

**THE OV/VO WORD ORDER CHANGE IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH
EVIDENCE FOR SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

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(Carola Trips)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS.....	9
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG.....	10
Die OV/VO Wortstellungsveränderung im Frühmittelenglischen.....	10
1. Einführung.....	10
2. Die dialektale Situation im (Früh)mittelenglischen.....	11
3. Syntaktischer Wandel.....	14
4. Wortstellungsveränderungen in der Verbphrase.....	15
5. Objektbewegungen (Object Shift und Scrambling).....	16
6. Das V2-Phänomen und die Klitisierung von Subjektpronomen.....	17
7. Stylistic Fronting.....	17
8. Schlussfolgerungen.....	18
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	20
CHAPTER 2: THE DIALECTS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH	26
2.1 Introduction.....	26
2.2 From Old English to Middle English.....	27
2.2.1 The Scandinavian Influence.....	29
2.3 The dialects of Middle English.....	34
2.3.1 The Northern Dialect.....	37
2.3.2 The East Midlands Dialect.....	38
2.3.3 The West Midlands Dialect.....	40
2.3.4 The Kentish Dialect.....	42
2.3.5 The Southern Dialect.....	43
2.4 The Penn-Helsinki-Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2 (PPCME2).....	44
2.4.1 General information about the corpus.....	44
2.4.2 The annotation scheme of the PPCME2.....	45
2.4.2.1 Part-of-Speech tags.....	45
2.4.2.2 Parsing.....	46
CHAPTER 3: SYNTACTIC CHANGE	48
3.1 Introduction.....	48
3.2 Mechanisms of Syntactic Change.....	49
3.2.1 Internal Mechanisms.....	49
3.2.1.1 Reanalysis.....	50
3.2.1.2 Extension.....	54
3.2.2 External Mechanism.....	56
3.2.2.1 Language Contact.....	57
3.3 Syntactic Change and First-Language Acquisition.....	58
3.3.1 A computational model of learnability (Clark & Roberts, 1993).....	58

3.3.2 Cue-based language acquisition (Lightfoot 1979, 1991, 1999).....	69
3.4 Syntactic Change and Language Contact	78
3.5 The spread of syntactic change.....	83
3.6 Conclusion.....	88
CHAPTER 4: WORD ORDER CHANGE IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH.....	89
4.1 Introduction.....	89
4.2 Word Order in Old English.....	89
4.2.1 Old English Data.....	90
4.3 The analyses of OV word order in Old English.....	94
4.3.1 Roberts (1997): Old English as a head-initial language.....	94
4.3.2 Pintzuk (1991): Synchronic variation between OV and VO word order.....	104
4.3.2.1 The Position of I°.....	104
4.3.2.2 The Underlying position of V°.....	111
4.4 The analyses of the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English.....	113
4.4.1 Roberts (1997): strong AgrO° was lost	113
4.4.2 Pintzuk (1991): How the Double Base Hypothesis accounts for the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English.....	118
4.5 OV and VO order in Early Middle English.....	122
4.5.1 Variation between texts from the West Midlands and Southeast Midlands with respect to OV/VO order.....	123
4.5.2 OV/VO variation in the Ormulum.....	129
4.6 Conclusion.....	133
CHAPTER 5: OBJECT MOVEMENT.....	135
Part I: Object Shift.....	136
5.1 Introduction.....	136
5.2 The Differences between Object Shift and Scrambling	139
5.3 Theories of Object Shift.....	140
5.3.1 Object Shift is A-movement (Vikner 1989, 1990, 1994, 1997).....	140
5.3.1.1 Object Shift does not license Parasitic Gaps.....	141
5.3.1.2 Case assignment.....	142
5.3.1.3 Object Shift is compatible with the VP-internal subject hypothesis.....	144
5.3.1.4 Object Shift requires the main verb to move.....	145
5.3.1.5 Object Shift of pronouns versus Object Shift of DPs in Icelandic	147
5.3.1.6 Object Shift in double-object constructions.....	154
5.3.2 Object Shift is movement to I° or C° (Josefsson 1992, 1993).....	159
5.3.3 Object Shift is a PF-operation (Holmberg 1999)	166
5.4 Object Shift in the Ormulum.....	178

Part II: Scrambling.....	192
5.5 Introduction.....	192
5.6 The Properties of scrambling revisited.....	195
5.7 Theories of scrambling.....	203
5.7.1 Scrambling: Base generation or movement operation?	205
5.7.1.1 The base generation approach (Fanselow, 1998).....	205
5.7.1.2 The movement approach: scrambling as chain formation in the domain of the head of a projection (Haider & Rosengren 1998).....	209
5.8 Scrambling in Old English and Middle English.....	223
5.8.1 Scrambling in Old English.....	223
5.8.1.1 The distribution of full object DPs.....	224
5.8.1.2 The distribution of pronominal objects.....	227
5.8.2 Scrambling in Early Middle English.....	233
5.8.2.1 The distribution of full object DPs.....	234
5.8.2.2 The distribution of pronominal objects.....	244
5.8.3 Scrambling and fronting of pronominal objects in the Ormulum.....	248
5.9 Conclusion.....	258
CHAPTER 6: V2 AND CLITICISATION OF SUBJECT PRONOUNS	260
6.1 Introduction.....	260
6.2 The V2 phenomenon in the Germanic languages.....	261
6.3 The V2 phenomenon in Old English.....	268
6.3.1 The data.....	269
6.3.2 The analyses of the Old English V2 pattern.....	273
6.3.2.1 Subject clitics and V2 (van Kemenade, 1987).....	273
6.3.2.2 AgrP–Recursion (Cardinaletti & Roberts, 1991).....	277
6.3.2.3 A revision of Pintzuk’s analysis (Kroch & Taylor, 1997).....	282
6.4 The V2 phenomenon in Early Middle English: two V2 grammars in competition.....	288
6.4.1 The V2 syntax of Middle English dialects.....	289
6.4.1.1 The Southern dialects.....	289
6.4.1.2 The Northern dialects.....	294
6.5 V2 and cliticisation in the Ormulum.....	310
6.6 Conclusion	320
CHAPTER 7: STYLISTIC FRONTING.....	322
7.1 Introduction.....	322
7.2 Properties of Stylistic Fronting.....	327
7.2.1 The subject gap condition.....	327
7.2.2 The categories which undergo Stylistic Fronting.....	329
7.2.3 Maling’s Accessibility Hierarchy.....	330
7.2.4 Stylistic Fronting is clause-bound.....	331
7.2.5 The effects of Stylistic Fronting.....	332
7.2.6 The complementary distribution of Stylistic Fronting and the expletive það in main clauses.....	333
7.3 Theories of Stylistic Fronting	334
7.3.1 Stylistic Fronting is movement to a specifier position.....	334
(Platzack 1987 and Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson, 1990).....	334

7.3.2 Stylistic Fronting is head–adjunction to I°	342
(Jónsson, 1991; Platzack & Holmberg, 1995)	
7.3.3 Stylistic Fronting checks the p–feature in I°	350
(Holmberg 1997,1999a,1999b).....	350
7.4. Stylistic Fronting in Middle English texts.....	362
7.4.1 Stylistic Fronting in the Ormulum.....	363
7.4.2 The theory: Stylistic Fronting as a prosodic phenomenon due to metrical reasons.....	372
7.4.2.1 The metre of the Ormulum.....	373
7.4.2.1.1 The basic pattern.....	373
7.4.2.1.2 The right edge.....	374
7.4.2.1.3 The left edge.....	376
7.4.2.1.4 The fifth foot.....	379
7.4.2.1.5 The fourth foot.....	380
7.4.2.2 The relation between Stylistic Fronting and metre in the Ormulum.....	382
7.5. Conclusion.....	389
 CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS.....	 391
 APPENDIX I	 395
The Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2 (PPCME2)	
 APPENDIX II.....	 396
Names of text files in the PPCME2	
 REFERENCES.....	 397

LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

En. English

OE Old English

ME Middle English

EME Early Middle English

OF Old French

ModF Modern French

Ba. Bavarian

Da. Danish

MD Middle Danish

Du. Dutch

Fa. Faroese

Ge. German

Ic. Modern Icelandic

ON Old Norse/Old Icelandic

Sw. Swedish

Yi. Yiddish

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die OV/VO Wortstellungsveränderung im Frühmittelenglischen

1. Einführung

In der Syntax des Frühmittelenglischen finden sich Anzeichen für einen Wortstellungsveränderungsprozeß, der zur Folge hatte, daß sich die englische Sprache von einer OV-Sprache zu einer VO-Sprache entwickelte. Dieser Prozeß zeigt sich sehr deutlich in frühmittelenglischen Texten, v. a. in der *Peterborough Chronicle* (1070–1154). Hier finden sich sowohl altenglische (z. B. verbfinale Nebensätze) als auch neue Wortstellungsmuster, die bereits auf den neuenglischen Wortstellungstyp VO vorausweisen. Die Tatsache, daß der Wortstellungswandel von OV nach VO im Frühmittelenglischen stattgefunden haben muss, ist seit langem Forschungsgegenstand vieler Untersuchungen, aber es wurde bisher keine plausible Erklärung für die Ursache dieses syntaktischen Wandels gefunden.

Betrachtet man die in diesem Bereich vorhandenen Untersuchungen, muß man feststellen, daß es zwar eine Fülle von Studien für das Altenglische gibt, d.h., Studien, die die Syntax dieser Sprachstufe beschreiben und analysieren sowie Ausblicke auf die weitere Entwicklung der englischen Sprache geben, kaum aber für das (Früh)Mittelenglische, das gerade durch seine Heterogenität und seinen „Übergangscharakter“ für die Hinterfragung des Phänomens der Wortstellungsveränderung von großer Wichtigkeit ist. Die wenigen Untersuchungen, die es gibt, beschränken sich leider auf zu wenig repräsentative Daten, die die dialektale Diversität, vor allem die Unterschiede zwischen Nord und Süd, außer Acht lassen. Die diachrone Untersuchung der Wortstellungsveränderungen im Mittelenglischen anhand eines repräsentativen Korpus im Rahmen der generativen Linguistiktheorie ist Thema der hier vorliegenden Dissertation.

Die Untersuchung der Wortstellungsveränderung von OV nach VO beinhaltet zwei Fragestellungen: 1) was war die Ursache dieses Wandels, d.h., welche Faktoren (extern und/oder intern) lösten den Wandel aus; 2) auf welche Art und Weise konnte sich dieser Wandel vollziehen, so dass er in der Sprechergemeinschaft als neue unmarkierte Wortstellung akzeptiert wurde. Diese Fragestellung liegt im Bereich des Erstspracherwerbs (und auch des Zweitspracherwerbs), da es hier darum geht, wie Sprecher ihre Erstsprache erwerben, d.h. aufgrund von ausreichender Evidenz in ihrem *input* Parameter setzen, aber auch welche

Faktoren vorhanden sein müssen, dass Kinder von ihren Eltern abweichende Parameter setzen können, so dass syntaktischer Sprachwandel vonstatten gehen kann (wenn sie z.B. die von ihren Eltern imperfekt erlernte Zweitsprache als *input* haben).

Zu Fragestellung 1) gibt es verschiedene Hypothesen: einerseits wird angenommen (z. B. Roberts, 1997), dass der Wandel von OV nach VO eine natürliche Entwicklung innerhalb des Sprachsystems ist, d.h., dass diese Hypothese syntaktischen Wandel im allgemeinen, und den Wandel von OV nach VO im Besonderen, als eine sprachinterne Entwicklung definiert. Andererseits gibt es die Annahme (z.B. Kroch & Taylor, 1997), dass der Wandel von OV zu VO im Englischen durch den externen Faktor Sprachkontakt ausgelöst wurde. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass zwischen dem achten und zehnten Jahrhundert die Skandinavier¹ in England einfielen und Teile davon besetzten. Der Teil Englands, der am stärksten betroffen war, liegt heute in Nordostengland und wurde damals als das Gebiet der *Danelaw* bezeichnet, ein Gebiet also, in dem die Gesetze der Dänen galten. Anhand von englischen Texten aus dieser Zeit geht hervor, dass es regen Kontakt zwischen der englischen und der skandinavischen Sprechergemeinschaft gab, zumal sich beide Sprachen sehr ähnlich waren (man geht davon aus, dass ein Zustand von *mutual intelligibility* vorherrschte). So findet man in diesen Texten eine Anzahl von skandinavischen Lehnwörtern sowie Funktionswörter wie die Pluralformen der Personalpronomen *they, them, their*, die vom Skandinavischen übernommen wurden. Dies ist bereits ein Hinweis darauf, dass der Kontakt mit der skandinavischen Sprache auch tiefere Ebenen des englischen Sprachsystems beeinflusste. Bei der Untersuchung der Syntax von englischen Texten aus dem Gebiet der *Danelaw* kann festgestellt werden, dass sich dort syntaktische Phänomene wie z.B. strikte Verbzweitordnung finden, die es im Altenglischen nicht gab und deshalb durch den intensiven Kontakt mit der skandinavischen Sprache in die englische Sprache gekommen sein muss. In der hier vorliegenden Arbeit wird anhand von nördlichen Texten des Frühmittelenglischen gezeigt, dass eine Anzahl von skandinavischen syntaktischen Phänomenen zu finden ist, die Evidenz dafür sind, dass der Wortstellungswandel von OV nach VO in der Geschichte der englischen Sprache durch intensiven Kontakt mit der skandinavischen Sprache zur Zeit des skandinavischen Invasionen ausgelöst wurde. Weiter wird versucht werden zu erklären, wie sich das durch Kontakt in die englische Sprache gekommene neue VO-Muster gegenüber dem "alten" OV-Muster durchsetzen konnte. Im folgenden wird der Inhalt der einzelnen Kapitel kurz dargestellt.

1 Das Skandinavische aus dieser Zeit ist als Altnordisch bekannt. Es wird angenommen, dass es VO-Wortstellung hatte.

2. Die dialektale Situation im (Früh)mittelenglischen

Im zweiten Kapitel der Arbeit wird die Zeitspanne, die aus sprachlichen und zeitlichen Gesichtspunkten als Mittelenglisch bezeichnet wird, näher erläutert, um die Wichtigkeit, die diese Zeitspanne für die Entwicklung des Englischen darstellt, zu verdeutlichen.

Zunächst wird kurz dargestellt, wie sich die Kontaktsituation zwischen den Skandinaviern und den Engländern ergab. Weiter wird gezeigt, dass sich in vielen Texten, die in den Gebieten der *Danelaw* geschrieben wurden, nicht-syntaktische Evidenz für skandinavischen Einfluss findet, d.h., dass sich eine Fülle von Lehnwörtern v.a. aus den Bereichen der Schifffahrt und des Rechtswesens finden. Dies wird kurz anhand des *Ormulum*s, der Text, der in hier primär analysiert wird, gezeigt.

Mittelenglisch (1150–1450) wird oft auch die Phase des Übergangs in der Entwicklung des Englischen genannt. Der Grund dafür ist, dass sich in mittelenglischen Texten eine Anzahl von grundlegenden Veränderungen zeigen wie z.B. der Verlust des Kasussystems, der Verlust von Flexionsendungen bei Verben oder Wortstellungsveränderungen, die die Syntax des Englischen grundlegend veränderten. Im Altenglischen (ca. 700–1150), die Zeitspanne, die dem Mittelenglischen vorausging, war die Situation eine völlig andere. Da zu dieser Zeit eine grosse Anzahl von Texten verfasst wurde, hauptsächlich in West Saxon, dem altenglischen geschriebenen Standard, gibt es für die sprachliche Situation zu dieser Zeit fundierte Evidenz. So wird angenommen, dass das Kasussystem des Altenglischen vier Kasus unterschied und somit reiche Flektion für Numerus und Genus hatte (dem modernen Deutschen sehr ähnlich). Ausserdem gab es die klare Unterscheidung zwischen starken und schwachen Verben mit ihren jeweiligen Unterklassen. Obwohl die Wortstellung im Altenglischen nicht ganz so strikt war wie in den früheren Studien angenommen, so gab es doch eine Anzahl immer wiederkehrender Muster. So gab es z.B. das Verbzweit-Phänomen in Matrixsätzen, d.h., dass in diesen Sätzen das finite Verb stets an zweiter Stelle im Satz stand (mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen). Wie bereits oben erwähnt, finden sich bereits im Frühmittelenglischen (1150–1350) diese Muster nicht in der gleichen Art, was impliziert, dass ein Wandel stattgefunden hat. Ausserdem gab es u.a. aus politischen Gründen im Frühmittelenglischen keinen geschriebenen Standard mehr, so dass nun in einer Fülle von Dialekten geschrieben wurde, die wiederum Hinweise geben auf einen tiefgreifenden Wandel in der englischen Sprache, der sich in den verschiedenen dialektalen Regionen zeitlich versetzt ausbreitete. Das deutlichste Zeugnis für sprachlichen Wandel stellen die *Continuations of the Peterborough Chronicle* dar. Diese beiden Texte, welche jeweils von 1122–1131 und von 1132–1154 verfasst wurden, zeigen im Verhältnis zu den älteren Texten

der *Peterborough Chronicle* (1070 – 1121), die noch im West Saxon Standard verfasst wurden, ganz deutliche sprachliche Veränderungen, vor allem den Wegfall von Flexionsendungen. Der Wandel, der die Syntax der englischen Sprache grundlegend veränderte, ist der Wandel von OV nach VO. Im Altenglischen ist die am häufigsten auftretende Wortstellung in eingebetteten Sätzen wie im modernen Deutschen die OV-Ordnung. In den mittlenglischen Texten hingegen finden wir fast ausschliesslich die VO-Ordnung, die auch im heutigen Englisch obligatorisch ist. Der Unterschied zwischen OV und VO wird unten anhand von Deutsch und Englisch dargestellt:

(1) Er sagte, dass er [V' **die Frau kannte**].

He said, that he [V' *knew the woman*].

Wie bereits in der Einführung erwähnt, ist die Frage, warum dieser Wandel stattgefunden hat, bis heute nicht geklärt und viel diskutiert. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird Evidenz dafür gegeben, dass der Wandel von OV nach VO im Englischen aufgrund des grossen skandinavischen Einflusses auf das Englische stattgefunden hat. Es wird angenommen, dass der Wandel von OV nach VO in nördlichen Dialekten früher vonstatten ging als in südlichen Dialekten, da dort der skandinavische Einfluss intensiver war aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die skandinavischen Einwanderer dort siedelten. Dies wird deutlich, wenn nördliche und südliche Texte verglichen werden. Aus diesem Grund stellt die Untersuchung von Texten des annotierten Corpus PPCME2 (Penn-Helsinki-Parsed-Corpus of Middle English) einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Klärung dieses Phänomens dar, da es zum einen ein großes Spektrum mittlenglischer Texte aus allen Regionen beinhaltet, und zum anderen syntaktische Annotationen der Texte enthält, die der Linguistin das Suchen von syntaktischen Strukturen so enorm erleichtert. Im folgenden ist ein Satz im Textformat und im geparsten Format gegeben. Durch gezieltes Suchen von Strukturen erhält die Linguistin Dateien, die die gesuchten Sätze in diesen Formaten enthält.

(2) Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc
Pa Goddspelles neh alle,
Þatt sinndenn o þe messeboç
Inn all þe ger att messe.
(CMORM,DED.L23.10)

(Translation:
I have gathered in this book
The gospels nearly all,
That are in the mass book
for the whole year of mass.)

Parsed version:

((IP-MAT (LB |)
 (NP-SBJ (PRO **Icc**)
 (HVP **hafe**)
 (VBN **sammnedd**)
 (PP (P **o**)
 (NP (D **+tiss**) (N **boc**)))
 (LB |)
 (LB |)
 (NP-OB1 (D **+Ta**) (NPRS **Goddspelles**)
(QP (ADV **neh**) (Q **alle**)
(, .)
 (LB |)
(LB |)
 (CP-REL (WNP-1 0)
 (C **+Tatt**)
 (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ *T*-1)
 (BEP **sinndenn**)
 (PP (P **o**)
 (NP (D **+te**) (N+N **messeboc**)))
 (LB |)
 (LB |)
 (PP (P **Inn**)
 (NP (Q **all**) (D **+te**) (N **ger**)
 (PP (P **att**)
 (NP (N **messe**)))))))))
(E_S .)
(LB |) (ID CMORM,DED.L23.10))

Einige der *tags*, die die lexikalischen und funktionalen Kategorien angeben, sind unten angegeben:

PRO =	Personalpronomen	D =	Determiner	C =	Complementierer
HVP =	Präsens von "have"	NPRS =	Eigennamen, Plural	BEP =	Präsens von "be"
P =	Preposition	ADV =	Adverb	N+N =	Zus.gesetztes Nomen
N =	Nomen	Q =	Quantifizierer		

Die Texte des PPCME2 sind in folgende dialektale Gruppen eingeteilt: 1) nördlicher Dialekt, 2) EastMidlands Dialekt, 3) WestMidlands Dialekt, 4) Kentischer Dialekt, 5) Südlicher Dialekt. Der Text *The Ormulum*, der in erster Linie hier aufgrund seiner deutlichen skandinavischen Einflüsse untersucht wurde, ist im EastMidlands Dialekt geschrieben, der in den fünf Regionen, die innerhalb der *Danelaw* lagen, gesprochen wurde.

3. Syntaktischer Wandel

In diesem Kapitel wird das Phänomen syntaktischer Wandel diskutiert. Zunächst werden, basierend auf Harris & Campbell (1997), verschiedene Mechanismen syntaktischen Wandels erläutert, welche klassifiziert werden können als interne und externe Mechanismen (z.B. Extension oder Reanalyse). Es wird betont, dass Sprachkontakt als externer Mechanismus in der Literatur häufig unterbewertet oder als Noterklärung "missbraucht" worden ist, obwohl es Fälle gibt, in denen Sprachkontakt die einzig plausible Erklärung von syntaktischem Wandel ist. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass es Kontaktsituationen gibt, die syntaktischen Wandel hervorrufen, die prominentesten Beispiele hierfür zeigen sich am Phänomen Bilingualismus, aber auch am imperfekten Spracherwerb von Erwachsenen (Kroch 1999). Weiterhin wird die Beziehung zwischen syntaktischem Wandel und Erstspracherwerb anhand von zwei in der Literatur prominenten Theorien (Clark & Roberts, 1993 und Lightfoot, 1999) diskutiert als auch das Phänomen der Verbreitung von Sprachwandel.

