of scrambling in Old French by tracking the position of direct objects relative to non-finite verb forms. She finds that raising with infinitives falls from 60% in the 12<sup>th</sup> century to 47% in the 13<sup>th</sup>, and object raising involving past participles falls from 43% in the 12<sup>th</sup> century to 28% in the 13<sup>th</sup>. Assuming particles raise to the middle field by the same mechanism, we might expect a correlation between this movement and the loss of particles. We explore this hypothesis further in section 6.

### 3.4 *Alternative accounts*

The loss of particles as proposed above converges with that of Tremblay et al. (2003), but the different formalisations make different predictions about how the particles fall out of the grammar. In both proposals, the univerbation of directional/aspectual prefixes (*ad-* ‘to’; *de-* ‘down’; *en* ‘in’, etc.) with verbal roots plays a role in the loss of the verb particles. The syntactic account, outlined in sections 3.1 through 3.3, predicts a uniform loss across the particles, consistent with a parametric change. Tremblay et al., on the other hand, describe the change in lexical terms. The prefixes encode a [+directional] semantic feature, which comes to be analysed as a verbal feature as their morpho-phonological status erodes. This first occurs in the once morphologically complex verbs (e.g. *a-river*) and then generalizes to simple verbs like *entrer*, which were previously unspecified for directionality according to this account. As a consequence, directional/aspectual verb particles, which the authors claim to have been obligatory for specifying direction in Old French, become redundant once directionality is a verbal property. Since univerbation was a gradual process, affecting different verbs at different times, so would be the loss of the particles. The final blow to their productivity would

have happened in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when, the authors claim, directionality was relexicalized as a strictly verbal property.

Within a functionalist/constructionist approach to language, [Jacobini \(2015: 10–11\)](#) suggests that the verb particle system is reduced in most Romance varieties due to speaker preference for expressing Path in the verb root rather than in a satellite associated with a manner verb. In other words, the change in the use of verb particles is a result of speakers privileging verb-framed strategies in the encoding of motion events. This preference is said to restrict the use of particles to contexts in which the main verb encodes Path, but it would not rule the particles out. The author proposes that this preference is a result of the loss of the most salient satellite-framed strategies for expressing motion events—directional preverbs and case distinctions that mark boundary crossing (*in* + accusative case > path reading; *in* + ablative case > locative reading). The time course of change of verb particles is thus predicted to be gradual, targeting only specific classes of verbs. [Jacobini](#) further proposes that the introduction of linguistic standards and norms in French and Spanish contributed to the progressive marginalization of verb particles to informal (i.e. spoken) registers from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onward. Since [Jacobini](#) defines particles in different terms than we do—orphan prepositions are also considered to be particles (he cites *descendre en bas* ‘to descend below’, *il m’a sauté dessus* ‘he jumped on me’)—his view is that they have not undergone a categoric loss.

Another approach to the loss of verb particles in French frames the change as a correlate of a major word-order change. [Buridant \(2000\)](#) observes a cross-linguistic association between the presence of verb particles and OV word order, forming the basis of his proposal that the loss of verb particles is related to the loss of disjunctive OV word order in French, as attested in object-shift and object scrambling sequences such as Aux-O-V, V-O-V<sub>inf</sub>, and S<sub>rel</sub>-O-V. The prediction that this proposal makes about the time course of change of particles depends on one’s theoretical perspective. A generative framework, although not the framework in which [Buridant](#) works, might predict a uniform change if the presence of particles is dependent on the grammar that generates OV word-order. As mentioned above, we investigate this correlation in section 6.

Finally, [Marchello-Nizia \(2002\)](#) relates the drastic reduction of verb particle use to a macro change in the grammatical system along the lines of Humboldt’s Universal and the Principle of Isomorphism. The claim is that there is a tendency for languages to change in ways that maximize the one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning, where each morpheme has only one meaning, and each meaning is associated with only one morpheme. A

fine-grained analysis of four morphemes (*aval, en, par, tres*) and an overview of a large inventory of other prepositional elements demonstrates that some prepositional elements can have up to five distinct functions in Medieval French, among which are particle, preposition, lexical prefix, separable prefix, subordinator, verb, and noun. The author concludes that there has been a gradual shift from a grammar that permits a morpheme to have a number of functions and thus to express a number of different categories (11<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries) to a grammar that has fewer categorial distinctions per morpheme. In the author's terms, lexical items in French are becoming more iconic in that one-to-one correspondences between form and function are more frequent. The prediction for the loss of verb particles is clearly a gradual one.

#### 4 PREVIOUS QUANTITATIVE STUDIES

Given the considerable amount of work that has been done on Medieval French verb particles, there is surprisingly little consensus about the grammar of the particles and why they fell out of use. There is, however, a growing body of literature that describes their disappearance from the textual record. Through some of the most well-known texts, Foulet (1946) describes the robust and productive use of *sus* 'up' and *jus* 'down' in Old French (11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> c.) and their striking loss of productivity in the 14<sup>th</sup> century writings of Froissart. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, only the most fossilized expressions with these particles are used, and infrequently at that. Buridant (1987, 2000) confirms Foulet's basic account through his own extensive examination of texts.

In the last ten years, a number of quantitative studies of particles have been undertaken in an effort to describe their diachrony and better understand the cause of change. Such studies confirm Foulet's and Buridant's descriptions but also offer the possibility of comparing the time course of change of individual particles in order to determine if the change proceeds uniformly and if the loss of the particles correlates with other changes in the grammar of Medieval French. The principal aim of the work by Heather Burnett and colleagues has been to test if the loss of verb particles is systematic, using the Constant Rate Hypothesis (Kroch 1989) as a measure. The various studies show diverse methodological approaches in the face of the persistent challenge that the particles are not replaced by a clear and consistent set of alternative forms.

Burnett, Gauthier & Tremblay's (2010) careful study of the loss of *arrière* and *avant* is inconclusive, showing different rates of change for the two particles. Similar results are reported in Burnett & Tremblay (2012b). Using a different approach designed to test the interaction between the prefix *re-* 'back' and the particle *arrière* 'back' with two verbs, they discuss how the rate



of loss of *arrière* differs dramatically between the contexts of *(re)tourner* and *(re)traire*. If the change were systematic, one expects to see the rate of change to be the same in the same contexts. They suggest that although the CRE seems to hold for the setting of word-order parameters, measuring the loss of lexical items may not be as straightforward. Namely, the syntactic and semantic properties of argument structure contexts introduce elements of interference that skew the evolution of the particle.

On the other hand, two other quantitative studies suggest that the loss of particles may indeed be systematic. Burnett (2010) presents a pilot study of four particles in pleonastic contexts: *monter (sus)*, *descendre (jus)*, *entrer (ens)*, and *issir (hors)*. Their loss is measured as a function of the rise in frequency of the verb used without the particle (although it could appear with prepositional complement). While the rates of change appear to be similar, there is little discussion of method or error analysis. And, while the choice of verb-particle combinations is appropriate for the contrast, *sus* and *ens* introduce the possibility of significant error in that they are frequently used in “orphan” contexts (as discussed in section 3) and the verb *issir* undergoes lexical replacement by *sortir* before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In subsequent work, Troberg & Burnett (2017) suggest a categoric change in *avant* and *arrière* by measuring their loss against the prepositional alternatives *en avant* and *en arrière*. Here, too, a constant rate effect is only suggested, not demonstrated, the high potential for error notwithstanding, given that in this study, all contexts must be controlled for a directional reading.

Fagard (2019) presents the most recent quantitative study of verb particles. This detailed and ambitious study tracks the frequency of 22 lexical items and their orthographic variants considered to be part of a general verb-particle construction working within the constructionist framework of Goldberg (1995) and Traugott (2008). The aim of the study is to illustrate one aspect of how the Latin satellite-framed grammar shifts to the Modern French verb-framed system. Although many different forms are captured in this study, the most frequently occurring are what we consider to be particles (section 2.1), making up about two-thirds of the tokens. Thus, the overall time-course of change of this group of items should reflect more or less the loss of particles in the stricter sense that we adopted here. The trajectory—albeit quite coarse-grained—is essentially what has been reported previously either impressionistically or quantitatively: the Old French period (900–1350) presents robust and productive use of all forms. The frequency of the verb-particle construction in general undergoes a dramatic 50% decline during the Middle French period (1351–1550), in which Fagard notes the rise in replacement forms *amont* > *en haut*, *aval* > *en bas*, etc. By the Preclassic period (1551–

1650), the frequency of the various verb-particles plummets in most cases by well over 50%, and by the end of this period, the particles are clearly unproductive. Fagard’s study describes the loss of particles as a gradual decline, proceeding differently for each form according to its meaning and type of verb that it occurs with, in a complex interplay of replacement and grammaticalisation. What emerges in the following section is that within this larger change, a subset of items, what we consider to be true verb particles, undergo a uniform and abrupt change.

## 5 THE TIME COURSE OF CHANGE OF MEDIEVAL FRENCH PARTICLES

### 5.1 Method

The aim of our study is to offer a quantitative description of the time course of change of four high-frequency verb particles, building on previous work which has struggled with this measure given the usual challenges that historical data present and compounded by the absence of a clear set of replacement forms. Our interest in a reliable quantitative description is to bring it to bear on an enduring and basic question about the loss of the particles: do the time courses of change of individual particle use suggest a systematic uniform change among particles, or do they suggest that the loss of the particles is the result of independent lexical changes? This question informs our choice of methodology. We investigate the frequency and productivity of four particles over a corpus of 33 million words spanning from the 12<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup> century. We approach our data using two analytical tools: (1) a logistic regression model, following the well-established procedure introduced by Kroch (1989) for investigating the possibility of a Constant Rate Effect and (2) a mixed-effects Poisson regression model, which is particularly well-suited to count data from different sources and allows a comparison of the four particles together.

#### 5.1.1 Data

The data for this study comes from three publicly accessible corpora, providing a total of 33 million words from 770 texts: *Textes du Français Ancien* (TFA; 1150–1449), *Frantext Moyen Français* (FMF; 1300–1549), and *ARTFL-FRANTEXT* (FRAN; 1250–1299, 1500–1699).<sup>12</sup> The richness of the historical record gives us a comprehensive sample of the grammar of particles and their

<sup>12</sup> We were careful to avoid overlapping texts among the corpora. See [Appendix A](#) for the list of texts we have included in our study.

frequency between 1150 and 1699, reflected in a variety of written genres that includes poetry, novels, plays, essays, sermons, journals, and letters.<sup>13</sup>

We tracked the frequency of four robustly attested particles: *jus* ‘down’, *hors/fors* ‘out’, *arrière* ‘back’ and *avant* ‘forward’. *Jus* is valuable as a baseline of sorts, as this lexical item only ever functions as a directional particle (i.e., it does not have a prepositional function), and its interpretation remains spatial; it does not have purely aspectual interpretations. Foulet describes *jus* as losing productivity significantly earlier than other particles, in particular compared to its counterpart, *sus* ‘up’. *Arrière* and *avant* were studied together as they are semantic opposites and have a similar distribution of functions: as directional and aspectual particles, prepositions, orphan prepositions, and nouns, namely within prepositional locutions: (*en*) *arrière/avant de*.... If the time course of change of the various particles is affected by their particular functions, this pair should pattern closely with one another but differently from *jus*, for example. Finally, *fors* and its variant *hors* were chosen because they present a more complex evolution than the other particles. The two forms undergo their own lexical competition (*hors* replaces *fors* as a particle), they have multiple functions, including an aspectual meaning, and the status of the commonly co-occurring PP headed by *de*; *hors de X* could be analysed as a particle followed by a Source PP (i.e. [*hors [de X]*] ‘out of X’) or it could be a compound preposition: [[*hors de*] X] ‘out of X’. Our analysis should tell us whether this added complexity affects the time course of change of the particle function.

### 5.1.2 Extraction, coding and exclusions

All tokens of each particle were extracted using the search function of each corpus. Common orthographic variants, based on those listed in the *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français* (Larousse) and the *Dictionnaire du moyen français*<sup>14</sup>, were included in the search. Each token was coded for syntactic category (particle, preposition, noun, conjunction, etc.). Orphan preposition uses were thus coded differently from particle uses. Particles were further coded according to the verb with which they occurred and the narrow context of use. The most important contexts were whether they occurred in their simplest form as a verbal satellite (e.g., *aller arrière* ‘to go back’); as an expression—

13 Once we excluded all the texts of Anglo-Norman origin, we were left with only one representative work for the period 1100–1149. We therefore eliminated this time interval from the analysis.

14 Greimas, A.J. 1997. *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français*. Paris: Larousse; DMF : *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, version 2015 (DMF 2015). ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine. <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>.

usually as a command such as *Or avant!* ‘Onward!’; as an expression involving coordination such as *courir sus et jus* ‘to run up and down’ (i.e. ‘here and there’, ‘everywhere’); or as part of a deictic expression such as *gésir là jus* ‘to lie down down there’ or *aller ça arrière* ‘to go back here’. We further noted non-directional uses of particles (*einz se dormoient hors desouz un arbre* ‘rather, they were sleeping outside underneath a tree’ *Artu* p. 261).

Of all the particle tokens we identified, we only retained simple directional/aspectual particles in our quantitative analysis. Further, while we did not control for genre or regional varieties, we did mark tokens from Anglo-Norman texts differently from the rest. This allowed us to calculate the time course of change with and without data from this variety of French based on [Schauwecker’s \(2019\)](#) recent observation that Anglo-Norman texts have significantly higher rates of verb particle use and that the particles themselves occur with a wider range of verbs, suggesting a contact-induced difference in the use of resultative secondary predication. This difference was also evident in our data, so we excluded Anglo-Norman texts as a possible confound from the analysis as well. In addition, we excluded clearly archaizing 17<sup>th</sup> century texts from the analysis and excluded authors whose work had a total word count of less than 500, as these cases are prone to producing outliers in our analysis.

Tokens were associated with the text they occurred in, and each text was assigned a code associated with its author. Authors were then assigned to a 50-year time interval based on the period within which most of the author’s publications fell. In the case of anonymous texts, the works were classified according to the (estimated) publication date.<sup>15</sup> For the purpose of modelling the time course of change, the data was therefore binned in 50-year intervals. [Table 2](#) provides an example of how tokens were coded.

DATE	AUTH. CODE	AUTHOR	TITLE	BEFORE	TOKEN	AFTER	CAT.	SUBCAT.	VERB
1176	C-007	Chrétien de Troyes	<i>Cligès</i>	Si qu’il l’abat	jus	del cheval	part	simple	abattre
1387–1389	P-006	Gaston Phebus	<i>Livre de chasse</i>	ou revient	arriere	hors pour escouter et regarder	part	simple	revenir
1610	B-012	Béroalde de Verville	<i>Le moyen de parvenir</i>	qu’ils n’aillent	avant	ni arriere	part	coordonné	aller
1180	0-062	Anon.	<i>Montiage Guillaume, 2e</i>	Tous nous convient	fors	de l’encloistre issir	part/ prep	de	issir

**Table 2** Sample of token coding.

<sup>15</sup> See [Appendix B](#) for the list of authors.

### 5.1.3 Data analysis

Our analysis tracks the frequency of each particle over time in order to check for patterns of probable convergence in their time courses of change. Following [Lightfoot \(1999, and subseq.\)](#), the assumption is that unity of the change suggests unity of the analysis. We analyse our data using two statistical models, which give us slightly different information. The first of these is logistic regression, following the standard method of investigating the Constant Rate Hypothesis ([Kroch 1989](#)).<sup>16</sup> For each particle  $i$ , we fit our data to the equation of logistic curve in (36) using its logistic transform (logit) in (37), where  $p_i$  is defined as the relative frequency of the particle per word in each 50-year interval,  $e$  is Euler's number (the base of the natural logarithm),  $s_i$  is the slope,  $k_i$  is the y-intercept (the value of  $\ln \frac{p_i}{1-p_i}$  when  $t = 0$ , i.e., at the point of actuation; see section 5.2.2), and  $t$  is time (in centuries).

$$(36) \quad p_i = \frac{e^{k_i+s_it}}{1 + e^{k_i+s_it}}$$

$$(37) \quad \ln \frac{p_i}{1-p_i} = k_i + s_it$$

With a logistic regression, we attempt to test whether the loss of the four particles occurs in an S-shaped trajectory and whether these S-shaped curves have the same slope. The S-curve, common in domains outside of linguistics, models an innovation as it propagates through a population of speakers, characterized by a 'slow, slow, quick, quick, slow' pattern ([Denison 1999](#)) in which the innovation emerges slowly, is followed by a middle phase where it gains ground exponentially, and then slows down as it reaches completion. The CRE predicts that when an innovation is tracked according to the various grammatical contexts in which it appears, each of the S-curves will have parallel slopes, often offset from each other as a function of the initial frequency of the innovation. In the case of French directional/aspectual particles, we are tracking the frequency of the outgoing grammar as a measure of the number of particle tokens plotted over the total word count of consecutive 50-year periods. There are four grammatical contexts corresponding to four different particles. Importantly, while parallel slopes may not always be the result of a common underlying change, such a change, properly measured, should always produce a constant rate effect.

