**Change and loss of P-elements: A case study of *fors* and *hors* in the history of French**
Michelle Troberg, Maya Krol, and Meena Ahmad
University of Toronto Mississauga

In the last 30 years, prepositional elements in Medieval French have been the subject of growing synchronic and diachronic interest given their large inventory and diverse functions in the early periods of the language and the dramatic reduction of forms and some functions since. *Hors* and *fors* – cognates both meaning 'out', 'outside', 'except' – are particularly interesting since their simple forms present a number of distinct functions in Medieval French, all of which have now disappeared or are obsolete. For instance, they could occur as a spatial preposition (1), preverb (2), adverb (3), subordinating conjunction (4), and verb particle – both directional (5) and aspectual.

(1)     ***fors*** *la cité* 'outside the city'
(2)     ***for****joster* 'to out joust' 'to win at a jousting match'
(3)     *Tendiz que le roy **hors** estoit*
        While that the king out was
        'While the king was outside'
(4)     ***fors*** *que l'artillerie,  qui  dedens estoit, demoura   au     roy*, (Roye, *Chron. Scand.*, I DMF)
        out  that the-artillery, which inside was,  remained  to.the  king
        'except that the artillery, which was inside, remained the king's'
(5)     *Tute ma terre ad  eissilliee, La  gent    robee e   **fors** chaciee     (Roman de Brut*, TFA)
        all   my land has destroyed the  people robed and  out  chased
        '[He] has destroyed my land, and robed and chased out my people'

The basic diachronic facts of *hors* and *fors* lend themselves well to an examination of how the evolution of these forms and their functions are interconnected (involving a number of competing forms at different times) and how this relates to the question of category. Following recent theories of the extended P-projection (Svenonius 2010, among others), we propose that there are only two categories at issue; *fors* and *hors* instantiate the category Dir(ection), associated with a certain kind of verb particle and the category Loc(ation), associated with spatial prepositions. This contrasts with functional approaches such as Marchello-Nizia (2002), for instance, who suggests five or six categories.

Based on a systematic examination of their use in three major databases – Textes de Français Ancien (ARTFL Project); ARTFL-FRANTEXT (ARTFL Project); FRANTEXT Moyen Français (ATILF) –, we find that *fors* and *hors* as directional particles follow a clear time course of change whereby, together, their frequency begins to decline in the 14th century (number of tokens and in terms of the variety of verbs they occur with) and disappears by the 16th century. This time course is very similarly to that of the particle *jus* 'down', studied in detail in Troberg & Wyslobocka (2016). On the other hand, the evolution of the other functions are complex and interrelated and differ dramatically from that of the particle, evidence, we propose, that the category Loc(ative) underlies them all .

The present study contributes to the dearth of fine-grained work on prepositional elements in Medieval French, in particular that of the particles and the extent of their syntactic and semantic possibilities and what they can tell us about Medieval French as an intermediate stage between satellite-framed Latin and verb-framed Modern French (see Talmy 1985, 2000; Troberg & Burnett 2017; and Troberg 2017). Our study also demonstrates that *hors* and *fors* are lexical doublets (contrary to previous claims), and shows the complex evolution of each in their various functions and questions whether previous claims about their so-called grammaticalisation can really be maintained.

## Selected References

Buridant, C. 2000. *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*. Sedes.

Burnett, H. & M. Tremblay. 2009. Variable-behaviour Ps and the Location of PATH in Old French. In Enoch Aboh et al. (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2007*. Benjamins.

Marchello-Nizia, C. 2002. Prépositions françaises en diachronie : une catégorie en question. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 25:2. 205-221.

Svenonius, P. 2010. Spatial P in English, in G. Cinque &L. Rizzi (eds), *Mapping spatial PPs.* OUP.

Talmy, L. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics.* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Troberg, M. & H. Burnett. 2017. "From Latin to Modern French: A Punctuated Shift". In E. Mathieu & R. Truswell, *From Micro-change to Macro-change*. OUP.

Troberg M. & P. Wyslobocka. 2017. "Jus: A portrait of a verb particle in Medieval French". Poster given at The Canadian Linguistics Association Meeting. May 27-29, Ryerson University.

Troberg, M. 2017. "Adpositions of Result in Medieval French", Paper given at Morphosyntactic Variation in Adpositions, Cambridge University, UK. May 8-9.