4. Wortstellungsveränderungen in der Verbphrase

Wie bereits oben erwähnt, wird angenommen, dass der Wortstellungswandel in der Geschichte des Englischen in der Zeitspanne des Frühmittelenglischen stattgefunden hat. Bereits im Spätmittelenglischen finden sich Hinweise darauf: Haupt- und Nebensätze zeigen synchrone Variation von OV- und VO-Mustern (Pintzuk, 1991), wobei hier noch Sätze mit OV als Basisabfolge dominieren. Im Frühmittelenglischen ist dies nicht mehr der Fall, d.h., statistisch gesehen gibt es eine deutliche Zunahme von der VO-Basisabfolge, so dass hier eine noch stärker auftretende Variation zwischen zwei Grammatiken zu finden ist (diese Annahme beruht auf Pintzucs *Double-Base-Hypothesis*). Die frühmittelenglischen Texte zeigen jedoch Unterschiede bzgl. dieser Variation, welche von den verschiedenen Dialekten abhängig zu sein scheint. Bei der Untersuchung von verschiedenen Texten aus den südlichen, westlichen, und nordöstlichen Dialektregionen zeigt sich, dass nordöstliche Texte am weitesten fortgeschritten sind, d.h., dass hier oft die Frequenz der VO-Basisabfolgen die der OV-Basisabfolgen bei weitem überschreitet (ein Verhältnis von 80 % VO und 20 % OV). Der nordöstliche Text Ormulum gibt sogar nur noch sehr spärliche Evidenz für die altenglische OV-Basisabfolge. Diese Ergebnisse bestätigen die Annahme, dass die nördlichen Dialekte im Frühmittelenglischen innovativer waren als die südlichen (Text aus dem kentischen Dialekt sind diesbezüglich am konservativsten). Es wird gezeigt werden, dass der Grund für diese Diskrepanz der skandinavische Einfluss auf das Englische ist, der sich zunächst auf die nördlichen Dialekte auswirkte und sich allmählich von Norden nach Süden

hin ausbreitete.

Die Annahme, dass im Frühmittelenglischen synchrone Variation zwischen OV- und VO-Basisabfolgen auftreten, ist keineswegs unumstritten. Aus theoretischen Gründen wird oft behauptet, dass ein Sprecher nicht zwei verschiedene Grammatiken zur Verfügung haben kann, obwohl gerade dies bei bilingualen Sprechern der Fall ist. Aus diesem Grund werden andere Analysen der OV/VO-Variation vorgeschlagen. Hier werden zwei verschiedene Theorien diskutiert: zum einen Pintzüks Double-Base-Hypothese, zum anderen Roberts' Hypothese, welche annimmt, dass die OV/VO-Alternation auf einer VO-Basisabfolge basiert. Dies bedeutet, dass alle OV-Abfolgen lediglich VO-Basisabfolgen mit Linksbewegung des Objekts darstellt. Anhand der vom *Ormulum* erhaltenen Daten wird hier gezeigt, dass Pintzüks Analyse die plausibelsten Vorhersagen für dieses Phänomen macht.

5. Objektbewegungen (Object Shift und Scrambling)

In diesem Kapitel werden zwei verschiedene Typen von Objektbewegung diskutiert und gegenübergestellt. Der erste in Teil I des Kapitels diskutierte Objektbewegungstyp ist *object shift*, der ausschliesslich in den skandinavischen Sprachen stattfindet, der andere in Teil II des Kapitels diskutierte Objektbewegungstyp ist *scrambling*, von dem angenommen wird, dass er aus strukturbedingten Gründen nur in OV-Sprachen vorkommen kann (und somit nicht im Skandinavischen). Die beiden Objektbewegungstypen verhalten sich auf den ersten Blick sehr ähnlich, auf den zweiten Blick zeigt sich jedoch, dass sie verschiedenen Bedingungen unterliegen. Der Grund für die Diskussion von *object shift* und *scrambling* hier ist, dass das Auftreten von *object shift* in frühmittelenglischen Texten als weitere Evidenz für skandinavischen Einfluss auf das Englische hinweisen würde. Deshalb werden zunächst beide Typen beschrieben und anhand von einschlägigen Theorien diskutiert, um dann die gefundene Evidenz in den frühmittelenglischen Texten richtig beschreiben zu können. Anhand dieser Diskussionen wird gezeigt, welcher Objektbewegungstyp im Altenglischen und im Frühmittelenglischen auftritt. Die Evidenz aus Texten dieser Sprachperioden zeigt, dass sowohl im Altenglischen als auch im Frühmittelenglischen *scrambling* auftritt, dass es aber kaum Evidenz für *object shift* gibt. Betrachtet man jedoch die Geschichte der skandinavischen Sprachen muss man feststellen, dass zwar *scrambling* zu dieser Zeit zu finden ist, nicht aber *object shift*, d.h., dass das Auftreten dieses Objektbewegungstyps eine spätere Entwicklung ist. Dies impliziert, dass *object shift* in der Sprache der skandinavischen Eroberer nicht vorhanden war und es deshalb nicht überraschend ist, dass es für diesen Objektbewegungstyp keine Evidenz im Frühmittelenglischen, im Besonderen im *Ormulum*, gibt. Das Auffinden

von *scrambling* andererseits kann interpretiert werden als Evidenz für skandinavischen Einfluss, obwohl dies nicht völlig eindeutig zu zeigen ist, da *scrambling* ja auch bereits im Altenglischen vorhanden war.

6. Das V2-Phänomen und die Klitisierung von Subjektpronomen

Dieses Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit dem Verbzweitphänomen im Alt- und Frühmittelenglischen. Zunächst wird dieses Phänomen kurz anhand der modernen Verbzweitsprachen beschrieben. Es wird gezeigt, dass in diesen Sprachen das finite Verb immer an zweiter Stelle stehen muss unabhängig vom topikalisierten Element, und dass das moderne Englisch nicht zu diesen Sprachen gehört, da es Verbzweit nur in einer sehr eingeschränkten Zahl von Kontexten aufweist. Es wird weiter gezeigt, wie bereits oben erwähnt, dass Verbzweit mit einigen Beschränkungen auch im Altenglischen zu finden ist, und dass es eine Anzahl von Analysen zu Verbzweit im Altenglischen gibt, die von grundsätzlich verschiedenen Annahmen ausgehen (van Kemenade, 1987; Roberts, 1997; Pintzuk, 1991). Basierend auf einer Studie von Kroch & Taylor (1997) wird dann gezeigt, dass auch in Frühmittelenglischen Texten Verbzweit auftritt, dass sich die Verbzweitmuster allerdings je nach Dialektgebiet unterscheiden. In südlichen Texten tritt das altenglische Verbzweitmuster auf, d.h., in Sätzen mit vollen DP Subjekten steht das finite Verb zwar an zweiter Stelle, in Sätzen mit pronominalen Subjekten steht das finite Verb aber an dritter Stelle. In nördlichen und nordöstlichen Texten findet sich ein Verbzweitmuster, das dem der modernen skandinavischen Sprachen sehr ähnelt. Hier gibt es unabhängig vom Subjekttyp eine kategorische Subjekt-Verb Inversion, d.h., das finite Verb steht immer an zweiter Stelle. In Texten wie dem *Ormulum* zeigt sich, dass die altenglische und die skandinavische Verbzweitgrammatik im Wettbewerb stehen, da beide Muster auftreten. Diese Evidenz unterstützt die Annahme, dass das strikte Verbzweitmuster durch skandinavischen Einfluss in die englische Sprache kam und sich von Norden nach Süden ausbreitete. Die Mischung, die sich in einigen Texten zeigt ist Evidenz für die Annahme, dass Sprachen, die sich im Wandel befinden, Wettbewerb zwischen Grammatiken zeigen.

7. Stylistic Fronting

In diesem Kapitel wird ein weiteres, für die skandinavischen Sprachen charakteristisches Phänomen, diskutiert. *Stylistic fronting* ist eine Linksbewegung von Elementen in Sätzen, die Subjektlücken aufweisen. Sie findet sich heute nur im Modernen Isländischen und Faröischen. Zunächst wird das Phänomen beschrieben (die Kriterien, die *stylistic fronting* eindeutig ausmachen), sowie einige Analysen dieses Phänomens diskutiert. Weiter wird

gezeigt, dass es in frühmittelenglischen Texten, im Besonderen im *Ormulum*, eindeutige Evidenz dafür gibt, dass dieses Phänomen auftritt. Die Tatsache, dass im *Ormulum* diese Operation immer auftritt, wenn in Sätzen Subjektlücken vorhanden sind (z.B. in Relativsätzen, in denen sich das Subjekt herausbewegt hat), ist Evidenz dafür, dass es sich um *stylistic fronting* handelt.

In einem weiteren Teil des Kapitels wird das metrische Schema des Textes untersucht, und es wird gezeigt, dass Orm, der Autor des Textes, *stylistic fronting* benützte, um das metrische Schema seines Textes einzuhalten. Dies impliziert, dass *stylistic fronting* in seiner Grammatik vorhanden gewesen sein muss, was wiederum impliziert, dass der Einfluss des Skandinavischen auf das Englische so intensiv war, dass er auch die Syntax des Englischen beeinflussen konnte.

8. Schlussfolgerungen

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht die Ursache des OV/VO Wortstellungswandel im Frühmittelenglischen. Die Annahme ist hier, dass der Wandel durch Sprachkontakt mit der skandinavischen Sprache verursacht wurde während der Zeit der skandinavischen Invasionen in England zwischen dem achten und elften Jahrhundert. In den einzelnen Kapiteln wurde deutlich, dass diese Annahme plausibel ist und unterstützt wird von weiterer syntaktischer Evidenz, die sich vor allem in Texten aus den nördlichen und nordöstlichen Gebieten Englands zeigt. So gibt es Evidenz dafür, dass das Auftreten bzw. Nichtauftreten von *object shift* und *scrambling* in diesen Texten vom Skandinavischen beeinflusst ist. Weiter gibt es Evidenz, dass kategorisches Verbzweit in diesen Texten vom Skandinavischen herrührt, da ein deutlicher Unterschied zwischen den Verbzweitmustern im Süden und Norden vorhanden ist, welcher sich nur durch diese Sprachkontaktsituation erklären lässt. Schliesslich wurde dargestellt, dass *stylistic fronting*, ein weiteres skandinavisches syntaktisches Phänomen, in diesen Texten auftritt. Sämtliche Evidenz, die hier beschrieben wurde, weist deutlich darauf hin, dass der Wandel von OV nach VO in der Geschichte des Englischen durch Sprachkontakt mit den Skandinaviern ausgelöst wurde, da er so stark war, dass er sogar die Syntax beeinflussen konnte.

Es wurde gezeigt, dass Sprachkontakt eine ausschlaggebende Rolle bei syntaktischem Wandel spielen kann. Es wird im allgemeinen angenommen, dass eine Sprache von einer anderen dahingehend beeinflusst werden kann, dass sie eine Anzahl von Lehnwörtern der sie beeinflussenden Sprache aufnimmt. Dies ist ein häufig auftretender Prozess zwischen Sprachen in Kontaktsituationen (z.B. entlehnt das Moderne Deutsch heutzutage viele Wörter aus dem

Amerikanischen). Diese Art von Entlehnung betrifft jedoch nicht die tieferen Ebenen der Sprache, und es wird grundsätzlich angenommen, dass Sprachkontakt eben diese tieferen Ebenen einer Sprache, also deren Syntax, nicht beeinflussen kann. In den Fällen, in denen syntaktischer Wandel beobachtet werden kann, wurde deshalb angenommen, dass er durch interne Faktoren verursacht wird, d.h., dass Sprachen sich aus einer "natürlichen" Notwendigkeit heraus wandeln. Es gibt jedoch sehr deutliche Fälle, in denen Sprachkontakt syntaktischen Wandel verursacht. Einige der bekanntesten Beispiele ereignen (und ereigneten) sich in bilingualen Kontexten oder in Situationen, in denen erwachsene Zweitspracherwerber ihre Zweitsprache nur imperfect erlernen und so Sprachwandel in der nächsten Sprechergeneration verursachen. Aus diesem Grund ist es plausibel anzunehmen, dass, wenn es Evidenz für eine intensive Sprachkontaktsituation in der Geschichte einer Sprache gibt, der syntaktische Wandel, der zur selben Zeit vonstatten ging genau durch diese Sprachkontaktsituation ausgelöst wurde. Diese Annahme, die in der hier vorliegenden Arbeit übernommen wurde, bestätigt sich auch, wie gezeigt anhand von Evidenz aus frühmittelenglischen Texten, am Wandel des Englischen von einer OV- zu einer VO-Sprache.

Die Untersuchung Frühmittelenglischer Texte hat deutlich gemacht, dass diese eine wertvolle Quelle sind, um etwas über die Entwicklung der englischen Sprache zu erfahren. Die Tatsache, dass es aus dieser Zeit eine grosse Anzahl von Texten in vielen verschiedenen Dialekten gibt, macht es möglich, die Ausbreitung von Sprachwandel zu verfolgen. Hierbei ist vor allem ein annotiertes Corpus wie das PPCME2 von unschätzbarem Wert. Die Arbeit mit diesem Corpus ermöglicht es der Linguistin auf einfachste Weise, nach syntaktischen Strukturen zu suchen und die Resultate aus verschiedenen Texten zu vergleichen. Je mehr Texte auf diese Weise untersucht werden, ein desto genaueres Bild erhalten wir von der dialektalen Situation zu jener Zeit, d.h., von den Unterschieden zwischen den Grammatiken der Sprecher aus den verschiedenen Dialekten. Leider sind diese Art von Korpora bisher noch Mangelware. Weitere Korpora von Sprachen aus verschiedenen Sprachperioden wie z.B. dem Altnordischen würden bei Fragen nach der Intensität des skandinavischen Einflusses auf das Englische neue wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse erbringen. Auf diese Weise könnten Sprachen umfassend in synchroner und diachroner Perspektive untersucht werden.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis tries to account for the word order change from OV to VO in the history of English. When I started to work on this phenomenon, I noticed that there are just few studies which dealt with (Early) Middle English but very many studies on the word order patterns and syntactic phenomena of Old English both in generative and non-generative frameworks (e.g. Smith, 1893; Mitchell, 1964; Bean, 1983; van Kemenade, 1987; Koopman, 1990, 1992; Pintzuk, 1991). Most of the linguists mentioned tried to show that Old English was an OV language which exhibited the verb-second phenomenon in main clauses and which also showed a number of deviations from the OV pattern. These deviations were e.g. explained as rightward movement operations like extraposition of PPs and heavy NP-shift (van Kemenade, 1987). The syntactic change from the Old English OV word order to an almost rigid VO word order in Early Middle English was mainly explained as an instantiation of abrupt grammatical reanalysis (e.g. Lightfoot (1979, 1989, 1991): the primary linguistic data a language learner has to rely on may change in the course of time, i.e., she abduces a grammar which differs from the grammar of the previous generation in one or more respects. The difference between the two grammars is attributed to a change in the setting of a parameter in Universal grammar which, according to Lightfoot, implies an abrupt and sudden change from the old grammar to the new grammar. Pintzuk (1990) was the first who claimed that this cannot be the right way to explain this linguistic situation because in Old English, she found evidence for variation of both OV and VO orders in the base as well as variation between Infl-final clauses and Infl-medial clauses. This assumption implies that there is grammatical competition between an OV and a VO grammar, i.e., two different parameter settings according to the Principles & Parameters Theory (Chomsky, 1986). According to this analysis, Early Middle English is a transitional language with two grammars where the VO grammar gradually wins out over the OV grammar. Recently, Kayne (1994) has claimed, that all natural languages are head-initial, an assumption which is derived from the Linear Correspondence Algorithm (LCA). In this framework, the OV orders found in Old English are derived by leftward movement of the object. When the trigger for movement was lost (a certain type of features which were strong became weak), objects could not move leftward anymore and English became a VO language. The grammar-in-competition situation could also be explained in line with this theory: it would have to be assumed then that there are two grammars side by side, one where the feature is still strong and the object moves leftward

(the OV grammar), and one where the feature has become weak and object movement is not possible (the VO grammar). The crucial fact here is that the notion of grammars in competition requires that Early Middle English was a mixed system no matter how the underlying orders are derived (by leftward movement of the object or not). In this thesis, Kayne's theory will be rejected on the assumption, that there is no real motivation for Kayne's leftward object movement rules.

No matter how this change is explained, it is generally assumed that the change took place in Early Middle English, i.e., in the period between 1150 and 1350 A.D. Coming back to the puzzling observation that there are only a few studies on this, I think, there are two explanations for this: First, the Old English texts available are mainly written in the West Saxon standard, i.e., the spelling is very consistent which makes it much easier to rely on the data. (Early) Middle English, on the other hand, does not have a standard orthography in the sense that Old English had, which means that the plethora of texts from this period of time are written in many dialects. On the one hand, this fact makes investigations more difficult but, on the other hand, it makes them more interesting because e.g. syntactic differences between dialects are transparent and the development of these differences can be traced back more easily. Second, it seems that the Old English language exhibited only a certain set of patterns which were fixed and did not allow for deviations. (Early) Middle English, however, is a language in transition, i.e., many things change during that period e.g. the rich Old English case system gets lost, a number of "new" word order patterns appear and so forth. This implies that investigating such a language poses a number of problems which do not occur by investigating "stable" languages. Thus, just to mention one example, in a text written in one dialect we still find a number of case endings whereas in a text written in another dialect we hardly find any case endings at all. At first, it seems difficult to investigate as chaotic a system as we have in (Early) Middle English because there appear to be no clear patterns one can rely on. However, exactly this state of the language contains so much information about how change happens that it is a very precious source for understanding language change.

Apart from the fact that there was a change from OV to VO in Early Middle English times, the question in general is whether an instantiation of syntactic change takes place internal to the language or whether it takes place due to external factors. If the change from OV to VO was an internal change, this would mean that it is a natural development of a language system which is likely to happen in all languages because the internal system requires this for some reason. If this change, however, is due to external factors, e.g. language

contact, it is influenced by another system from the outside and thus, independent of the mechanisms of a language system. If it is assumed that the word order change is due to external factors, there would have to be traces of this influence from outside in the Early Middle English texts investigated. There is non-syntactic evidence in Early Middle English texts, especially a large number of loan words, which support the assumption that language contact must have been intense. In this thesis, I claim that there is not only non-syntactic evidence of such influence in the texts but also syntactic evidence, i.e., we find traces of Scandinavian syntactic operations which implies that this influence was so strong that it caused the change from OV to VO. I assume following Kroch & Taylor (1994, 1997) that during the Early Middle English period, we find grammatical competition between OV and VO grammars. The fact that in Northern and North Eastern texts the rate of VO order is much higher than in Southern texts is due to Scandinavian influence. This assumption is supported by the fact that there are a number of phenomena like e.g. Stylistic Fronting which today only occur in Scandinavian languages but which can also be found in Early Middle English texts. Moreover, this kind of Scandinavian syntactic influence does occur only in texts written in those dialects the area of which were once part of the Danelaw, the region which was densely settled by Scandinavians at the times of the Scandinavian invasions.

The text I am mainly focussing on here is the *Ormulum*, a text written in the twelfth century in Lincolnshire by Orm, an author of Danish origins. The text is attributed to poetry because it is written in regular long lines which are divided into two half-lines by caesura. Although it has a fixed metrical pattern, the text is written in unrhymed verse and seems to be a witness of spoken language rather than an artefact which has nothing to do with naturally produced language. Moreover, there are many Scandinavian characteristics on the word-level which justify the question whether these can also be found in the syntax of the text and which makes a syntactic investigation of it worthwhile. For the reasons mentioned above, I chose this text and I found a number of Scandinavian syntactic characteristics which serve to shed light on the occurrence of the OV/VO word order change. Although syntactic borrowing has always been neglected in explaining syntactic change, because it was generally assumed that it is impossible or very rare, I will show that with respect to the word order change in the history of English it is the only plausible explanation for this change.

The organisation of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 2 will briefly introduce the reader to the dialectal situation in (Early) Middle English. Section 2.2 discusses the differences between Old English and Early Middle English. In section 2.3 I will explain the main differences between Kentish, Southern, West and East

Midlands as well as Northern texts. I will further introduce a number of texts which were investigated in this thesis. All the texts are part of the Penn–Helsinki–Parsed–Corpus of Middle English 2, a tagged and parsed corpus of Middle English texts which was built at the University of Pennsylvania by Anthony Kroch and Ann Taylor. As this corpus is a tremendously helpful tool for any linguist working in the field of diachronic English syntax, in section 2.4 I will give a short introduction to the format of the texts which are all available via internet (Anthony Kroch: <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/mideng>).

Chapter 3 discusses the mechanisms and factors of syntactic change. In section 3.2 mechanisms like Reanalysis and extension will be discussed based on Harris & Campbell (1995). Section 3.3 deals with syntactic change and language acquisition, and we will focus on the theories of Clark & Roberts (1993) and Lightfoot (1999). In section 3.4 Language Contact as an external mechanism of syntactic change will be discussed and in section 3.5 the spread of syntactic change will be dealt with by following Kroch (1989, 1994, 2000).

Chapter 4 deals with the word order change in Early Middle English. In section 4.2 Old English data will be discussed. Section 4.2.2 deals with the analysis of Old English by comparing Pintzuk's (1991) Double Base Hypothesis² and Roberts' (1997) Kaynian account of Old English word order to show which serves best to cover the Old English facts. In section 4.3 I will show how these analyses account for the word order change in Early Middle English. Section 4.4 deals with data from Early Middle English texts based on the study by Kroch & Taylor (1997). We will see that there are a number of diagnostics which define underlying VO order in the texts. In section 4.5 we will see that VO patterns occur in the *Ormulum* with a rate which is similar to the rates found in other texts of the same region.