<sup>16</sup> We are aware of problems with the standard method and, in future work, will explore how our data fare with the application of revised methods, such as that proposed by [Kauhanen & Walkden \(2018\)](#).

The second model for which we have opted is a mixed-effects Poisson regression model. This family of models has been used in recent studies in bilingualism and sociolinguistics (e.g. Bohman, Bedore, Peña, Mendez-Perez & Gillam 2010, Denis & Tagliamonte 2016, Fruehwald 2016, Gadanidis & Denis *accepted/in press*) but have not been applied to historical data to our knowledge. Poisson regression models are a family of regression models used for count variables (Denis & Tagliamonte 2016), which are what we are working with in this study. Poisson regression models can also take inter-author variation into account. In general, regression models are used to determine a trend with respect to one or more factors, allowing us with this data to assess the effect of inter-author variation in particle usage due to content. Poisson regression models also allow the option of including an offset, which could account for the inter-author differences in word count. Authors differ, for example, in how prolific they were; for some, only one small text survives, while others wrote huge volumes. Such inter-author variation is further compounded by the fact that authors may vary in the degree to which they use particles, a result of their idiolect or the subject matter of the texts. Most importantly, mixed-effects models allow for the comparison of the four particles together, while also allowing for pairwise comparisons. With these considerations in mind, we define our mixed-effects Poisson model by the equation in (38), where  $y$  is the number of tokens of a particle used by an author,  $t$  is the era,  $p$  is the particle,  $w$  is the word count of an author, and  $\{\beta_0, \beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3\}$  are the coefficients we are trying to model.

$$(38) \quad \ln y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 t + \beta_2 p + \beta_3 tp + \ln w$$

The interaction term of era and particle ( $\beta_3 tp$ ) is our indicator for testing whether the particles fall out of the grammar in a unified manner. If the interaction effect is found to be significant ( $p < 0.05$ ), the particles would have different trajectories.

## 5.2 Results

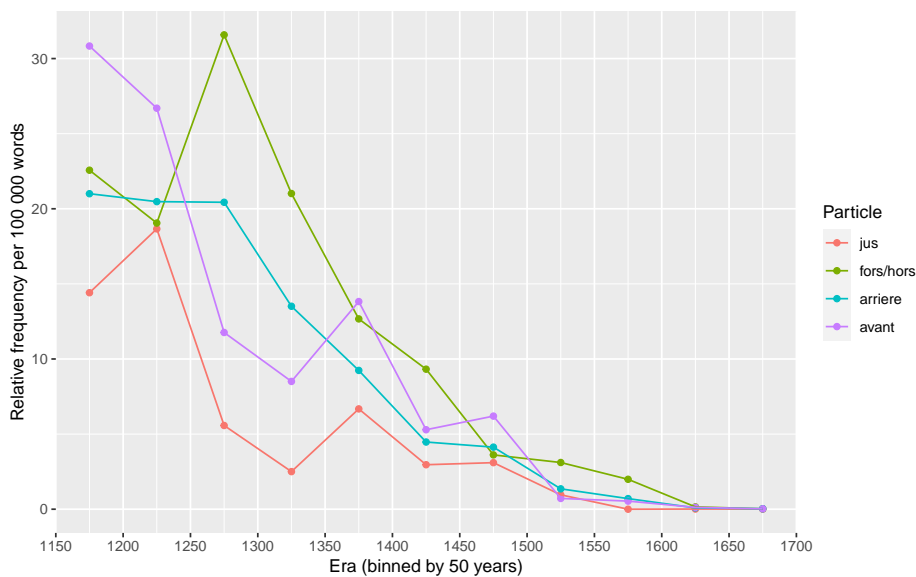
All analyses were performed using the statistical software environment R (R Core Team 2020). Additional packages were used, including `forcats` (Wickham 2020), `dp1yr` (Wickham, François, Henry & Müller 2020), `reshape2` (Wickham 2007), `gttools` (Warnes, Bolker & Lumley 2020) and `tibble` (Müller & Wickham 2020) for data manipulation, `ggplot2` (Wickham 2016) for making plots, and `lme4` (Bates, Mächler, Bolker & Walker 2015) and `car` (Fox & Weisberg 2019) for regression analysis.

5.2.1 General results

In our corpus, there was a total of 3642 tokens of the four particles (*jus* = 581, *fors/hors* = 1101, *arrière* = 843, *avant* = 1117). Table 3 shows the distribution of tokens over time as well as the word count of each 50-year interval.

Era	Token count				Total	Word count
	<i>jus</i>	<i>fors/hors</i>	<i>arrière</i>	<i>avant</i>		
1150–1199	129	202	188	276	795	895 106
1200–1249	144	147	158	206	655	771 640
1250–1299	9	51	33	19	112	161 508
1300–1349	5	42	27	17	91	199 850
1350–1399	185	351	256	383	1175	2 770 674
1400–1449	47	148	71	84	350	1 587 622
1450–1499	48	56	64	96	264	1 549 066
1500–1549	12	39	17	9	77	1 254 650
1550–1599	0	48	17	13	78	2 411 213
1600–1649	1	14	8	11	34	9 052 399
1650–1699	1	3	4	3	11	11 972 301
Total	581	1101	843	1117	3642	32 626 029

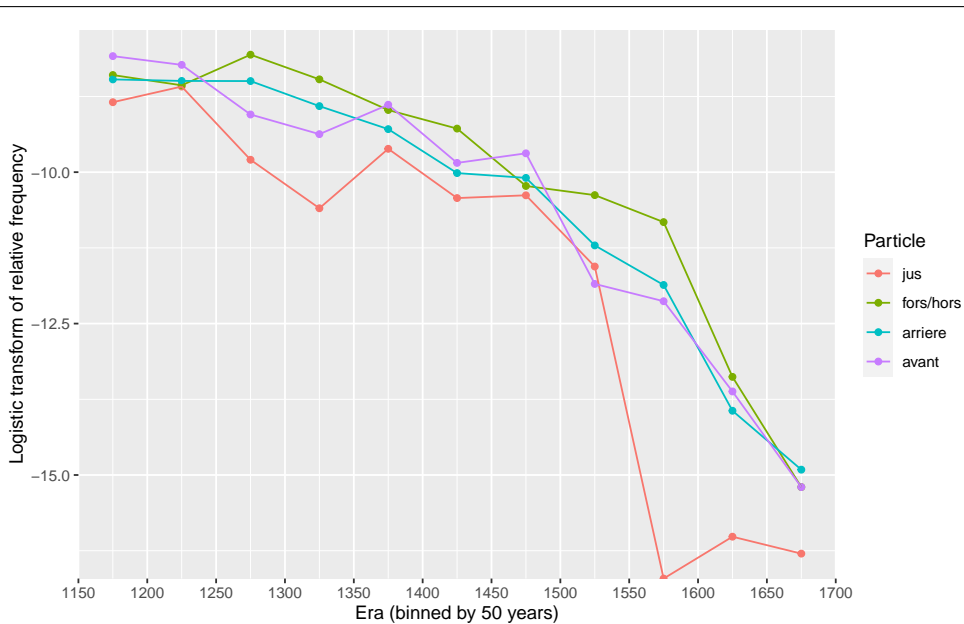
**Table 3** Token count and word count for each period.



**Figure 1** Relative frequency of the four particles per 100 000 words from 1150 to 1699.

Figure 1 shows the general trajectory of the four particles over the entire timespan of our corpus. There seems to be considerable variation in the first periods, but the frequency of all four particles eventually converge to zero, consistent with the findings of previous studies that particles eventually disappear completely.

### 5.2.2 Logistic regression



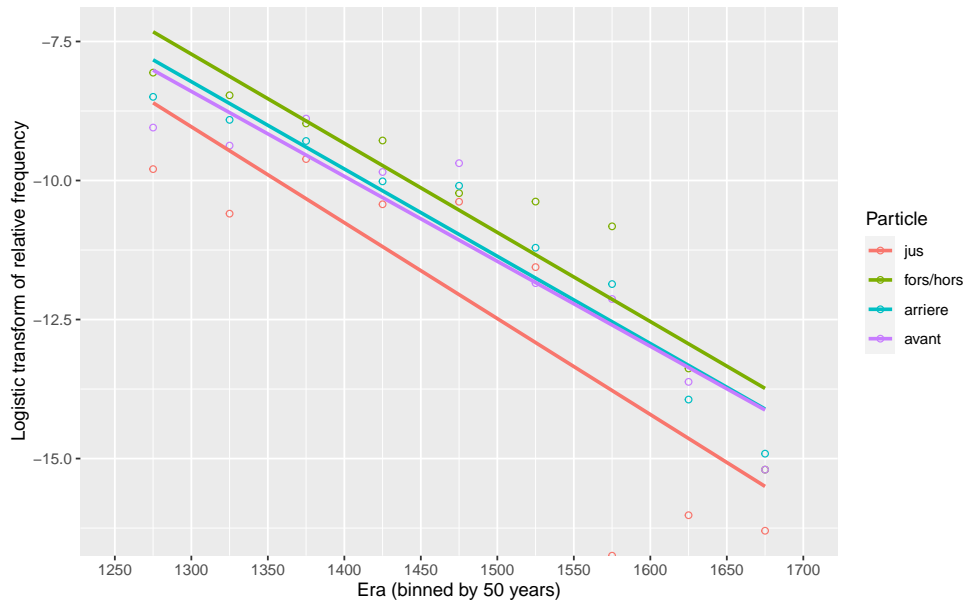
**Figure 2** Logistic transform of relative frequency of the four particles (per word) from 1150 to 1699.

Based on Figures 1 and 2, we observe that from the period 1250–1299 to the period 1300–1349, all four particles participate in a decrease in relative frequency. Thus, we have set the point of actuation (i.e., where  $t = 0$ ) at the year 1250. For each particle  $i$ , we have fit the data to the logistic function using a linear regression on the logistic transform of the data following (37), as shown in Figure 3, yielding the slope and intercept values in Table 4. By inspection of Figure 3 and Table 4, the slopes for the four particles are almost identical; the range of variation is 0.19, which is 12% of the median slope value of  $-1.59$ .<sup>17</sup> Fitting a single slope to all four particles, we get a common slope

<sup>17</sup> Compare the range of variation reported in Kroch (1989) for the rise of periphrastic *do* in



of  $-1.40$  ( $R^2 = 0.79$ ).<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 3** Logistic transform of relative frequency of the four particles (per word) from 1250 to 1699, with best fit lines from a linear regression.

To test whether the differences in the slopes are significant, we have run an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) test (McDonald 2014, Mangiafico 2015, Andrade & Estévez-Pérez 2014), where a significant interaction effect of era and particle ( $p < 0.05$ ) would signify a difference existing among particles. The ANCOVA test finds no significant interaction of time and particle ( $F_{3,32} = 0.11, p = 0.95$ );<sup>19</sup> thus, we have no reason to reject the null hypothesis: there is no significant difference among the slopes of the particles. On the other hand, there is a significant difference among the intercepts ( $F_{3,32} = 3.91, p = 0.02$ ), meaning that the initial frequencies are different—as one might expect (cf. Kroch 1989: 225). In sum, we have found a constant rate effect among all four grammatical contexts involving the loss of directional/aspectual parti-

different contexts, which is 15% of the median slope value.

<sup>18</sup> All non-finite values, i.e.  $\ln 0$ , have been excluded.

<sup>19</sup> Common practice in the literature has been to use a  $\chi^2$  test of significance to determine whether slopes are significantly different (Kroch 1989, Santorini 1993, Pintzuk 1995, *inter alia*). However, this method has been criticized on methodological grounds (Paolillo 2011, Corley 2014, Kauhanen & Walkden 2018).

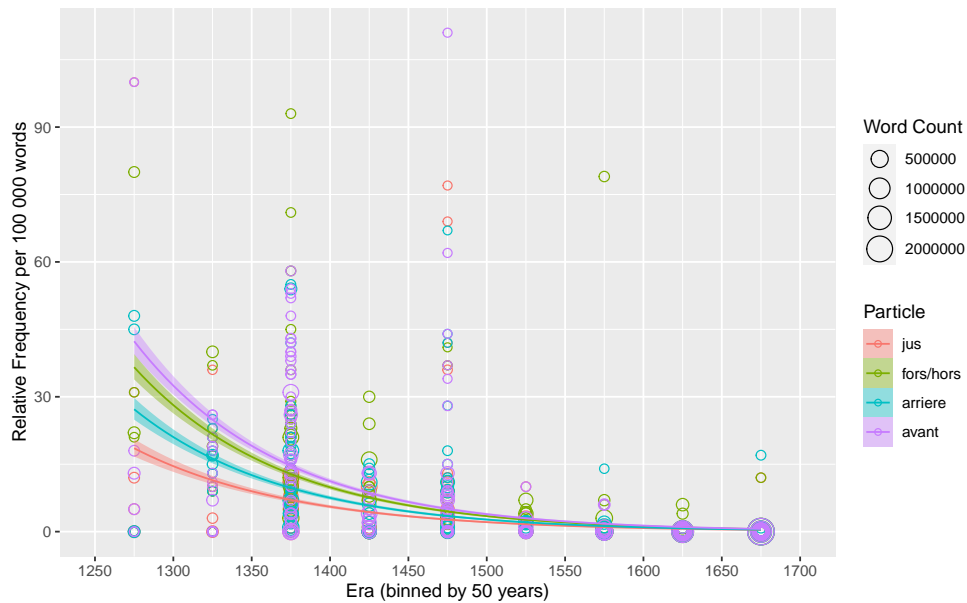
cles. This in itself strongly suggests that the loss is the result of a single abstract change in the grammar of Medieval French as opposed to four separate low-level lexical changes.

Particle	$s$	$k$	$R^2$
<i>jus</i> <sup>a</sup>	-1.72	-8.17	0.79
<i>fors/hors</i>	-1.60	-6.93	0.87
<i>arrière</i>	-1.57	-7.44	0.92
<i>avant</i>	-1.53	-7.63	0.87

<sup>a</sup> All non-finite values excluded.

**Table 4** Slope ( $s$ , measured in logit units per century) and intercept ( $k$ ) parameters of logistic regressions for each of the four particles from 1250 to 1699.

### 5.2.3 Mixed-effects Poisson regression



**Figure 4** Relative frequency of the four particles per 100 000 words from 1250 to 1699. Each data point represents one author. Best-fit lines with 95% C.I. generated using a Poisson regression.

Figure 4 shows the relative frequency of the four particles from 1250 to 1699 with consideration of inter-author variation. Similar to the ANCOVA test, in the Poisson model, determining whether the trajectory of the four particles from 1250 to 1699 is the same requires testing if there is a significant interaction effect between time and particle ( $p > 0.05$ ). From the results of this model (Table 5), which uses *fors/hors* as the reference particle, the interaction between era and particle was not found to be significant for all three particles ( $p_{jus} = 0.16, p_{arrière} = 0.24, p_{avant} = 0.23$ ), which means that we have no reason to reject the null hypothesis: there is no significant difference among the four particles in their trajectory over time. These results from the mixed-effects Poisson model coincide with our findings from the logistic regression.

<i>Fixed effects</i>	Coefficient	Sig. Level	S.E.
ERA (normalized) <sup>a</sup>	-2.23	***	0.11
PARTICLE (vs. <i>fors/hors</i> )			
<i>jus</i>	-1.07	***	0.14
<i>arrière</i>	-0.54	***	0.12
<i>avant</i>	-0.28	*	0.11
ERA (normalized) <sup>a</sup> :PARTICLE (vs. <i>fors/hors</i> )			
<i>jus</i>	-0.16		0.12
<i>arrière</i>	-0.12		0.10
<i>avant</i>	-0.11		0.09
INTERCEPT	-11.81		0.13
<i>Random effects</i>	Varianc	Group <i>n</i>	
AUTHOR (INTERCEPT)	1.22	306	

Notes: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

<sup>a</sup> era is the midpoint of a 50-year period; mean era = 1539, S.D. = 125

**Table 5** Mixed-effects Poisson regression testing the fixed effects of ERA and PARTICLE, a fixed interaction between ERA and PARTICLE, and a random intercept of AUTHOR on verb particle usage from 1250 to 1699. An offset, log (word count), has been included. Coefficients are reported in log-odds.

