

# Coordination of verbal dependents in Old French: Coordination as a specified juxtaposition or apposition

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## Abstract

Scholars have proposed many different models to describe coordination of verbal dependents. We give a brief presentation of the most common ways to deal with this construction from a general point of view. Then, we evaluate the adequacy of the models using data from Old French. In this particular language, coordination is a more elaborated form of juxtaposition and apposition, which differs only at the semantic level. For this reason, the coordinating conjunction has to be considered as a dependent of the following conjunct.

## Introduction

Our purpose is to present an adequate way to describe simple coordination of verbal dependents in Old French (hereafter “OF”) within a dependency framework. We will mainly focus on the question of the hierarchical position of the conjunction.

As far as coordination constructions are concerned, OF is not very different from modern European languages, such as English or modern French. However, some uses of the conjunction *et* in OF would not be possible nowadays. For example, the construction *cel pris et celle somme d’argent* in ex. 1 would be ungrammatical in modern French (or English), because both nouns refer to the same object, and modern French does not allow the coordination of two noun phrases with identical referents.

- (1) *cel pris et celle somme d’argent*  
this price and this amount of money  
*doit li glise Saint-Donis paier a*  
must the church S-D pay to  
*mun saingor Wilhame*  
my sir W.

“Saint Denis church owes this price and

amount of money to Sir W.” (Charter, 1278, 8)

This phenomenon is named *pairs of synonyms* (Fr. *binôme synonymiques*), and the link between this kind of structure and translations in the Middle Ages has often been studied from the perspective of stylistics. The semantic relation between the synonyms varies, and it is generally assumed that pairs of synonyms are used for the sake of clarity (Buridant, 1977; Buridant, 1980). Buridant (1977, 294, our translation) proposes the following definition:

a sequence of two synonyms normally belonging to the same part of speech and sharing the same level in the syntactic hierarchy

We would like to compare this kind of coordination with cases that can be analysed in the same way as modern variants, and to propose an adequate and accurate hierarchy to model them. The focus of our presentation will gradually shift from general considerations about coordination toward specific OF properties.

We begin this paper (section 1) with a review of the main descriptive options that have been used to analyse coordination in a dependency framework. In section 2, we briefly highlight the fact that OF sentences can often be grammatically correct without the use of segmental grammatical devices such as prepositions and conjunctions. In section 3, we survey OF juxtaposition and apposition. We provide evidence that both constructions can be syntactically and semantically complemented by the use of the same conjunction – a process very close to the one called *specification* by Lemaréchal (1997) – thus forming two different kinds of coordination.

## 1 Coordination in the dependency framework

To begin with, we provide a general overview of models of coordination in the dependency framework. Since the concept of *dependency* varies among theories, we will briefly introduce the different definitions when necessary. We illustrate this section with English translations for the sake of simplicity. We conclude section 1 with a summary of the descriptive options provided by these different models. The appropriate formalism to model OF coordination will be elaborated in the following sections.

### 1.1 Tesnière's baseline

Lucien Tesnière (1965, ch. 134 sqq.) introduces the concept of *jonction* (we use the translation *junction* hereafter), used to model coordination. Junction is a “horizontal” relation. Words linked in junction are hierarchically equivalent (Tesnière, 1965, ch. 135). This characteristic makes junction very different from *connexion* (fr. *connection*), which represents a governor/dependent “vertical” relation, where the governor (the top node in the stemma) is hierarchically more prominent than the dependent. Dependency as such is never defined by Tesnière, but Garde (1981, 159-160), in the same framework, defines the governor as the word that controls the passive valency of the phrase (the potential it has to be dependent on some external governor).

As a simple example of junction, we can analyse ex. 2: see fig. 1 (Tesnière, 1965, ch. 136, §3).

- (2) *Alfred and Bernard fall* (translation of stemma 248 in Tesnière's book)

As the graphical (bi-dimensional) representation is very important to him, Tesnière adds (we will see in section 3.2 how this compares with the way appositions are handled):

Two joined nodes each retain equivalent vertical connections [i.e. dependency]. As a result, the graphical representation derived from two vertical connections and the junction line will always form a triangle. (Tesnière, 1965, ch. 136, §4, our translation)

Graphically, the conjunction *and* is placed directly on the horizontal line.