Chapter 5 deals with Object Movement. It consists of two parts: Part I discusses object shift, Part II discusses scrambling. The reason why these two types of object movement are discussed here is that the former type is a characteristic of Scandinavian and the latter type has claimed to be a characteristic of Germanic OV languages. Under the assumption that Early Middle English has been influenced by Scandinavian, we would expect to find object shift in the texts. On the other hand, scrambling is found in Old English, and therefore we should also find it in Early Middle English. As the two processes seem to be very similar, we have to clearly define their characteristics. This will be done in Part I, section 5.2 for object shift and Part II, section 5.6 for scrambling. The properties of these two types of object movement have brought about a number of theories which try to account for these properties

2 The Double Base Hypothesis claims that in Old English, there is variation in the position of the inflected verb in subordinate clauses which reflects variation in the underlying position of Infl. Pintzuk (1991) was the first to observe this and gave the phenomenon the name.

in different ways. In Part I, section 5.3 I will discuss three of these theories – object shift as XP–movement (section 5.3.1), object shift as head–movement (section 5.3.2) and object shift as PF–operation (section 5.3.3) – to show that according to the data object shift is best described as taking place at PF. The theories of scrambling can be divided into those which take it to be a base generation phenomena and those which take it to be a movement operation. In section 5.7 one of each of these analyses will be discussed. In Part I, section 5.4 we will deal with the question whether object shift occurs in the *Ormulum*. Part II, section 5.8 shows that in Old English, scrambling occurred quite frequently. Based on Kroch & Taylor (2000) we will see in section 5.8.2 that scrambling also occurs in Early Middle English and that these cases can be taken as diagnostics for underlying OV order in these texts as well as in the *Ormulum* (section 5.8.3). Moreover, it will become clear that the occurrence of scrambling is not restricted to OV languages but that this type of object movement can also be found in (Scandinavian) VO languages. The results from this chapter will show that there is evidence for Scandinavian influence in the way objects behave in Early Middle English texts.

In Chapter 6, I will show that different V2 word order patterns can be found in the Early Middle English texts which is due to two different V2 grammars found in Northern and Southern texts. This finding supports the assumption that there is Scandinavian syntactic influence on the English language because one of the V2 grammars exhibits the same patterns found in the Scandinavian V2 languages today. In section 6.3, Old English data will be discussed to see what patterns we find at that time. It will be shown that the Old English V2 grammar differs from the one found in Northern texts. Section 6.3.2 is a discussion of a number of analyses of V2 in Old English (and Middle English), where I will focus on van Kemenade (1987), Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and Kroch & Taylor (1997). In section 6.4 we will see that in Early Middle English there are two V2 grammars in competition, one of the Old English type and one of the Scandinavian type (Kroch & Taylor, 1997). Section 6.5 will show that the Scandinavian type of V2 grammar can also be found in the *Ormulum*.

Chapter 7 is a discussion of a further characteristic of Scandinavian, or more precisely, Modern Icelandic: Stylistic Fronting. In section 7.2, the properties of stylistic fronting will be discussed. In section 7.3, it will be shown that the analysis of this phenomenon is problematic due to contradictory properties. We will discuss mainly three theories – stylistic fronting is movement to a specifier position (section 7.3.1), stylistic fronting is head–adjunction to I° (section 7.3.2), stylistic fronting is a phonological operation (section 7.3.2). We will see, that the latter analysis accounts best for the phenomenon. Section 7.4.1 deals with stylistic

fronting in the *Ormulum*, and in section 7.4.2 the relation between stylistic fronting and metre in the text will be discussed. The findings from this chapter will show that apart from Scandinavian influence on object movement and on the type of V2 grammar there is clear evidence for this fronting operation in the text.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis with a summary and a brief discussion where it will be claimed that in Middle English texts such as the *Ormulum*, there are obvious traces of Scandinavian influence on the syntax of English and that for this reason this foreign influence is not only responsible for the introduction of the VO pattern but also for the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English.

CHAPTER 2: THE DIALECTS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the time span called Middle English will be introduced to the reader. The reason for this is that in linguistic terms, Middle English is a period of great importance because a number of changes in the lexicon, in phonology, morphology and syntax took place within that period which "paved" the way for the development of today's English. Moreover, the fact that in Middle English there was no written standard as in Old English gives us evidence that these changes took place at different times in different areas, i.e., they can be traced back and dated to certain points of time. We will see that the texts written at that time come from all kinds of regions: Kent, Southeast, West Midlands or East Midlands. What is even more interesting is that there is evidence that some changes spread from the North to the South and that, by comparing texts from both areas, we find innovations in the Northern texts whereas in the Southern texts the "old", conservative patterns are still used. The more texts of the Middle English period are investigated then, the more we will learn about the origin and spread of these changes and probably what caused them.

Linguists who work in the field of diachronic syntax know how hard and difficult it is to find the "right" data to give evidence that a pattern existed or not, and it is even more difficult to say something about the frequency of occurrence of the pattern in question. Therefore, the Penn–Helsinki–Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2 (PPCME2), which was built by Anthony Kroch and Ann Taylor at the University of Pennsylvania, is an outstanding progress. It consists of about fifty tagged and parsed Middle English texts which can be searched for words, phrases, and, what is most important, syntactic structures in a relatively easy way. Due to its completeness and high amount of accessible data it also allows the linguist to state how often a certain syntactic structure occurs in a certain text. The corpus and the work with the corpus has recently given new insights into the changes that happened during the Middle English period (see Kroch & Taylor, 1997, 2000; Haeberli, 1999; Han 1999). My dissertation was also written along these lines, i.e., the phenomena I investigated I found in Middle English texts which are part of the PPCME2. As will be shown below, only by investigating a large amount of data can one state generalisations and give far-reaching explanations. Because of the fact that the Middle English corpus is such a helpful invention, section 2.4 will briefly introduce it.

Before we have a look at the variation that can be found in Middle English texts as they reflect different dialects, we will briefly see that the situation in Old English was somewhat

different.

2.2 From Old English to Middle English

The language of the Anglo–Saxon period (ca. 6th century A. D.) up to about 1150 is known as Old English. In the seventh and eighth century the Germanic tribes which conquered Britain founded the so called heptarchy, the country of seven kingdoms. Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Sussex and Wessex. This implies that at that time different dialects were spoken which were, nevertheless, mutually intelligible³. The kind of written English we know came into existence with the Christianisation of Britain, at which time the monks in monasteries wrote manuscripts first in Latin, but then, under the rule of King Alfred (871–899), the texts were also translated into English. The earlier period of Old English literature is primarily characterised by poetry, the most famous of which is *Beowulf*. Old English prose has its origin in the ninth century with the translations of Latin works into English like e.g. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. At that time, these and many other texts were written in different dialects, because it was only in the tenth and eleventh century that an Old English written standard came into existence. Due to the Benedictine reform, the church was restored and learning became important again. Winchester gave rise to a written standard, West Saxon, which can be seen in the works of Ælfric. With the Norman conquest in 1066, the English written standard was subjugated to the Anglo–Norman written standard, a variety of French (from Normandy). The political developments after the conquest led to the decline of this literature⁴, however, and the local varieties of English (Middle English dialects) became more and more important.

The continuations of the Peterborough Chronicle are claimed to be the earliest surviving Middle English texts because they give the first direct evidence of the changes in the English language which had taken place by 1150. The entries for the years up to 1121 are all written in the same hand and clearly adhere to the West Saxon standard. The two continuations, however, which record events from 1122 to 1131 and from 1132 to 1154 clearly show a language different from the West Saxon Old English. It is generally assumed that the two continuations reflect the current usage of English at that time and area, i.e. the East Midlands dialect of English. Although the scribes would have tried to write standard Old English, they did not know it well enough to do it. Therefore, they wrote in "their" language.

3 From Old English manuscripts it is known that there were four main dialects: Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish.

4 Especially petitions to Parliament, statutes and texts in law courts or in public negotiations remained to be written in French until at least the end of the thirteenth century. Moreover, the upper classes continued to speak French, although gradually protest arose against the use of French as can be seen e.g. in the *Cursor Mundi* (ca. 1300).

As Peterborough was located within the Danelaw, Old Norse influence might also be expected. Below we find an extract from the last continuation (1154) followed by a version in West Saxon Old English to show how the language changed:

Chronicle for 1137, c.1154

I ne can ne i ne mai tellen all þe
wunder ne alle þe pines ð hi diden wreccemen on þis land. 7 ð laste-
de þa .xix. wintre wile Stephne was king 7 æure it was uerse 7
uurse.
þa was corn dære. 7 flec 7 cæse 7 butere. for nan ne wæs o þe land.
Wreccemen sturuen of hungær.
war sæ me tilede, þe erthe ne bar nan corn. for þe land was al
fordon. mid suilce dædes. 7 hi sæden openlice ð crist slep 7 his ha-
lechen. Suilc 7 mare þanne we cunnen sæin. we þolenden .xix. wintre
for ure sinnes (from facsimile edition of the Peterborough Chronicle,
D. Whitelock (ed.), Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1954).

Version in West Saxon Old English

ic ne cann ne ic mæg tellan ealle þa
wundor ne ealle þa pinas þe hie dydon wreccum mannum on þissum lande. 7 þæt
læste-de þa .xix. wintra þa hwile þe Stephne cyning wæs 7 æfre hit wæs wyrsa 7
wyrsa.
þa wæs corn deore. 7 flesc 7 cese 7 butere. for nan ne wæs on þæm lande.
wreccemenn sturfon of hungre.
swa hwær swa man tilode. seo eorþe ne bær nan corn. for þæt land wæs eall
fordon. mid swilcum dædum. 7 hie sædon openlice þæt crist slep 7 his ha-
lgan. swilc 7 mare þanne we cunnon secgan. we þolodon .xix. wintra
for ure synna.

Translation

I ne can ne I ne may tell all the
horrors ne all the pains that they caused wretched-men in this land. & that last-
ed the 19 winters while Stephen was king & ever it was worse & worse.
then was corn dear. & flesh & cheese & butter. for none ne was in the land.
Wretched-men died of hunger.
where so one tilled. the earth ne bore no corn. for the land was all
ruined. with such deeds. & they said openly that christ slept & his saints.
Such & more than we can say. we suffered 19 winters
for our sins (from Freeborn 1992: 49).

If the Middle English and the Old English version are compared, what is most striking is that the beginning of the loss of the Old English inflections can be observed. Thus, the comparison of Middle English *wreccemen* "wretched-men" with Old English *wreccum mannum* shows that NPs had lost their case endings. Moreover, in the Middle English version

of the text all inflections of the definite article had been lost; compare e.g. ME *alle þe pines* "all the pines" with OE *ealle þa pinas* and ME *on þis land* "on this land" with OE *on þissum lande*. And even word order changes can be observed in this small example from the Peterborough Chronicle: in the Middle English version the complement *king* follows the copula verb *was* in *...wile Stephne was king ...* "...while Stephen was king..." whereas in the Old English version the complement precedes the copula verb: *...hwile þe Stephne cyning wæs...* Thus, the Middle English version of the text shows many innovations and it is no surprise therefore that it reads much more like Modern English to us than the Old English version of the text.

2.2.1 The Scandinavian Influence

In the history of English economic and political changes led to intense contact situations with other cultures. The best known such event was when in 1066 William the Conqueror invaded Great Britain which brought the culture of the Normans and the culture of the Anglo-Saxons in contact. Another contact situation, however, arose centuries before when between the eighth and eleventh century the Scandinavians invaded Great Britain. The contact situation which arose due to these invasions and its consequences for the English language has always been underestimated but gradually it becomes clear that intense contact between the two languages must have existed because there is evidence for it in place names as well as other linguistic aspects.

In the eighth century the Danes and the Norwegians started to colonise parts of the British Isles, the Faroes, and Iceland which was probably due to economic and political changes in their home countries. The pinnacle of their invasions was reached in the eleventh century when Cnut, king of Denmark, obtained the throne of England, conquered Norway, and from his English capital ruled the greater part of the Scandinavian world. The people to whom these unusual achievements were due are commonly known as Vikings and the period of their activities is therefore known as the Viking Age.

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the period of the early raids began in 787 and lasted up to about 850. After these raids the Scandinavians started more widespread plundering and extensive settlements in the area which was later known as the Danelaw because it was subject to the Danish law. The Scandinavian invasions gradually led to permanent Scandinavian settlement in the island. An indication of how many Scandinavians permanently stayed in Great Britain are the more than 1.400 Scandinavian place names found

in England today. Most of these places are located in the North and East of England, the district of the Danelaw, because it was there that the majority of invaders settled. These place names are one of the most notable evidences of the intensive Scandinavian settlements in England. There are more than 600 places with the ending *-by* (Whitby, Derby, Rugby) which was a Danish word that meant "farm" or "town". There are also about 300 place names with the ending *-thorp* (Althorp, Linthorpe) which was the Scandinavian word for "village". Further, there are place names which contain the Scandinavian word *thwaite* "an isolated peace of land" as in Applethwaite or Langthwaite and place names with the ending *-toft* which meant "a piece of ground" (Brimtoft, Eastoft). The largest number of Scandinavian place names is found in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (the area where the *Ormulum* was written) although Cumbria and Norfolk also contribute a large number of Scandinavian settlements too. In medieval records of these districts a large number of Scandinavian personal names ending in *-son* as in e.g. "Johnson" has been found which is additional evidence that Scandinavians intensively settled these regions.

Most of the new inhabitants were Danes although there were also extensive Norwegian settlements in the Northwest (Cumbria). The presence of a large Scandinavian element in the population is not only evident from place names but also from peculiarities of manorial organisation, local government, legal procedure and the like. This implies that the invaders stayed in England and took part in everyday life. In the districts where these settlements took place, the conditions were favourable for an extensive Scandinavian influence on the English language.

The amalgamation of the Scandinavians and the natives (the English) was facilitated by the close kinship that existed between them. At the time when the English kings tried to reestablish their control over the Danelaw they tried to find a way that enabled the mixed population to live together. There is evidence that the Scandinavians mainly adapted to English life. This impression is derived from a study of early English institutions because there it says that despite of certain native customs that the Danes continued to keep they assimilated to most of the ways of English life. At that time there existed a number of important communities of the newcomers, i.e., they seemed to have grouped themselves in concentrated centres among which were the Five Boroughs – Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Derby and Nottingham. Gradually, these centres and also smaller communities where the newcomers settled were absorbed into the general mass of the English population.

The relation between the two languages – Scandinavian and English – was similar to that observable in numerous parts of the world today where people speaking different

languages live side by side in the same region. Although the Scandinavians gradually adopted the English language, there were communities where Scandinavian was the main language to use in everyday life. In many districts in which the main language was English there were doubtlessly many newcomers who continued to use their own language at least as late as 1100⁵ and a considerable number who was bilingual. The assumption that there must have been bilingualism is due to the fact that intermarriage between the two peoples was frequent and that the two languages were quite similar. The language of the Anglians resembled the language of the Scandinavians in a number of ways in which West Saxon showed divergence. All these facts were the basis for an extensive interaction between the two languages which is evident by the large number of Scandinavian elements found in the English language.

One of the clearest evidence is the borrowing of Scandinavian words. There are reliable criteria by which it is possible to recognise these words. One is the difference in the development of certain sounds in North Germanic and West Germanic. First, there is the development of the sound cluster / sk /. In Old English / sk / was early palatalised to / / whereas in Scandinavian it was retained. Thus, while native words like *ship*, *fish* and *shall* have / / in Modern English words borrowed from Scandinavian retained / sk /: *sky*, *skin*, *skirt*, *skill*, *skull*, *whisk*. In the same way the retention of the plosives / k / and / g / in first and final position is an indication of Scandinavian origin. Therefore, words like *kid*, *dike*, *get*, *give*, *gild* and *egg* are borrowed words. Second, the Germanic diphthong / ai / becomes / a / in Old English and has become / o / in Modern English but in Scandinavian this diphthong became / ei / or / e /. Thus, *aye*, *nay*, *hale* and *swain* are borrowed words. The differences in the way the sounds changed led to situations in Middle English where Scandinavian forms like *geit* and *gait* existed beside the Old English forms *gat* and *got*. In Modern English *goat* the native word has survived. Sometimes both the English and the Scandinavian word were retained with a difference in meaning as the following pairs of words show: *whole* – *hale*, *from* – *fro*, *craft* – *skill*, *sick* – *ill*.

Another important observation is in which fields of life the borrowed words start to occur because this tells us something about the culture of the newcomers. The earliest borrowings from Scandinavian occur in Old English but only to a small extent. Most of these words indicate that the invaders were sea-roving and predatory people. Words like *cnearr* "small warship", *scegb* "vessel", *lip* "fleet", *dreng* "warrior" or *batswegen* "boatman" show this. A little later a number of words are borrowed which belong to the field of law or which

5 In some isolated parts of Scotland, Norse was still spoken in the seventeenth century (Baugh & Cable 1996)

are characteristic of the social and administrative system of the Danelaw. The word "law" and "outlaw" are both of Scandinavian origin as well as words like *hold* "freeholder" and *wapentake* "an administrative district". After the Norman Conquest, most of these words were replaced by French words. But the temporary existence of these words in the English language is an evidence of the extent to which Scandinavian customs entered into the life of the districts in which the Danes were quite numerous.

There is further evidence that an intimate relation between the two languages must have existed. This evidence comes from the fact that not only lexical items but also grammatical items were borrowed from Scandinavian. These elements are not often transferred from one language to another. The pronouns *they*, *their* and *them* as well as *both* and *same* are Scandinavian (see below). The preposition *till* was widely used in the sense of *to*, and *fro* which was also used in the sense of *from* survives in the Modern English *to* and *from*. The Scandinavian use of *at* as infinitive marker "to" is retained in the English *ado* (at-do) and was more widely used in this construction in Middle English. The adverbs *aloft*, *athwart*, *aye* "ever" and *seemly* are all derived from Scandinavian. The present plural *are* of the verb "to" be was also borrowed. Thus, *we aron* was the Old English form in the North whereas the West Saxon plural was *we syndon*. This means that the Modern English form *are* is of Scandinavian origin which shows how intimately the language of the invaders has entered into English.

The fact that not only lexical but also grammatical items were borrowed from Scandinavian suggests that the contact must have been very intense. This is supported by the fact that it also had an influence on the grammar and syntax of English. The third person singular *-s* of verbs and the participial ending *-and* which correspond to *-end* and *-ind* in the Midlands and the South have also been attributed to Scandinavian influence. One text, the *Ormulum*, is known to show a considerable number of borrowed items from Scandinavian. This text was written in Lincolnshire by the author called Orm at the beginning of the thirteenth century⁶. It contains about a 120 loan words from Scandinavian (other texts like e.g. *Lagamons Brut* from the Southwest Midlands has only 40), some of which are very rare like *nape* "grace" from ON *náp* or *bennkedd* "supplied with benches" from ON *bekkr*. Some more of these loan words are given below as found in the text:

6 Orm uses the yogh whenever a < g > appears before and after front vowels to indicate that it is pronounced /j/. This is not indicated in the examples taken from the *Ormulum* throughout the thesis.

- (1) icc amm **ammbohht**⁷ all bun to follghenn Godess wille;
I am **maidservant** all ready to follow God's will;
(CMORM,I,79.696)
- (2) & teggre lac wass **bule**⁸, & lamb,
and their gift was **bull** and lamb,

& buckess twa togeddre, ...
and goats two together, ...
(CMORM,I,32.358)
- (3) & unnc **birrp**⁹ baþe þannkenn Crist þatt itt iss brohht till ende.
and the-two-of-us **ought** both thank Christ that it is brought till end.
(CMORM,DED.L23.9)
- (4) & tatt wass **hagherrlike**¹⁰ don forr þatt tegg wel itt wisstenn, ...
and that was **skillfully** done for that they well it knew, ...
(CMORM,I,231.1908)
- (5) & let te posstless sen himm wel inn hiss **mennisske**¹¹ kinde;
and let the Apostles seen him well in his **human** kind;
(CMORM,DED.L199.48)
- (6) Forr baþe leddenn **usell**¹² lif i metess & i clapess, ...
For both led **wretched** life in meat and in clothes, ...
(CMORM,I,28.336)

The Ormulum has also been taken to be one of the earliest records of the extensive use of verb + preposition on the model of Old Norse. We find the following examples:

- (7) To **takenn ut** off helle wa þa gode sawless alle, ...
To **take out** of hell woe the good souls all, ...
(CMORM,DED.L199.46)
- (8) Off þatt he, wiss to fulle soþ, wass **risenn upp** off dæþe, ...
of that he, know to full truth, was **risen up** of death, ...
(CMORM,DED.L199.48)
- (9) Þatt whase wile **cumenn inn** till heofennrichess kirrke, ...
That whose will **come in** till Heavenkingdom's church, ...
(CMORM,I,270.2208)

7 From ON *ambótt*.

8 From ON *boli*.

9 From ON *berr mé*.

10 From ON *hæg-liga*, shows the *-r* inflection of the Norse masculine noun.

11 From ON *mennskr*.

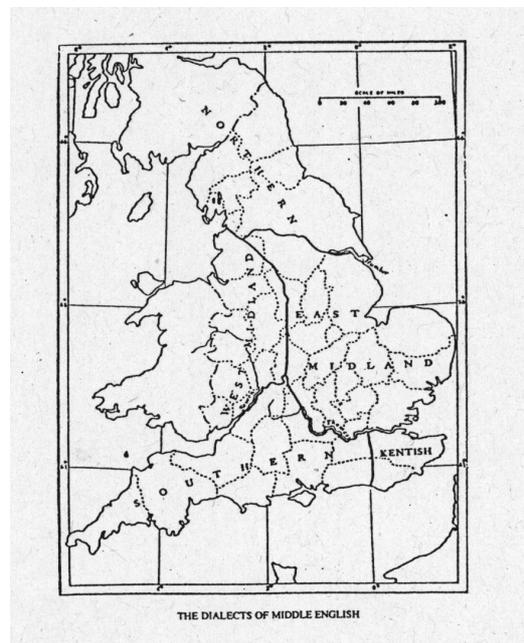
12 From ON *úsæll*.

- (10) Þatt niss nan mann þatt **cumenn** magg **upp** inntill Godess riche, ...
 That not–is no man that **come** may **up** intill God’s kingdom, ...
 (CMORM,II,226.2418)

We will see that this text not only shows non–syntactic evidence of Scandinavian influence but also syntactic patterns which are only found in the Scandinavian languages. Therefore, the investigation of the *Ormulum* will shed new light on the question how intensive the contact situation was between the Scandinavian invaders and the English natives during the big invasion between the eighth and eleventh century.