## 6 DISCUSSION

Applying both the logistic regression model and the Poisson regression model to our diachronic data, we have established strong evidence in support of a unified and abstract change in the directional/aspectual particle system of Medieval French. The findings do not support an account of the loss of par-

ticles that involves individual lexical changes, brought about by redundancy, analogy, or grammaticalization. Our data demonstrate that the frequency of all four particles begins to decline in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and reaches completion during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This result is consonant with observations for the last 70 years that particles disappear from French as a set, with a noticeable decline beginning by the Middle French period and variation with respect to the point at which they are no longer productively attested (e.g. Foulet observes that *jus* falls into disuse before *sus*).

These findings, the first of their kind, would support any view that seeks to identify a plausible cause of the categoric change in the grammar and other correlates of that change. Our claim is that despite the robust presence of (intransitive) verb particles in texts, the system was vulnerable to extinction due to the scarcity of cues for Path as an independent syntactic projection rather than a feature bundled with *v*. In section 3.2, we pose that the directional/aspectual prefix system provides a clear cue for PathP. If the decline of this system triggered the loss of the particles, then it would have been in the latter half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century or the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> when evidence of the system fell below a frequency required to acquire a PathP grammar (since it is from 1250 onward that we observe the diffusion of the innovative *v*/PathP grammar, which disallows particles). Descriptive work suggests that the preverb system was very weak by the end of the Old French period with perhaps only one or two prefixes remaining somewhat available, but more precise measures would be necessary in order to accurately assess this hypothesis.

It is nonetheless puzzling that the vitality of such a salient and robust particle system should hang solely on the balance of evidence from the preverbs; the particles themselves would provide independent evidence for a PathP grammar. Recall, however, that in section 3.3, we observed that in many contexts, forms such as *jus*, *arriere*, *hors*, *avant*, etc. were syntactically ambiguous, having either a (intransitive) particle reading or a (transitive) orphan preposition reading. Given that the particle reading would be disfavoured a priori on processing grounds, ambiguous contexts provide no cue for PathP. When ambiguous contexts are excluded, clear clues for a PathP grammar are not frequent at all, and in this light, the particle system was indeed much more vulnerable than one might initially suppose.

Finally, it would be possible to use our findings to test the proposal put forward in Buridant (1987) according to which there is a correlation between the grammar of verb particles and disjunctive OV word order. The exact nature of the correlation aside, our findings provide a baseline to which the time course of change of OV word order could be compared. For instance, Marchello-

Nizia (1995) concludes that OV word order in finite contexts is essentially lost by the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, while Zaring's (2010) analysis shows that although the frequency of scrambling of the object in non-finite contexts falls dramatically between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is still robustly attested in the 13<sup>th</sup>. A more extensive statistical study may indeed show an interesting relationship between the two phenomena. Another way of approaching Buridant's correlation might be to posit that short-distance scrambling of vP-internal elements provided evidence for the grammar of particles. If (intransitive) particles (and not orphan prepositions) were particularly susceptible to scrambling, then the independent loss of such movement would remove yet more evidence for a PathP grammar. Interestingly, in a very preliminary comparison of scrambling of *jus* and *arrière* in non-finite contexts, the relative frequency of leftward movement of these two particles begins to decline in 1250 and continues to fall through the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The parallel with the loss of particles is striking, but this question clearly requires much closer examination.

### 6.1 Methodological choices

In the analysis of the time course of change of four directional/aspectual particles, we present two statistical models of change that call into question the widespread view that the loss of particles is a result of low-level individual lexical changes. This view is based either on simple speculation or on quantitative studies skewed by methodological challenges.

Teasing out the relevant contexts to measure was crucial to our analysis as there were many potentially confounding factors. Importantly, our analysis involved a syntactically-based definition of particles (intransitive prepositions), distinguishing them from orphan prepositions (transitive prepositions with a null complement). Although we included all tokens that were ambiguous between a particle and a preposition, we excluded all clear occurrences of orphan preposition uses, along with idiomatic expressions (simple and conjoined), locative/stative readings, and all tokens with Anglo-Norman provenance, the latter decision based on Schauwecker (2019) and our own verification that texts of this origin have significantly higher rates of particle use. Also crucial to the analysis was coding the data according to author, not text, and seeking more fine-grained results by binning data in 50-year intervals. In the absence of these methodological choices, the data did not show a clear uniform change as has been the case in all previous quantitative studies.

We thus conclude, partially in response to the challenges to which Burnett & Tremblay (2012b) allude, that it is indeed possible to measure diachronic change at the level of argument structure, provided that the contexts in which

the lexical items are tracked are carefully filtered to exclude confounding factors.

## 6.2 Aspectual particles

Our view has been that both the directional and aspectual interpretations of the particles have one and the same syntactic representation, in line with Burnett & Tremblay (2009, 2012a) and Troberg & Burnett (2017). The continuum of directional to aspectual readings of the particles ranges from clearly spatial, to restitutive, completive, and finally to inchoative and continuative with *avant*. Given that the syntactic distribution does not appear to vary with the interpretation, Burnett & Tremblay (2009) propose that the particular interpretation of a particle is contextually defined; when combined with a non-directional verb, the interpretation is aspectual. Such a view predicts that all interpretations of the particles are subject to the same underlying change in the grammar, and so, in the context of the present study, we expect that the time course of change of the aspectual readings would pattern in the same way as the directional readings. In order to test this prediction, we attempted a statistical comparison of the loss of aspectual *avant* with its directional uses, but the token count of the aspectual uses is too small to do so successfully. While nothing conclusive can be drawn from the data, it is nevertheless worthwhile noting that the raw numbers show a somewhat similar trajectory: relatively robust occurrences from 1150–1250 followed by a dramatic decrease in frequency from 1350 onward.

A unified analysis of aspectual *avant* and the directional particles is admittedly tricky to formalize given our view that particles merge within a resultative secondary predicate, PathP, which requires verbal roots to lexicalize scalar change. Continuative *avant*, for example, occurs predominantly with activity verbs such as *parler* ‘speak’, *dire* ‘speak, tell’, *conter* ‘recount, tell’, and *ouïr* ‘listen’, all of which do not encode scalar change or occur with an incremental theme. McIntyre (2004) captures the interpretation along with the atransitivity requirement of continuative *on* in English by associating the Figure with a null eventive element, coindexed with the main eventuality. It is not clear, however, if a verb-framed grammar can generate a similar derivation involving, for example, a cognate object. We leave for future research whether a uniform analysis is possible to maintain.

The analysis of continuative *avant* put forward in Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013: 254) might make a different prediction, since this reading is treated as a vestige of the former Latin satellite-framed system, which had parallel expressions such as *porro loquere* ‘say on’. Although verb particles are not the focus of their article and are thus not discussed in detail, one is left to assume

that along with the undisputed gradual loss of the directional/aspectual prefixes, these satellite-framed particles also gradually lose productivity. What is unclear is how the particles are related to the grammar of Path prefixes and/or their directional verb particle counterparts.

Fagard (2019) treats aspectual interpretations of the particles as grammaticalizations of the directional uses. This too might predict that the loss of continuative *avant* in *parler avant* ‘talk on’ is unrelated, for example, to the directional reading of *avant* in *venir avant* ‘come forth’. If aspectual *avant* is a case of grammaticalization in the strict sense, where the aspectual use instantiates a different (more functional) grammatical category, we might predict a different distribution and different diachronic path.

## 7 IMPLICATIONS

What is at stake in any account of Medieval French particles is determining what the status of such a grammar has within the two-way Talmian typology of motion events (Talmy 1991, 2000). The majority view by far is that the verb particles, along with other forms of resultative secondary predication, signal a satellite-framed grammar, much like English (Schøsler 2008, Kopecka 2009, Iacobini 2012, 2015, Iacobini & Fagard 2011, Troberg & Burnett 2017). The minority view, one based on very specific criteria for satellite-framedness, diagnoses the verb-particle system of Medieval French as verb-framed, not substantially different from Modern French or other Modern Romance languages (Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013). Our view holds that Medieval French is predominantly verb-framed, in that the verbal root must lexicalize Path. This is the case for particles (save aspectual *avant*) and for other forms of resultative secondary predication such as adjectival resultatives and directed manner-of-motion (see Troberg & Burnett 2014 and Krol 2019 for adjectival resultatives and Troberg 2011 for directed manner-of-motion).

### (39) Complex adjectival resultatives

- a. *Yci tout nu le despoulliez*  
here all naked him strip  
‘Strip him totally naked here’ (Mir. St Panth., 350)
- b. *Que tricherie abat jus plate.*  
that dishonesty beats down flat  
‘that beats Dishonesty down flat.’  
(Pizan, *Livre de al mutacion de la Fortune*, t. 2, 29; DMF)

## (40) Directed manner-of-motion

- a. *Et puyz après nous troterons en guerre.*  
 and then after we will.trot in war  
 ‘And then after we will trot into war.’  
 (*La Ressource de la Chrestienté*, 133)
- b. *en passant par la chambre et cheminant aux*  
 in passing by the room and making.his.way at.the  
*noces*  
 wedding  
 ‘while passing by the bedroom and making his way to the  
 wedding’  
 (*Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 122)

The medieval system is parametrically distinct from Modern French, also a verb-framed language, in that the Path-verb complex is syntactically derived. We have called this a weak satellite-framed language. On the other hand, the Path-verb complex is a lexical property in Modern French, a strong verb-framed language. This system rules out particles, which would merge as specifiers of PathP, and restricts other forms of resultative secondary predication to lexical idiosyncracies. The uniform loss of particles as a class is therefore a result of a within-type parametric change from a weak to a strong verb-framed grammar.

From this perspective, our study would reveal just one reflex of a broader change—perhaps the only measurable one—that occurred in the expression of resultative secondary predication in Medieval Romance. If adjectival resultatives and directed manner-of-motion constructions are also dependent on a PathP grammar (as opposed to a v/PathP grammar), then we would predict a correlation in their time courses of change. As it stands, the correlations remain impressionistic. Krol (2019) attempts to track the loss of four adjectives used in the context of adjectival resultatives (*mort* ‘dead’, *nu* ‘naked’, *plat* ‘flat’, and *sanglant* ‘bloody’), and although the loss of adjectival resultatives with *mort* appears to closely follow the time course of change of the particles with actuation at 1250 and disappearance in the 16th century, the token count is too small to test a statistical correlation with the particles. The token counts for the other adjectives are lower still. Future work may reveal more robust and testable findings.

Our description of the loss of directional verb particles also has implications for understanding what has occurred with their cognates in other Romance varieties. Unlike French, most other varieties of Romance are still described as having particle systems. Some are very impoverished compared to the Medieval French system, while others—Rhaeto Romance and certain



Northern Italian dialects—are robustly attested and appear comparable to the Medieval French system. Our view is that all Romance varieties (Rhaeto Romance aside) have lost the weak verb-framed particle system of early Romance. This may not be immediately obvious, however, because, in contrast to French, in which most of the forms themselves disappear, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and Romanian have retained many of the original forms—recast, in our view, as elements of PlaceP (orphan prepositions). Northern Italian particles, in ways unique in the Romance varieties, appear to have taken a somewhat different diachronic path and are now arguably associated with an aspectual projection in the syntactic middle field (Tortora 2002, Quaglia & Trotzke 2017).

Crucially, however, these so-called particle systems are not generated by a PathP grammar since other reflexes of such a grammar, such as those mentioned above, are absent. We venture to propose here that the change from a PathP grammar to a bundled v/Path grammar occurred independently in the major Romance varieties but with similar mechanisms and consequences. This change is particularly transparent in French because the large majority of particles simply fell out of the lexicon (*jus, sus, ens, contrevail, contremont, amont, aval*) to be replaced by existing orphan prepositions and prepositional locutions having similar meanings (*en bas, dessous, en haut, dessus, dedans*, etc.) Only *arrière, avant*, and *hors* were preserved: *hors* as the complex *hors de, avant* as a (transitive) preposition, and *arrière* within the locution *en arrière (de)*.

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APPENDIX A

The following table lists the 770 texts included in this study's corpus. The author(s), title, date of publication, source database, and word count of each text are presented.

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Descartes, René	[Le] Monde	1677	FRAN	52 815
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	A, A, A, nescio loqui	1445	FMF	28 576
Bernier, François	Abrégé de la philosophie de Gassendi	1684	FRAN	622 333
Racine, Jean	Abrégé Hist. de Port-Royal	1699	FRAN	45 781
Naudé, Gabriel	Advis povr dresser vne bibliothèque	1643	FRAN	18 113
Camus, Jean-Pierre	Agathonphile : récit de Philargyrippe	1621	FRAN	34 464
Corneille, Pierre	Agésilas	1666	FRAN	18 533
Anonymous	Aiol	1210	TFA	91 528
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Alaric, ou, Rome vaincue : poème heroïque	1654	FRAN	95 081
Racine, Jean	Alexandre le Grand : tragédie	1666	FRAN	13 945
Anonymous	Ami et Amile	1200	TFA	25 286
La Fontaine, Jean de	Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon (Les)	1669	FRAN	56 113
Molière	Amphitryon : comédie	1668	FRAN	15 597
Du Fresny, Charles	Amusemens sérieux et comiques	1699	FRAN	20 849
Racine, Jean	Andromaque : tragédie	1668	FRAN	15 276
Corneille, Pierre	Andromède	1651	FRAN	15 655
Garnier, Robert	Antigone (Ed. Lebegue. Les Belles Lettres, 1952.)	1579	FRAN	21 486
Bodin, Jean	Apologie de René Herpin pour la république	1581	FRAN	33 058
Naudé, Gabriel	Apologie pour tous les grand hommes qui ont esté accusez de magie.	1625	FRAN	85 338
Machaut, Guillaume de	APPENDICE	1377	FMF	3 382
Pollion, Marc Vitruve	Architecture ou Art de bien bastir	1547	FRAN	146 173
Du Ryer, Pierre	Argenis et Poliarque, ou Théocrine : tragi-comédie	1630	FRAN	15 802
Balzac, Jean-Louis	Aristippe ou de la Cour	1654	FRAN	34 377
Guez, seigneur de Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Arminius, ou, Les frères ennemis	1644	FRAN	16 019
Scudéry, Madeleine de	Artamène ou le grand Cyrus	1656	FRAN	2 089 470
Racine, Jean	Athalie	1691	FRAN	15 833
Corneille, Pierre	Attila	1667	FRAN	16 925
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Audite celi	1435	FMF	27 370
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Audite illos	1432	FMF	4 768
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Babiole	1697	FRAN	10 376
Racine, Jean	Bajazet : tragédie	1672	FRAN	15 550
Froissart, Jean	Ballades	1362–1377	FMF	7 025
Orléans, Charles d'	Ballades	1415–1457	FMF	22 326
Anonymous	Beaudouin de Sebourc	1350	TFA	42 572
Anonymous	Beaudouin de Sebourc	1350	TFA	42 181
Anonymous	Beaudouin de Sebourc	1350	TFA	42 852
Anonymous	Beaudouin de Sebourc	1350	TFA	42 730
Anonymous	Beaudouin de Sebourc	1350	TFA	49 274
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Belle-Belle, ou le Chevalier Fortuné	1698	FRAN	18 679