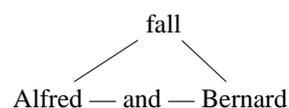


Figure 1: Coordination according to Tesnière

When the conjunction is not present, the representation is exactly the same, except the horizontal line is unbroken. Tesnière's model of coordination multiplies the number of dependents that can be connected to a verb.

### 1.2 Mel'čuk's unidimensional approach

In the Meaning-Text Theory (MTT) framework, coordination is described as a dependency relation.

MTT has developed a comprehensive list of criteria to find syntactic dependencies, to identify the governor in such a relation, and to classify them (Mel'čuk, 2009, 25-40). To identify a governor, syntactic (with higher priority), morphological and semantic (with lower priority) aspects have to be investigated. Syntactically, the passive valency of the phrase formed by the governor and its dependents should lead us to identify the governor of the phrase. Morphologically, the governor controls agreement between the phrase and its context. Semantically, the governor is a better sample of the referential class denoted by the phrase (e.g.: *a ham sandwich* is a kind of *sandwich*, therefore, *ham* is the dependent).

In fact, Mel'čuk (2009, 50-51) defines coordination from both a semantic and a syntactic perspective: no conjunct semantically depends on the other, but the second conjunct syntactically depends on the first one. Coordination often uses a conjunction and displays the following properties (Mel'čuk, 1988, 41):

1. In a phrase of the form *X and Y*, no element can remain “independent”, i.e., unrelated to any other element. [...]
2. In the phrase *X and Y*, the conjunction cannot be the head, since the distribution of the phrase is determined by its conjuncts and by no means by the conjunction. [...]
3. *X* is the head of the phrase, since the distribution of *X and Y* is that of *X*, and by no means that of *and Y*.

4. In the chunk *and Y*, the conjunction is the head: it determines the distribution of the expression to a greater degree than *Y*. [...]

As a result, the analysis (see fig. 2) forces the dependency between *Bernard* and *fall* to become indirect, which was not the case with Tesnière’s model.

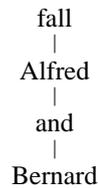


Figure 2: Coordination according to the MTT

According to the MTT, coordination can be direct, and it corresponds to traditional *juxtaposition*.

The author himself acknowledges that his pure-dependency model cannot describe constituent coordination efficiently (Mel’čuk, 2009, 93). For instance, there is no difference in the description of *old men and women* meaning “old men + old women” and “old men + women (either old or not)” (Mel’čuk, 2009, 93). Another limit of the formalism appears in gapping coordinations or valency slot coordinations (non-constituent coordination). There is no way to correctly describe clustering as observed in: *John loves Mary; and Peter, Ann and John gets a letter from Mary and roses from Ann*.

### 1.3 Two dimensional formalisms

It is a common idea that the limits of the MTT syntactic description of coordination are linked to the unidimensionality of the formalism (generally called *projectivity*). However, as Kahane (1997, § 5.5) states,

Subordination and coordination are two orthogonal linguistic operations and we need a two dimensional formalism to capture this [...]

**Bubbles.** Kahane (1997) introduces the concept of the *bubble*. Bubbles are formal objects that represent embeddable clusters of nodes. Clustered elements are linked together by a dependency (this concept is defined formally) or an embedding relation. Therefore, coordination bubbles allow the

grouping of sub-bubbles without any dependency relation between them. The advantage of this model is that it can cope with gapping and valency slot coordination, but our main interest is the hierarchical position of the conjunction. In the representation shown in fig. 3,

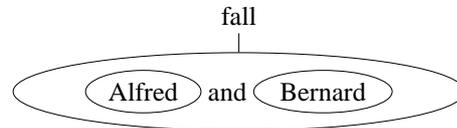


Figure 3: Coordination in a Bubble-tree

it can be seen that the representation leaves the exact hierarchical position of the coordinating conjunction unspecified: it is simply a sibling of the conjuncts. Note that the dependency links the whole bubble to its governor, thus assuming functional equivalence of the conjuncts.