2.3 The dialects of Middle English

As noted above, there were four main dialectal areas: West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian. In Middle English, these areas remained somewhat the same, although the Mercian Midlands showed so many differences between the eastern and western parts of this area that a differentiation between the two seems to be reasonable. Thus, there are five main dialects: Southern, Kentish, East Midlands, West Midlands and Northern. The map below shows the dialectal areas of Middle English:



As noted above, between the eighth and the tenth century Britain was invaded by Scandinavians, mainly Danes but also Norwegians. These invasions heavily influenced the English culture and language especially in areas which lay within the Danelaw. That means that the East Midlands, part of the West Midlands, and the Northern area were influenced by

this foreign culture. Evidence for this not only comes from Scandinavian family names and place names¹³ but also from vocabulary with Old Norse origin. And there is evidence that the Scandinavian influence must have been even stronger as not only lexical items were borrowed as shown above but also grammatical items like the third–person plural of personal pronouns. By comparing the forms of the third person plural pronouns in texts from different areas, it becomes clear that the influence was much stronger in the North and in the West Midlands than in the South:

North:

- (11) For in þe self degre **þeir** prowde devels fel downe fra ...
 For in the self day **their** proud devils fell down wicked ...
 (CMROLLEP,62.32)
- (12) **Þair** golde and **þaire** tresoure drawes **þam** til dede.
Their gold and **their** treasure draws **them** to death.
 (CMROLLEP,64.65)

East Midlands:

- (13) & giff **þegg** all forwerrpenn itt, itt turneþþ **hemm** till sinne, ...
 and if **they** all reject it it turhns **them** to sin, ...
 (CMORM,DED.L143.37)
- (14) ... and hat **hem** me nemen, and binden me, baðe handen and fiet,
 ... and ordered **them** me to take and bind me both hands and feet
- and werpen me in ðe uttreste þiesternesse.
 and throw me in the uttermost darkness.
 (CMVICES1,17.203)

West Midlands:

- (15) ... ich wende from **heom** lesse mon þenne ich ear wes.
 ... I turned from **them** less man than I ever was.
 (CMANCRIW,II.127.1638)
- (16) ... wepmen baðe ant wimmen, wið **hare** greate meten ant **hare** herde hearen,
 ... man both and wimmen with **their** great abilities and **their**
- neren heo of god ordre?
 not–were they of god ?
 (CMANCRIW,I.48.88)

13 English place names with the Scandinavian suffixes –by (Derby), –thorpe (Althorpe), –thwaite (Braithwaite) and –toft (Nortoft) are found in the area which formely belonged to the Danelaw.

South:

- (17) He ordeyned **hem** to worschippe the goddes Venus,
He ordeyned **them** to worship the godess Venus,

and to holde þe day þerof solempne and holy ...
and to hold the day therof solemn and holy ...
(CMPOLYCH,VI,29.189)

- (18) ... goo in to Goddis hous þat is in Matha for to bidde **here** bedes, ...
... go in to God's house that is in Matha for to pray **their** prayers, ...
(CMPOLYCH,VI,29.198)

Kentish:

- (19) Þet is to zigge **hare** persones. an bidde uor **ham** and do **ham** guod
That is to say **their** persons. And pray for **them** and do **them** good

yef **hy** habbeþ nyede and þou hit migt do.
if **they** have need and thou it might do.
(CMAYENBI,114.2206)

- (20) Dis boc is ywrite uor englisse men, þet **hi** wyte hou **hi** ssolle **ham**–zelue
This book it written for English men that **they** know how **they** should **themselves**
ssriue, and maki **ham** klene ine þise liue.
write and make **them** clean in this live.
(CMAYENBI,5.10)

What becomes clear by comparing the examples from the different dialectal areas is that there were no uniform forms for the third person plural pronouns. In the North, all three forms borrowed from Old Norse – *they*, *their*, *them* – replaced the Old English ones, in the South and in the Kentish dialect the Old English forms *hi(e)*, *hem/ham*, *here/hare* remained much longer, and in the Midlands *they* was used, but still with the objective and possessive forms *hem* and *hire*. The variation of the old forms and new forms of the third person plural pronouns in the different Middle English dialects give a good picture of how innovations in the North gradually spread to the Midlands and to the South. We will see below that there is also evidence in Middle English texts that syntactic phenomena were borrowed from Scandinavian which implies that the contact situation between the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians must have been very intense. It is generally assumed that the amalgamation of the two people was facilitated by the cultural similarities between them and by a relatively small difference between the two genetically related languages (Old English and Scandinavian) they spoke. According to an Icelandic saga of the eleventh century "there was at that time the same tongue in England as in Norway and Denmark" (Freeborn 1992: 30).

In the following, some of the texts from the different dialectal areas are introduced to the reader because their place and date of origin is important if we want to come to a conclusion with respect to the origin and spread of syntactic changes. Therefore, the reader should be familiar with the variety of texts written in different Middle English dialects. This brief introduction hopefully serves the reader so as to get an "overview" of the dialectal situation in Middle English and thus to understand the spread of syntactic changes in Middle English.

2.3.1 The Northern Dialect

According to Freeborn (1992), the Northern dialects of Middle English stem from the Northumbrian dialects of Old English. As today, in Middle English the dialects of Scotland and the North of England markedly differ from dialects of the South, especially with respect to the lexicon and grammar. As shown above, in these texts we can find words of Old Norse origin like *frame* "from" (ON "fro"), *bape* "both" (ON "bape") *till* "to" (ON "till"), *give* "give", *take* "take", and the infinite marker *at* "to" (ON "att"). The following Northern texts are included in the PPCME2:

The Northern Prose Rule of St. Benet

This manuscript is known as the earliest Northern prose. It is dated to 1425 and comes from central west Yorkshire, either within or directly bordering the major area of Scandinavian settlement. In chapter 6 we will see that this text is very important in linguistic terms because it shows an almost consistent V2 pattern, i.e., unlike the pattern in Old English, pronominal subjects behave like full subject DPs in that they categorically invert in most environments. This pattern is not found in any of the Southern texts.

Richard Rolle's Prose Treatises and Epistles

Richard Rolle, who lived in the first half of the fourteenth century in Yorkshire, wrote his works late in his life, probably between 1340 and his death in 1349. Although he wrote a lot, many more works are attributed to him than he was responsible for and therefore it is difficult to distinguish his works from those of his followers. The texts of the Prose Treatises are taken from the manuscript written by Robert Thornton about 1440.

Mirror of St. Edmund

This text is a Northern version of a translation of the Latin text *Speculum S. Edmundi* by Edmund Rich, dated to 1350 and possibly from a Southern exemplar. There are two versions of the text: the Northern version (Thornton manuscript) and West Midlands version of the text (Vernon manuscript) which is a closer rendering of the Latin than the Thornton Ms. version of the same text.

Dan Jon Gaytridg'e's Sermon

The sermon is a translation of York's Latin catechism translated by Jon Gaytryge, a monk at St. Mary's Abbey, York at about 1357. The English version is much longer than the Latin version.

2.3.2 The East Midlands Dialect

As mentioned above, the East Midlands area used to lie within the Danelaw. A look at the map above shows that this area extends from the Humber down to the Thames, which implies that Southeastern regions are included as well as Northeastern ones. With respect to the dialectal situation the term East Midlands for all dialects spoken there may be problematic because it will become clear that texts from the Northeast Midlands behave differently from texts from the Southeast Midlands. Therefore, whenever the East Midlands dialect is mentioned in this thesis, it refers to those regions which were most densely settled by Scandinavians and which are still called today "The Land of the five boroughs": Stamford, Lincoln, Derby, Leicester and Nottingham. Texts from these areas all show Scandinavian influence in their vocabulary, grammar and even in their syntax. The *Ormulum*, the syntax of which is investigated in this thesis, was also written within that area.

The Ormulum

The *Ormulum* is an incomplete set of metrical homilies written by Orm, who was a monk living in the twelfth century. There are two important things to note with respect to the form of Orm's piece of work: First, the poem is written in extremely regular 15 syllable unrhymed iambic lines with a caesura after the 8th syllable (for a discussion of verse and metre in the *Ormulum* see chapter 7, section 7.4.2). Second, by looking at the text it quickly becomes clear that Orm used a spelling system he invented himself (he even mentions this at the beginning of text). Moreover, the spelling system is extremely consistent, which is an exception at that time. The purpose of this was to reform the spelling system and relate each

sound to one symbol. The linguistic value of the text lies in its consistency and the fact that it is an quite early text written in Lincolnshire, a region which was influenced by Scandinavian. As shown above, there is clear non-syntactic and syntactic evidence in the Ormulum of intense contact with the Scandinavian language. In the following chapters we will see that the text exhibits a number of Scandinavian syntactic characteristics which support this hypothesis.

The Peterborough Chronicle

The Peterborough Chronicle, dated to the twelfth century, is a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which was written in the ninth century. The earlier part of the text (1070–1121) was written by a single scribe. He further added the so called First Continuation to the text soon after 1131. By looking at the text one gets the impression that the scribe did not control the Old English system very well. The Final Continuation was added by a second scribe all at one time soon after 1154. Allen (1995) notes that the two Continuations differ in their case-marking systems, showing the gradual loss of inflections and a progressive deterioration from the West-Saxon standard. The linguistic value of the texts are that the change of the language can be traced by reading the texts.

Trinity Homilies

The Trinity Homilies were written in London in an East Midlands dialect about 1225. The manuscript is inconsistently written in three hands (A,B and C). Five sermons are shared with the Lambeth Homilies.

Vices and Virtues

Vices and Virtues is dated to 1200–1225, although it has also been claimed that it may have been written as early as 1175 (Utley, 1972). The language of the text is attributed to the Essex area. It is the only surviving manuscript of this text. The beginning of the text is lost. It was written by three different hands with corrections by at least three other hands. According to Hall (1920) the manuscript was copied from a text written in the dialect of the Middle or Western South into the North East Midlands dialect of the scribe. Occasionally, the scribe retained Southern forms. Later this version of the text was copied again. This is why the language of the manuscript is older than the date of the copy.

The Book of Vices and Virtues

This text is a translation of the French work *Somme le Roi*, a religious treatise, written down in an East Midlands dialect with Southern mix and also some connection to the North at about 1450.

other East Midlands texts included in the PPCME2:

Proclamation of Henry III (1258), *Earliest Prose Psalter* (1350), *Tale of Mellibee* (1390), *The Parson's Tale* (1390), *The Equatorie of the Planets* (1392), *Treatise of the Astrolabe* (1450), *Boethius* (1425), *A Latin Technical Phlebotomy* (1400–1425), *The Old Testament* (Wycliffe, 1425), *English Wycliffite Sermons* (1400), *Mandeville's Travels* (1425), *The Cloud of Unknowings* (1425), *Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection* (1450), *Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love* (1450), *The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac* (1425), *Metham's Days of the Moon* (1450), *Metham's Physiognomy* (1450), *The Book of Margery Kempe* (1438), *Life of St. Edmund* (1450), *Aelred of Rievaulx's de Institutione Inclusarum* (1450), *Capgrave's Sermon* (1452), *Capgrave's Abbreuiatcion of Cronicles* (1464), *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes* (1470–1500), *Caxton's Prologues and Epilogues* (1477–1484), *Caxton's The History of Reynard the Fox* (1481), *Fitzjames' Sermo die Lune* (1495), *In Die Innocencium* (1497).

2.3.3 The West Midlands Dialect

As noted above, in Middle English the Old English Mercian dialect developed in different ways. The East Midlands was part of the Danelaw, but the West Midlands was not. Thus, the language of the East Midlands was probably influenced by the language of the Scandinavians who settled there and constituted a dialect different from that spoken in the West. By looking at West Midlands texts, we find a mixture of Old English and innovative patterns which indicates that the language spoken in this area was mixed too. This seems to be plausible to assume since in the tenth century, the Norwegians are said to have invaded Britain from Ireland and that they landed in the area which is now called West Midlands. We will see in chapter 4 and 6 that there is further evidence for this assumption.

The Katherine Group

The texts belonging to the *The Katherine Group* are dated to the first quarter of the 13th century and are written in the language of Worcestershire. It includes the texts *Hali Meidhad*, *St. Julia*, *St. Katherine*, *St. Margaret* and the *Sawles Warde* which deal with the lives of St.

Juliane, St. Katherine and St. Margaret, religious topics (*Hali Meiðhad*) and Homilies (*Sawles Warde*).

Sawles Warde

The date of the original composition is probably between 1200 and 1220. It is a translation of the *De Custodia Interioris Hominis* ("On the Keeping of the Inner Self") which was often erroneously attributed to St. Anselm of Canterbury. The Kentish text *The Ayenbite of Inwyt* is also derived from the same source.

Hali Meiðhad

According to Dobson (?) the date of composition must be between 1210 and 1220, i.e., it was written later than the other works of the *The Katherine Group*. Its content is not based on one single work but contains material from all kinds of works like e.g. *Alan Lille's Summa e Arte Praidicatoria* ("The Art of the Preacher").

St. Katherine

The text always appears together with *Sawles Warde*. They seem to share the same textual tradition and the Katherine was written around the same time (1200–1220). It is related to other works that deal with the saints lives and particularly shares material with St. Juliana. All three saints lives – *St. Katherine*, *St. Juliana* and *St. Margaret* – mention *Hali Meiðhad*.

St. Juliana

There are two manuscripts of the text, Bodley and Royal and there are substantial differences between them. The Bodley text might be a revision of the original text, a translation of a popular Latin life.

St. Margaret

As with *St. Juliana*, there are also two manuscripts of the text, Bodley and Royal. The source of the text is a popular Latin life but the origins of it are not clear.

Lambeth Homilies (E) and (L)

The Lambeth Homilies have a special status because they have been copied from two exemplars with different orthographies. Both are dated to the 12th century but one has been written earlier than the other. The earlier exemplar (Lambeth Homilies (E)) is a compilation

of older documents, dated to the 11th century, which have been transliterated into Middle English. The older exemplar (Lambeth Homilies (L)) did not contain any Old English documents. The two exemplars of the Lambeth Homilies are dated to the 12th century and have been localised to the same West Midlands area. Five of the Lambeth Homilies also appear in the Trinity Homilies.

Ancrene Riwe

There are a number of manuscripts of this text. The manuscript Cotton Cleopatra is the earliest, dated to 1215–1222 and written in the West Midlands dialect (perhaps Worcester). The manuscript was written in one hand, but corrected later by different other hands.

2.3.4 The Kentish Dialect

In section 2.3 it was shown that in different Middle English texts third person plural pronouns occurred in a variety of forms depending on the dialect. It became clear that whereas examples from the North and the East Midlands (and sometimes the West Midlands) exhibited the "new" forms *they*, *them*, *their* borrowed from Old Norse, the examples from the South and Kent still exhibited the Old English forms. As we will see, this is true for a number of (syntactic) changes, i.e. whereas texts from the Northern area exhibit innovations quite early, texts from the South and Kent behave conservatively in preserving "old" forms. Comparing texts from these dialectal areas gives a good insight in how change spreads.

Kentish Homilies

The majority of Homilies in this group are copied from *Ælfric's Sermones catholici*, the two included here for the PPCME2 are translations into Middle English. They are written in a Kentish dialect and dated to 1125.

Kentish Sermons

The Kentish Sermons consist of five sermons which were translated from a French version of the Latin sermons by Maurice de Sully and can be dated to 1275. According to Hall (19), the translation is quite literal and it seems to have influenced the language of the translators.

Ayenbite of Inwyt

The text is a single manuscript of a book called *Ayenbite of Inwyt* which means "the remorse of conscience". It is of linguistic interest for mainly two reasons: First, the name of the author

and the exact date of composition are both written on the manuscript¹⁴:

Pis boc is **Dan Michelis of Northgate**, ywrite an english of his ogene hand, þet hatte Ayenbite of Inwyt; and is of the boc-house of saynt austines of Canterberi...þet þis boc is uolueld ine þe eue of þe holy apostles Symon an Iudas of ane broþer of þe cloystre of sanynt austin of Canterberi. Ine þe yeare of oure lhordes beringe. **1340**. (CMAYENBI,262.2489)

Second, the text is spelled consistently and thus provides good evidence for the dialect of Kent at that time.

2.3.5 The Southern Dialect

John of Trevisa's Polychronicon

The text is a translation of Ranulph Higden's Latin work of the same name. John of Trevisa (born in Cornwall), vicar of a parish in Berkeley, translated the work at the direction of Sir Thomas of Berkeley and finished it in 1387. It is a fairly literal translation and only occasionally contains original explanations of the text.

Purvey, The Prologue of the Bible

The religious treatise was probably written in Bristol at about 1397. John Purvey was Wycliffe's secretary and "glossator". He was a priest and great scholar. Amongst others, he is said to have been one of the leaders in revising *the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible* which resulted in the *Late Version*.

A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses

The text is a handbook of medicine, written in a Southern dialect (Berkshire) and dated to 1450.

Middle English Sermons

The Royal manuscript of the sermons is written in a Southern dialect (maybe Oxford) and dated to 1450.

¹⁴ To demonstrate this more clearly I changed the original text and wrote the author's name and the date of composition in bold face.

2.4 The Penn–Helsinki–Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2 (PPCME2)

The reason why a section of this thesis is dedicated to the PPCME2 is that the reader who works in the field of Diachronic Syntax and who may even investigate syntactic phenomena in Middle English gets an insight in how to work with the corpus. It is a highly valuable tool which allows the linguist not only to search for structures but also to find out something about the frequency of the structure in question. Moreover, many texts from different dialectal areas can be compared in this way with respect to the occurrence or non–occurrence of syntactic phenomena. Thus, the effort the linguist has to make to get to work with the PPCME2 is very small compared to the profit he or she gains from it. Therefore, I will give a brief introduction to the format of the texts from the corpus. Other information about the query language, search functions, etc. can be found at <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/mideng>.

2.4.1 General information about the corpus

The PPCME2 is a linguistically annotated corpus of prose text samples¹⁵ of Middle English, i.e., the texts are annotated for syntactic structure to allow searching, not only for words and word sequences but also for syntactic structure. The text samples are drawn mainly from the Middle English section of the Diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (which is a text–only corpus). The documentation for the PPCME2, search tools and the texts (with restricted access) are available at no cost for students and scholars via internet.

It should be noted that there are two versions of the Corpus, the older version PPCME1 and the latest version PPCME2. The latter version is an enlarged and completely revised edition of the PPCME1, i.e., it contains larger samples of the corpus texts and has grown to 1,3 million words in size (the PPCME1 contained 510,000 words).

2.4.2 The annotation scheme of the PPCME2

2.4.2.1 Part–of–Speech tags

The annotation scheme of the PPCME2 contains part–of–speech tags, i.e., word categories are indicated by means of labels. The tags used are as far as possible abbreviations of the common linguistic terms for the various parts of speech; e.g. ADJ = adjective, ADV = adverb, P = preposition etc. In cases where difficulties are known to exist in deciding the part of speech of an item, a single tag is used to represent the possibilities, e.g. VAG represents both verbal and adjectival present participles. Moreover, for some words that are particularly

¹⁵ The only text in the PPCME2 which is not prose but poetry is *The Ormulum*.

difficult to classify a single tag for all of the uses of the word is used (e.g. ONE, SUCH, OTHER, ELSE, ALSO). The example of a sentence from the *Ormulum* illustrate this:

Text version:

Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc
 Ða Goddspelles neh alle,
 Ðatt sinndenn o þe messeboç
 Inn all þe ger att messe.
 (CMORM,DED.L23.10)

(Translation:

I have gathered in this book
 The gospels nearly all,
 That are in the mass book
 for the whole year of mass.)

Parsed version:

```
( (IP-MAT (LB |)
  (NP-SBJ (PRO Icc))
  (HVP hafe)
  (VBN sammnedd)
  (PP (P o)
    (NP (D +tiss) (N boc)))
  (LB |)
  (LB |)
  (NP-OB1 (D +Ta) (NPRS Goddspelles))
  (QP (ADV neh) (Q alle))
  (, .)
  (LB |)
  (LB |)
  (CP-REL (WNP-1 0)
    (C +Tatt)
    (IP-SUB (NP-SBJ *T*-1)
      (BEP sinndenn)
      (PP (P o)
        (NP (D +te) (N+N messeboç)))
      (LB |)
      (LB |)
      (PP (P Inn)
        (NP (Q all) (D +te) (N ger)
          (PP (P att)
            (NP (N messe))))))))))
  (E_S .)
  (LB |)) (ID CMORM,DED.L23.10))
```

Some of the tags given in the example:

PRO = Personal pronoun	D = Determiner	C = Complementizer
HVP = Present Tense of "have"	NPRS = Proper noun, Plural	BEP = Present Tense of "be"
P = Preposition	ADV = Adverb	N+N = Compound noun
N = Common noun	Q = Quantifier	

"LB" indicates the line breaks in the original text version, "ID" gives the line of the example found in the text.

2.4.2.2 Parsing

As illustrated in the example above, the format of the trees is "limited hierarchical bracketing", e.g., there is no VP, because in early ME in many cases it is not possible to identify its boundaries. Thus, we find a rather flat structure of trees, i.e., clause-constituents are all dominated by IP and are in a sisterhood-relation to each other. For the same reasons, the internal structure of sentential constituents like NPs and PPs is represented in a limited way. Main clauses are separated and embedded clauses are marked off and labelled according to type. The phrasal level tags have also been as far as possible given standard linguistic labels: Noun phrases are labelled according to grammatical function (NP-SBJ = subject, NP-OB1 = first object, NP-OB2 = second object, etc.). Some empty categories and a limited number of co-indexing are also included in the scheme. Thus, e.g., the subject trace (NP-SBJ *T* -1) in the relative-clause is coindexed with an empty wh-operator (WNP-1 0), the number "1" is the index here. In this way, wh-movement is indicated in the corpus.

There are other corpora currently in production which use the annotation scheme of the PPCME2: the York-Geneva Annotated Corpus of Old English (created by Susan Pintzuk and Eric Haeberli), the Tycho Brahe Corpus (parsed corpus of historical Portuguese, created by Charlotte Galves of the University of Campinas) as well as a parsed Latin corpus currently created by the Classics Department at the University of Pennsylvania.

After this short introduction to the dialectal situation in (Early) Middle English as well as to the tool syntactic phenomena are investigated in this thesis, in the next chapter we will turn to the phenomenon of syntactic change.