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Bellerophon	1679	FRAN	8087
Racine, Jean	Bérénice : tragédie	1671	FRAN	13 452
Anonymous	Bérinus, t. 1	1350-1370	FMF	104 912
Anonymous	Bérinus, t. 2	1350-1370	FMF	43 459
Anonymous	Bestiaire marial	1333	TFA	25 951
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Bonne Petite Souris (La)	1697	FRAN	5354
Garnier, Robert	Bradamante	1582	FRAN	17 363
Racine, Jean	Britannicus : tragédie	1670	FRAN	15 628
Adenet le Roi	Buevon de Conmarchis	1271	TFA	32 981
Orléans, Charles d'	Caroles	1415-1440	FMF	355
Anonymous	Catéchisme servant de disposition	1679	FRAN	8766
Scudéry, Madeleine de	Célinte	1661	FRAN	47 017
Anonymous	Chanson de Guillaume	1150	TFA	26 549
Anonymous	Chansonnier B	1250	TFA	6340
Anonymous	Chansonnier de Zagreb	1225	TFA	7467
Orléans, Charles d'	Chansons	1415-1440	FMF	6737
Anonymous	Chansons nouvelles P. Garnier, Troyes, [entre 1685-1738]	1685	FRAN	55 517
Anonymous	Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire, t.3	1330-1436	FMF	216 062
Chrétien de Troyes	Chevalier au Lion	1170	TFA	41 700
Pierre Sala	Chevalier au Lion	1552	TFA	25 179
Chrétien de Troyes	Chevalier de la Charrette	1177	TFA	43 944
Roye, Jean de	Chronique scandaleuse t.1	1460-1483	FMF	68 101
Roye, Jean de	Chronique scandaleuse t.2	1460-1483	FMF	29 944
Froissart, Jean	Chroniques	1400	FMF	217 098
Froissart, Jean	Chroniques III	1375-1400	FMF	65 569
Mairet, Jean de	Chryséide et Arimand : tragi-comédie de Jean Mairet (1625)	1630	FRAN	15 420
Corneille, Pierre	Cinna	1643	FRAN	16 194
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe	Cinq dialogues faits à l'imitation des anciens	1631	FRAN	66 319
Chrétien de Troyes	Cligès	1176	TFA	40 642
Corneille, Pierre	Clitandre	1632	FRAN	14 643
Desmarests de Saint-Sorlin, Jean	Clovis ou La France chrestienne	1657	FRAN	95 474
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Comète (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1681	FRAN	6479
Guyon, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de La Motte	Commentaire au	1683	FRAN	38 824
Tringant, Guillaume	Commentaire du "Jouvencel"	1477-1483	FMF	8290
Bayle, Pierre	Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ	1686	FRAN	125 224
Orléans, Charles d'	Complaintes	1433-1451	FMF	3072
Aubigné, Agrippa d'	Confession catholique du Sieur de Sancy	1630	FRAN	35 725
Aubignac, François-Hédelin, abbé d'	Conjectures académiques	1676	FRAN	55 380
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	Conjuration Comte de Fiesque	1665	FRAN	18 916
Chrétien de Troyes	Conte du Graal	1181	TFA	53 670
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne, religieux minime. T. 5, 1635	1635	FRAN	22 321
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne, T. 9, 1640	1640	FRAN	14 207

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne. T. 10, 1640-1641	1641	FRAN	12 529
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne. T. 11, 1642	1642	FRAN	6318
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne. T. 12, 1643	1643	FRAN	1673
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne. T. 6, 1636-1637	1637	FRAN	3328
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne. T. 7, 1638	1638	FRAN	5533
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne. T. 8, 1638-1639	1639	FRAN	11 742
Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de	Correspondance T. 2, 1675-1680	1680	FRAN	404 376
Descartes, René	Correspondance, 1641-1647	1641	FRAN	12 244
Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de	Correspondance. T. 1, 1646-1675	1675	FRAN	257 427
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance. T. 2, 1628-1630	1630	FRAN	8236
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance. T. 3, 1631-1633.	1633	FRAN	9963
Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de	Correspondance. T. 3, 1680-1696	1696	FRAN	388 745
Mersenne, Marin	Correspondance. T. 4, 1634.	1634	FRAN	12 827
Rotrou, Jean	Cosroès : tragédie	1649	FRAN	15 768
Crapillet, Pierre	Cur Deus homo ; De arria animae	1450-1460	FMF	47 609
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Dauphin (Le)	1698	FRAN	14 006
Des Masures, Louis	David combattant	1566	FRAN	15 183
Des Masures, Louis	David fugitif	1566	FRAN	18 753
Des Masures, Louis	David triomphant	1566	FRAN	15 991
Anonymous	DDialogue de beaucop veoir et joyeux soudain	1480	FMF	2608
Poulain de la Barre, François	De l'égalité des deux sexes	1673	FRAN	36 245
Pascal, Blaise	De l'esprit géométrique	1655	FRAN	11 195
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	De l'origine des fables	1686	FRAN	5221
Senault, Jean-François	De l'usage des passions	1641	FRAN	130 048
Daudin, Jean	De la erudition ou enseignement des enfants nobles	1360-1380	FMF	89 069
Arnauld, Antoine	De la Frequente Communion	1643	FRAN	127 275
Guillaume, le Clerc	De la Male Honte	1265	FRAN	992
Charron, Pierre	De la Sagesse, Trois Livres	1601	FRAN	178 481
Le Roy, Loys	De la vicissitude ou la variété des choses en l'univers	1575	FRAN	124 786
Scève, Maurice	Délie : objet de plus haute vertu	1544	FRAN	32 467
Marot, Clément	Des inédits	1526	FRAN	11 159
Arnauld, Antoine	Des vraies et des fausses idées	1683	FRAN	89 410
Descartes, René	Description du corps humain et de toutes ses fonctions (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1648	FRAN	18 322
La Popelinière, Lancelot du Voisin de	Dessein de l'histoire nouvelle des français	1599	FRAN	32 141
Sihon, Jean de	Deux vérités (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1629	FRAN	64 491

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Anonymous	Deuxième continuation de Perceval	1210	TFA	75 944
La Bruyère, Jean de	Dialogues sur le Quietisme	1694	FRAN	43 045
Baude, Henri	Dictz moraux pour faire tapisserie	1450	FMF	3469
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Digression sur les anciens et les modernes	1688	FRAN	6063
Bodin, Jean	Discours de J. Bodin sur le rehaussement et la diminution tant d'or que d'argent	1568	FRAN	31 860
Corneille, Pierre	Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique	1660	FRAN	10 829
Descartes, René	Discours de la methode	1637	FRAN	23 200
Godeau, Antoine	Discours de la poésie chrestienne.	1633	FRAN	6047
La Boétie, Etienne de	Discours de la servitude volontaire ou le Contr'un (Payot, Paris)	1549	FRAN	34 645
Corneille, Pierre	Discours de la tragédie	1660	FRAN	13 823
Corneille, Pierre	Discours des trois unités	1660	FRAN	7501
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Discours nature de l'églogue	1688	FRAN	8646
La Bruyère, Jean de	Discours prononcé dans l'Académie Française	1694	FRAN	8291
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Discours sur l'histoire universelle	1681	FRAN	135 092
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Dissertations Chrestiennes et Morales	1654	FRAN	65 116
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Dissertations Critiques	1654	FRAN	81 545
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Dissertations Politiques	1654	FRAN	43 665
Pizan, Christine de	Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc	1429	FMF	2889
Du Bellay, Joachim	Divers jeux rustiques	1558	FRAN	26 689
Saint-Réal, M. l'abbé de (César Vichard)	Dom Carlos	1672	FRAN	24 305
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Dom Gabriel Ponce de Leon	1697	FRAN	14 366
Molière	Dom Garcie de Navarre, ou, Le prince jaloux : comédie	1661	FRAN	17 455
Molière	Dom Juan, ou, Le festin de Pierre : comédie	1665	FRAN	18 293
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Don Fernand de Toledé	1697	FRAN	6925
Corneille, Pierre	Don Sanche d'Aragon	1650	FRAN	17 366
Anonymous	Du sacrement de mariage	1477-1481	FMF	6867
Gournay, Marie Le Jars de	Égalité des hommes et des femmes	1622	FRAN	6177
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Endimion	1692	FRAN	6242
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Enée et Lavinie	1690	FRAN	7464
Anonymous	Enfances Garin de Monglane	1400	TFA	42 384
Pascal, Blaise	Entretien avec M. de Sacy	1655	FRAN	4434
Brébeuf, Georges de	Entretiens Solitaires	1660	FRAN	46 372
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes	1686	FRAN	31 990
Pizan, Christine de	Epistre de la prison de vie humaine	1416-1418	FMF	14 334
Boileau Despréaux, Nicolas	Epistres	1698	FRAN	14 902
Des Masures, Louis	Epistres au seigneur Lebrun	1566	FRAN	1985

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Boisrobert, sieur de (François Le Métel)	Epistres En Vers T. 1	1646	FRAN	24 691
Boisrobert, sieur de (François Le Métel)	Epistres En Vers T. 2	1659	FRAN	36 600
Deshoulières, Madame (Antoinette)	Epitres	1694	FRAN	11 090
Gautier d'Arras	Eracle	1176	TFA	40 854
Chrétien de Troyes	Erec et Enide	1170	TFA	40 924
Mariotte, Edme	Essai de Logique, contenant les principes des sciences, et la maniere de s'en servir pour faire de bons raisonnements	1678	FRAN	46 250
Nicole, Pierre	Essais de morale. T. 1	1671	FRAN	72 935
Nicole, Pierre	Essais de morale. T. 2	1671	FRAN	66 688
Nicole, Pierre	Essais de morale. T. 3	1675	FRAN	67 220
Cyrano de Bergerac	Estats et Empires de la Lune	1655	FRAN	39 659
Cyrano de Bergerac	Estats et Empires du Soleil	1655	FRAN	48 209
Racine, Jean	Esther	1689	FRAN	11 406
Dupleix, Scipion	Ethique ou philosophie morale	1610	FRAN	112 659
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Eudoxe : tragi-comédie	1641	FRAN	19 349
Jurieu, Pierre	Examen des droits des deux souverains (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1687	FRAN	44 364
Anonymous	Exercice de dévotion (P. Garnier, Troyes)	1685	FRAN	10 099
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Exortation faite au roy	1458	FMF	4 224
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe	Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure	1697	FRAN	45 226
La Fontaine, Jean de	Fables	1668	FRAN	95 949
La Fontaine, Jean de	Fables nouvelles	1671	FRAN	16 894
Anonymous	Farce a trois personnages : le savetier, le sergent et la laitière	1480–1490	FMF	3 215
Scudéry, Madeleine de	Femmes Illustres	1642	FRAN	53 928
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Finette cendron	1698	FRAN	14 797
Arnauld d'Andilly, Monsieur (Robert)	Fondations Monasteres Carmel.	1670	FRAN	93 416
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Fortunée	1697	FRAN	11 684
Rabelais, François	Gargantua.	1534	FRAN	44 754
Hotman, François	Gaule française (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1574	FRAN	50 141
Descartes, René	Géométrie (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1637	FRAN	20 913
Molière	George Dandin, ou, Le mari confondu : comédie	1669	FRAN	11 990
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Gracieuse et Percinet (In le Cabinet des Fees, T.2. Geneve, Barde. Paris, Cuchet, 1785.)	1698	FRAN	8 793
Arnauld, Antoine; Lancelot, Claude	Grammaire générale et raisonnée.	1660	FRAN	24 884
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Grenouille Bienfaisante (La)	1698	FRAN	9 470
Corneille, Pierre	Héraclius	1647	FRAN	17 661
Anonymous	Histoire abregée du Nouveau Testament	1685	FRAN	52 722
La Popelinière, Lancelot du Voisin de	Histoire des histoires	1599	FRAN	120 253
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Histoire des oracles	1687	FRAN	36 068

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Boisrobert, sieur de (François Le Métel)	Histoire Indienne	1629	FRAN	81 324
Coeffeteau, Nicolas	Histoire romaine (Paris, G. Loyson, 1646.)	1623	FRAN	263 154
Audiguier, Vital d'	Histoire trage-comique de nostre temps	1615	FRAN	104 473
Anonymous	Histoires abregées de l'Ancien Testament	1685	FRAN	48 743
Camus, Jean-Pierre	Homélie des États-Généraux.	1615	FRAN	35 405
Corneille, Pierre	Horace (In Oeuvres completes, Ed. Marty-Laveaux. Hachette, 1862.)	1641	FRAN	16 548
La Popelinière, Lancelot du Voisin de	Idée de l'histoire accomplie	1599	FRAN	82 734
Deshoulières, Madame (Antoinette)	Idylles	1694	FRAN	3 112
Le Clerc, Jean	Interpolations et variantes de la Chronique scandaleuse	1502	FMF	81 030
Racine, Jean	Iphigénie	1675	FRAN	15 973
La Sale, Antoine de	Jehan de Saintré	1456	FMF	89 908
Coras, Jacques de	Jonas, ou Ninive pénitente	1663	FRAN	60 363
Choisy, François-Timoléon, Abbe de	Journal du Voyage de Siam	1687	FRAN	97 677
Dangeau, Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de	Journal T. 1 1684-1685-1686	1686	FRAN	131 667
Fauquembergue, Clement de	Journal t.1	1417-1420	FMF	75 954
Fauquembergue, Clement de	Journal t.2	1421-1430	FMF	76 470
Fauquembergue, Clement de	Journal t.3	1431-1435	FMF	37 884
Baye, Nicolas de	Journal, t.1	1400-1410	FMF	77 465
Baye, Nicolas de	Journal, t.2	1411-1417	FMF	59 381
Deimier, Pierre de	L'Académie de l'art poétique	1610	FRAN	75 493
Marot, Clément	L'Adolescence clémentine (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1532	FRAN	35 172
Gombauld, Jean Ogier de	L'Amaranthe de Gombauld : pastorale.	1631	FRAN	20 008
Molière	L'amour médecin : comédie	1666	FRAN	6 612
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	L'amour tyrannique	1639	FRAN	17 263
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	L'apologie du théâtre	1639	FRAN	15 342
Deschamps, Eustache	L'Art de dictier	1392	FMF	5 585
Boileau Despréaux, Nicolas	L'art poétique	1674	FRAN	9 252
Colletet, Guillaume	L'art poétique 1	1658	FRAN	31 264
Urfé, Honoré d'	L'Astrée. T. 1	1607	FRAN	210 308
Urfé, Honoré d'	L'Astrée. T. 2	1610	FRAN	245 688
Urfé, Honoré d'	L'Astrée. T. 3	1619	FRAN	304 708
Urfé, Honoré d'	L'Astrée. T. 4	1624	FRAN	360 162
Molière	L'avare : comédie	1669	FRAN	22 123
Molière	L'école des femmes : comédie	1663	FRAN	17 125
Gombauld, Jean Ogier de	L'Endimion de Gombauld.	1626	FRAN	42 108
Anonymous	L'escole de Salerne	1672	FRAN	7 996
Molière	L'escole des maris : comédie	1661	FRAN	10 910
Esternod, Claude d'	L'espaddon satyrique	1619	FRAN	22 879
Poissenot, Bénigne	L'Esté	1583	FRAN	14 576

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Anonymous	L'Estoire de Griseldis en rimes et par personnages	1395	FMF	16 241
Molière	L'étourdi, ou, Les contre-temps : comédie représentée sur le théâtre du Palais Royal	1663	FRAN	19 353
Chartier, Alain	L'Excusacion aux Dames	1425	FMF	1 484
Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry II, King of Navarre	L'Heptaméron (In Pierre Jourda, ed., Conteurs français du XVIe siècle. (Paris: Gallimard, 1956))	1559	FRAN	182 112
Bagnyon, Jehan	L'Histoire de Charlemagne	1465–1470	FMF	79 866
Faret, Nicolas	L'honneste homme, ou, L'art de plaire à la court	1633	FRAN	31 222
Corneille, Pierre	L'illusion comique	1639	FRAN	15 779
Corneille, Pierre	L'imitation de Jésus-Christ	1656	FRAN	112 667
Mersenne, Marin	L'impicité des deistes, athées et libertins de ce genre....	1624	FRAN	106 120
Molière	L'impromptu de Versailles : comédie	1663	FRAN	7 567
L'Estoile, Claude de (sieur du Saussaye)	L'intrigue des filous	1689	FRAN	17 088
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	L'Oiseau bleu	1698	FRAN	14 071
Du Bellay, Joachim	L'Olive (Bordas, Paris), Ed. D. Aris et F. Joubokovsky	1549	FRAN	15 231
Froissart, Jean	L'Orloge amoureux	1368	FMF	8 694
Dassoucy, M. (Charles)	L'Ovide En Belle Humeur	1648	FRAN	16 234
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	La belle aux cheveux d'or (In le Cabinet des Fees, T.2. Geneve, Barde. Paris, Cuchet, 1785.)	1698	FRAN	5 525
Chartier, Alain	La Belle Dame sans Mercy	1424	FMF	5 024
Sorel, Charles	La bibliothèque française	1664	FRAN	67 985
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	La Biche au Bois	1697	FRAN	14 430
Anonymous	La Cene des dieux	1492	FMF	8 138
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	La chatte blanche	1698	FRAN	15 351
Mareschal, André	La chrysolite	1627	FRAN	124 434
Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry II, King of Navarre	La coche	1541	FRAN	10 089
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	La comédie des comédiens : poème de nouvelle invention	1635	FRAN	4 487
Corneille, Pierre	La Comédie des Tuileries	1638	FRAN	3 677
Chartier, Alain	LA COMPLAINTTE	1424	FMF	1 407
Molière	La comtesse d'Escarbagnas : comédie	1671	FRAN	5 947
Baro, Balthasar	La conclusion et dernière partie d'Astree	1627	FRAN	42 108
Anonymous	La Confession Riffart	1480–1520	FMF	1 794
Saint-Réal, M. l'abbé de (César Vichard)	La conjuration des Espagnols	1674	FRAN	24 609
Molière	La critique de l'école des femmes : comédie	1663	FRAN	8 945
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	La Deliberacion faite à Tours	1468	FMF	3 931
Descartes, René	La dioptrique	1637	FRAN	20 768
Garasse, François	La doctrine cvrievse des beaux esprits de ce temps, ov, Pretendvs tels	1623	FRAN	244 231
Anonymous	La Farce de maître Pierre Pathelin	1456–1469	FMF	10 662
Anonymous	La Farce du pauvre Jouhan	1488	FMF	3 071
Esprit, Mr. (Jacques)	La fausseté des vertus humaines	1678	FRAN	165 161