**Paradigmatic piles.** The so-called *paradigmatic pile* device is aimed at easing transcription and analysis of oral performance, mainly to deal with disfluencies and reformulations. It inherits the ideas of the *grid analysis* (Blanche-Benveniste and Jeanjean, 1987, 167-171). Kahane and Gerdes (2009) argue that the same device can be used to describe coordination and apposition – the same idea already appears in Bilger (1999), but without further formalisation. For instance, the following example presents a disfluency (Kahane and Gerdes, 2009, § 3.2):

- (3) *okay so what what changed your mind*

*what* and *what ...mind* form some kind of paradigm. Production is indeed interrupted, and one could not reasonably think that both elements are part of the same syntactic structure; as far as reformulation and coordination are concerned,

we consider that a segment *Y* of an utterance piles up with a previous segment *X* if *Y* fills the same syntactic position as *X*. (Kahane and Gerdes, 2009, § 4)

Such an analysis is represented in fig. 4, where curly brackets delimit the pile, and the vertical bar divides the elements of the pile.

Besides, paradigmatic piles can also be used to sketch a coordination relation: the analysis of ex. 2 is shown in fig. 5, where the italicised *and* is called a *pile marker*. It is related to the conjuncts, but their exact dependency is not stated:

okay so { what  
| what changed your mind }

Figure 4: Disfluency

{ Alfred  
| and Bernard } fall

Figure 5: Coordination in a pile

[...] pile markers like *and* or *or*, usually called coordinating conjunctions, are in a syntagmatic relation only with the conjuncts and do not play any role in the combination of the conjuncts with the context as they can only appear between two conjuncts (Kahane and Gerdes, 2009, § 3.1)

Formally, bubbles and piles can be combined. The resulting formalisation displays three sets of relations: plain syntactic dependencies, in a tree equivalent to Mel'čuk's, orthogonal paradigmatic relations, and pile marking relations (Kahane, forthcoming). As a result, the analysis of ex. 2 is represented in fig. 6, where solid arrows are regular dependencies, the double line expresses the paradigmatic link, and the dashed arrows express the value of the pile marker.

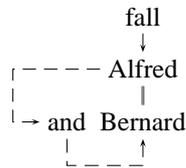


Figure 6: Coordination with tree sets of relations

**Word grammar.** Word grammar has a mainly semantic definition of dependency: a dependent makes the meaning of its governor more precise (Hudson, 2010, 147).

Following most recent formulations of the word grammar dependency model (Hudson, 2010, 176-181), a coordinating conjunction has no governor and is itself the governor of the conjuncts. These also depend on the verb. Ex. 2 would thus be analysed as in fig. 7.

Another option (Rosta, 2006, 189-191) would be to make the conjunction the dependent of the verb, which would govern each conjunct if there was no coordination (fig. 8).



Figure 7: Coordination according to Hudson

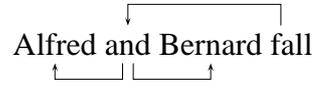


Figure 8: Coordination according to Rosta

## 1.4 Summary of options

Regarding simple coordination of verbal dependents, differences between models are all linked to the hierarchical position of the conjunction. The coordinating conjunction can depend on:

- the coordination relation (Tesnière, 1965);
- nothing (Hudson, 2010; Kahane, 1997; Kahane and Gerdes, 2009);
- the first conjunct (Mel'čuk, 1988);
- the first conjunct in a parallel set of dependencies (Kahane, forthcoming);
- the verb (Rosta, 2006).

It can govern:

- nothing (Tesnière, 1965);
- [undefined] (Kahane, 1997; Kahane and Gerdes, 2009);
- both conjuncts (Hudson, 2010; Rosta, 2006);
- the following conjunct (Mel'čuk, 1988);
- the following conjunct in a parallel set of dependencies (Kahane, forthcoming).