CHAPTER 3: SYNTACTIC CHANGE

3.1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the word order in the verb phrase changed from OV in Old English to VO in Modern English. It has also been claimed that Old English already exhibited both underlying orders, OV and VO (Pintzuk 1991), but that the former was predominant (see also chapter 4). When looking at Early Middle English texts, it becomes clear that a change must have taken place because these texts now exhibit predominantly VO order. In Modern English we do not find the OV orders which were found in Old English but only a very rigid word order pattern: SVO. Therefore, it seems that at a certain point of time, where both orders were "available", the VO orders won out over the OV orders. The question is how this change took place, i.e., what happened in the English language that the speakers from one generation started to use only underlying VO order and thus gave up the OV grammar of their parents. The question is how and why syntactic change takes place. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) argue that there are five problems which have to be solved to explain language change: the problems of constraints, transition, embedding, evaluation and actuation. The constraints problem is the problem of what changes in a language are possible in a given state. The transition problem deals with the question of how a language moves from one state to a succeeding state. The embedding and evaluation problems deal with the questions of how a change is related to other features of the language in which language change occurs and what effect the change has on these other features. The actuation problem is that of why change in a particular feature occurs in a particular language and why exactly this change does not occur at all in other languages which exhibit the same feature. Within the generative framework, all these problems have remained basic problems in explaining language change.

In this section, we will deal with some analyses of syntactic change. In 3.2 mechanisms of syntactic change will be discussed which can be internal as well as external. Section 3.3 deals with syntactic change and language acquisition. Two influential analyses will be discussed: first Clark & Roberts' (1993) computational model of language learnability, and second Lightfoot's (1999) latest theory of language acquisition. Section 3.4 is solely dedicated to Language Contact, because in this thesis it is taken to be a strong force in language change. In section 3.5 we will deal with the question of how syntactic change spreads in a language. Section 3.6 concludes.

3.2 Mechanisms of Syntactic Change

From the earliest days of comparative philology, it has been observed that languages change. In the nineteenth century, linguists mainly tried to establish the facts of language change and they did so by comparing sound systems and morphology (inflection) of languages. They noted that the sounds of related languages corresponded to each other apparently systematically and therefore they called this phenomenon sound shift, e.g. the Indo European voiced plosive / b / was transformed into the voiceless plosive / p / in Germanic. They further noted that these shifts took place in an extremely regular way and that they could be seen as sound laws. The Neogrammarians adapted this view and they even claimed that all exceptions to sound laws could be explained by processes of analogy. Since then, these processes, analogy and transformation, or better reanalysis, have been taken to be the main two phenomena which explain language change, and in particular syntactic change. In modern treatments of syntactic change, reanalysis has been the single most important factor to understand syntactic change, and it is therefore not surprising that most work in this field has assumed some variant of this notion. extension is the inverse of reanalysis because it does not change underlying structure. As will be shown below, one type of extension is Lexical extension which has also been called Lexical Diffusion. These two factors as well as another factor, Language Contact, will be discussed in this chapter.

According to Harris & Campbell (1995) there are (at least) three mechanisms which can be identified in a language which undergoes syntactic change. As noted above, reanalysis and extension involve change internal to a language and are thus discussed under the subsection Internal Mechanisms. Language contact, on the other hand, is an external mechanism because it involves motivation towards change from outside the affected language. Harris & Campbell further claim that there are only three such mechanisms, and that phenomena like actualisation and grammaticalisation are specific kinds of reanalysis.

3.2.1 Internal Mechanisms

In this subsection, we will deal with the two internal mechanisms discussed here, reanalysis and extension. We will start out by defining Reanalysis, a phenomenon which has gained the most attention in the effort to explain syntactic change throughout the history of work in this area.

3.2.1.1 Reanalysis

Harris & Campbell (1995) give the following definition for reanalysis:

Reanalysis ... is a mechanism which changes the underlying structure [surface constituent structure] of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestations. (Harris & Campbell 1995: 61)

They note, however, that although reanalysis itself does not directly affect the surface structure but only the underlying structure, there might be additional changes which involve modification of surface manifestations (these are mechanisms other than reanalysis).

Harris & Campbell claim that reanalysis changes underlying structure directly, which means that this mechanism can affect (i) constituency, (ii) hierarchical structure, (iii) category labels, (iv) grammatical relations, and (v) cohesion. They further note that semantic change may also be involved in many of these reanalyses. In the following we will briefly look at examples where reanalysis has taken place in each of these aspects of underlying structure.

(i–ii) Constituency and hierarchical structure. One example where constituency and hierarchical structure have changed is known from the history of German. Here, the infinitival construction *um zu* + Infinitive formerly had the prepositional phrase structure as illustrated in (1):

- (1) [Er ging aus um Wasser] [zu holen].
 He went out for water to fetch.
 "He went out for water, to fetch (it)."
 (Harris & Campbell 1995: 62)

Harris & Campbell note that originally in such sentences the nominal *Wasser* "water" was governed by the preposition *um* "for". The nominal, however, came to be understood as the logical object of the infinitive *Wasser zu holen* "to fetch water". These were reanalysed then in the infinitival construction as objects, and *um* lost its former locative meaning in these environments and came to be understood as the introducing morpheme for the infinitival construction:

- (2) [Er ging aus] [um Wasser zu holen].
 He went out for water to fetch.
 "He went out (for) to fetch water."
 (Harris & Campbell 1995: 62)

Another quite similar example of reanalysis comes from English. According to Harris & Campbell, the English complementiser construction with *for* + *to* is the result of the reanalysis of a former construction in which the *for* + DP belonged to the main clauses. This

is illustrated in (3):

- (3) [It is bet for me] [to sleen my self than ben defouled thus].
It is better for me to slay myself than been violated thus.
"It is better for me to slay myself than to be violated thus."
(Harris & Campbell 1995: 62)

Harris & Campbell note that although *me* is part of the surface constituent *for me* in (3), it functioned as coreferential to the logical subject of the infinitive *to sleen*. The construction *for + DP + Infinitive* was reanalysed as a constituent, which can be seen in the Modern English example in (4) where the whole constituent can be preposed:

- (4) [For me to slay myself] [would be better than to be violated thus].
(Harris & Campbell 1995: 62)

(iii) Category labels. Harris & Campbell argue that the reanalysis of a verb in a serial verb construction as an adposition, together with the reanalysis of the dominating node as an adpositional phrase is an example of a change that mainly affects category labels. Such a case is the development of the verb *wo* "to be" in the African language Twi. This verb has been reanalysed as a preposition "at" which resulted in the reanalysis of its dominating node VP to PP. Thus, grammatical relations are affected by this kind of reanalysis but constituency and word order remain unaffected.

(iv) Grammatical relations. Harris & Campbell note that the loss of the inversion construction in English presents reanalysis of grammatical relations. In Old English, an inversion rule made initial subjects indirect objects, which can be seen in an example like "me thinks", which is traditionally referred to as an impersonal construction. This optional rule started to appear less and less frequently. Due to the weakening and loss of the inflectional case-marking system on nouns, the effects of the rule became less obvious, and finally the construction was reanalysed: the surface object (the underlying subject) was reanalysed as surface and underlying subject. As the example illustrates, reanalysis even affected pronouns although they contain evidence for case-marking. This implies that learners sometimes ignore evidence, in this case maybe because the force of the loss of case-marking on nouns was so strong that it also affected the role of pronouns in these cases.

(v) Cohesion. According to Harris & Campbell, cohesion defines "the status of a linguistic sequence as a fully independent word, a clitic, an affix, or an unanalysable part of a larger unit"(Harris & Campbell 1995: 63). They further note that these four statuses form a continuum, i.e., that an element which is at one time a fully independent word may become a

clitic and then an affix, ending up as an unanalysable part of another word. They also point out that independent words may be manipulated by the syntax, but unanalysable parts of words cannot, which further implies that information regarding cohesion must be found in underlying structure¹⁶. The fact that cohesion is related to surface phenomena like stress will become clear in the example of the development of the question particle *ti*, which has been adopted by colloquial French and Franco-Provençal. This development provides a clear example of reanalysis. In Middle French, the two forms contrasted in (5) and (6) could be found:

- (5) aime il?
 "Does he love?"
 (Harris & Campbell 1995: 66)
- (6) a. dort-il?
 "Does he sleep?"
- b. est-il?
 "Is he?"
 (Harris & Campbell 1995: 66)

As shown in the examples above, the special question word order Verb – Subject – ... is found here. Final *l* was eroded in the pronunciation of colloquial speech, which in examples like (6) lead to forms ending in [*ti*]. This element was reanalysed as a marker for questions involving third person masculine pronominal subjects. Later it was extended and became a general interrogative particle which is shown in (7) and (8):

- (7) Les filles sont *ti* en train de dîner?
 The girls are QUESTION in way of to.dine?
 "Are the girls eating dinner?"
 (Harris & Campbell 1995: 66)
- (8) Tu vas *ti*?
 You go QUESTION
 "Are you going?"
 (Harris & Campbell 1995: 66)

The question is, what is it that causes reanalysis to take place? It has been assumed that it is ambiguity which is necessary for reanalysis to take place. One definition of (structural) ambiguity implies that each of the possible readings of a sentence is a structure which is

¹⁶ However, it should be noted here that according to Marantz' (1984) notion of Late Lexical Insertion this is not exactly true.

otherwise available in the language. One such example is illustrated in (9) where two different structures are possible:

- (9) Visiting relatives can be dangerous.
- a. To visit relatives can be dangerous.
 - b. Relatives who visit can be dangerous.
- (Harris & Campbell 1995: 70)

Harris & Campbell point out that both the readings (9) a. and b. with their different structures are found in unambiguous contexts which means that neither of the readings is only found in ambiguous contexts. Moreover, if only one of the structures existed, an example like (9) would not be ambiguous. Therefore, in order for reanalysis to take place it seems to be essential that two analyses be possible. Harris & Campbell claim, however, that opacity is not a prerequisite to reanalysis but it can, in the form of structural ambiguity, trigger grammatical changes. It is also not essential that every token of the structure in question be analysable in more than one way. Example (5) above shows that in Middle French not all third person masculine questions used [*t*], and yet [*t*] of verbs was reanalysed as part of a question marker for questions with third person masculine subjects which later became the general form to mark questions. What this shows is that reanalysis can take place even while there are examples with unambiguous structures which present the old structure. Harris & Campbell refer to the patterns which can be structurally ambiguous and which thus provide the input to reanalysis as the basis of reanalysis. Hence, the pattern in (6) was the basis of the reanalysis of *ti*.

According to Harris & Campbell grammaticalisation "...is one type of macro-change, consisting minimally of one process of reanalysis, but frequently involving more than one reanalysis" (Harris & Campbell 1995: 92). They note that in the literature two sorts of processes are typically the focus of study: 1) the lexical-item-to-grammatical-morpheme model, which usually involves some kind of phonological reduction and quite often a change in status from an independent word to a clitic and/or affix; 2) the discourse-structure-to-morphosyntactic-markings-model, which deals with the fixing of discourse strategies in syntactic and morphological structure. Harris & Campbell point out that grammaticalisation is often associated with the phenomenon called "semantic bleaching" which is the essence of reanalysis. They argue that during the process of grammaticalisation a complex structure may be reanalysed as a simpler structure, or category labels may be reanalysed. Harris & Campbell

call these processes reanalysis because the structure is altered, while the surface representation may remain the same. This can be seen when looking at the development of English *will*: when *will*, which originally meant "want", became semantically bleached and was grammaticalised as a future marker, the surface representation did not change at first, only its grammatical status changed. Thus, Harris & Campbell take reanalysis to be an important part of the macro-change of grammaticalisation which is partly independent of the other micro-changes in the sense that they do not happen at the same time. Moreover, they argue that reanalysis does not entail the other micro-changes which take place when we speak of grammaticalisation. Although these changes often occur in parallel and are related with each other, they are not the same change.

3.2.1.2 Extension

According to Harris & Campbell extension is

a mechanism which results in changes in the surface manifestation of a pattern and which does not involve immediate or intrinsic modification of underlying structure. (Harris & Campbell 1995: 51)

They further note that extension is not limited to morphology, as often supposed, although this process may be easier to identify in that domain than in more abstract syntax. Moreover, they claim that extension is not the same as Analogy, although the former process can be seen as part of the latter process. Harris & Campbell rather speak of "analogues" by which they mean "a condition where a structural similarity exists between two (or more) items, or classes, or constructions, etc." (Harris & Campbell 1995: 51). They argue that the existence of the analogue often motivates change through extension, but it may also stimulate change through reanalysis or through borrowing. However, it is not necessary for any change to occur¹⁷. In the following, an example of Lexical Diffusion (Lexical extension) will be discussed.

It is generally assumed that some syntactic changes proceed via Lexical Diffusion (spreading word by word through the lexicon). Harris & Campbell note that in synchronic syntax there is the concept that rules and patterns are lexically governed, especially with respect to several aspects of complementation. Thus in Modern English, verbs like *hate* may take the *for...to* pattern whereas verbs like *expect* cannot. This is illustrated below:

¹⁷ For a discussion on whether extension is actualisation or not see Harris & Campbell 1995, 4.4

- (10) I hate for you to leave early.
- (11) * I expect for you to leave early.

Examples (10) and (11) show synchronic differences among verbs in these contexts. Thus, Harris & Campbell note that it is not surprising that, when investigating these patterns diachronically, we also find variation, i.e., that some verbs take the *for ... to* pattern and some verbs do not. They further note that changes which involve complementation in one way or another spread through the lexicon. This is what happened in the following example: Warner (1982) showed that in Middle English, the verb *bigynne* could occur with the *for ... to* pattern whereas in Modern English the verb *begin* can only occur with *to*. According to Harris & Campbell this small change demonstrates diachronic lexical diffusion of syntactic patterns because the rule to use the *to*-pattern in this context was generalised and thus the syntax of English changed in this respect. Harris & Campbell point out that extension, although it is a powerful mechanism of language change, is less varied than it would suggest and underlies certain conditions. They claim that

...the process of extension is systematic, and the environment into which a rule may be extended is restricted by the nature of the rule in the particular language. Observed extensions generalize to a natural class based on categories already relevant to the sphere in which the rule applied before it was extended. (Harris & Campbell 1995: 101)

Hence, in the example above, the type of extension could be defined as "removing a condition from a rule". According to Harris & Campbell, this means that there is a requirement which must be met in order for a rule to apply. Moreover, this requirement or condition specifies exactly where (in which environment) this rule applies. With respect to the example above, this would mean that with verbs which could take both patterns, the condition to use the *for ... to*-pattern was removed. Consequently, these verbs and the verbs which could only use the *to*-pattern now both have the same condition and thus have the same pattern in this special environment.

3.2.2 External Mechanism

In this subsection, we will deal with the third mechanism of syntactic change discussed here, Language Contact. Unfortunately, this is one of the most neglected areas of syntactic change. This is partly due to "mistakes" that have been made in studying a language. By "mistakes" I

mean that Language Contact was often abused as a kind of "deus ex machina" when no other reasonable syntactic explanation could be found for extraordinary phenomena in a language. On the other hand, there is the implicit opinion that syntactic change through Language Contact is impossible or very rare or even not relevant if a language is to be investigated "properly". This point of view is due to the Neogrammarian conception of a homogeneous system as the sole legitimate object of analysis which was adopted by Chomsky:

Linguistic theory is concerned with an ideal speaker–listener, in a completely homogeneous speech–community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (Chomsky 1965: 3–4).

This idealisation might be correct for synchronic work but definitely not for diachronic work. When syntactic phenomena are investigated from a diachronic perspective to learn about changes which have taken place, diachronic syntacticians always have to assume that factors like language contact might play a role because changes from one generation to another are often evident. Therefore, the ideal object of analysis cannot be a completely homogeneous speech–community but rather a heterogenous one, on the assumption that through the course of time speech–communities have contact with each other. There have been a number of studies (Kroch 1989, 1994; Kroch & Taylor 1997, 1999; Pintzuk 1991) which clearly show that there are cases where syntactic change can be explained "properly" by Language Contact. Thus, this mechanism will hopefully be better understood and taken more into consideration in the future.

3.2.2.1 Language Contact

Language contact is one of the forces which trigger syntactic change. There is a plethora of examples which make this clear, e.g. the contact situation in Kupwar village in Maharashtra, India, where Kannada, a Dravidian language, is in contact with Marathi and Urdu, two Indo–Aryan languages. Kannada, which had a zero copula, borrowed a syntactic feature from Indo–Aryan, namely the use of the overt copula with predicative adjectives (see Gumperz & Wilson: 1971). Thus, syntactic change due to contact may lead to the borrowing of syntactic features, but it can also lead to the loss of features which distinguish the languages in contact, which may be the reason why the case–marking system in Old English was reduced and then

lost when it was in contact with Scandinavian¹⁸. Moreover, there is the phenomenon of substratum effects, where in a contact situation adult second–language learners acquire their "new" language imperfectly and pass certain features of this language on to their children, who are, however, native speakers of exactly this language. Kroch (1999) notes that language change due to contact is caused by imperfect learning, but it is often adult language learners who acquire the "new" language imperfectly here. It is not clear why speakers adopt features of another language or why certain features of a native language are carried over into an adult learner's second–language. What is clear, however, is the fact that "grammatical features are not often borrowed by native speakers of a language and conversely, that they are likely to appear as interference effects in adult second–language acquisition" (Kroch 1999: 23). Kroch further notes that interference effects point towards a causal account of certain kinds of change due to contact. If a group of adults learn a second–language and acquire this language imperfectly, and if their second–language becomes the primary linguistic data for a group of children, then these children who acquire the language as their native language will adopt interference features from their parents into their native language, and will spread it to others. In this case, the cause of imperfect learning is clear and language change is less mysterious than in cases of first–language acquisition. Since syntactic change through Language Contact will play an important role in this thesis, a whole section will be devoted to examples which show that Language Contact can trigger syntactic change (section 3.4). Before we discuss these, we will deal with the relationship between Language Contact and language acquisition as this another crucial factor in understanding syntactic change.

3.3 Syntactic Change and First–Language Acquisition

Kroch notes that "Language change is by definition a failure in the transmission across time of linguistic features"(Kroch 1999: 2). Such failure in the transmission of linguistic features could occur in speech communities of adult native speakers who start to substitute one feature of their language for another feature, e.g., a new word is coined and substituted for an old one. However, where language change affects not only the lexicon but "deeper" levels of the language like syntax, innovations like this are not noticed by monolingual adult speakers. On the other hand, failures in the transmission of linguistic features seem to occur in the course of language acquisition, i.e., they are failures of learning. Kroch assumes that the feature which learners of a language fail to acquire is in principle learnable, it has been a part of the grammar in the language of former generations; thus, the reason why these learners fail to

¹⁸ For a discussion see Jespersen 1938

acquire the feature must either be some change in the character of the evidence the learner is exposed to or in some difference in the learner, e.g. in the learner's age at language acquisition. This is the case where change is induced through second-language acquisition by adults in situations of Language Contact. It is generally assumed that the primary linguistic data the language learner is exposed to is sufficient to ensure accurate language acquisition by a competent language learner. Instances of language change give evidence that this is not always the case. Therefore, the relationship between language change and language acquisition needs to be investigated, and, above all, we have to ask the question of exactly what conditions of learning lead to the acquisition of a given grammar and how much these conditions have to change before language acquisition results in language change. In this section, we will deal with the relationship between language acquisition and language change by discussing different models of learnability that have been proposed in recent literature. In 3.3.1 we will deal with Clark & Roberts' (1993) computational model of learnability. They assume that the learner uses a genetic algorithm technique which eliminates "unfit" hypotheses and arrives at a single fittest grammar. In 3.3.2 we will discuss Lightfoot's work on the relationship between language change and language acquisition where we will mainly focus on his latest model of learnability, the cue-based language acquisition model.

3.3.1 A computational model of learnability (Clark & Roberts, 1993)

Clark & Roberts claim that language change is a subcase of language acquisition. They note that language acquisition is a process of accurately fixing parameter values, i.e., the learner sets parameter values according to the input he gets and converges to these values if the target grammar has set the parameters to the values in question. Language change, however, presupposes that a speech community must converge on a value v_i for at least one parameter p , where the grammar of the previous generation has $p(v_j)$ and $v_i \neq v_j$. This simply means that the learner has failed to acquire the grammar of the previous generation. The question is how a group of language learners can converge on a grammar which is systematically different from the grammar of the previous generation, or put in the terms of Clark & Roberts, how is it possible that, for one generation, a property c_i of a language causes learners to hypothesize $p_n(v_i)$ whereas in the succeeding generation it loses its causal force. To explain these processes, Clark & Roberts adopt Clark's (1990, 1992) genetic algorithm approach to learnability which treats learning (a language) as a special case of natural selection. According to this approach, there are certain patterns of genetic material which are more

adapted to their environment (fitter) than others, and thus tend to reproduce more at the expense of the others (the less fit are gradually driven out). In terms of language acquisition this means that certain parameter settings are more consistent with the input than others, and it is these parameter settings that "reproduce" at the expense of other, less successful parameter settings. In this way, hypotheses which are not consistent with the input are gradually eliminated by the learning mechanism, and result in a single fittest grammar. As will be shown below, the fitness metric plays a crucial role in this kind of model. Clark & Roberts note that there is nothing in the approach which requires the grammar of the learners to be consistent with the grammar of the previous generation, and thus this approach can explain why learners may arrive at final-state systems which differ from those of their preceding generation¹⁹.

Clark & Roberts' model is based on the notion that a parameter setting is stable to the degree that its expression in the input data is unambiguous. Therefore, an unstable parameter setting is one whose expression in the input is ambiguous, i.e., the learner has two different analyses available for one structure. This implies that such a situation can only arise when the input the learner gets changes. Clark & Roberts claim that at this point the structure with the simpler syntactic analysis will win over the structure which is syntactically more complex. They call this the factor of "elegance" (see also below).

According to Clark & Roberts parameters can be thought of as variables in Universal Grammar which range over a limited set of values. This means that a parameter value may be true (1) or false (0) in a given grammar system. The null-subject parameter is a good example of such a parameter. The principle which underlies this parameter is the Extended Projection Principle:

(12) Extended Projection Principle (EPP):

All clauses must have a subject (Spec,AgrSP must be filled).

The parameter here determines then whether this subject, if pronominal, is always overtly realised. In English, it is overtly realised, in Italian it is not. This is illustrated below:

- (13) a. Parla italiano.
He/She speaks Italian.
- b. *Speaks Italian.