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Tristan L'Hermite, François	La folie dv sage	1645	FRAN	15 837
Machaut, Guillaume de	La Fonteinne amoureuse	1361	FMF	17 359
Corneille, Pierre	La Galerie du palais	1637	FRAN	16 680
Molière	La gloire du dôme du Val-de-Grâce	1669	FRAN	3127
Anonymous	La grande Bible des noels, tant vieils que nouveaux	1681	FRAN	18 780
Machaut, Guillaume de	La Loange des dames	1377	FMF	40 096
Arnauld, Antoine; Nicole, Pierre	La logique ; ou, L'art de penser	1662	FRAN	97 802
Tristan L'Hermite, François	La lyre : texte original de 1641	1641	FRAN	20 272
Huon le Roi, de Cambrai	La Male Honte	1265	FRAN	1349
Anonymous	La Maniere de henter soutillement	1466	FMF	867
Tristan L'Hermite, François	La Mariane : tradédie	1637	FRAN	16 075
Corneille, Pierre	La mort de Pompée	1644	FRAN	16 503
Tristan L'Hermite, François	La mort de Seneque [computer file]	1645	FRAN	16 731
Anonymous	La Passion d'Autun	1470-1471	FMF	13 143
Anonymous	La Passion d'Auvergne	1477	FMF	27 763
Brébeuf, Georges de	La Pharsale de Lucain	1654	FRAN	107 151
Corneille, Pierre	La Place royale	1637	FRAN	14 066
Aubignac, François-Hédelin, abbé d'	La pratique du théâtre	1657	FRAN	112 315
Michel de Pure, abbé	La Prétieuse	1656	FRAN	220 525
Molière	La princesse d'Élide.	1674	FRAN	11 785
La Fayette, Madame de (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne)	La princesse de Clèves	1678	FRAN	64 170
La Fayette, Madame de (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne)	La Princesse de Montpensier	1662	FRAN	11 906
Froissart, Jean	La Prison amoureuse	1372-1373	FMF	30 964
Chapelain, Jean	La Pucelle	1656	FRAN	113 885
Montchrestien, Antoine de	La reine d'Escosse	1601	FRAN	13 681
La Vigne, André de	La Ressource de la chrestienté	1494	FMF	12 945
Orléans, Charles d'	La Retenue d'Amours	1414	FMF	3155
La Sale, Antoine de	La Salade	1442-1444	FMF	68 493
Regnard, Jean François	La serenade	1695	FRAN	7628
Mairet, Jean de	La Sophonisbe	1634	FRAN	16 408
Marot, Clément	La Suite de l' Adolescence clémentine (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1534	FRAN	43 329
Corneille, Pierre	La Suite du menteur	1645	FRAN	18 323
Corneille, Pierre	La Suivante	1637	FRAN	15 581
Urfé, Honoré d'	La sylvanire, ov, La morte-vive	1625	FRAN	48 926
Mairet, Jean de	La Sylvie du Sieur Mairet : tragi-comédie-pastorale	1627	FRAN	20 212
Foigny, Gabriel de	La terre australe connue	1676	FRAN	51 504
Racine, Jean	La thébaïde, ou, Les frères ennemis : tragédie	1664	FRAN	13 961
Corneille, Pierre	La Toison d'or	1661	FRAN	20 407
Garnier, Robert	La Troade	1578	FRAN	20 560
Fouilloux, Jacques du	La vénerie	1562	FRAN	64 224



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Corneille, Pierre	La veuve	1634	FRAN	18 184
Baillet, Adrien	La Vie de Monsieur Descartes	1691	FRAN	156 062
Anonymous	La vie et les miracles de St. Antoine abbé	1685	FRAN	33 617
Anonymous	La vie mort et passion et resurrection de nostre sauveur Jésus-Christ	1620	FRAN	44 148
Sorel, Charles	La vraye histoire comique de Francion	1646	FRAN	224 913
Auvray, Jean	Le banquet des muses	1623	FRAN	64 538
Balzac, Jean-Louis	Le Barbon	1648	FRAN	12 341
Guez, seigneur de				
Sorel, Charles	Le berger extravagant	1627	FRAN	289 478
Molière	Le bourgeois gentilhomme : comédie-ballet faite à Chambord pour le divertissement du Roi	1671	FRAN	20 090
Chartier, Alain	Le Breviaire des Nobles	1425	FMF	3002
Arnauld d'Andilly, Monsieur (Robert)	Le Chemin de la Perfection	1659	FRAN	81 275
Corneille, Pierre	Le Cid	1637	FRAN	17 149
La Varenne, Francois Pierre de	Le Confitvriier françois, où est enseigné la maniere de faire toutes sortes de confitures, dragées, liqueurs, breuuages agreables. Ensemble la maniere de plier le linge de table, en faire toutes sortes de figures.	1664	FRAN	14 903
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Confort d'ami	1357	FMF	23 986
Marot, Clément	Le Cymetiere (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	2587
Chartier, Alain	Le Debat de Reveille Matin	1424	FMF	2467
Chartier, Alain	Le Debat des Deux Fortunés d'Amours	1412-1413	FMF	8057
Chartier, Alain	Le Debat du Herault, du Vassault et du Villain	1415	FMF	2838
Molière	Le dépit amoureux : comédie représentée sur le théâtre du Palais Royal	1663	FRAN	16 985
Boisguilbert, P. Le Pesant de (Pierre Le Pesant)	Le détail de la France, sous le regne present	1695	FRAN	114 653
Regnard, Jean François	Le distrait	1698	FRAN	17 696
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Dit de l'Alerion	1349	FMF	27 765
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Dit dou Lyon	1342	FMF	13 058
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Dit dou vergier	1340	FMF	7592
Anonymous	Le Dit du prunier	1330-1350	FMF	8348
Regnard, Jean François	Le divorce	1694	FRAN	13 447
Anonymous	Le franc archier de Baignollet	1468-1480	FMF	2567
Anonymous	Le grand calendrier et compost des bergers	1541	FRAN	63 804
Regnard, Jean François	Le joueur	1697	FRAN	18 945
Bueil, Jean de	Le Jouvencel, t.1	1461-1466	FMF	51 542
Bueil, Jean de	Le Jouvencel, t.2	1461-1466	FMF	71 231
Dassoucy, M. (Charles)	Le Jugement de Paris En Vers	1648	FRAN	11 540
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne	1340	FMF	13 398
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre contre le jugement dou Roy de Behaingne	1349	FMF	24 260
Villon, François	Le Lais François Villon	1456-1457	FMF	1966
Chartier, Alain	Le Lay de Paix	1426	FMF	1189
Chartier, Alain	Le Lay de Plaisance	1412	FMF	869
Machaut, Guillaume de	Le Lay de plour	1349	FMF	930
Orléans, Charles d'	Le Livre contre tout péché	1404	FMF	819
Oresme, Nicole	Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote	1370	FMF	124 628

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Oresme, Nicole	Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote [commentaires]	1370	FMF	109 170
Chartier, Alain	Le Livre de l'Espérance	1429-1430	FMF	43 446
Pizan, Christine de	Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune, t.1	1400-1403	FMF	26 507
Pizan, Christine de	Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune, t.2	1400-1403	FMF	57 561
Pizan, Christine de	Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune, t.3	1400-1403	FMF	47 253
Pizan, Christine de	Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune, t.4	1400-1403	FMF	13 924
Ciboule, Robert	Le Livre de sainte meditacion en connoissance de soy	1451	FMF	10 865
Pizan, Christine de	Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V, t.1	1404	FMF	47 365
Pizan, Christine de	Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V, t.2	1404	FMF	37 830
Chartier, Alain	Le Livre des Quatre Dames.	1416	FMF	18 853
Pizan, Christine de	Le Livre des trois vertus	1405	FMF	16 922
Pizan, Christine de	Le Livre du chemin de long estude	1402-1403	FMF	16 922
Oresme, Nicole	Le Livre du ciel et du monde	1377	FMF	159 498
Boileau Despréaux, Nicolas	Le Lutrin	1683	FRAN	6 937
Molière	Le malade imaginaire : comédie meslée de musique et de danses	1674	FRAN	21 022
Molière	Le mariage forcé: comédie	1668	FRAN	6 416
Anonymous	Le Menagier de Paris	1392-1394	FMF	111 738
Corneille, Pierre	Le Menteur	1644	FRAN	17 286
Anonymous	Le Miracle de l'enfant ressuscité	1353	FMF	10 989
Deschamps, Eustache	Le Miroir de mariage	1385-1403	FMF	69 316
Molière	Le misanthrope : comédie	1667	FRAN	17 618
Béroalde de Verville	Le Moyen de Parvenir	1610	FRAN	132 536
Anonymous	Le Mystère de S. Bernard de Menthon	1450	FMF	27 070
La Vigne, André de	Le Mystère de saint Martin	1496	FMF	69 852
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Le Nain Jaune	1698	FRAN	8 462
Colletet, Isaac	Le nouveau secrétaire françois	1685	FRAN	32 737
Tristan L'Hermite, François	Le page disgracié	1643	FRAN	84 244
Vulson, Marc de (si...	Le palais des curieux (Nicolas Oudot, Troyes)	1641	FRAN	29 945
Froissart, Jean	Le Paradis d'amour	1361-1362	FMF	9 762
Tristan L'Hermite, François	Le parasite : comédie	1654	FRAN	16 946
Maynard, François de	Le philandre	1619	FRAN	16 730
Foulechat, Denis	Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury	1372	FMF	20 146
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Le Prince	1631	FRAN	55 342
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Le prince déguisé: tragi-comédie	1636	FRAN	14 249
Aubigné, Agrippa d'	Le printemps : L'hécatombe à Diane et Les stances.	1630	FRAN	27 206
Yver, Jacques	Le Printemps (extraits)	1557	FRAN	55 236
Anonymous	Le Procès d'un jeune moyne et d'ung viel gendarme devant Cupido	1500	FMF	2 938
Chartier, Alain	Le Quadrilogue invectif	1422	FMF	19 377
Rabelais, François	Le Quart-Livre	1552	FRAN	60 714
Dassoucy, M. (Charles)	Le Ravissement de Proserpine	1650	FRAN	12 407
La Fontaine, Jean de	Le recueil de poésies chrétiennes et diverses	1671	FRAN	1 442
Anonymous	Le Recueil de Riom	1466	FMF	28 73

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Anonymous	LE ROMAN DU COMTE D'ARTOIS	1453–1467	FMF	50 417
Aubignac, François-Hédelin, abbé d'	Le Royaume de coquetterie	1654	FRAN	5659
Anonymous	Le Saint voyage de Jherusalem du seigneur d'Anglure	1395	FMF	25 607
Ronsard, Pierre de	Le Second livre des amours	1552	FRAN	29 029
Anonymous	Le secret des secrets de nature	1679	FRAN	11 310
Anonymous	Le Sermon des barbes et des brayes	1450	FMF	2368
Anonymous	Le Somme abregiet de theologie	1477–1481	FMF	36 957
La Fontaine, Jean de	Le songe de vaux	1671	FRAN	12 874
Molière	Le Tartuffe, ou L'imposteur : comédie	1669	FRAN	18 849
Villon, François	Le Testament	1461–1462	FMF	13 334
Rabelais, François	Le tiers livre.	1546	FRAN	54 784
Anonymous	Le tombeau de la mélancholie	1656	FRAN	42 410
Anonymous	Le Tombel de Chartrose	1337–1339	FMF	9482
Colletet, François	Le tracas de Paris	1672	FRAN	18 111
Fillastre, Guillaume	Le Traittié de Conseil	1472–1473	FMF	23 397
Colletet, Guillaume	Le trébuchement de l'yvrongne	1627	FRAN	2485
Quinault, Philippe	Le triomphe de l'amour : ballet royal	1681	FRAN	4007
Huon le Roi, de Cambrai	Le Vair Palefroi	1260	FRAN	7817
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Le vassal généreux	1636	FRAN	13 093
Rotrou, Jean	Le véritable Saint Genest : tragédie	1647	FRAN	16 231
Scarron, Paul	Le Virgile travesti	1648	FRAN	123 962
La Vigne, André de	Le Voyage de Naples	1495	FMF	64 796
Guyon, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de La Motte	Le; et autres récits (Texte établi et présenté par Marie-Louise Gondal. Grenoble: Éditions Jérôme Millon, 1995.)	1685	FRAN	65 467
Anonymous	Légende et vie chrestienne	1598	FRAN	6697
Anonymous	Les .XV. joies de mariage	1390–1410	FMF	34 679
Molière	Les amants magnifiques : comédie meslée de musique d'entrées de ballet	1670	FRAN	12 369
Ronsard, Pierre de	Les Amours (Classiques Garnier, Paris), Ed. Henri et Catherine Weber	1552	FRAN	98 912
Audiguier, Vital d'	Les amours d'Aristandre et de Cléonice	1624	FRAN	53 595
Saint-Gille, Martin de	Les Amphorismes Ypocras	1362–1365	FMF	10 663
Hélisenne de Crenne (pseudonym of Marguerite Briet)	Les Angoysses douloureuses qui procedent d'amours	1538	FRAN	92 091
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe	Les aventures de Télémaque	1699	FRAN	138 152
Machaut, Guillaume de	Les Balades notées	1377	FMF	4825
Du Fail, Noël	Les Baliverneries d'Eutrapel	1548	FRAN	13 166
Racan, Honorat de Bueil, seigneur de	Les bergeries.	1625	FRAN	26 426
La Bruyère, Jean de	Les caractères de Theophraste, traduits du grec	1694	FRAN	20 148
La Bruyère, Jean de	Les caractères ou les moeurs de ce siècle	1694	FRAN	129 983
Anonymous	LES CENT NOUVELLES NOUVELLES	1456–1467	FMF	192 600
Machaut, Guillaume de	Les Chansons baladées	1377	FMF	7033
Marot, Clément	Les Chants divers (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	4532
Machaut, Guillaume de	Les Complaintes	1340–1377	FMF	5672