As far as the concept of *dependency* is concerned, we will retain Mel'čuk's definition hereafter. This first choice compels us to reject Tesnière's description, because a word cannot depend on a relation.

## 2 Segmental underspecification in OF

OF is the ancestor of Modern French. It can be roughly described as a V2 analytic language. Some remnants of Latin nominal declension remain, but they are often too poor to guarantee the univocity of the form/function relation (Moignet, 1988, 87).

Being a major written language from the 11th century to the 14th century, OF has been well described in several more or less traditional grammars, e.g. Foulet (1968), Moignet (1988), Ménard (1994), Buridant (2000). However, grammars do not investigate the syntactic description of coordination phenomena in detail, and their contribution to the problem is generally limited to a list of coordinating conjunctions and their semantic or discursive values, with the main focus on coordination of clauses or sentences. More useful is the very comprehensive study by Antoine (Antoine, 1958; Antoine, 1962), which examines many aspects of coordination from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view, but lacks a proper syntactic modelisation of the structure. However, it contains many well-classified examples and remains very useful.

We use the concept of *specification* (section 2.1) to show that OF has many “segmentally underspecified” constructions (section 2.2). The adequacy of the models can be evaluated with this property (section 2.3).

### 2.1 Minimal relation and specification concepts

Following Alain Lemaréchal’s work, we assume that every syntactic relation has an underlying minimal relation (Fr. *relation minimale*) that has hardly any formal mark. Put simply, some words are connected simply by being used together, without the need for grammatical information other than the part-of-speech class they belong to. For instance, using *red* and *book* together will generate an understandable phrase that “works” (Lemaréchal, 1997, esp. 3 and 103). At this “minimal” level, the orientation of the dependency relation is not important.

However, languages tend to add grammatical marks that help to distinguish different functions: prosodic marks, segmental morphemes, etc. The addition of such marks over a minimal relation is called *specification* (Fr. *spécification*) by Lemaréchal (1997, 107-114). Specifications are generally combined in complex context-dependant mark sets. The use of marks make the definition of the relation more precise, and generally allows the governor of a relation to be identified. For example, it is the lexical verb that controls the form of its dependents: most constraints over the dependents are stored in the lexicon.

From a diachronic perspective, specification

may vary for the same dependency relation. For example, it is well known that the Latin subject was marked using the nominative case, while in Modern French, the subject is marked by its position in the clause. Once a specification becomes tightly bound to the way a function is expressed, its use becomes compulsory.

### 2.2 Segmental underspecification in OF

However, there is never a compulsory segmental mark for every function. Moreover, marks tend to be polyfunctional; e.g.:

- nominal structures expressing the semantic recipient are generally indirect (prepositional specification with *a*), but the preposition can be absent (Moignet, 1988, 296), as in:

(4) *Nos avons donet Warnier une mason*  
 “We have given W. a house” (Charter, 1252, 3)

- nominal structures expressing a genitive relation can be specified by the preposition *de*, but this specification is not compulsory when the possessor is a human being, as in *la fille le roi* [“The king’s daughter”] (Moignet, 1988, 94);
- subordination is generally marked by conjunction, but parataxis also exists (Moignet, 1988); see also the extensive study by Glikman (2009).
- even when these prepositions and conjunctions are used, they can have multiple meanings (Moignet, 1988).

Hence we claim, following Mazziotta (2009, 149-150), that OF can be seen as a language in which the syntax relies less on segmental specification than on semantic categories and situational/contextual factors. Consequently, models used to describe OF should not systematically treat segmental specification morphemes as governors.

### 2.3 Consequences

The segmental underspecification of many structures in OF has a direct impact on the choice of the model best suited to describe the language. Given the fact that grammatical words such as conjunctions and prepositions are, in some cases, optional, grammatical words cannot *always* be considered as governors of prepositional or conjunctive phrases, because these words do not fully

determine the passive valencies of these structures (i.e. the way they combine with a governor), which is the prominent criterion in evaluating directin of dependency (Meřćuk, 2009, 27-28). It is quite probable that many grammatica units are indeed compulsory (Moignet, 1988, 293), but the dependency description of OF is not complete enough to state it firmly in every case. It is better to keep the description at the level of the minimal relation while dependency remains unclear.