¹⁹ It will become clear in the discussion below that Clark & Roberts' model is **not** an input-matching model as was claimed by Lightfoot (1999).

In Italian, AgrS has the right properties to license and identify an empty pronominal subject, in English AgrS is not rich enough, i.e., it does not have the right properties to do so. This implies, that the learner has to find out whether their language has the Italian-type or the English-type of AgrS. In general, what the learner will have to do here is to scan the input data and try to assign truth-values to each of the propositions given. The learner's hypotheses could then be taken as strings of 1s and 0s corresponding to the truth-value associated with each parameter. In the case of the null-subject parameter we have two values, 1 and 0. Thus, the value 1 would express the hypothesis that AgrS is rich enough to license and identify an empty pronominal subject. The value 0, on the other hand, would express the hypothesis that AgrS does not have the properties to license and identify an empty pronominal subject (see also Roberts & Roussou, forthcoming). Clark & Roberts note that "this binary representation of sequences of parameter values serves both to encode grammars as binary numbers and to enumerate the set of possible natural languages" (Clark & Roberts 1993: 309). As noted above, the relative fitness of these hypotheses, which are represented as strings, will be defined with respect to a linguistic environment, i.e., it is required from the input data that the learner should be able to change its hypothesis on the evidence from the external environment, where the new hypothesis must be better able to account for this evidence (it must be an improvement over the old hypothesis). Clark & Roberts define the notion of improvement in the following way:

- (14) A hypothesis A is an improvement over a hypothesis B, given an input datum, s_i , A signals m violations of core grammatical principles while B signals n violations and $m < n$. (Clark & Roberts 1993: 312)

When a parser, which is taken to consist of a number of modules, signals violations on a parse because a principle in one of these modules is violated, it compares the parses with each other. The one with e.g. three violations is superior to the ones with four or more violations. Clark & Roberts assume that the several modules of the parser are connected to a summation function where the violations are counted and passed over to the learner. They point out that the learner has no information about which grammatical principles were violated by a parse, they only get the information that one hypothesis performs better than another. In order to evaluate the different hypotheses, the fitness metric takes into account all the factors mentioned. According to Clark & Roberts, the most important factor is whether a hypothesis is successfully parsed or not, but factors like elegance of representation are also considered by the fitness metric although their influence on the learner is much weaker than the actual

success or failure to parse.

As noted above, the truth-value of a parameter can be set either to 1 or to 0, i.e., it has to be set in a particular way if the sentence is to be parsed. Moreover, some parameters are important for parsing a sentence like (15) correctly:

- (15) John loves Mary.
(Clark & Roberts 1993: 317)

In (15) *John* and *Mary* must receive theta-roles and Case and the finite verb *loves* must be capable of picking up inflections etc. Therefore, it is important what values for these parameters the parsing device presupposes, whereas other parameters are irrelevant to the representation of this sentence. According to Clark & Roberts any given input sentence expresses certain parameters, and a distinct set of parsing devices can account for a well-formed representation of (15). They propose the following definition:

- (16) Parameter expression
A sentence σ expresses a parameter p_i just in case a grammar must have p_i set to some definite value in order to assign a well-formed representation to σ .
(Clark & Roberts 1993: 317)

They further assume that a learner who is exposed to input data which expresses some parameter value will be under pressure to set the parameter to the value expressed by the data. This is because the fitness metric will prefer hypotheses with the correct parameter setting to those without it. Therefore, input data triggers the setting of parameters:

- (17) Trigger
A sentence σ is a trigger for a parameter p_j if σ expresses p_j .
(Clark & Roberts 1993: 318)

Clark & Roberts claim that there is a relationship between parameter expression and the fitness metric. They note that

When a parameter is expressed, those hypotheses that have the correct value for that parameter will be judged more fit than those that lack the proper value. If a parameter is expressed robustly by several different construction types (and, hence, has a higher probability of occurring in the input text), then those hypotheses bearing the correct value will have more opportunity to be selected for reproduction and the appropriate parameter setting will tend to dominate in the population. Furthermore, those hypotheses bearing the incorrect value will

have a lower fitness rating and will tend to reproduce less so that the parameter values that made them unfit are washed from the population. Thus, parameter settings that are expressed robustly will tend to be set quickly and efficiently by the learner. Parameters that are not expressed robustly, however, will tend not to affect the fitness of a hypothesis in the same way. The learner will have correspondingly less stake in setting the parameter correctly and will not converge so readily to the parameter value (Clark & Roberts 1993: 318f).

In the case where parameters are expressed ambiguously, i.e., where the language learner can analyse the structure in several ways, the frequency of the parameter expression will not help the learner to find out the "correct" structure. The learner rather has to rely on the structure of the hypotheses in order to select the better one, which will happen by considering internal factors like the overall elegance of representation. As will be shown below, it is such cases where learners are exposed to ambiguous structures which lead to diachronic change in a parameter setting.

By discussing the loss of V2 in the history of French Clark & Roberts, as discussed above, deal with issues which concern the robustness of the evidence for linguistic structure being acquired that arise particularly in the context of language change. Old French was a language which exhibited three phenomena which were lost later in the history of French: 1) "simple inversion" in interrogatives, 2) null subjects, 3) V2 order. The three changes are illustrated with the examples below:

(18) Loss of "simple inversion" in interrogatives

OF b. Comment **fu** *ceste lettre* faite?
How **was** *this letter* made?

ModF a. ***A** *Jean* pris le livre?
Has *Jean* taken the book?
(Clark & Roberts 1993: 319)

(19) Loss of null subjects

OF a. Si **firent** *pro* grant joie la nuit.
Thus (they) **made** great joy the night.

ModF b. *Ainsi **s'amusaient bien** cette nuit.
Thus (they) **had fun** that night.
(Clark & Roberts 1993: 320)

(20) Loss of V2

OF a. Lors **oïrent** ils venir un escoiz de tonnoire.
Then **heard** they come a clap of thunder.

ModF b. *Puis **entendirent**–ils un coup de tonnerre.
Then **heard**–they a clap of thunder.
(Clark & Roberts 1993: 320)

Roberts (1992) showed that all three phenomena were lost in the sixteenth century. He argues that these changes reflect an underlying change in the value of the parameter which determines nominative Case–assignment. By following Koopman & Sportiche (1991) he assumes that nominative Case can be assigned in two ways, either under government or under agreement. Roberts argues that nominative Case–assignment under government, which was possible in Old French, was lost in the history of French. Clark & Roberts suggest that this change was motivated by the introduction of new word orders which did not unambiguously show V2 order, notably XSVO orders where X could have been a topic or an adverb. Moreover, this new situation probably arose due to the development of subject clitics in Middle French²⁰. The occurrence of the new word order destabilised the system in such a way that the learners did not have enough unambiguous evidence for V2 anymore (by about 1500 the parameter for nominative Case–assignment under government became impossible). Clark & Roberts suggest that the loss of nominative Case–assignment under government entailed the loss of null subjects as well as the loss of V2 orders and simple inversion.

There is a parallel here to the loss of V2 in the history of English. It could be assumed that the loss of this construction entailed the loss of the so called "impersonal constructions" in English with dative subjects as in "me thinks" (see above). As in French, the rise of subject clitics could have contributed to these changes because new ambiguous orders were introduced into the language. This means that, on the one hand, the learners now had evidence for XSVO orders if they did not recognise the clitic status of the subject as such but, on the other hand, the occurrence of these orders could just have reduced the amount of evidence for inversion in such a way that it was below the threshold which guarantees the acquisition of V2. In the second case, some of the learners acquired the V2 grammar and some of them acquired the non–V2 grammar.

²⁰ Clark & Roberts argue that parameter values can be affected by nonsyntactic factors, e.g., phonological changes, and this is what happened when the value for the parameter "clitic nominative pronouns" was set to 1.

As mentioned above, according to Clark & Roberts Old French allowed nominative Case–assignment under government. They give five parameters which are relevant to their account of the development of French. These are given below (Clark & Roberts 1993: 322):

- (21) a. Nominative Case is assigned (by I°) under agreement.
 {1,0}
 b. Nominative Case is assigned (by I°) under government.
 {1,0}
 c. Clitic nominative pronouns.
 {1,0}
 d. Null subjects licensed canonically (Case–dependently).
 {1,0}
 e. Obligatory V–movement to C° in matrix declaratives (V2).
 {1,0}

For Old French, the following parameter values were set:

- (22) The target string for Old French is 11011.

Nominative Case–assignment was possible both under agreement and under government; null subjects were possible; V2 was obligatory in matrix declaratives.

Clark & Roberts note, however, that the evidence for V2 was relatively weak in Old French, because there were other patterns which confused the picture. First, as Old French partially was a pro–drop language, many sentences were structurally ambiguous, i.e., they could be interpreted as being V2 ((24)a.) or being non–V2 ((24)b.) simultaneously. This is illustrated by the following example:

- (23) XV(S)O

Si **firent** grant joie la nuit.
 So (they) **made** great joy the night.
 "So they made great joy at night."
 (Clark & Roberts 1993: 328)

- (24) a. [CP Si [C° firent_i] [IP pro t_i grant joie la nuit]]
 b. [IP Si [IP pro firent grant joie la nuit]]

In their model, there are two possibilities to encode this order: either the string is [* 1 * 11] or the string is [1 * * 1 0]²¹. Second, more than a third of the sentences in the Old French

²¹ Clark & Roberts refer to these sequences of parameter values as p–encodings. They define it as a "pure" representation of the parameters expressed by the sentence. The asterik is used as a variable to range over 0

corpus show the subject clause—initially as in (25):

(25) SVO

Aucassins **ala** par le forest.
Aucassin **went** through the forest.
 "Aucassin walked through the forest."
 (Clark & Roberts 1993: 327)

Again, examples like this were consistent with both a V2 analysis and a non-V2 analysis:

- (26) a. [CP Aucassins_i [C° ala_j] [IP t_i t_j par le forest]]
 b. [IP Aucassins ala par le forest]

In the framework of Clark & Roberts' analysis the word order in (25) can be encoded either as [* 1 * * 1] or as [1 * * * 0]. Thus, sentences like the one in (23) and (25) did not give clear and unambiguous evidence that the language was V2 as these orders could also have been interpreted as occurring in non-V2 languages. Only sentences with overt subjects and non-subjects topics provided the learner with clear evidence that their language is V2. Example (27) with subject–verb inversion illustrates these cases:

(27) XVS

(Et) lors **demande** *Galaad* ses armes.
 (and) then **requests** *Galahad* his weapons.
 "And then Galahad asks for his weapons."
 (Clark & Roberts 1993: 327)

Clark & Roberts note that this example unambiguously triggers nominative Case–assignment under government and V2. The word order XVS has the following encoding:

- (28) XVS p–encodes [* 1 * * 1]

Nominative Case is assigned under government, and V2 is obligatory in matrix declaratives.

Thus, sentences like (27) express the parameter, and in Old French there was enough evidence for the V2 parameter, i.e., the pattern occurred frequently enough to be acquired by the language learner (according to Roberts, 1992, (X)VS = 58 %, SV(X) = 34 %) although

and 1, so a set of strings {00001, 10001, 00011, 10011} with the same values for some parameters can be represented with the following string {*00*1}.

there were, as we have just seen, many cases which did not unambiguously express the V2 parameter.

As mentioned above, in Middle French a number of patterns came up which seem to reflect the beginning of the loss of V2. Thus, Middle French allowed XSV word orders which were not allowed in Old French. Example (29) illustrates this:

- (29) Lors *la royne* **fist** Saintré appeller.
 Then *the queen* **had** Saintré called.
 "Then the queen had called Saintré."
 (Clark & Roberts 1993: 333)

One pattern which also began to increase was Left–Dislocation with a resumptive pronoun (Priestley 1955, Kroch 1989). In example (30) below, the initial constituent *Les autres arts et sciences* "the other arts and sciences" binds the resumptive pronoun *les* "them" and is adjoined to CP, which makes the finite verb *honoroit* "honoured" appear in fourth position:

- (30) Les autres arts et sciences, Alexandre les **honoroit** bien.
 The other arts and sciences Alexander them **honoured** well.
 "The other arts and sciences, Alexander honoured (them) well."
 (Clark & Roberts 1993: 335)

At first sight, it seems clear that this sentence is not consistent with the V2 parameter as the fronting of the direct object occurs without subject–verb inversion. Clark & Roberts note, however, that the example in (30) could in fact be consistent with the V2 parameter because the object pronoun has a clitic–like character and therefore does not count for position. It is assumed that it attaches to the finite verb just as it does in all the other V2 Romance dialects. This is illustrated in the example below:

- (31) Toutes ces choses *te* **presta** Nostre Sires.
 All these things *to–you* **lent** our Lord.
 "All of these things our Lord lent to you."
 (Clark & Roberts 1993: 330)

In (31) the direct object *Toutes ces choses* "All of these things" has been topicalised and the finite verb *presta* "lent" inverts with the subject as is expected in the presence of a preverbal clitic pronoun (*te* "to–you"). Moreover, the left–dislocated element in (30) is adjoined to CP and belongs to a separate intonation phrase. Therefore, it does not count either for position. In Old French, Left–Dislocation appears infrequently, but in Middle French its frequency starts

to increase. Because of these developments the evidence for V2 was further obscured, which resulted in an instability of the V2 parameter. Clark & Roberts note that since the data was structurally ambiguous other factors of the fitness metric²² came into play. They claim that learners follow the Least Effort Strategy in that they try to assign the simplest possible parse to the input string. This means that the learners of Middle French would choose the parse which represents the finite verb as being moved only to I° because it is less costly than a parse which represents the finite verb as being moved to C°.

Clark & Roberts note that there was another change which may have contributed to the reduction of V2 evidence for learners of French, namely the cliticisation of pronominal subjects (see above). In Old French, pronominal subjects did not have the status of clitics, but by Middle French they had turned into clitics. Therefore, it seems that the development of XSV orders is related to the change in status of pronominal subjects. Adams (1987) points out that the first obvious exceptions to V2 order were cases with pronominal subjects, i.e., clauses which exhibited the order XP – subject clitic – V. Such clauses could still have been consistent with V2 order, but they could not have expressed the V2 parameter just like the clauses with left–dislocation. Thus, both these developments could have further reduced the evidence for V2 which then became too weak for learners to deduce V2 order. According to Clark & Roberts, the reason why learners abandoned the V2 analysis was due to a combination of two factors: 1) the order XP – subject clitic – V was interpreted by the learners as exceptions to V2 rather than as consistent with it. This interpretation would have arisen because the clitic status of pronominal subjects is not as clear as the status of pronominal objects. Once this interpretation arose, the learners were confronted with two inconsistent parameter settings for their language; 2) In such a situation, learners would have opted for the structure with the simpler representation.

With respect to the parallel situation in English mentioned above, however, the situation could be interpreted differently. As noted in 1), the rise of subject clitics would have had the same effects in English as in French, namely that XSVO orders could have been interpreted as deviating from the V2 pattern rather than consistent with it if the learners did not appreciate the cliticlike status of these subjects. Once the evidence for V2 was reduced the learners could not acquire the V2 grammar as clearly as before because the V2 parameter had become unstable. This would have led to the situation where those learners who did not have

²² Other factors of the fitness metric are according to Clark & Roberts the Subset Condition proposed by Berwick (1985) which states that the learner must guess the smallest possible language which is compatible with the input at each step of the learning procedure. Another factor is the factor of "elegance" according to which the learner will always tend to prefer the simplest syntactic analysis of a clause (see above).

enough evidence for V2 anymore acquired a non-V2 grammar, but those who still had enough evidence for V2 because they accepted the cliticlike status of subjects could still acquire a V2 grammar.

Clark & Roberts argue that innovations in a language may arise from one of two sources: they can happen either internally which means that a parametric change can make new constructions available or it can happen externally when phonological or morphological changes weaken the positive evidence for certain hypotheses. It should be pointed out that Clark & Roberts define external change as a change which happens outside syntax but still inside language, i.e., their interpretation of the term "external" is different from the term used in "external mechanisms" like language contact which were discussed above. However, they note that

As in the biological world, successful propagation depends as much on the external environment as on internal properties, so that little can be predicted purely on the basis of internal structural criteria (Clark & Roberts 1993: 341)

In the next section, another model of learnability will be discussed: Lightfoot's model of cue-based language acquisition.

3.3.2 Cue-based language acquisition (Lightfoot 1979, 1991, 1999)

Before we discuss Lightfoot's cue-based theory, other models of learnability will be briefly mentioned in order to show that there are different kinds of analyses which have been around for some time. First, there are learnability models which can be called (pure²³) input-matching models, because these models claim that learners eventually match their input which implies that they select grammars which generate the sentences of the input they get. One such analysis is Gibson & Wexler's (1994) model of learnability. They posit what they call a Triggered Learning Algorithm (TLA) under which children learning a grammar take the grammar to analyse their input (the sentences they hear) until they converge on the grammar of their parents. If the language learner cannot analyse a sentence with their grammar, they start to change the parameter settings of their grammar and try to analyse the sentence again with the new parameter setting. If the sentence can be analysed now, the new value of the parameter is adopted. Lightfoot notes that an analysis like Gibson & Wexler's is error-driven, because it permits the learner to pinpoint parameter settings which are incorrect, i.e., with which the given sentences cannot be analysed. Lightfoot (1999) notes that models like these can explain change evoked by population movement. The learner is exposed to

23 A pure input-matching model is the one proposed by MacWhinney and Bates (1990).

input which is yielded by diverse grammars. The learner chooses the grammar which best generates the sentences of the input. During language change, the chosen grammar of the learners can be quite different from the grammar of their previous generation but it is the one grammar which analyses the input most successfully. Thus, language change is explained by the learner's effort to match the input sentences as closely as possible. Lightfoot points out, however, that the learner does not always match the input at any stage of her development. There are situations where language learners are exposed to unusual amounts of degenerate or artificial data which are not matched. According to Lightfoot, these kinds of theories cannot account for the development of creole languages because early creole speakers do not match their input. On the contrary, those speakers which are exposed to pidgin data go way beyond their input and finally come up with a grammar which is very different from the grammar of the input.

Lightfoot claims that learners do not pay attention to all the features of a language they are acquiring but rather to a set of abstract structures, which he calls cues. Moreover, in opposition to standard models of language acquisition, he assumes that learners are only sensitive to the structure of root clauses, this is what he calls "degree 0 learnability". On the grounds of these assumptions, he analyses the word order change from OV to VO in the history of English. By following the standard view, Lightfoot assumes that Old English had underlying verb-final phrase structure. Although embedded clauses represent the clearest evidence for this underlying word order, Lightfoot claims that learners do not have access to this information (embedded clauses are "degree 1" clauses in his terminology). Therefore, they must have set the parameter on the basis of the information they get from main clause structures which he calls "degree 0" clauses. He further assumes that the clearest evidence for underlying verb-final order they get from main clauses with verb-final order, which were to be found in Old English (unlike Modern German or Dutch where the finite verb has to move to the second position), and the position of separable prefixes which were stranded when the finite verb moved leftward to I° or C° , as it generally did in main clauses. Examples (32) and (33) illustrate these cases:

- (32) He Gode **pancode**.
He God **thanked**.
(Lightfoot 1991: 63)

- (33) Pa **sticode** him mon þa eagon **ut**.
Then **stuck** him someone the eyes **out**.
(Lightfoot 1991: 61)

Over time, these instances of evidence for underlying OV order declined in frequency until, by the end of the Old English period (the 12th century), they were not frequent enough any more to be robust evidence for the learner to recognise that their language was OV in the base. As the finite verb occurred in medial position now very frequently, the learners reanalysed the "old" OV order in accordance with that "new" order. The fact that embedded clauses were still verb-final at that time, Lightfoot takes as evidence for his "degree 0 learnability" model, because he claims that if children had had access to these data they would not have reanalysed verb-final main clauses. As main clauses had become nearly categorically verb-medial by the time of reanalysis, the question is, however, what evidence there is that any such reorganisation should have taken place. Lightfoot claims that there was a catastrophic decline in the frequency of verb-final embedded clauses between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century. He notes that clear evidence for this development is found in the Peterborough Chronicle where the frequency of verb-final embedded clauses drops from more than 50 % to less than 10 %. This seems to be strong confirmation for his hypothesis that learners set grammatical parameters on the basis of main clause word order and that verb-final embedded clauses shift suddenly at the point of reanalysis. Kroch (1999) points out, however, that significant linguistic and sociolinguistic objections can be raised against Lightfoot's analysis. First, Pintzuk (1991) has shown that the gradual rise of Infl-medial word order in Old English does not only occur in main clauses (as Lightfoot claims) but also in embedded clauses, and moreover, that the rate of increase is the same in the two contexts. Kroch notes that this is an instance of the Constant Rate Effect (Kroch 1989 and section 3.5) which seems to hold in cases of grammar competition. Pintzuk has also shown that in Old English both OV and VO order occurred (see chapter 4), and that VO order was not a surface word order pattern created by leftward verb movement from underlying OV order but even more so an independent parametric option. If we take Pintzuk's analysis to be correct, Lightfoot's analysis of the data in the Peterborough Chronicle becomes suspect. Kroch claims that there is in fact evidence that the catastrophic change is a sociolinguistic rather than a grammatical phenomenon. The Peterborough Chronicle is part of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle which was written up to 1121. Up to that point, it was written in the same hand, and copied in the West Saxon English orthography, and it shows the predominantly verb-final word order which is also found in other documents. There are two continuations of the manuscript, however, the first one probably written down from 1122 to 1131, and the second from 1132 to 1154. The importance of the continuations is that the language is not the West Saxon Old English any more. It is striking that the handwriting of

the first continuation changes as does the quality of the language, and that this happens just at the point of time when Lightfoot claims that a reanalysis had taken place. It is clear from the spelling and morphology that the new scribe no longer wrote in Old English which seems to be plausible, keeping in mind that more than fifty years had now passed since the Norman Conquest, which destroyed the Old English literary culture. The scribe who continued to write the Chronicle in 1122 was certainly writing in a different language than the scribe before him. Since the literary standard of Old English was lost, the scribe seems to have been using a language closer to his vernacular, and therefore, the catastrophic change Lightfoot observed is not due to an internal reanalysis but simply reflects a dialect difference between the established literary standard of the old scribe (which, by 1100, must have differed from his own spoken vernacular) and the writing of the new scribe based on his own spoken vernacular. Therefore, the language of the new scribe appears to be more innovative than the written standard. Kroch claims that under those considerations the jump in frequency of verb-medial order can be explained.

