Appendix A. Verbal paradigm changes and Ambiguity Estimates

Table 1A. *Agreement changes in Group I\**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | present indicative | present subjunctive | preterite | future | imperfect | future conditional |
| 1st sg | aim > aime “love” | aim > aime | amai | amerai | amoie > aimoies | ameroie > ameroies |
| 2nd sg | aimes | ains > aimes | amas | ameras | amoies | ameroies |
| 3rd sg | aimet > aime | aint > aime | amat > aima | amerat >aimera | amoiet | ameroit |

\*In addition to ending changes shown here, the verb aimer ‘to love’ had its root vowel grapheme vary between /a/ and /ai/, the latter variant eventually winning.

Table 2A. *Agreement changes for Group II\**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | presentindicative | presentsubjunctive | preterite | future | imperfect | future conditional |
| 1st sg | voi >vois “see” | voie | vi/dormi >vis/dormis “see/”“sleep” | verrai | voioie > voioies | verroie >verroies |
| 2nd sg | vois | voies | veïs/dormis | verras | voioies | verroies |
| 3rd sg | voit | voiet > voie | vit/dormit >vi[t]/dormi[t] | verrat >verra | voioit | verroit |

\*In the preterite of Group II the fall of the final -*t* affected only verbs with non-root stress ending in -*i* or -*u* (e.g., Buridant, 2000:253-260).

(1A) A lui **lais** jo mes honurs e mes fieus.

 to him leave.1P I my lands and my fiefs

 ‘I leave to him my lands and my fiefs.’ (1100-ROLAND-V,23.290)[[1]](#footnote-1)

(2A) Je vous **laiss-e** ma fenme la roine enchainte.

 I you leave-1/3P my wife the queen pregnant

 ‘I leave to you my wife, the queen, pregnant.’ (1370-FROISSART-2-P,174.2966)

(3A) Il en **apele-t** e ses dux e ses cuntes...

 he of.there call-3P and his dukes and his counts

 ‘He calls both his dukes and his counts...’   (1100-ROLAND-V,2.15)

(4A) Nuls ne l’ **apele** fors le rei.

 No.one not him accuse.1/3P except the king

 ‘No one accuses him but the king.’  (116X-MARIE-DE-FRANCE-R,86.1762)

(5A) ne.s poet guarder que mals

 neg.refl can prevent that evil

 ne l’ i **ateign-et**.

 not him there attain-3P

 ‘He can not prevent that evil reaches him there.’ (1100-ROLAND-V,1.9)

(6A) E Deus le nos **cunsent-e**!

 and God it to.us agree-1/3P

  ‘May God give this to us!’ (1100-ROLAND-V,216.2994)

(7A) ...cum il l’ **audi-t**...

 when he him heard-3P

 ‘When he heard him.’ (0980-LEGER-V,XXXII.210)

(8A) Dunc **respundi** li evesche Hely...

 so responded.1/3P the high.priest Eli

 ‘So the the high priest Eli responded...’ (1150-QUATRELIVRE-P,5.62)

(9A) jol **sai** bien.

 I.it know.1P well

 ‘I know it well’ (1100-ROLAND-V,59.728)

(10A) je **sai-s** qu’ aves esté si transportée

 i know-1/2P that have been so elated

 de joie…

 by joy

  ‘I know that (you) have been so elated by joy...’ (158X-VALOIS-AUTOGRAPH-P,99.408)

(11A) que j’ ai anpris une autre afeire que je ne

 that I have undertaken an other deal that I not

 **lesseroie** pas.

 would.leave.1P not

‘ ...that I undertook another deal that I would not give up.’ (1170-YVAIN-R,145.5051)

(12A) j’ **aymeroi-s** mieulx mourir que vous

 I would.like-1/2P better die than you

 presser de deshonneur.

 torture of dishonour

 ‘I would prefer to die than to torture you by the dishonour.’ (1527-BAYART-P,49.929)

Table 3A. *Person and number endings Group I*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Ending | Person & Number (Tense & Mood) | Ambiguity |
| -∅ | 1st sg (present indicative & subjunctive) | no |
| -e [e] | 1st & 3rd sg (present indicative & subjunctive) | yes |
| -es [es] | 2nd sg (present indicative) | no |
| -s [s] | 2nd sg (present subjunctive) | no |
| -t [t] | 3rd sg (present indicative & subjunctive) | no |
| -ai [ɛ] | 1st sg (preterite; future) | no |
| (a)-s [s] | 2nd sg (preterite; future) | no |
| (a)-∅[] | 3rd sg (preterite; future) | no |
| (a)-t [t] | 3rd sg (preterite; future) | no |
| (oie)- ∅ [] | 1st sg (imperfect; future conditional) | no |
| (oie)-s [s] | 1st & 2nd sg (imperfect; future conditional) | emerging |
| (oi)-t [t] | 3rd sg (imperfect; future conditional) | no |
| (ss)-e [e] | 1st sg (imperfect subjunctive) | no |
| (ss)-es [es] | 2nd sg (imperfect subjunctive) | no |
| (s)-t [t] | 3rd sg (preterite; imperfect subjunctive) | no |
| -on(s) [ons] *>* [o˜] | 1st pl | no |
| -ez [eţ] *>* [es] | 2nd pl | no |
| -ent [ent] | 3rd pl | no |