Hence, if we want to investigate such questions with respect to the coordinating conjunction, it is important to choose a model in which the hierarchical position of the conjunction remains undefined. At first glance, the bubble-tree and the pile models, as well as a combination of the two, seem a perfect fit, because they do not state dependencies regarding the conjunction.

### 3 Coordination as a specified juxtaposition or apposition

In this section, we show that there exist two types of coordination. The first must be considered as a special case of juxtaposition (section 3.1). Relying on the structural equivalence between juxtaposition and apposition, we will also demonstrate that the second type of coordination can be seen as a special case of apposition (3.2).

#### 3.1 Specified juxtaposition

Given the possibly underspecified status of coordination, we follow Antoine’s insight, focusing our survey at first on what one might call “implicit” coordination, in order not to assign too important a role to the conjunction initially (Antoine, 1958, 461).

**Argument types.** Let us first try to define what one may call *juxtaposition* at clause level (not *between* clauses). There may be juxtaposition between dependents of the verb, but what makes juxtaposition different from simultaneous use of different arguments of the same verb?

From a syntactic-semantic perspective, the verb, as a selected lexical unit, has a predetermined set of valency patterns, constraining the semantic role and the morphosyntactic expression of its arguments (Lemaréchal, 1989, 102). For instance, in its prototypical transitive use, the verb *to kill* has a first argument of which the grammatical form is that of a subject (possible agreement with the verb, substitiability with *he*, etc.) and

which expresses the semantic AGENT. *To kill* the second argument has the form of an object and is the semantic PATIENT. One can say that *to kill* can govern two types of arguments combining a specific form to a specific meaning. Only one occurrence of each argument type can occur in the same clause. On the other hand, adjuncts are not subject to such constraints of form, meaning or presence.

For all languages, juxtaposition is the construction that allows speakers to multiply each argument type of one verb or adjuncts. Simultaneously using arguments of different types (such as a subject expressing the agent and an object expressing the patient) is not juxtaposition.

**Juxtaposed dependents.** Orientations 1, 2, etc. of a verb can thus be duplicated without using any grammatical device:

- (5) *Homes, bestes, sont en repos*  
humans animals are in rest  
“Humans, animals are resting” (Antoine, 1958, 561, quoting Eneas, 2163)
- (6) *Bien li siet cele ventaille,*  
well to him is suited this faceguard  
*li hiaumes, li escus, la lance*  
the helmet the shield the spear  
“He is well clad with this faceguard, the helmet, the shield, the spear” (Stein et al., 2008, BretTournD, 2202)

The same is true of the adjunct position, which is naturally unbounded.

**Specification.** From our point of view, the coordinating conjunction that can be used between juxtaposed arguments is a specification device that is *added* to a relation that already exists. In other words, there cannot be a coordination if there is no multiplication of any type of argument. As a result, although the word *et* is present in ex. 7, there is no juxtaposition, and therefore no coordination:

- (7) *Nos oiemes che ke li veritauuele dissent*  
we heard what the witnesses said  
*et par serement*  
and under oath  
“We heard what the witnesses declared under oath indeed” (Charter, 1260, 10)

Although *et* is present, the adjunct *et par serement* is not coordinated, because there is no other juxtaposed adjunct in the clause. Therefore, *et* has to be considered as a mark of specification of the

relation bounding the adjunct to its verbal governor *dissent* (we will not elaborate on the structural position of the preposition *par* here). From a semantic perspective, the word *et* adds emphasis to the adjunct.

If the coordinating conjunction is a specification mark that combines with an *already existing* relation, the conjunction cannot be the governor of the second conjunct, nor can it be a third co-head in a common bubble. If the coordinating conjunction is secondary, Mel'čuk's description presented in 1.2 does not hold for OF.

Moreover, following Mel'čuk's definition of dependency if the conjunction forms a phrase with the second conjunct and is directly linked in a dependency relation with the first one, it should be described as the governor of the second conjunct (Mel'čuk, 2009, 26-27), which cannot be the case. Therefore, there is no dependency relation between the first conjunct and the conjunction, which *must* be described as a dependent of the conjunct following it.