To account for the existence of creole-like languages, Lightfoot proposes a cue-based model of language acquisition which claims that learners scan their environment for designated structures, so called "cues", and that the learners are not influenced by the set of sentences generated by their grammars. Further he claims that there are no independent parameters but rather cues, some of which may occur in all grammars and some of which are only found in certain grammars. Lightfoot adopts Dresher and Kaye's (1990) cue-based theory of acquisition which says that Universal Grammar specifies not only a set of parameters, but for each parameter a cue. He further amends their theory by assuming that cues which are realised only in certain grammars constitute the parameters of UG. As a consequence, variation between grammars (languages) is due to the presence/absence of these cues. For Lightfoot a cue is

some kind of structure, an element of grammar, which is derived from the input. The cues are to be found in the mental representations which result from hearing, understanding, and "parsing" utterances. As a child understands an utterance, even partially, he or she has some kind of mental representation of the utterance. These are partial parses, which may differ from the full parses that an adult has. The learner scans those representations, derived from the input, and seeks the designated cues. (Lightfoot 1999: 149)

Lightfoot assumes that the language learner scans the linguistic environment for cues only in simple syntactic domains. The difference between Lightfoot's analysis and the input-

matching theories discussed above is, according to Lightfoot, that the learner does not try to match the input. Rather, they look for certain kinds of structures in the input by scanning only simple structures like matrix clauses. Lightfoot further assumes that the output of the grammar is only a by-product of the search for cues by the language learners, and the success of the grammar is not based on the set of sentences which it generates. Evidence for this assumption are the environments where e.g. creole languages arise, because this shows that learners can arrive at grammars which generate data quite differently from grammars of an earlier generation. Lightfoot points out that the triggering experience of a language learner is best viewed then as "a set of abstract structures manifested in the mental representations which result from parsing utterances" (Lightfoot 1999: 149). Some of these representations are partial parses which lack some of the information of adult parses. In order to be able to analyse syntactic structure (to find the cues), the learner must have some knowledge about language (what is a specifier, a complement, etc.). Then the learner who sets the parameter "(specifier precedes/follows its head)" to the value "specifier precedes its head" not only has to be exposed to data which includes structures where specifiers precede its heads, e.g., sentences which include phrases like "John's hat" but he must also know that *hat* is a head noun etc. Lightfoot claims that in this way "the order in which parameters appear to be set, the "learning path" (Lightfoot 1989), reflects dependencies among cues and follows from their internal architecture" (Lightfoot 1999: 150). In the following, we will see how Lightfoot's cue-based analysis accounts for the loss of V2 in the history of English.

In a V2 language like German, the finite verb always appears in second position in matrix clauses. This is illustrated by the examples below:

- (34) a. [DP **Wir**] _vtrafen viele Studenten in Stuttgart.
We met many students in Stuttgart.
- b. [DP **Viele Studenten**] _vtrafen wir in Stuttgart.
Many students met we in Stuttgart.
- c. [PP **In Stuttgart**] _vtrafen wir viele Studenten.
In Stuttgart met we many students.
- d. [ADVP **Oft**] _vtrafen wir viele Studenten in Stuttgart.
Oft met we many students in Stuttgart.

The examples in (34) illustrate that any phrasal category can precede the finite verb *trafen* "met": in a. it is the subject DP *wir* "we", in b. it is the object DP *viele Studenten* "many students", in c. the PP *in Stuttgart* "in Stuttgart" precedes the finite verb and in d. it is the

adverbial phrase *oft* "often" which occupies the position preceding the finite verb. V2 languages like German and Dutch show an asymmetry with respect to the position of the finite verb: whereas it has to be in second position in matrix clauses, it appears in sentence-final position in embedded clauses:

- (35) ...daß wir viele Studenten in Stuttgart **trafen**.
 ...that we many students in Stuttgart **met**.

V2 languages are standardly analysed as is illustrated in (36):

- (36) [CP Spec C° [IP Spec [VP [... V° ...] I°

According to den Besten (1983) the finite verb moves to I° and then to C° whereas some phrasal category moves to the specifier of CP. That may be, as demonstrated in (34), any XP.

Lightfoot claims that this analysis is problematic because it 1) does not explain the relation between the movement of an XP to the specifier position of CP and V°-to-I°-to-C° movement of the finite verb and 2) it does also not explain why the finite verb always has to appear in second position (obligatory movement of the finite verb to C°). Lightfoot argues that there is negative evidence for the obligatoriness of the V2 phenomenon, i.e., that it will lead to ungrammatical structures if some XP moves to the specifier of CP but the finite verb does not move to V°:

- (37) * In Stuttgart wir **trafen** viele Studenten.
 In Stuttgart we **met** many students.

The question is now how the learner of a V2 language learns that the finite verb always has to be in second position when the specifier of CP is filled with an XP. Lightfoot claims that the learner associates Spec,IP with subjecthood and therefore abduces that the XP has to be in the specifier of some functional category above I° (in Spec,CP). Further, Lightfoot argues that there has to be some additional condition which says that the XP in Spec,CP has to be licensed by a lexically filled C°. This implies that V°-to-I°-to-C° movement is required by Universal Grammar when a language has movement to Spec,CP. By following Uriagereka (1988) and Rizzi (1990) the only head which is able to move to C° (because if a lexically filled C° governs IP then IP cannot be a barrier to extraction) is the finite verb, which moves through I° and picks up finiteness features. In this way, the relation between the XP-to-Spec movement and the V°-to-I°-to-C° movement is accounted for. According to Lightfoot,

what the learner of a V2 language learns then is that utterances begin with an arbitrary XP. The rest of the information the learner gets from UG. Therefore, Lightfoot claims that the cue for these learners is the abstract structure shown in (38):

(38) [Spec,CP XP]

V2 languages differ from non-V2 languages in that the finite verb always has to follow the initial element in Spec,CP. In languages like French or English, the topics also occur in a fronted position but are not followed by the finite verb, and therefore they cannot be in Spec,CP. Lightfoot notes that according to a statistical count for V2 languages the subject occurs about 70 % of the time in Spec,CP. Thus, he concludes that it must be the 30 % with non-subjects in initial position which are the trigger for the children to postulate that the XP in initial position has to be in Spec,CP and not in the specifier of some lower functional projection. Lightfoot points out that the cue for the V2 learners must be attested robustly in the primary linguistic data. The expression of the cue then are those utterances which have to be analysed as [Spec,CP XP] (the 30 % noted above).

Lightfoot claims that with his cue-based account he can explain the loss of V2 in the history of English. Although by following Kroch & Taylor (1997), he assumes that there are two dialects in Middle English he analyses the grammar of these dialects differently: According to Lightfoot there is a Northern dialect which has a Scandinavian-based V2 grammar, and second there is a Southern dialect which neither has V° -to- I° -to- C° movement nor the V2 phenomenon²⁴. If we further assume according to Kroch & Taylor and Pintzuk (1991) that in Middle English there was variation between Infl-medial and Infl-final phrase structure as well as variation between verb-initial and verb-final phrase structure there were four possible structures²⁵ which could appear (plus the possibility of V° -to- I° -to- C° movement in the Northern dialect) although the structure in c. is not possible²⁶:

(39) a. [CP Spec,CP C° [IP Spec,IP I° [VP V° DP]]]

... he uuolde underþeden ðat mynstre to Clunie.
 ... he wanted-to subject that minstre to Clunie²⁷.

24 Kroch & Taylor claim that the southern Grammar is V2 of the Old English type. They call it IP-V2 grammar (see the discussion of their analysis in chapter 6, section 6.4).

25 The original clause has the order shown in b. and was manipulated to show the four possible structures. The example is taken from CMPETERB, 54.371.

26 The structure with the order O – V° – I° cannot be found in any language. The reasons for this are not clear.

27 Note that "that minstre to Clunie" is a DP meaning "the minstre of Clunie."

b. [CP Spec,CP C° [IP Spec,IP I° [VP DP V°]]]

... he uuolde ðat mynstre to Clunie underþeden.

c. [CP Spec,CP C° [IP Spec,IP [VP V° DP] I°]]

... he underþeden ðat mynstre to Clunie uuolde.

d. [CP Spec,CP C° [IP Spec,IP [VP DP V°] I°]]

... he ðat mynstre to Clunie underþeden uuolde.

Lightfoot notes that a grammar with Infl–medial phrase structure and verb–initial phrase structure generates structures where the subject appears in sentence–initial position with the finite verb following it (these structures are ambiguous because it could either be verb movement to C° or the verb could have stayed in its base position), but not sentences like those in (34) where an XP precedes the finite verb. If we follow Kroch & Taylor’s analysis, then we have to assume that there were two coexisting grammars: one which showed the V2 phenomenon, and one which did not show the V2 phenomenon (according to Lightfoot). He claims that the grammar which was V2 ceased to be attained and finally died out for the following reason: When learners from the North mingled with Southerners they would have heard not many sentences where the initial elements were non–subjects followed by the finite verb. The speakers from the South mainly produced sentences where the subject preceded the finite verb, and thus the input could not trigger a V2 grammar (the threshold must have been lower than 30 %). Moreover, the language learners from the North also would have heard verb–third sentences, because Southern speakers treated subject pronouns as clitics (pattern from Old English), whereas according to Kroch & Taylor the speakers from the North did not treat subject pronouns as clitics. Therefore, Southern sentences of the Old English type like (40) would not have been consistent with Northern sentences of the Scandinavian type and could not have been analysed as the structure [Spec,CP XP] which would result in V2 patterns:

- (40) Perne uridom he halt of god zuo uriliche þet non ne may him do wrang.
 freedom he held of God so freely that non ne may him do wrong.
 (CMAYENBI,86.1672)

Lightfoot points out that there is another development in the history of English which catalysed the loss of V2, namely the fact that V°–to–I° movement of the finite verb was lost. This means that finite verbs could not move out of the VP any more, and thus they could not

move to C° . Consequently, XPs could not occur in Spec,CP anymore because they were only licensed by filled lexical C° . Then sentences like those in (34) which presented the trigger for V2 could not be generated. According to Lightfoot, this development further lowered the occurrence of sentences with initial non-subjects, i.e., that there was no clear manifestation of V2 available for the learner anymore. Lightfoot claims that an input-matching model could not explain at all why the Northern V2 grammar was lost whereas his cue-based model can do so, as we have just seen.

What this development also implies is, that the trigger experience of the Northern learners was different from the trigger experience of their parents and ancestors. This means that, due to a contact situation with the Southern speakers, the primary linguistic data of the Northern learners changed critically, and as a result, they came up with a completely different grammar.

Roberts & Roussou (to appear) argue that Lightfoot's approach lacks a crucial distinction between the notion of cues and the notion of parameters. Cues are fragments of the trigger experience a learner is exposed to, so sequences such as XP-Vfinite are cues for V2. Parameters, on the other hand, are abstract properties of grammars, they are according to Chomsky (1981, 1986, 1995) "features of part of an individual's mental representation (his/her I-language)" (Chomsky 1995: 6) and thus different from cues. They further note that if there is no independent definition of cues, there is no way of specifying the class of possible parameters and hence there is also no way to define the range along which languages differ. Thus one of the weaknesses that Lightfoot's theory suffers from is that he does not make clear that cues and parameters are two different things. The "mixing up" of these two notions further leads to the problem that Lightfoot's approach is not constrained enough, i.e., if there is no clear definition of cues then it is not possible to define parameters, and thus the factors which makes languages different. Another weakness of Lightfoot's theory is that V° -to- I° -to- C° movement is taken to be dependent on the occurrence of the V2 phenomenon in a language. This cannot be correct for mainly two reasons: First, there is evidence in the history of English that the V2 pattern was lost before the movement of the verb to I° was lost. Data shows that V2 was lost at about 1400 (van Kemenade 1987: 219) whereas verb movement to I° was lost about 200 years later. Second, the Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages exhibit the V2 phenomenon although there is clear evidence that they do not allow V° -to- I° movement. Vikner (1995) shows that in these languages V° -to- I° movement cannot take place because the finite verb always follows a medial adverbial or a negation. He further shows that V° -to- I° movement only takes place when it is part of V2. Because of

these weaknesses Lightfoot's theory has, it does not really serve to clearly explain the relation between syntactic change and language acquisition. We have seen that Clark & Roberts' model of learnability does not have weaknesses of this kind, on the contrary, the model clearly and plausibly defines the factors that play a role during language acquisition and therefore serves better to explain the relation between syntactic change and language acquisition.

In the following section, we will discuss another way of explaining the loss of V2 in the history of English to show that there are instances of syntactic change where Language Contact as a mechanism of syntactic change has to be taken into consideration. We will follow Kroch, Taylor & Ringe (1997) and Kroch & Taylor (1997) who give evidence that this syntactic change is due to Language Contact.

3.4 Syntactic Change and Language Contact

As noted above, the loss of V2 in the history of English is a case of language change where Language Contact seems to have played an important role. By following Kroch & Taylor (1997), Lightfoot accounted for the loss of V2 with his cue-based acquisition analysis by assuming that in Middle English there were two dialects with two different grammars, a V2 grammar and a non-V2 grammar. He claimed that at one point the speakers with the V2 grammars did not find enough evidence (cues) in their input to deduce a V2 grammar anymore due to the contact with speakers of a dialect which did not exhibit the (Scandinavian-type) V2 phenomenon (see section 3.3.2). Kroch, Taylor & Ringe (1997) and Kroch & Taylor (1997) explain the loss of V2 differently as they do not assume cue-based language acquisition.

Kroch & Taylor (1997) found evidence that in Middle English the Northern and Southern dialects differed significantly in their verb-movement syntax. They claim that the Northern dialect of Middle English shows the CP-V2 grammar because it reflects contact with Scandinavian whereas the Southern dialect shows the IP-V2 grammar and thus seems to preserve the V2 syntax of Old English. They further note that the best evidence for this dialectal difference can be seen in the word order in clauses with pronominal subjects. The Southern dialect with the IP-V2 grammar exhibits a peculiarity found in Old English, namely that topicalised clauses with a full subject DP show the order XP-Vfin-S, whereas topicalised clauses with a pronominal subject show the order XP-Spron-Vfin. This is illustrated below:

XP–Vfin–S order:

- (41) ... & of heom twam **is** *eall manncynn* cumen.
 ... and of them two **is** *all mankind* come
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 302)

XP–Spron–Vfin order:

- (42) Æfter his gebede *he* **ahof** þæt cild **up**...
 After his prayer *he* **lifted** the child **up**...
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 302)

This difference can also be found in the Southern and Midlands dialect of Middle English as illustrated by the examples below:

- (43) To zuich ende, **let** *sleaube* þane man.
 To such end **led** sloth that man.
 (CMAYENBI,34.575)
- (44) Efter uirtues, an charites, *he* **yefþ** zoþe prouesse.
 After virtues and charities *he* **gives** real prowess.
 (CMAYENBI,83.1612)

Kroch & Taylor claim that the Northern dialect behaved differently in this respect because it showed subject–verb inversion with pronominal subjects as well as with full subject DPs. The following examples from the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* illustrate this:

- (45) In þis sentence **spekis** *sain benet* of obedience, what it is at saie.
 In this sentence **speaks** *St. Benet* of obedience, what it is to say.
 (CMBENRUL,9.308)
- (46) Ofte **speke** *þai* wrang.
 Often **speak** *they* wrang.
 (CMBENRUL,14.508)

The differences between the Southern and Northern dialects as shown above becomes even more clear if we have a look at Table 1 which shows the frequency of clauses with the order X–Vfin–S with topicalised direct objects and full subject DPs and pronominal subjects respectively:

Dialect	full DP subjects			pronominal subjects		
	Number inverted	Number uninverted	% inverted	Number inverted	Number uninverted	% inverted
Midlands	50	4	93	4	84	5
North	7	0	100	58	3	95

Table 1: NP–V_{fin}–S vs. NP–S–V_{fin} word order with full subject DPs and pronominal subjects (from Kroch 1999: 25)

Table 1 shows that 95 % of all pronominal subjects in the Northern dialects are inverted whereas only 5 % of pronominal subjects in Midlands dialects show inversion with the finite verb. Therefore, it seems that the Northern dialects do have a different grammar from Southern dialects. Kroch & Taylor claim that the North and the Northeast Midlands are the areas of greatest Scandinavian settlement and linguistic influence and, consequently, the history of the V2 pattern of the Southern dialects is different from the history in the North. They assume that

...the northern dialect of English most likely became a CP–V2 language under the extensive contact it had with medieval Scandinavian, contact that resulted from the Danish and Norwegian population influx into the North of England during the late Old English period. (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 298)

If the sociolinguistic history of population contact and diffusion is taken into consideration, such an analysis seems to be likely to be correct. During the Old English period Scandinavians started to invade the British Isles (mainly Danes and Norwegians). They mainly settled down in the Northeast of England and formed a majority of the population in many places as the density of Anglo–Saxon settlement was low there. The linguistic effect of the mixing between the two cultures and languages was extensive which is evident from the amount of borrowing from Scandinavian into the English language. As shown in chapter 2, many vocabulary items were borrowed into Northern English, for example, Scandinavian *egg* "egg" for Old English *ey*, and so forth. But it was not only open–class items which were borrowed but also closed–class items like the third person plural pronouns *they*, *their* and *them*, which gradually spread into other dialects. Another important effect of Scandinavian contact on Northern English was the reduction of the number of distinct person/number agreement endings on the finite verb. Here we find in the present tense in all persons and numbers but the first singular (which had *–e*) the ending *–(e)s* which

correspond to the Modern Scandinavian *-er* endings²⁸. This represents a simplification as opposed to the Old English and Southern Middle English system which shows *-e*, *-(e)s(t)*, *-(e)th* in the three persons of the singular and *-(a)th* in all persons of the plural. According to Kroch & Taylor this simplification is the result of imperfect second-language learning of English by the Scandinavian invaders. As the Scandinavian speakers comprised a large fraction of the population in the North, they passed on their mixed language to following generations, a phenomenon which is traditionally known as substratum influence. One feature of imperfect learning is the imperfect acquisition of inflectional endings and, as Kroch & Taylor note, the reduction of inflectional endings in Northern Middle English dialects seems to have originated in this way.

As concerns the loss of V2, there is evidence that by the fourteenth century the V2 property is clearly being lost (van Kemenade, 1987; Kroch & Taylor, 1997). They point out that the loss of V2 is most advanced in the Northern texts from areas in contact with the Midlands which seems to be puzzling first as the Northern texts had a simpler V2-grammar than Southern texts. Kroch & Taylor claim that this is due to the nature of the contact situation between the two dialects. They propose that the change could have happened in the following way: At the dialect boundary, (adult) speakers from the Northern speech community (who had CP-V2 grammars) came into contact with speakers of the Southern speech community whose V2 pattern would have seemed variable to them. They would have analysed topicalised clauses with the order X – V_{fin} – full subject DP as evidence for "their" CP-V2 grammar because this is the analysis they would give to the same clauses in their own dialect. The Northern speakers would have also heard V3 clauses, i.e., clauses with the order X – pron.subject – V_{fin}, and they would have interpreted these as violations of the V2 constraint because in their grammar there is no distinction between full subject DPs and pronominal subjects. From this data, they would have got the impression that the Southern speakers were speaking a mixed language, which includes a V2 grammar and a non-V2 grammar. Kroch & Taylor note that if the Northern speakers accommodated to the language of their interlocutors in the usual way, they would have produced some non-V2 clauses, but both with pronominal subjects and full subject DPs. As a consequence, learners of the Northern community would have had evidence for two grammars in competition, a V2 grammar and a non-V2 grammar. The speakers of the Southern speech community exposed to Northern speech would have been being motivated to produce V2 clauses as the language of Northern speakers would have presented much more evidence for V2 than their own

28 The alternation between the English *-(e)s* and the Scandinavian *-er* is due to Verner's Law.

language. Thus, they would have acquired to produce V2 clauses with subject pronouns and probably also V2 clauses where the verb would have moved higher not only to I° as in their grammar but also further up to C° as in the Scandinavian type of V2. From the discussion above, it becomes clear *how* the CP–V2 pattern came into the English language, namely through contact with Scandinavian. Kroch (1999) notes, however, that it is not entirely clear what exactly triggered the loss of the V2 pattern in English and it might be due "only to chance or the vicissitudes of social history that English today is not still V2" (Kroch 1999: 26).

Although it seems not to be clear why and how exactly V2 word order was lost in the history of English, there is significant evidence that the difference in V2 syntax between Northern dialects and Southern dialects is due to Scandinavian contact. Kroch & Taylor assume that the language of the North must have acquired its V2 property in the ninth or tenth century (or even earlier) because that was the time when the Anglo–Saxons and the Scandinavians came into contact and mingled with each other. Although there are almost no Old English texts from Northumbria from that time which could elucidate this development, two glosses²⁹ of the Latin Vulgate Bible, the Lindisfarne and the Rushworth glosses, seem to be informative with respect to the dating of the Northern V2 grammar. According to Kroch & Taylor there is one particular context in which the glossers had to make word order choices, and it is in this context that we find evidence for the existence of a CP–V2 grammar at an early date. The context in question are tensed clauses with a preposed clause–initial constituent and a pronominal subject (in chapter 6 cliticisation of subject pronouns will be discussed in detail). Because Latin belongs to the pro–drop languages but Old English does not, the scribes routinely added pronominal subjects in the gloss which were absent in the original. Kroch & Taylor point out that whereas most of the added pronominal subjects appear in the canonical position before the finite verb, there are a significant number of cases where the Latin word order places a constituent in clause–initial position, with the verb directly following it. These cases suggest to a Germanic speaker that the clause has to be interpreted as a topicalisation with V2 order. In such cases, the Northern glossers sometimes placed the pronominal subject after the finite verb. The example below illustrates the contrast between the pattern of the Northern glossers with the standard Old English pattern which is presented by the Early West Saxon translation of the gospels:

²⁹ they consist of interlinear Old English glosses which were added above a previously written Latin text. Both are dated around 950.