The distribution of the person/number endings is illustrated by the following paradigms, taken mostly from Buridant (2000). We assume that the 2nd person plural ending in the context of all moods and tenses was never ambiguous. Even though, according to De Jong (2006:66), the final *-s* in this ending was likely unstable around the 13th century, this would not make the ending ambiguous, as one can see from Table 10. We therefore do not list here its variants in various contexts. According to De Jong (2006), the passage from an affricate to a sibilant in the pronunciation of *z* in 2nd person plural marker happened during the second half of the 14th century.

Table 4A. *Group I aimer “to love”*

|  | 1st sg | 2nd sg | 3rd sg | 1st pl | 2nd pl | 3rd pl |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Present indicative | aim(e) | aimes | aime | amons | amez | aiment |
| Subjunctive | aim(e) | ains | aint/aime | amons | amez | aiment |
| Preterite | amai | amas | ama(t) | amames | amastes | amerent |
| Imperfect subjunctive | amasse | amasses | amast/se | amissons | amisseiz | amassent |
| Future | amerai | ameras | amera(t) | amerons | amerez | ameront |
| Imperfect | amoie(s) | amoies | amoit | amiiens | amiiez | amoeent |
| Future conditional | ameroie | ameroies | ameroit | amerions | ameriez | ameroient |

Table 5A. *Person and number endings Group II*

| Ending | Person & Number features (Tense & Mood contexts) | Ambiguity |
| --- | --- | --- |
| -∅ | 1st sg (present indicative) | no |
| -s [s] | 1st & 2nd sg (present indicative) | yes |
| -t [t] | 3rd sg (present indicative) | no |
| -e [e] | 1st & 3rd sg (present subjunctive) | yes |
| -es [es] | 2nd sg (present subjunctive) | no |
| -et [et] | 3rd sg (present subjunctive) | no |
| (-i/-u)-∅ | 1st & 3rd sg (preterite) | yes |
| (-i/-u)-s [s] | 2nd sg (preterite) | no |
| (-i/-u)-t [t] | 3rd sg (preterite) | no |
| -ai [ɛ] | 1st sg (future) | no |
| (a)-s [s] | 2nd sg (future) | no |
| (a)- ∅  | 3rd sg (future) | no |
| (a)-t [t] | 3rd sg (future) | no |
| (oie)- ∅ | 1st sg (imperfect; future conditional) | no |
| (oie)-s [s] | 1st & 2nd sg (imperfect; future conditional) | emerging |
| (oi)-t [t] | 3rd sg (imperfect; future conditional) | no |
| (ss)-e [e] | 1st sg (imperfect subjunctive) | no |
| (ss)-es [es] | 2nd sg (imperfect subjunctive) | no |
| (s)-t [t] | 3rd sg (preterite; imperfect subjunctive) | no |
| -on(s) [ons] *>* [o˜] | 1st pl | no |
| -ez [ez] *>* [es] | 2nd pl | no |
| -ent [ent] | 3rd pl | no |

Table 6A. *Group II venir “to come”; dormir “to sleep”; covrir “to cover”; valoir “to be worth”; haïr “to hate”*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1st sg | 2nd sg | 3rd sg | 1st pl | 2nd pl | 3rd pl |
| Present indicative | vien(s) | viens | vient | venons | venez | vienent |
| Subjunctive | dorme | dormes | dorme | dormons | dormez | dorment |
| Subjunctive |  |  | hace/hast |  |  |  |
| Imperfect subjunctive | covrisse | covrisses | covrist/se | covrissons | covrisseiz | covrissent |
| Preterite | dormi | dormis | dormi(t) | dormimes | dormistes | dormirent |
| Future | vaudrai | vaudras | vaudra(t) | vaudrons | vaudrez | vaudront |
| Imperfect | valoie(s) | valoies | valoit | valiiens | valiiez | valoeent |
| Future conditional | vaudroie | vaudroies | vaudroit | vaudrions | vaudriez | vaudroient |

1. For all examples from MCVF (2010) and Penn Supplement to MCVF (2010) we give their unique ID tag consisting of the corpus text name from which an example was taken, the date, and the sequential order number of the utterance in the text. We refer to a version of the corpus available as of May 2017.  We exclude only the three texts composed in Canada. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)