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
La Vigne, André de	Les Complaintes et épitaphes du roy de la Bazoche	1501	FMF	4282
Perrault, Charles	Les contes des fées	1697	FRAN	34 690
Méré, Antoine	Les Conversations	1669	FRAN	30 842
Gombault, chevalier de; Palluau, Philippe de Clérembault, comte de				
Bersuire, Pierre	Les Décades de Titus Livius I, 1	1354–1359	FMF	37 770
Bersuire, Pierre	Les Décades de Titus Livius I, 9	1354–1359	FMF	33 744
Villedieu, Madame de	Les désordres de l'amour	1675	FRAN	45 305
Balzac, Jean-Louis	Les Entretiens	1654	FRAN	62 258
Guez, seigneur de				
Bouhours, Dominique	Les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène	1671	FRAN	55 009
Marot, Clément	Les Epigrammes (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	24 294
Marot, Clément	Les Epistres (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	26 058
Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de	Les Essais	1595	FRAN	438 631
Marot, Clément	Les Estreines de Marot (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	1 071
Anonymous	Les Evangiles des quenouilles 1	1466–1474	FMF	15 542
Anonymous	Les Evangiles des quenouilles 2	1466–1474	FMF	8 693
Molière	Les fâcheux : comédie	1672	FRAN	8 506
Molière	Les femmes savantes : comédie	1672	FRAN	17 494
La Fontaine, Jean de	Les filles de Minée	1685	FRAN	4 899
Regnier, Jean	Les Fortunes et adversitez	1432–1465	FMF	37 633
Molière	Les fourberies de Scapin : comédie	1671	FRAN	14 953
Mairet, Jean de	Les galanteries du Duc d'Ossonne, vice-roy de Naples : comédie	1636	FRAN	17 129
Garnier, Robert	Les Juifves	1583	FRAN	17 222
Machaut, Guillaume de	Les Lays	1377	FMF	23 887
Bussy, Roger de Rabutin, comte de	Les lettres de messire Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, T. 1 1666-1681	1681	FRAN	33 416
Bussy, Roger de Rabutin, comte de	Les lettres de messire Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, T. 3, 1666-1672	1672	FRAN	63 926
Bussy, Roger de Rabutin, comte de	Les lettres de messire Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, T. 4 1673-1686	1686	FRAN	53 123
Bussy, Roger de Rabutin, comte de	Les Lettres T. 2 1681-1692	1692	FRAN	21 440
Meschinot, Jean	Les Lunettes des Princes	1461–1465	FMF	20 160
Descartes, René	Les méditations	1641	FRAN	31 787
Machaut, Guillaume de	Les Motés	1377	FMF	4 504
Sorel, Charles	Les nouvelles françaises où se trouvent divers effets de l'amour et de la fortune	1623	FRAN	83 426
Des Périers, Bonaventure	Les nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis	1557	FRAN	92 068
Bertaut, Jean	Les oeuvres poétiques	1611	FRAN	102 918
Marot, Clément	Les Opuscules (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	11 076
Racine, Jean	Les plaideurs : comédie	1669	FRAN	8 881
Tristan L'Hermite, François	Les plaintes d'Acante	1633	FRAN	11 867
Villon, François	Les Poèmes variés	1456–1463	FMF	4 529
Malherbe, François de	Les poésies de Mr de Malherbe	1628	FRAN	38 221

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Molière	Les precievses ridicvles : comedie representée au Petit Bourbon.	1660	FRAN	6960
Pascal, Blaise	Les provinciales, ou, Les lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un provinciale de ses amis et aux RR. PP. Jésuites	1657	FRAN	79 164
Racan, Honorat de Bueil, seigneur de	Les pseumes.	1660	FRAN	77 564
Pibrac, Guy du Faur, seigneur de	Les quatrains du seigneur de Pybrac	1672	FRAN	17 627
Anonymous	Les quinze effusions du sang de nostre sauveur	1592	FRAN	2138
Du Bellay, Joachim	Les Regrets (Bordas, Paris), Ed. D. Aris et F. Joubokovsky	1558	FRAN	24 574
Regnier, Mathurin	Les satires. 1 A 13	1609	FRAN	29 504
Regnier, Mathurin	Les satires. 14 A 17	1613	FRAN	5753
Anonymous	Les sept trompettes spirituelles	1678	FRAN	76 378
Anonymous	Les statuts, regles et ordonnances de Herpinot reformé.	1672	FRAN	4359
Guyon, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de La Motte	Les Torrents	1684	FRAN	35 279
Marot, Clément	Les Traductions (Bordas, Paris), Ed. G. Defaux	1526	FRAN	59 231
Aubigné, Agrippa d'	Les Tragiques	1616	FRAN	79 145
Tristan L'Hermite, François	Les vers héroïques	1648	FRAN	37 186
Anonymous	Les Vigiles de Triboulet	1480	FMF	2045
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe Chapelain, Jean	Lettre à Louis XIV	1694	FRAN	3369
	Lettre ou discours de Monsieur Chapelain à Monsieur Favereau, Conseiler du Roi en sa cour des aides portant son opinion sur le poème d'Adonis du Chevalier Marino	1623	FRAN	13 535
Commynes, Philippe de	Lettres	1476–1511	FMF	20 054
Voiture, Monsieur de (Vincent)	Lettres (In les Oeuvres, T.1. Paris, A. Courbe, 1654.)	1648	FRAN	141 446
La Bruyère, Jean de	Lettres (In Oeuvres complètes, ed. Julien Benda. (Paris: Gallimard, 1951))	1694	FRAN	9216
Cyrano de Bergerac	Lettres (In Oeuvres Libertines, T.2. Paris, Champion, 1922.)	1655	FRAN	31 704
Anonymous	Lettres [à Alain Chartier]	1425	FMF	684
Patin, Guy	Lettres de Gui Patin, 1630-1672, collationnée sur les manuscrits autographes, publiée avec l'addition des lettres inédites, la restauration des textes retranchés ou altérés, et des notes biographiques, bibliographiques et historiques.	1649	FRAN	129 334
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome cinquième, Lettres de Peiresc à Guillemain, à Holstenius et à Menestrier, lettres de Menestrier à Peiresc, 1610-1637	1637	FRAN	69 692
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome deuxième, Janvier 1629-décembre 1633	1631	FRAN	90 001
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome premier, Décembre 1617-décembre 1628	1627	FRAN	86 372

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome quatrième, Lettres de Peiresc à Borrilly, à Bouchard et à Gassendi, lettres de Gassendi à Peiresc, 1626-1637	1637	FRAN	81 344
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome septième, Lettres de Peiresc à divers : 1620-1637	1637	FRAN	81 879
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome sixième, Lettres de Peiresc à sa famille et principalement à son frère, 1602-1637	1625	FRAN	83 659
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	Lettres de Peiresc. Tome troisième, Janvier 1634-juin 1637	1634	FRAN	79 710
Guilleragues, Gabriel Joseph de Lavergne, vicomte de	Lettres portugaises	1669	FRAN	9001
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Lettres, 1624	1624	FRAN	48 489
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Lettres, 1627	1627	FRAN	22 729
Machaut, Guillaume de	Li Rondeaulz	1377	FMF	1215
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Ligdamon et Lidias	1631	FRAN	20 932
Du Ryer, Pierre	Lisandre et Caliste : tragi-comédie	1632	FRAN	18 127
Phebus, Gaston	Livre de chasse	1387-1389	FMF	77 710
Dupleix, Scipion	Logique ou l'art de discourir et raisonner	1603	FRAN	73 080
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Loquar in tribulacione	1440	FMF	34 387
Bonniecorse, Monsieur de (Balthasar)	Lutrigot	1686	FRAN	8977
La Fosse, M. de (Antoine)	Manlius Capitolinus : tragédie	1698	FRAN	13 207
Mersenne, Marin	Mécaniques de Galilée (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1634	FRAN	18 680
Corneille, Pierre	Médée	1639	FRAN	14 377
Molière	Melicerte : comédie pastorale héroïque	1666	FRAN	5763
Corneille, Pierre	Mélite	1633	FRAN	17 182
Arras, Jean d'	Mélusine	1392-1393	FMF	124 934
Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry IV, King of France	Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois	1586	FRAN	49 150
La Marche, Olivier de	Mémoires t. 1	1470	FMF	79 422
La Marche, Olivier de	Mémoires t. 2	1470	FMF	96 169
La Marche, Olivier de	Mémoires t. 3	1470	FMF	11 163
Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de	Mémoires Tome 1	1691	FRAN	173 043
Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de	Mémoires Tome 2 (Chéruel, Paris)	1697	FRAN	169 980
Arnauld d'Andilly, Monsieur (Robert)	Mémoires, T. 1	1667	FRAN	35 333
Arnauld d'Andilly, Monsieur (Robert)	Mémoires, T. 2	1667	FRAN	32 014
Commynes, Philippe de	Mémoires, t.1	1489-1491	FMF	64 294
Commynes, Philippe de	Mémoires, t.2	1489-1491	FMF	83 197
Commynes, Philippe de	Mémoires, t.3	1495-1498	FMF	19 987
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	Mémoires. T. 1	1679	FRAN	35 141
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	Memoires. T. 2	1679	FRAN	110 889

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	Mémoires. T. 3	1679	FRAN	108 982
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	Mémoires. T. 4	1679	FRAN	107 209
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	Mémoires. T. 5	1679	FRAN	29 044
Benserade, Isaac de	Métamorphoses d'Ovide	1676	FRAN	33 823
Dupleix, Scipion	Métaphysique ou science surnaturelle	1610	FRAN	217 574
Anonymous	Miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat	1363	TFA	11 872
Anonymous	Miracle de Berthe	1373	TFA	18 333
Anonymous	Miracle de Clovis	1381	TFA	14 118
Anonymous	Miracle de l'abbesse grosse	1340	TFA	7 498
Anonymous	Miracle de l'empereur de Romme	1369	TFA	13 801
Anonymous	Miracle de l'empereur Julien	1351	TFA	9 881
Anonymous	Miracle de l'enfant donné au diable	1339	TFA	10 011
Anonymous	Miracle de l'evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut	1348	TFA	5 833
Anonymous	Miracle de l'evesque que l'arcediacre murtrit	1341	TFA	7 747
Anonymous	Miracle de la femme du roy de Portigal	1342	TFA	9 600
Anonymous	Miracle de la fille d'un roy	1379	TFA	20 195
Anonymous	Miracle de la fille du roy de Hongrie	1371	TFA	15 395
Anonymous	Miracle de la marquise de la Gaudine	1350	TFA	8 328
Anonymous	Miracle de la mère du pape	1355	TFA	10 886
Anonymous	Miracle de la Nativité Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist	1343	TFA	7 980
Anonymous	Miracle de la nonne qui laissa son abbaie	1345	TFA	7 353
Anonymous	Miracle de Nostre Dame d'Amis et d'Amille	1365	TFA	11 132
Anonymous	Miracle de Oton, roy d'Espagne	1370	TFA	12 956
Anonymous	Miracle de Pierre le changeur	1378	TFA	13 758
Anonymous	Miracle de Robert le dyable	1375	TFA	13 690
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Alexis	1382	TFA	15 281
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Guillaume du desert	1347	TFA	9 384
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Ignace	1366	TFA	9 052
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothomes	1344	TFA	10 455
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, hermite	1372	TFA	11 431
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Lorens	1380	TFA	12 065
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Nicolas et d'un juif	1480–1500	FMF	10 563
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Panthaleon	1364	TFA	11 134
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Sevestre	1362	TFA	9 235
Anonymous	Miracle de saint Valentin	1367	TFA	9 815
Anonymous	Miracle de sainte Bauthauch	1376	TFA	15 550
Anonymous	Miracle de Theodore	1357	TFA	11 702
Anonymous	Miracle de un chanoine qui se maria	1361	TFA	9 254
Anonymous	Miracle de un enfant que Nostre Dame resucita	1353	TFA	11 382
Anonymous	Miracle de un marchant et un juif	1377	TFA	9 855
Anonymous	Miracle de un marchant et un larron	1349	TFA	5 410
Anonymous	Miracle de un pape qui vendi le basme	1346	TFA	7 549
Anonymous	Miracle de un parroissian esconmenié	1356	TFA	11 820
Anonymous	Miracle de un prevost que Nostre Dame delivra	1352	TFA	9 762
Anonymous	Miracle de une femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse	1368	TFA	10 914
Anonymous	Miracle du roy Thierry	1374	TFA	14 263
Gautier de Coinci	Miracles de Notre-Dame	1218	TFA	17 875

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Gautier de Coinci	Miracles de Notre-Dame	1218	TFA	43 093
Gautier de Coinci	Miracles de Notre-Dame	1218	TFA	74 328
Gautier de Coinci	Miracles de Notre-Dame	1218	TFA	90 610
Jean le Marchant	Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres	1262	TFA	37 475
Guillaume de Saint-Pathus	Miracles de saint Louis	1300	TFA	67 249
Racine, Jean	Mithridate	1673	FRAN	15 222
Anonymous	Moniage Guillaume. Première rédaction	1150	TFA	6926
Anonymous	Moniage Guillaume. Seconde rédaction	1180	TFA	48 967
Anonymous	Moniage Rainouart	1200	TFA	53 551
Molière	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac : comédie-ballet faite à Chambord, pour le divertissement du Roi,	1670	FRAN	12 959
Anonymous	Mort le roi Artu	1230	TFA	87 105
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Mouton (Le)	1697	FRAN	6314
Anonymous	Narcissus	1426	FMF	7391
Corneille, Pierre	Nicomède (In Oeuvres complètes, Ed. Marty-Laveaux. Hachette, 1862.)	1651	FRAN	17 233
Binard, P.	Noels ou cantiques nouveaux	1678	FRAN	18 040
Aulnoy, Madame d'(Marie-Catherine)	Nouveau Gentilhomme Bourgeois (Le)	1698	FRAN	30 796
Le Comte, Louis	Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine	1696	FRAN	178 609
Furetière, Antoine	Nouvelle allégorique ou Histoire des derniers troubles arrivez au Royaume d'Eloquence	1658	FRAN	21 620
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	Observations sur Le Cid	1637	FRAN	11 029
Corneille, Pierre	Oedipe (In Oeuvres complètes, Ed. Marty-Laveaux. Hachette, 1862.)	1659	FRAN	18 845
Du Bellay, Joachim	Oeuvre de l'invention de l'auteur	1552	FRAN	13 680
Robertet, Jean	Œuvres	c. 1451	FMF	14 445
Rutebeuf	Oeuvres Complètes I (Old Fr.)	1260	FRAN	74 554
Marot, Clément	Oeuvres de Clément Marot les plus nouvelles et récentes	1526	FRAN	10 600
Vauquelin, Nicolas, sieur des Yveteaux	Oeuvres poétiques (In Oeuvres Complètes, Geneve, Slatkine Reprints, 1967.)	1648	FRAN	27 301
Malleville, Claude de	Oeuvres poétiques (Paris, M. Didier, 1976.)	1647	FRAN	63 658
Labé, Louise	Oeuvres poétiques (Published with Pernette du Guillet; Ed. Françoise Charpentier. Paris: Gallimard, 1983.)	1555	FRAN	4953
Viau, Théophile de	Oeuvres poétiques. 1re partie	1621	FRAN	32 475
Viau, Théophile de	Oeuvres poétiques. 2e partie	1623	FRAN	14 282
Viau, Théophile de	Oeuvres poétiques. 3e partie	1625	FRAN	16 968
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Oraison funèbre d'Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine	1685	FRAN	11 691
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Oraison funèbre d'Henriette d'Angleterre	1669	FRAN	9762
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Oraison funèbre d'Henriette-Marie de France	1669	FRAN	10 389
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Oraison funèbre de Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche (1988 edition)	1689	FRAN	11 389
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Oraison funèbre de messire Nicolas Cornet	1689	FRAN	6113



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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Bossuet, Jacques	Oraison funèbre de très haut et puissant	1689	FRAN	12 026
Bénigne	Seigneur Messire Michel Le Tellier			
Bossuet, Jacques	Oraison funèbre de très haut et très	1689	FRAN	12 091
Bénigne	puissant prince Louis de Bourbon			
Bossuet, Jacques	Oraison funèbre du père Bourgoing	1689	FRAN	6700
Bénigne				
Fléchier, Esprit	Oraisons fun. M.-Th. d'Autriche	1684	FRAN	8399
Fléchier, Esprit	Oraisons fun. Mr. de Turenne	1676	FRAN	10 218
Aulnoy, Madame	Oranger et l'Abeille (L')	1697	FRAN	11 074
d' (Marie-Catherine)				
Corneille, Pierre	Othon	1665	FRAN	17 270
Camus, Jean-Pierre	Palombe, ou La femme honorable	1625	FRAN	119 158
Rabelais, François	Pantagruel	1532	FRAN	41 166
Rabelais, François	Pantagrueline Prognostication	1532	FRAN	3 112
Pascal, Blaise	Pensées sur la religion, et sur quelques autres sujets.	1662	FRAN	35 771
Corneille, Pierre	Pertharite	1653	FRAN	17 280
Racine, Jean	Phèdre	1677	FRAN	14 570
Dupleix, Scipion	Physique ou science des choses naturelles (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1603	FRAN	150 028
Aulnoy, Madame	Pigeon et la Colombe (Le)	1698	FRAN	18 313
d' (Marie-Catherine)				
La Fontaine, Jean de	Poème de Quiquina	1692	FRAN	5 123
Lahaye, Olivier de	Poème sur la grande peste de 1348	1426	FMF	18 439
Charleval, Chevalier de	Poesies	1693	FRAN	10 344
Antitus	Poésies	1500	FMF	9765
Voiture, Monsieur de	Poésies (In les Oeuvres, T.2. Paris, A. Courbe, 1654.)	1648	FRAN	24 894
(Vincent)				
Maynard, François de	Poésies de François Maynard	1646	FRAN	35 279
Colletet, Guillaume	Poésies diverses (Paris, L. Chamhoudry, 1656.)	1656	FRAN	75 501
Dassoucy, M. (Charles)	Poésies et Lettres	1650	FRAN	28 666
Fontenelle, M. de	Poésies pastorales	1688	FRAN	11 511
(Bernard Le Bovier)				
Corneille, Pierre	Polyeucte	1643	FRAN	16 690
Huby, Vincent (le P.)	Pratique de l'amour de Dieu	1679	FRAN	28 923
Larivey, Pierre II de	Prédications et pronostications généralles	1624	FRAN	17 782
Gournay, Marie Le Jars	Préface sur essais Montaigne	1635	FRAN	12 435
de				
Mersenne, Marin	Préludes de l'harmonie universelle, ou questions curieuses. Utiles aux prédicateurs, aux théologiens, aux astrologues, aux médecins et aux philosophes	1634	FRAN	44 038
Du Lorens, Jacques	Premières satires de Dulorens	1624	FRAN	41 990
Crasset, Jean (S. J.)	Preparation à la mort	1679	FRAN	18 061
Godeau, Antoine	Prières et méditations chrestiennes.	1633	FRAN	24 838
Rivadeneira, Pedro de	Prince chrétien (ARTFL Electronic Edition, 2009)	1610	FRAN	158 753
Aulnoy, Madame	Prince Lutin (Le)	1697	FRAN	14 177
d' (Marie-Catherine)				
Aulnoy, Madame	Prince Marcassin (Le)	1698	FRAN	14 665
d' (Marie-Catherine)				
Aulnoy, Madame	Princesse Belle-Etoile et le Prince Chéri	1698	FRAN	20 821
d' (Marie-Catherine)	(La) (1994 edition)			
Aulnoy, Madame	Princesse Carpillon (La)	1698	FRAN	18 743
d' (Marie-Catherine)				