In other words, we also reject the classical assumption that juxtaposition is a coordination from which the conjunction has been deleted (Tesnière, 1965, ch. 137, § 1). This is a matter of *frequency*, rather than of grammatical organisation: specification is more frequent, but it does not mean that it is more basic from a structural point of view. Fig. 9 shows our simplified analysis of ex. 8.

- (8) *Prenez mon escu et ma lance*  
 “Take my shield and my spear” (De-fourques and Muret, 1947, Bérout, v. 3586)

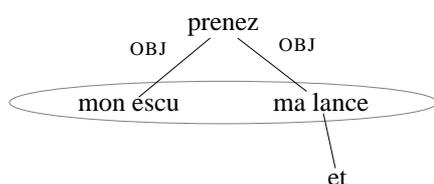


Figure 9: Juxtaposition specification

The coordination relation takes the form of a bubble and the conjunction depends on the second conjunct. The juxtaposition has duplicated the object-PATIENT argument of the verb without changing its valency. Note that the model is not exactly a bubble tree, because dependency relations cannot normally cross the border of a bubble, but the main idea of coordination being an or-

thogonal relation between (groups of) dependents is inherited from this model.

Such model integrates seamlessly polysyndeton (ex. 9):

- (9) *li baisse et le bouche*  
 to him DATIVE kisses and the mouth OBJ  
*et le nes*  
 and the nose OBJ  
 “He kisses him on the mouth and on the nose” (Stein et al., 2008, ElieB, 2599)

Here, the first coordinating conjunction depends on the first conjunct, as shown in fig. 10.

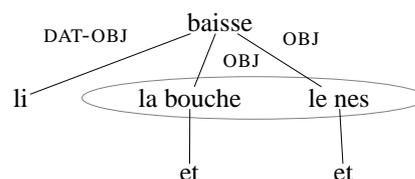


Figure 10: Representation of polysyndeton

Indeed, there are many simple examples of the specified construction in OF. According to our knowledge of this language, and to the texts we have read so far, we have found that juxtaposition is very often specified in the case of a coordination of genuine arguments (which excludes coordination of adjuncts). We believe that in the written language underspecification tends to become rarer over time (a diachronic survey would be necessary). Note that adjuncts are obviously not subject to this emerging constraint.

### 3.2 Specified apposition

We claim that coordination can also be a specified case of apposition, which is a property of OF but not modern French – Bilger (1999, 263-264), among others, gives no example of specified apposition.

**Comparing apposition and juxtaposition.** Intuitively, appositions are generally described as simultaneous expressions of the same object; e.g.:

- (10) *Li enemy, li aduersaire dunc*  
 the enemy warriors the opponents then  
*se desrengent*  
 are restless  
 “Then, the foes are restless” (Stein et al., 2008, EdmK, 2065)

- (11) *Tu vouloies ceste angoisse, ceste dolor,*  
 You wanted this anguish this pain  
*ceste painne pour nostre amor [...]*  
 this mourning for the love of us  
 “You wanted to experience this pain for  
 our sake” (Stein et al., 2008, PassJonglGP,  
 497)
- (12) *Adont m’ arés vous retenu*  
 Then me OBJ will have you retained  
*a vostre ami, a vostre dru*  
 as your lover as your lover  
 “Then, you will hold on to me as your  
 lover” (Stein et al., 2008, JacAmArtK,  
 1972)

Tesnière has the following insight:

The form of the junction line is identical  
 to the form of the apposition line, since  
 both are horizontal (Tesnière, 1965,  
 ch. 136, § 5, our translation)

But he argues (Tesnière, 1965, ch. 69, §§ 5-6 and  
 ch. 139, § 6) that the apposed node, even if it is  
 bound by an horizontal line, remains dependent  
 upon the node to which it is apposed (the rela-  
 tion that unites them is a *connexion*). Underlying  
 his argumentation is the assumption that apposi-  
 tion is not a clause-level relation: apposed nouns  
 are governed by a node that may be an argumen-  
 tal dependent. This may be true, but there is a  
 major difficulty in determining what is apposed to  
 what. Moreover, apposed dependents of the verb  
 share the same constraints bound to their function  
 (e.g. the use of the preposition *a* in ex. 12).