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Princesse Printanière (La)	1697	FRAN	8403
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Princesse Rosette (La)	1697	FRAN	6207
Machaut, Guillaume de	Prise d'Alexandrie	1369	FMF	52 856
Anonymous	Prise d'Orange	1199	TFA	13 659
Machaut, Guillaume de	Prologue	1377	FMF	2024
Du Fail, Noël	Propos Rustiques	1550	FRAN	22 255
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Proposicion	1438	FMF	1615
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Proposicion faicte... devant le roy Louys	1468	FMF	1142
Quinault, Philippe	Proserpine : tragedie mise en musique	1680	FRAN	9024
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Psyché	1678	FRAN	8230
Molière; Corneille, Pierre	Psyché: tragédie-ballet	1671	FRAN	16 420
Corneille, Pierre	Pulchérie	1673	FRAN	16 872
Viau, Théophile de	Pyrame et Thisbé (Ed. Hankiss. Heitz et Cie, 1933.)	1623	FRAN	11 382
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe	Quatre dialogues faits à l'imitation des anciens	1631	FRAN	93 498
Anonymous	Quatre Livres des Rois	1175	TFA	90 587
Anonymous	Queste del Saint Graal	1225	TFA	108 688
Mersenne, Marin	Questions harmoniques Dans lesquelles sont contenües plusieurs choses remarquables pour la physique, pour la morale, et pour les autres sciences	1634	FRAN	29 960
Mersenne, Marin	Questions inouyes ou récréation des sçavants qui contiennent beaucoup de choses concernantes la théologie, la philosophie et les mathématiques	1634	FRAN	20 895
Mersenne, Marin	Questions théologiques, physiques, morales, et mathématiques où chacun trouvera du contentement ou de l'exercice	1634	FRAN	54 154
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Rameau d'Or (Le)	1697	FRAN	12 422
Du Bellay, Joachim	Recueil de poésie	1549	FRAN	13 636
Bertaut, Jean	Recueil de quelques vers amoureux	1606	FRAN	36 480
Scarron, Paul	Recueil des oeuvres burlesques de Mr Scarron	1654	FRAN	41 735
Phares, Simon de	Recueil des plus celebres astrologues et quelques hommes doctes	1494-1498	FMF	118 012
Anonymous	Recueil général des quaquets de l'accouchée	1630	FRAN	41 177
Anonymous	Recueil troyen, dédié aux beaux esprits	1685	FRAN	8317
Anonymous	Registre criminel du Châtelet t.1	1389-1392	FMF	175 136
Anonymous	Registre criminel du Châtelet t.2	1389-1392	FMF	163 488
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Relation du Voyage d'Espagne	1691	FRAN	141 618
Machaut, Guillaume de	Remède de Fortune	1341	FMF	25 119
Corneille, Pierre	Rodogune	1647	FRAN	16 982
Quinault, Philippe	Roland : tragédie mise en musique.	1685	FRAN	8865
Alexandre de Paris	Roman d'Alexandre, branche 1	1180	TFA	28 632
Alexandre de Paris	Roman d'Alexandre, branche 2	1180	TFA	27 136
Alexandre de Paris	Roman d'Alexandre, branche 3	1180	TFA	69 267
Alexandre de Paris	Roman d'Alexandre, branche 4	1180	TFA	14 827
Wace	Roman de Brut	1155	TFA	44 515

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Wace	Roman de Brut	1155	TFA	40 799
Robert de Boron	Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal	1199	TFA	19 979
Renart, Jean	Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole	1228	TFA	34 582
Anonymous	Roman de Renart, branche 1	1180	TFA	19 498
Anonymous	Roman de Renart. Branche 10.	1200	TFA	13 483
Richard de Lison	Roman de Renart. Branche 11.	1200	TFA	8 586
Pierre de Saint-Cloud	Roman de Renart. Branche 7.	1175	TFA	10 420
Anonymous	Roman de Renart. Branche 8.	1190	TFA	9 123
Anonymous	Roman de Renart. Branche 9.	1200	TFA	2 793
Anonymous	Roman de Thèbes	1150	TFA	36 694
Anonymous	Roman de Thèbes	1150	TFA	26 012
Béroul	Roman de Tristan	1180	TFA	27 233
Thomas	Roman de Tristan		TFA	18 547
Chartier, Alain	Rondeaux et Balades	1410-1425	FMF	3 991
Froissart, Jean	Rondeaux	1365-1394	FMF	7 333
Orléans, Charles d'	Rondeaux	1443-1460	FMF	26 110
Du Guillet, Pernelle	Rymes	1545	FRAN	10 624
Anonymous	Saint Alexis	1661	FRAN	15 252
Le Moyne, Pierre	Saint-Louys, ou, Le heros chrestien : poème heroïque	1653	FRAN	61 561
Boileau Despréaux, Nicolas	Satire X	1694	FRAN	6 898
Beauxoncles, Charles Timoléan de, seigneur de Sigognes	Satires (In le Cabinet Satyrique, Paris, J. Fort, 1924.)	1611	FRAN	14 944
Berthelot	Satires 1604-1609	1609	FRAN	4 205
Du Lorens, Jacques	Satires de Dulorens	1646	FRAN	46 411
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Sermon du mauvais riche	1662	FRAN	6 492
Anonymous	Sermon nouveau d'ung fol changant divers propos	1480-1490	FMF	1 749
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la commémoration des défunts	1400	FMF	5 635
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la fête de l'Annonciation	1400	FMF	4 986
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la fête de la Conception de la Vierge	1401	FMF	10 481
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la fête de la Purification	1396-1397	FMF	4 075
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la fête de la Sainte Trinité	1402	FMF	6 879
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la fête des saints Pierre et Paul	1394	FMF	9 177
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la Noël.	1404	FMF	5 692
Gerson, Jean	Sermon pour la Pentecôte	1389	FMF	4 800
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Sermon sur l'ambition	1662	FRAN	4 795
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Sermon sur la passion de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ	1662	FRAN	7 584
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Sermon sur la providence	1662	FRAN	5 372
Bourdaloue, Louis (le Pere)	Sermons Pour Jours de Careme	1692	FRAN	49 994
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Serpentin Vert	1697	FRAN	11 816
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	Serpentin Vert (S. éd., Amsterdam, Paris)	1697	FRAN	15 252
Corneille, Pierre	Sertorius	1661	FRAN	17 850

Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Molière	Sganarelle, ou, le Cocu imaginaire : comédie	1660	FRAN	6334
Bodin, Jean	Six livres de la république	1576	FRAN	447 119
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	Socrate Chrestien	1652	FRAN	31 735
Hélisenne de Crenne (pseudonym of Marguerite Briet)	Songe	1541	FRAN	18 745
Orléans, Charles d'	Songe en complainte	1437	FMF	3280
Des Masures, Louis	Sonnet au lecteur	1566	FRAN	126
Ronsard, Pierre de	Sonnets pour Hélène, Premier livre	1578	FRAN	22 062
Corneille, Pierre	Sophonisbe	1663	FRAN	16 989
Anonymous	Sottie des sots "gardonnez" ou des trois coquins	1488	FMF	2876
Anonymous	Sottie à cinq personnages des coppieurs et lardeurs qui sont copiez et farcez	1488	FMF	3106
Anonymous	Sottie à trois personnages : Estourdi, Coquillart et Desgouté	1460	FMF	1208
Anonymous	Sottie de maître Pierre Doribus	1480	FMF	1275
Anonymous	Sottie de Trote Menu et Mirre Loret	1480-1500	FMF	1648
Anonymous	Sottie des rapporteurs	1480	FMF	2425
Anonymous	Sottie des sots fourrés de malice	1480	FMF	2637
Anonymous	Sottie des sots qui remettent en point bon temps	1480-1500	FMF	2665
Anonymous	Sottie des sots triomphants qui trompent chascun	1475	FMF	2225
Anonymous	Sottie du gaudisseur et du sot.	1450	FMF	1484
Anonymous	Sottie nouvelle à six personnaiges du roy des sots	1450-1500	FMF	2685
Anonymous	Sottie pour porter les presens à la feste des roys	1475-1500	FMF	2133
Corneille, Thomas	Stilicon	1660	FRAN	19 390
Corneille, Pierre	Suréna	1675	FRAN	16 740
Pizan, Christine de	The "Livre de la Paix"	1412-1413	FMF	55 821
Du Ryer, Pierre	Thémistocle	1648	FRAN	18 850
Corneille, Pierre	Théodore	1646	FRAN	17 425
Quinault, Philippe	Thésée : tragédie en musique, ornée d'entrées de ballet, de machines, de changements de théâtre, représentée devant Sa Majesté à Saint Germain en Laye, le onzième jour de janvier 1675.	1675	FRAN	9962
Corneille, Thomas	Timocrate	1658	FRAN	18 689
Corneille, Pierre	Tite et Bérénice	1671	FRAN	16 894
Montchrestien, Antoine de	Traicté de l'Oeconomie politique : dedié en 1615 au roy et à la reyne mere du roy	1615	FRAN	92 941
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe	Traité de l'éducation des filles /	1687	FRAN	35 067
Nicole, Pierre	Traité de la comédie;	1675	FRAN	9804
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	Traite de la Concupiscence	1694	FRAN	25 477
Cureau de la Chambre, Marin	Traité de la connaissance des animaux	1648	FRAN	110 751
Versé, Aubert de	Traité de la liberté de conscience	1687	FRAN	52 736
Suchon, Gabrielle	Traité de la morale et de la politique	1693	FRAN	53 618
Abbadie, Jacques	Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne 1	1684	FRAN	38 824

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Author	Title	Date	Database	Word Count
Abbadie, Jacques	Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne 2	1684	FRAN	89 563
Mabillon, Jean	Traité des études monastiques	1691	FRAN	111 310
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Tres Crestien, tres hault, tres puissant roy	1446	FMF	40 907
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Tres reverends et reverends peres en Dieu	1433	FMF	8 487
Schelandre, Jean de	Tyr et Sidon	1628	FRAN	42 849
Rotrou, Jean	Venceslas	1648	FRAN	17 217
Anonymous	Vengeance Raguidel	1200	TFA	36 721
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	Verba mea auribus percipe, Domine	1452	FMF	57 156
Du Bellay, Joachim	Vers lyriques	1549	FRAN	5 503
Machaut, Guillaume de	VeZ ci les biens que ma dame me fait...	1364	FMF	317
La Fayette, Madame de (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne)	Vie de la princesse d'Angleterre	1693	FRAN	26 669
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	Vie de M. Corneille suivi de Histoire du théâtre français jusqu'à M. Corneille	1685	FRAN	38 267
Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence	Vie de saint Thomas Becket	1172	TFA	54 002
Daniel, Gabriel	Voiage du Monde de Descartes	1690	FRAN	87 134
Regnard, Jean François	Voyage de Laponie	1681	FRAN	39 167
La Fayette, Madame de (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne)	Zaïde	1669	FRAN	83 813

## APPENDIX B

The following table lists the authors of the texts included in this study's corpus. The name, code, and assigned era of each author are presented.

Author	Author Code	Era
Abbadie, Jacques	A-001	1650–1699
Adenet le Roi	A-002	1250–1299
Alexandre de Paris	A-003	1150–1199
Anonymous (Aiol)	0-069	1200–1249
Anonymous (Ami et Amile)	0-070	1200–1249
Anonymous (Beaudouin de Sebourc)	0-093	1350–1399
Anonymous (Bérinus)	0-008	1350–1399
Anonymous (Bestiaire marial)	0-081	1300–1349
Anonymous (Catéchisme servant de disposition)	0-134	1650–1699
Anonymous (Chanson de Guillaume)	0-059	1150–1199
Anonymous (Chansonnier B)	0-080	1250–1299
Anonymous (Chansonnier de Zagreb)	0-071	1200–1249
Anonymous (Chansons nouvelles P. Garnier, Troyes, [entre 1685-1738])	0-146	1650–1699
Anonymous (Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire, t.3)	0-016	1400–1449
Anonymous (DDialogue de beaucop veoir et joyeux soudain)	0-034	1450–1499
Anonymous (Deuxième continuation de Perceval)	0-072	1200–1249
Anonymous (Du sacrement de mariage)	0-050	1450–1499
Anonymous (Enfances Garin de Monglane)	0-127	1400–1449
Anonymous (Exercice de dévotion (P. Garnier, Troyes))	0-147	1650–1699
Anonymous (Farce a trois personnages : le savetier, le sergent et la laitière)	0-035	1450–1499
Anonymous (Histoire abregée du Nouveau Testament)	0-135	1650–1699
Anonymous (Histoires abregées de l'Ancien Testament)	0-136	1650–1699
Anonymous (L'escole de Salerne)	0-137	1650–1699
Anonymous (L'Estoire de Griseldis en rimes et par personnages)	0-005	1350–1399
Anonymous (La Cene des dieux)	0-037	1450–1499
Anonymous (La Confession Riffart)	0-056	1500–1549
Anonymous (La Farce de maître Pierre Pathelin)	0-018	1450–1499
Anonymous (La Farce du pauvre Jouhan)	0-032	1450–1499
Anonymous (La grande Bible des noels, tant vieils que nouveaux)	0-138	1650–1699
Anonymous (La Maniere de henter soutillement)	0-052	1450–1499
Anonymous (La Passion d'Autun)	0-041	1450–1499
Anonymous (La Passion d'Auvergne)	0-042	1450–1499
Anonymous (La vie et les miracles de St. Antoine abbé)	0-139	1650–1699
Anonymous (La vie mort et passion et resurection de nostre sauveur Jésus-Christ)	0-131	1600–1649
Anonymous (Le Dit du prunier)	0-002	1300–1349
Anonymous (Le franc archier de Baignollet)	0-017	1450–1499
Anonymous (Le grand calendrier et compost des bergers)	0-001	1500–1549
Anonymous (Le Menagier de Paris)	0-010	1350–1399
Anonymous (Le Miracle de l'enfant ressuscité)	0-004	1350–1399
Anonymous (Le Mystère de S. Bernard de Menthon)	0-043	1450–1499
Anonymous (Le Procès d'un jeune moyne et d'ung viel gendarme devant Cupido)	0-055	1500–1549
Anonymous (Le Recueil de Riom)	0-051	1450–1499
Anonymous (LE ROMAN DU COMTE D'ARTOIS)	0-047	1450–1499
Anonymous (Le Saint voyage de Jherusalem du seigneur d'Anglure)	0-007	1350–1399
Anonymous (Le secret des secrets de nature)	0-140	1650–1699
Anonymous (Le Sermon des barbes et des brayes)	0-039	1450–1499
Anonymous (Le Somme abregiet de theologie)	0-049	1450–1499
Anonymous (Le tombeau de la mélancholie)	0-141	1650–1699