It is often not possible to decide which apposed  
 word would be the governor in an apposition re-  
 lation. As they share the same argument type, ap-  
 posed words have the same passive valency, and  
 therefore would trigger the same agreement in the  
 same context. From a semantic point of view, they  
 are lexical synonyms (*enemy/adversaire* in ex. 10  
 or *ami/dru* in ex. 12) or they refer to the same ob-  
 ject or fact (*angoisse/dolor/paine* in ex. 11). The  
 hierarchy remains undefined.

The difference between argumental apposition  
 and juxtaposition is only semantic – the fact has  
 been highlighted by Blanche-Benveniste and Cad-  
 déo (2000) for spoken modern French, and by  
 Touratier (2005, 290) in a constituent-based ap-  
 proach – as it is a case of *coreference* (Hudson,  
 2010, 229-232). Where several dependents refer

to the same object, they are said to be coreferent.  
 For instance, a noun and the pronoun replacing it  
 are coreferent. Coreference is a major semantic  
 characteristic of apposition, distinguishing it from  
 juxtaposition: apposed nouns share the same *des-  
 ignatum*. Note that subject/verb agreement cannot  
 be considered as a reliable grammatical mark of  
 the difference between apposition and juxtaposi-  
 tion (Foulet, 1968, 201-202).

**Specification.** The apposition relation can be  
 specified by the use of a coordinating conjunction,  
 as seen in ex. 1, and in the following excerpt.

- (13) *Poor en ont tuit et esfroi*  
 Fear of it have all and fright  
 “They are all afraid of it” (Defourques and  
 Muret, 1947, Bérroul, 1722)

Since we consider juxtaposition and apposition to  
 be syntactically equivalent, our analysis of *paier  
 cel pris et celle summe* is shown in fig. 11, where  
 the dashed line represents the coreference relation.

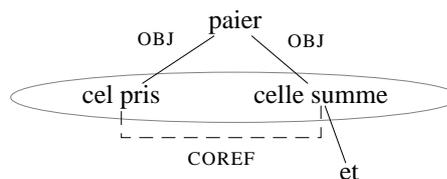


Figure 11: Specified apposition

Contrary to juxtaposition, we suggest (again,  
 this should be verified), underspecification has  
 generalised in apposition over time. Note that  
 modern French can still specify appositions when  
 they are not directly dependent on the verb. Thus,  
 14 is grammatical (the unique determiner implies  
 that there is only one noun phrase), but 15 is not:

- (14) Je vois ma chère et tendre  
 “I see my dear and sweet”  
 (15) \*\*Je vois ma chère et ma tendre

### 3.3 Conclusion

As far as verbal dependents of OF are concerned,  
 coordination is a form of juxtaposition or appo-  
 sition that is specified by the use of a coordinat-  
 ing conjunction. The fact that apposition can be  
 specified in the same manner as juxtaposition is a  
 property of OF that has not survived into modern  
 French.

Since both constructions occur without this specification, the coordinating conjunction has to be described as a dependent of the conjunct following it. Of course, this position of the conjunction should be reserved to languages where its presence is not compulsory: where the conjunction is mandatory, it has the position of a governor. However, according to Caterina Mauri (2008, 60), juxtaposition without specification is always possible at clause level, in all languages she has investigated:

Asyndetic constructions consist of the simple juxtaposition of the two SoAs [i.e.: ‘states of affairs’, “hyperonym for the words ‘situation’, ‘event’, ‘process’ and ‘action’” (Mauri, 2008, 32)], and the specific coordination relation existing between them is inferred from the context of communication and from their semantic properties. Asyndesis is always possible and occurs in every language as a more or less stylistically marked strategy.

It means that the dependent position of the conjunction can be generalised in the case of juxtaposition.

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