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Author	Author Code	Era
Anonymous (Le Tombel de Chartrose)	0-003	1300–1349
Anonymous (Légende et vie chrestienne)	0-128	1550–1599
Anonymous (Les .XV. joies de mariage)	0-006	1350–1399
Anonymous (Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles)	0-048	1450–1499
Anonymous (Les Evangiles des quenouilles)	0-045	1450–1499
Anonymous (Les quinze effusions du sang de nostre sauveur)	0-129	1550–1599
Anonymous (Les sept trompettes spirituelles)	0-142	1650–1699
Anonymous (Les statuts, regles et ordonnances de Herpinot reformé.)	0-143	1650–1699
Anonymous (Les Vigiles de Triboulet)	0-027	1450–1499
Anonymous (Lettres [à Alain Chartier])	0-013	1400–1449
Anonymous (Miracle de Barlaam et Josaphat)	0-098	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de Berthe)	0-099	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de Clovis)	0-100	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de l'abbesse grosse)	0-082	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de l'empereris de Romme)	0-101	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de l'empeur Julien)	0-102	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de l'enfant donné au diable)	0-083	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de l'evesque a qui Nostre Dame s'apparut)	0-084	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de l'evesque que l'arcediacre murtrit)	0-085	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de la femme du roy de Portigal)	0-086	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de la fille d'un roy)	0-103	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de la fille du roy de Hongrie)	0-104	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de la marquise de la Gaudine)	0-105	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de la mère du pape)	0-106	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de la Nativité Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist)	0-087	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de la nonne qui laissa son abbaie)	0-088	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de Nostre Dame d'Amis et d'Amille)	0-107	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de Oton, roy d'Espagne)	0-108	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de Pierre le changeur)	0-109	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de Robert le dyable)	0-110	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Alexis)	0-111	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Guillaume du desert)	0-089	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Ignace)	0-112	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothomes)	0-090	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Jehan le Paulu, hermite)	0-113	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Lorens)	0-114	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Nicolas et d'un juif)	0-040	1450–1499
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Panthaleon)	0-115	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Sevestre)	0-116	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de saint Valentin)	0-117	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de sainte Bautheuch)	0-118	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de Theodore)	0-119	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de un chanoine qui se maria)	0-120	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de un enfant que Nostre Dame resucita)	0-121	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de un marchand et un juif)	0-122	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de un marchand et un larron)	0-091	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de un pape qui vendi le basme)	0-092	1300–1349
Anonymous (Miracle de un parroissian esconmenié)	0-123	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de un prevost que Nostre Dame delivra)	0-124	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle de une femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse)	0-125	1350–1399
Anonymous (Miracle du roy Thierry)	0-126	1350–1399
Anonymous (Moniage Guillaume. Première redaction)	0-061	1150–1199
Anonymous (Moniage Guillaume. Seconde redaction)	0-062	1150–1199
Anonymous (Moniage Rainouartl)	0-074	1200–1249
Anonymous (Mort le roi Artu)	0-075	1200–1249
Anonymous (Narcissus)	0-014	1400–1449
Anonymous (Prise d'Orange)	0-063	1150–1199

Author	Author Code	Era
Anonymous (Quatre Livres des Rois)	0-064	1150–1199
Anonymous (Queste del Saint Graal)	0-076	1200–1249
Anonymous (Recueil général des quaquets de l'accouchée)	0-133	1600–1649
Anonymous (Recueil troyen, dédié aux beaux esprits)	0-144	1650–1699
Anonymous (Registre criminel du Châtelet)	0-011	1350–1399
Anonymous (Roman de Renart, branche 1)	0-065	1150–1199
Anonymous (Roman de Renart. Branche 10.)	0-078	1200–1249
Anonymous (Roman de Renart. Branche 8.)	0-066	1150–1199
Anonymous (Roman de Renart. Branche 9.)	0-077	1200–1249
Anonymous (Roman de Thèbes)	0-067	1150–1199
Anonymous (Saint Alexis)	0-145	1650–1699
Anonymous (Sermon nouveau d'ung fol changant divers propos)	0-033	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie des sots "gardonnez" ou des trois coquins)	0-024	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie à cinq personnages des coppieurs et lardeurs qui sont copiez et farcez)	0-025	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie à trois personnages : Estourdi, Coquillart et Desgouté)	0-020	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie de maître Pierre Doribus)	0-028	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie de Trote Menu et Mirre Loret)	0-030	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie des rapporteurs)	0-022	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie des sots fourrés de malice)	0-023	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie des sots qui remettent en point bon temps)	0-029	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie des sots triumpans qui trompent chascun)	0-021	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie du gaudisseur et du sot.)	0-019	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie nouvelle à six personnaiges du roy des setz)	0-038	1450–1499
Anonymous (Sottie pour porter les presens à la feste des roys)	0-031	1450–1499
Anonymous (Vengeance Raguidel)	0-079	1200–1249
Antitus	A-005	1500–1549
Arnauld d'Andilly, Monsieur (Robert)	A-006	1650–1699
Arnauld, Antoine	A-007	1600–1649
Arnauld, Antoine; Lancelot, Claude	1-001	1650–1699
Arnauld, Antoine; Nicole, Pierre	1-002	1650–1699
Arras, Jean d'	A-008	1350–1399
Aubignac, François-Hédelin, abbé d'	A-009	1650–1699
Aubigné, Agrippa d'	A-010	1600–1649
Audiguier, Vital d'	A-011	1600–1649
Aulnoy, Madame d' (Marie-Catherine)	A-012	1650–1699
Auvray, Jean	A-013	1600–1649
Bagnyon, Jehan	B-001	1450–1499
Baillet, Adrien	B-002	1650–1699
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de	B-003	1550–1599
Baro, Balthasar	B-004	1600–1649
Baude, Henri	B-005	1450–1499
Baye, Nicolas de	B-006	1400–1449
Bayle, Pierre	B-007	1650–1699
Beauxoncles, Charles Timoléan de, seigneur de Sigognes	B-008	1600–1649
Benserade, Isaac de	B-010	1650–1699
Bernier, François	B-011	1650–1699
Béroalde de Verville	B-012	1600–1649
Bérout	B-013	1150–1199
Bersuire, Pierre	B-014	1350–1399
Bertaut, Jean	B-015	1600–1649
Berthelot	B-016	1600–1649
Binard, P.	B-017	1650–1699
Bodin, Jean	B-018	1550–1599
Boileau Despréaux, Nicolas	B-019	1650–1699
Boisguilbert, P. Le Pesant de (Pierre Le Pesant)	B-020	1650–1699



On the unified change of directional/aspectual verb particles in French

Author	Author Code	Era
Boisrobert, sieur de (François Le Métel)	B-021	1600–1649
Bonnecorse, Monsieur de (Balthasar)	B-022	1650–1699
Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne	B-023	1650–1699
Bouhours, Dominique	B-024	1650–1699
Bourdaloue, Louis (le Pere)	B-025	1650–1699
Brébeuf, Georges de	B-026	1650–1699
Bueil, Jean de	B-027	1450–1499
Bussy, Roger de Rabutin, comte de	B-028	1650–1699
Camus, Jean-Pierre	C-001	1600–1649
Chapelain, Jean	C-002	1600–1649
Charleval, Chevalier de	C-003	1650–1699
Charron, Pierre	C-004	1600–1649
Chartier, Alain	C-005	1400–1449
Choisy, François-Timoléon, Abbe de	C-006	1650–1699
Chrétien de Troyes	C-007	1150–1199
Ciboule, Robert	C-008	1450–1499
Coeffeteau, Nicolas	C-009	1600–1649
Colletet, François	C-010	1650–1699
Colletet, Guillaume	C-011	1650–1699
Colletet, Isaac	C-012	1650–1699
Commynes, Philippe de	C-013	1450–1499
Coras, Jacques de	C-014	1650–1699
Corneille, Pierre	C-015	1600–1649
Corneille, Thomas	C-016	1650–1699
Crapillet, Pierre	C-017	1450–1499
Crasset, Jean (S. J.)	C-018	1650–1699
Cureau de la Chambre, Marin	C-019	1600–1649
Cyrano de Bergerac	C-020	1650–1699
Dangeau, Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de	D-001	1650–1699
Daniel, Gabriel	D-002	1650–1699
Dassoucy, M. (Charles)	D-003	1650–1699
Daudin, Jean	D-004	1350–1399
Deimier, Pierre de	D-005	1600–1649
Des Masures, Louis	D-006	1550–1599
Des Périers, Bonaventure	D-007	1550–1599
Descartes, René	D-008	1600–1649
Deschamps, Eustache	D-009	1350–1399
Deshoulières, Madame (Antoinette)	D-010	1650–1699
Desmarest de Saint-Sorlin, Jean	D-011	1650–1699
Du Bellay, Joachim	D-012	1500–1549
Du Fail, Noël	D-013	1500–1549
Du Fresny, Charles	D-014	1650–1699
Du Guillet, Pernelle	D-015	1500–1549
Du Lorens, Jacques	D-016	1600–1649
Du Ryer, Pierre	D-017	1600–1649
Dupleix, Scipion	D-018	1600–1649
Esprit, Mr. (Jacques)	E-001	1650–1699
Esternod, Claude d'	E-002	1600–1649
Faret, Nicolas	F-001	1600–1649
Fauquembergue, Clement de	F-003	1400–1449
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe	F-004	1650–1699
Fillastre, Guillaume	F-005	1450–1499
Fléchier, Esprit	F-006	1650–1699
Foigny, Gabriel de	F-007	1650–1699
Fontenelle, M. de (Bernard Le Bovier)	F-008	1650–1699
Fouilloux, Jacques du	F-009	1550–1599
Foulechat, Denis	F-010	1350–1399

Author	Author Code	Era
Froissart, Jean	F-011	1350–1399
Furetière, Antoine	F-012	1650–1699
Garasse, François	G-001	1600–1649
Garnier, Robert	G-002	1550–1599
Gautier d'Arras	G-003	1150–1199
Gautier de Coinci	G-004	1200–1249
Gerson, Jean	G-005	1400–1449
Godeau, Antoine	G-006	1600–1649
Gombault, Jean Ogier de	G-007	1600–1649
Gournay, Marie Le Jars de	G-008	1600–1649
Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence	G-009	1150–1199
Guillaume de Saint-Pathus	G-010	1300–1349
Guillaume, le Clerc	G-011	1250–1299
Guilleragues, Gabriel Joseph de Lavergne, vicomte de	G-012	1650–1699
Guyon, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de La Motte	G-013	1650–1699
Hélisenne de Crenne (pseudonym of Marguerite Briet)	H-001	1500–1549
Hotman, François	H-002	1550–1599
Huby, Vincent (le P.)	H-003	1650–1699
Huon le Roi, de Cambrai	H-005	1250–1299
Jean le Marchant	J-001	1250–1299
Jurieu, Pierre	J-003	1650–1699
Juvenal des Ursins, Jean	J-004	1400–1449
L'Estoile, Claude de (sieur du Saussaye)	L-001	1650–1699
La Boétie, Etienne de	L-002	1500–1549
La Bruyère, Jean de	L-003	1650–1699
La Fayette, Madame de (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne)	L-004	1650–1699
La Fontaine, Jean de	L-005	1650–1699
La Fosse, M. de (Antoine)	L-006	1650–1699
La Marche, Olivier de	L-007	1450–1499
La Popelinière, Lancelot du Voisin de	L-008	1550–1599
La Sale, Antoine de	L-010	1400–1449
La Varenne, François Pierre de	L-011	1650–1699
La Vigne, André de	L-012	1450–1499
Labé, Louise	L-013	1550–1599
Lahaye, Olivier de	L-014	1400–1449
Larivey, Pierre II de	L-015	1600–1649
Le Clerc, Jean	L-016	1500–1549
Le Comte, Louis	L-017	1650–1699
Le Moyne, Pierre	L-018	1650–1699
Le Roy, Loys	L-019	1550–1599
Mabillon, Jean	M-001	1650–1699
Machaut, Guillaume de	M-002	1350–1399
Mairet, Jean de	M-003	1600–1649
Malherbe, François de	M-004	1600–1649
Malleville, Claude de	A-004	1600–1649
Mareschal, André	M-005	1600–1649
Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry II, King of Navarre	M-006	1500–1549
Marguerite, Queen, consort of Henry IV, King of France	M-007	1550–1599
Mariotte, Edme	M-009	1650–1699
Marot, Clément	M-010	1500–1549
Maynard, François de	M-011	1600–1649
Méré, Antoine Gombault, chevalier de; Palluau, Philippe de Clérembault, comte de	M-012	1650–1699
Mersenne, Marin	M-013	1600–1649
Meschinot, Jean	M-014	1450–1499
Michel de Pure, abbé	M-015	1650–1699
Molière	M-016	1650–1699

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Author	Author Code	Era
Molière; Corneille, Pierre	I-003	1650–1699
Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de	M-017	1550–1599
Montchrestien, Antoine de	M-018	1600–1649
Naudé, Gabriel	N-001	1600–1649
Nicole, Pierre	N-002	1650–1699
Oresme, Nicole	O-001	1350–1399
Orléans, Charles d'	O-002	1400–1449
Pascal, Blaise	P-001	1650–1699
Patin, Guy	P-002	1600–1649
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de	P-003	1600–1649
Perrault, Charles	P-004	1650–1699
Phares, Simon de	P-005	1450–1499
Phebus, Gaston	P-006	1350–1399
Pibrac, Guy du Faur, seigneur de	P-007	1650–1699
Pierre de Saint-Cloud	P-008	1150–1199
Pierre Sala	P-009	1550–1599
Pizan, Christine de	P-010	1400–1449
Poissenot, Bénigne	P-011	1550–1599
Pollion, Marc Vitruve	P-012	1500–1549
Poulain de la Barre, François	P-013	1650–1699
Quinault, Philippe	Q-001	1650–1699
Rabelais, François	R-001	1500–1549
Racan, Honorat de Bueil, seigneur de	R-002	1600–1649
Racine, Jean	R-003	1650–1699
Regnard, Jean François	R-004	1650–1699
Regnier, Jean	R-005	1400–1449
Regnier, Mathurin	R-006	1600–1649
Renart, Jean	J-002	1200–1249
Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de	R-007	1650–1699
Richard de Lison	R-008	1200–1249
Rivadeneira, Pedro de	R-009	1600–1649
Robert de Boron	R-010	1150–1199
Robertet, Jean	R-011	1450–1499
Ronsard, Pierre de	R-012	1550–1599
Rotrou, Jean	R-013	1600–1649
Roye, Jean de	R-014	1450–1499
Rutebeuf	R-015	1250–1299
Saint-Gille, Martin de	S-001	1350–1399
Saint-Réal, M. l'abbé de (César Vichard)	S-002	1650–1699
Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de	S-003	1650–1699
Scarron, Paul	S-004	1600–1649
Scève, Maurice	S-005	1500–1549
Schelandre, Jean de	S-006	1600–1649
Scudéry, M. de (Georges)	S-007	1600–1649
Scudéry, Madeleine de	S-008	1650–1699
Senault, Jean-François	S-009	1600–1649
Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de	S-010	1650–1699
Silhon, Jean de	S-011	1600–1649
Sorel, Charles	S-012	1600–1649
Suchon, Gabrielle	S-013	1650–1699
Thomas	T-003	1150–1199
Tringant, Guillaume	T-001	1450–1499
Tristan L'Hermite, François	T-002	1600–1649
Urfé, Honoré d'	U-001	1600–1649
Vauquelin, Nicolas, sieur des Yveteaux	V-001	1600–1649
Versé, Aubert de	V-002	1650–1699
Viau, Théophile de	V-003	1600–1649

Author	Author Code	Era
Villedieu, Madame de	V-004	1650–1699
Villon, François	V-005	1450–1499
Voiture, Monsieur de (Vincent)	V-006	1600–1649
Vulson, Marc de (si...	V-007	1600–1649
Wace	W-001	1150–1199
Yver, Jacques	Y-001	1550–1599

Michelle Troberg  
 Department of Language Studies  
 University of Toronto Mississauga  
 Maanjiwe nendamowinan, 4168  
 3359 Mississauga Road  
 Mississauga, Ontario, Canada L5L 1C6  
[michelle.troberg@utoronto.ca](mailto:michelle.troberg@utoronto.ca)  
<http://sites.utm.utoronto.ca/troberg/>

Justin Leung  
 Department of Linguistics  
 University of Toronto  
 Sidney Smith Hall, 4th floor  
 100 St. George Street  
 Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 3G3  
[justinr.leung@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:justinr.leung@mail.utoronto.ca)