- (47) Latin: dominum deum tuum adorabis
 Lindisfarne: drihten god ðin **worða** ðu
 Rushworth: drihten god ðinne **wearða** ðu
 West Saxon: drihten þinne god ðu **geead–metst**
 Lord (your) God (your) (you) **will–worship** (you).
 "You will worship the Lord your God"
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 321)

Kroch & Taylor found that in about 20 % of the cases the pronominal subject inverts with the verb in the Northumbrian glosses whereas in the West Saxon text subject–verb inversion never occurs. With respect to dating the CP–V2 grammar, there is a hint in the glosses, namely variability in the verbal agreement endings. Alongside the Old English endings, there are also the later Northern Middle English endings to be found. In the Northumbrian texts which predate the Scandinavian invasion, on the other hand, no such deviations from the Old English endings are found. These observations clearly point to the period between the eighth and tenth centuries as the time of origin of the Northern Middle English endings and thus further support the assumption that it was Scandinavian contact which influenced their development. This implies that the Scandinavian CP–V2 grammar is old enough to have arisen out of the contact situation with the Scandinavians. Kroch & Taylor conclude that

the trigger for the change was the reduction of the relatively rich OE agreement system to one with almost no person distinctions, due to imperfect learning of OE by the large number of Scandinavian invaders and immigrants of the ninth century and later (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 322).

3.5 The spread of syntactic change

There has been a long debate among historical linguists as to whether syntactic change is gradual or abrupt. Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) make a distinction between innovation by an individual which is typically abrupt, and innovation in a speech community which is typically gradual and manifested by systematic variation. Under the assumption that parameter values can be set either to 0 or 1 by the language learner, it seems to be inevitable that change in an individual's language is abrupt. Lightfoot (1999) notes that

Grammars, then, are individual entities which exist in people and do not define languages as such. They exist in the minds of individual speakers, just as livers and brains exist in individual bodies. There is no such thing as "the grammar of English"; rather there are thousands of speakers, all of whom have internalized grammars, some differing from others. That set of grammars generates much of the recorded body of what we call English, and much more that goes unrecorded. (Lightfoot 1999: 79)

Languages of individuals, however, can undergo change, when the data they are exposed to changes from one generation to another. Child learners are never exposed to exactly the same primary linguistic data. Although they hear different things, most of the time they acquire the same structural system because grammars show structural stability and vary only in limited ways. This structural stability guarantees that speakers can communicate with each other. Sometimes changes in the primary linguistic data language learners are exposed to are so serious that the learners come up with a grammar different from that of the previous generation. If all the speakers of the "new" generation accept these innovations their grammars will undergo abrupt change. If this process is looked at from a diachronic point of view, syntactic change in a language appears to be gradual because it lies in the nature of language change that innovations spread gradually in a language. Thus, it is necessary to make a distinction between change in individual's grammars and change in a language. The former change is abrupt while the latter change is gradual. In the following example, this distinction will become clearer.

It is a well-known assumption that there was a word order change in the history of English which changed the underlying order object-verb to verb-object. Thus, speakers of Old English mainly had evidence that their language is underlyingly OV, i.e., in the grammars of the individual speakers the parameter was set accordingly. In Modern English, only underlying VO is possible, i.e., there must have been an abrupt change in the parameter setting of the head-complement parameter (at some point the value of the head-complement parameter must have been changed to VO). It is also well-known that Middle English is a transitional stage in the history of English as many changes took place during this period of time. At one point, the primary linguistic data of language learners of Middle English changed in that they now had enough evidence that their language must be underlyingly VO. On the other hand, they also had evidence that there is another grammar of Middle English which is underlyingly OV. So they had two grammars available, as speakers have in a bilingual language community. Lightfoot dubs the hypothesis of coexisting grammars (Santorini 1989, Pintzuk 1991, Kroch 1989) "internalised diglossia". At that point, there was

no need for them to decide on one of these parameter settings, because the primary linguistic data for both grammars must have been "in balance". Due to external factors like heavy Scandinavian influence, the primary linguistic data of the next generation(s) changed again, in that there was enough evidence for a VO grammar but not enough evidence for an OV grammar anymore, we could say that the "balance" could not be kept anymore. At that point of time, the evidence which expressed the OV parameter in Clark & Roberts' (1993) terms, was not robust enough to result in an OV grammar. On the other hand, evidence for the VO grammar was robust enough to keep the VO grammar, while the OV grammar vanished. Thus, "change proceeds via competition between grammatically incompatible options which substitute for one another in usage" (Kroch 1994: 180). If we adopt the notion that parameter values are set in accordance with robust evidence, and if we also adopt the idea that parameters can be binary, then the change from one parameter to the other is abrupt in the individual's grammar. If, however, the spread of a parameter change in a language is the focus of investigation, then this change is gradual.

There is evidence that the notion of coexisting grammars is justified, because it can be shown that the rate of change in different surface contexts which reflect a single underlying parameter change is the same. This is reflected in Kroch's (1989) Constant Rate Effect. It furthermore implies that in such an instance, usage frequencies change at the same rate, but not necessarily at the same time. This is a plausible assumption if it is taken that one grammar is replaced over time by another, and if that change is such that one grammar wins out over the other grammar. Consequently, there is no stabilisation of the variation between grammars and thus absolute optionality between grammars will not arise. The Constant Rate Effect will be illustrated below by Kroch's study (1989) of the rise of auxiliary *do* which is based on Ellegård's study (1953). Ellegård's study contains the following graph shown below which demonstrates the frequency of *do* + main verb against main verb alone (based on a sample of more than 10,000 tokens):

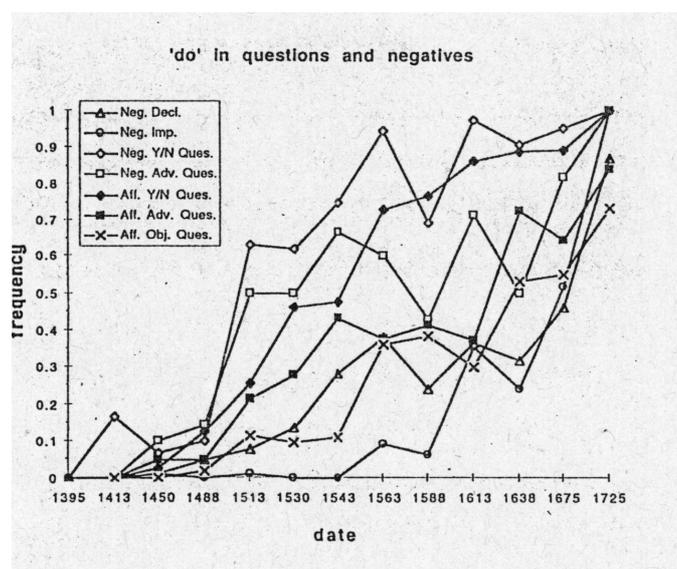


Figure 1: the rise of auxiliary *do* (from Ellegård 1953)

Kroch (1999) notes that other quantitative studies show similar S-curves of change (e.g. Chen, 1972). He further points out that before the rise of generative grammar, the gradualness of syntactic change was widely accepted. It was conceived as a slow drift in usage frequencies, which gradually led to the loss of some linguistic forms. New forms which either came into the language by borrowing or by innovation were taken to affect the language only marginally at the beginning and then, if adopted by the speech community, would spread and rise in frequency. Kroch notes that along with generative grammar the notion of gradual change became problematic because it is not concerned with how often forms are used but rather with what forms are grammatical. Moreover, frequencies in usage might reflect psycholinguistic processing effects or stylistic preferences, and thus had no place in grammatical theory. Kroch claims that more recently, however, the gradualness of syntactic change has become more and more important again. Roberts (1985) and Kroch (1989) argue that the rise of periphrastic *do* in the history of English is a reflection of the loss of the raising of the finite main verbs to Infl (V° -to- I° movement), a process which is obligatory in many European languages and which was also productive in Middle English. By the time the movement was lost, the association of tense with the finite verb was blocked in negative sentences as well as the movement of the finite verb to C° in questions. Instead the auxiliary *do*, which is semantically empty, was inserted in I° , where it supported tense and moved to C° like other auxiliaries when necessary. The analyses proposed for the rise of *do* generally assume that *do* is used only when V° -to- I° movement cannot apply. In languages with V° -

to-I° movement nothing like *do*-insertion occurs. Therefore, it is puzzling that the use of the auxiliary *do* should be variable over more than 300 years in the history of English. However, it becomes less surprising when the Constant Rate Effect is taken into consideration. Kroch notes that when the rate of change in the use of *do* is estimated for the S-shaped curves in Figure 1, it turns out that the value is the same for every curve. Moreover, the data Ellegård gives about the placement of the adverb *never* with respect to the finite verb shows according to Kroch (1989) that there is a close relationship between the rate of syntactic change across contexts and the underlying grammatical nature of the change. In a Middle English sentence with one verb, the adverb *never* canonically appeared in immediate postverbal position. This is illustrated below:

- (48) Quene Ester **looked** *never* with swich an eye.
(Kroch 1999: 29)

Example (48) implies movement of the finite verb *looked* to I° because the finite verb has moved to the left of the adverb *never* which is taken to be in the left periphery of VP. As already mentioned, in the history of English V°-to-I° movement was lost, so that the order *never*-finite verb is expected for Modern English. This is borne out as (49) a. and b. show:

- (49) a. Silke *never* **reads** this article.
b.*Silke **reads** *never* this article.

According to Kroch, Ellegård's data shows that the rate at which the adverb-verb order replaces the verb-adverb order is the same as the rate of increase in the use of auxiliary *do*, which supports the idea "that a single parametric change underlies all of the surface contexts and that its progression is observable in the way the usage frequencies change over time" (Kroch 1999: 30).

From what was said above it becomes clear that the Constant Rate Effect links parametric change to grammar competition but, as Kroch notes, it also introduces a quantitative element into the diachronic study of languages. He further claims that the notion of coexisting grammars of an individual must be accepted, because in all of the well-known studies what is found are different parameter settings within texts (individuals) and not only within the population. He further notes that individual speakers choose between the two available grammars at a characteristic average rate, and this rate seems to characterise entire speech communities and changes over time as one of the grammars drives the other one out of use.

One of the most central questions here is why syntactic diglossia is unstable, i.e., why does one grammar replace the other rather than stabilising into a system with an optional operation. Aronoff (1976) assumes that there is an economy restriction on lexical items which excludes morphological doublets, or more generally, any coexisting formatives which are not functionally differentiated. He called this restriction the "Blocking Effect". However, although doublets do not arise in general, they exist. Kroch (1994) argues that the "Blocking Effect" should be retained in its strongest form, and, as a consequence, doublets should be accounted for sociolinguistically, i.e., they arise through Language Contact and compete until one form finally wins out. With respect to the word order change from OV to VO this means according to Lightfoot (1999) that one form (VO order) will win out over time, because of the economy demands of the principle, which works against coexisting forms (OV and VO order) which are not functionally distinct. Lightfoot notes that

The Blocking Effect is inviolable in language acquisition by young children, but it can be overridden as individuals learn a variety of styles and dialects. Over the course of time, however, the economy restriction on acquisition wins out over socially induced variation, unless the doublets acquire different meanings. This means that one grammar spreads through the population, and diglossia, including internalised diglossia, is eliminated. We now have an explanation for the unusualness and instability of apparent optionality, and the explanation is based crucially on the existence of competing, coexisting grammars. (Lightfoot 1999: 101)

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have dealt with the phenomenon of syntactic change. The main goal of this chapter was to show that Language Contact plays an important role in explaining changes in languages. Although it is not always clear what kind of mechanisms played a role during a particular change in a particular language, there is clear evidence that there are changes in the history of English which are due to Language Contact, e.g., the development of V2 in the history of English: as discussed above, the study by Kroch & Taylor (1997) shows that there were two different V2 grammars during the Middle English period where the Scandinavian type V2-grammar gradually got lost. In the discussion, it also became clear that language change can only be explained if the mechanisms of language acquisition are considered. It was shown that Clark & Roberts' (1993) model of language learnability is the clearest account of how learners acquire a language by setting parameter values due to input which robustly expresses the parameters in question. The only point for criticism here is that the model does not take into account Language Contact as a mechanism of syntactic change

which it should, because then the model would become even more valuable. Lightfoot's cue-based analysis of acquisition resembles the model of Clark & Roberts in that it also assumes that the learner has to find partial structures, cues, which allow her to set parameter values correctly. The problem here is that the notion of cues is not clearly defined and not explicitly made distinct from the notion of parameter. The discussion in section 3.4 showed, however, that these models account rather well for the processes that must take place during language acquisition in the mind of language learners, if it is possible at all to grasp these highly complex processes. The studies by Kroch (1989, 1994, 1999) and Kroch & Taylor (1997) were discussed to show that there is a lot of evidence for the assumption that Language Contact does play a crucial role in syntactic change. We will see in this thesis that there is further evidence in Early Middle English texts that the change from OV to VO was due to Scandinavian influence. In the remaining chapters it will be shown that texts like the *Ormulum* exhibit Scandinavian characteristics like stylistic fronting and thus are much more Scandinavian than expected. Since especially texts from areas where Scandinavian settlement was dense show syntactic Scandinavian characteristics, the assumption that Language Contact can play a crucial role in syntactic change is supported.

CHAPTER 4: WORD ORDER CHANGE IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the word order change in Early Middle English. In the first part we will first have a look at the word order patterns found in Old English, in order to be able to compare them with the patterns found in Early Middle English. As will be shown below, Old English exhibits West Germanic phenomena like scrambling and verb raising. The task in this thesis is to show how the English language changed from Old English to Early Middle English in order to be able to account for the word order change from OV to VO. It will be assumed that the occurrence of VO word orders which gradually drives out OV word orders is due to Scandinavian influence. This assumption is based on the fact that between the eighth and the tenth Scandinavians invaded parts of Great Britain and gradually settled there. This caused an intense contact situation which is evident by non-syntactic evidence (many loan words) in Early Middle English texts written in these areas. It is well-known that Old Norse exhibited variation in the verb phrase but that VO word order was much more frequent than OV order. As the contact situation was intense it is likely that the VO pattern was taken over just as other syntactic operations like e.g. stylistic fronting as will be shown below. To give evidence for this assumption, I will first show what kinds of West Germanic phenomena are still found in Early Middle English texts before I deal with North Germanic (Scandinavian) phenomena also found in these texts. The fact that we Scandinavian characteristics can only be accounted for if we assume that Scandinavian influence on the English language was in fact stronger than suggested in former analyses.

There are two contrasting ways to analyse the word orders found in the verb phrase in Old English which will be discussed here: either the standard analysis where OV order is interpreted as the base-generated order, or the Kaynian assumption that the base order is uniformly VO and that OV has to be analysed as involving overt movement of the object. In the following sections we will see what kind of word order patterns are found in Old English and Early Middle English and we will see how these findings are analysed.

4.2 Word Order in Old English

According to the standard view of the development of the English language (Stockwell (1977), Canale (1978), Lightfoot (1979), Bean (1983), Mitchell (1985), van Kemenade (1987), Koopman (1985, 1990), Kiparsky (1990), Pintzuk (1991)) Old English showed the order object – verb in the base, like other attested West Germanic languages. As mentioned

above, it also showed phenomena like verb raising, verb projection raising, scrambling and cliticisation. In main clauses, the finite verb is taken to move from its base position (in V^0) to the second position of the clause. In this respect, Old English behaves like Modern German or the Scandinavian languages which all show the V2-phenomenon. In the following section Old English data will illustrate this.

4.2.1 Old English Data

As mentioned above, standard analyses of Old English take surface OV order as underlying OV order. In the Examples (1) to (5) OV word order is shown in embedded clauses:

- (1) ... þæt ic *þas boc* of Ledenum gereorde to Engliscre spræce **awende**.
... that I *this book* from Latin language to English tongue **translate**.
(van Kemenade 1987: 16)
- (2) ... gif hie him *þæs rices* **uþon**.
... if they him *the kingdom* **granted**.
(van Kemenade 1987: 16)
- (3) ... and heora an sona *his swurd* **ateah**.
... and of them one immediately *his sword* **drew**.
(van Kemenade 1987: 16)
- (4) her Wulfred ærcebisc *pallium* **onfeng**.
In–this–year Archbishop Wulfred *pallium* **received**.
(Pintzuk 1991: 158)
- (5) ... hu ða æþelingas *ellen* **fremedon**.
... how the princes *deed-of-valor* **performed**.
(Pintzuk 1991: 158)

Embedded clauses with an auxiliary in clause-final position are further evidence for OV order (Greenberg, 1965):

- (6) ... ðeah hit ær **upahæfen wære**.
... although it before **up-raised was**.
(Pintzuk 1991: 81)
- (7) ... þa Appolonius **afaren wæs**.
... when Appolonius **gone was**.
(Pintzuk 1991: 70)
- (8) ... þæt Darius hie mid gefeohte **secan wolde**.
... that Darius them for battle **visit wanted**.
(van Kemenade 1987: 19)

- (9) ... þæt hie þæt to his honda **healdan sceoldon**.
 ... that they it from his hand **hold should**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 19)
- (10) ... þæt hi micclum **blissian mihton**.
 ... that they greatly **rejoice might**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 19)

There are also cases where the auxiliary occurs in a sentence–medial position and the order in the VP is object – main verb as illustrated in the examples below:

- (11) ... þæt Libertinus mihte *þis* **gedon**.
 ... that Libertinus might *this* **do**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 118)
- (12) ... þæt he mehte *his feorh* **generian**.
 ... that he might *his life* **save**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 20)
- (13) ... cwæð þæt he wolde *his man* **beon**.
 ... said that he wanted *his vassal* **be**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 20)
- (14) ... þæt hie ne mehton *þa gefarenan* to eorþan **bringan**.
 ... that they not could *the dead* to earth **bring**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 20)
- (15) ... and cwæð þæt we sceoldon *deaðe* **sweltan**...
 ... and said that we should *death* **perish**...
 (van Kemenade 1987: 20)

As concerns main clauses, there are cases where the finite verb seems to have moved to a position higher up, and where the object pronoun precedes the finite verb (examples (16) and (17)). This is also possible in embedded clauses as (18) shows.

- (16) God *him* **worhte** þa reaf of fellum.
 God *him* **made** garments of skin.
 (van Kemenade: 1987, 114)
- (17) Fela spella *him* **sædon** þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande.
 Many stories *him* **told** the Permians, both of their own country.
 (van Kemenade: 1987, 114)
- (18) ... þæt þa Deniscan *him* **ne mehton** þæs ripes forwiernan.
 ... that the Danes *him* **not could** the harvest refuse.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 188)

According to the standard view, in main clauses the finite verb moves from its underlying position up to the second position in the clause (Old English was a Verb Second language; see chapter 6, section 6.3). As the pronominal object appears in front of the finite verb, it is assumed that it has also undergone leftward movement to a position outside VP. It is standardly assumed that these elements are clitics which move to special positions in the clause (here right before the main verb).

However, there are a number of word order patterns which confuse the picture, i.e., patterns which do not look like OV order. First, there is another kind of object movement found in Old English, namely an operation where a definite object DP is moved leftwards within the clause to a position outside VP. This operation is illustrated in (19):

- (19) ... þæt fela manna **Antecrist sylfne** *næfre* his eagum **ne geseo**.
 ... that many persons **Antechrist self** *never* his eyes **not saw**.
 "... that many people have never seen the Antechrist himself with their own eyes"
 (Haerberli 1999: 356)

This phenomenon, dubbed scrambling by Ross (1967), is a characteristic of the West Germanic languages.

Second, there are cases where the non-finite main verb immediately follows the auxiliary as in the examples below. Under the standard assumption these are cases of verb raising where the main verb has moved to the right of the auxiliary verb, the result of which is the order Vmain – auxiliary (e.g. Evers 1975; van Kemenade, 1987; Rutten 1991). Note the contrast between (20) a. without verb raising and (20) b. with verb raising. Examples (21) and (22) are further examples of verb raising:

- (20) a. ... þe æfre on gefeohte his hande **afylan wolde**.
 ... who ever in battle his hands **defile wanted**.
 b. ... þe æfre on gefeohte his hande **wolde afylan**.
 ... who ever in battle his hands **wanted defile**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 102)
- (21) ... & from Offan kyninge Hygebryht **wæs gecoren**.
 ... and by King Offan Hygebryht **was chosen**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 102)
- (22) ... þæt ofer eall Romana rice seo eorþe **was cwaciende & berstende**.
 ... that over all Roman's kingdom the earth **was quaking and opening**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 102)

Third, there are cases where not only the main verb occurs to the right of the finite verb but also one (or more) constituents of the VP. This phenomenon is standardly analysed as verb projection raising³⁰, a process where the main verb and one or more elements of the VP have moved to the right of the auxiliary:

- (23) ... þæt he mehte *his feorh generian*.
 ... that he could *his property save*.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 59)
- (24) ... hwær ænegu þeod æt oþerre mehte *frid begietan*.
 ... where any people from other might *peace obtain*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 113)
- (25) ... þæt on þære fæmnena mynstre, on þam wacode eac þæs ilcan fæder
 ... that in the maids' monastery, over which kept–watch also the same father's
 ymbehoga, an þara nunnena, seo wæs swiðe fæger æfter þæs lichaman gesceape,
 care, one (of) the nuns, who was very beautiful in the body's shape,
 waerð *færlice mid fefore geswenced*.
 was *suddenly by fever afflicted*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 121)

Fourth, examples (26) to (28) show that constituents (any maximal projection) can postpose and appear thus to the right of the otherwise clause-final verb. According to the standard view this process is taken to be extraposition to the right of the VP (or IP):

- (26) ... drihten **wæs acenned** *on þære byrig*.
 ... the lord **was born** *in the city*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 69)
- (27) ... þæt turonisce folc **wilnigende wæs** *þæt Martinus wære to bischope gehalgod*
 ... the Tours people **desiring was** *that Martinus were as bishop consecrated*
to heora burgh–scire.
of their city.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 69)
- (28) ... þæt ænig mon **atellan mæge** *ealne þone demm*.
 ... that any man **relate can** *all the misery*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 36)

In (26) the PP *on þære byrig* "on the city" is extraposed to the right of the main verb. In (27) the CP *þæt...burgh–scire* "that...city" and in (28) the DP *ealne þone demm* "all the misery"

³⁰ In section 4.1.2.1 we will see that Pintzuk argues that this structure is not verb projection raising.

are postposed to the right of the VP.

In the following section we will see that the patterns shown above can be analysed in different ways. We will discuss two different analyses here, and we will start out with Roberts' (1997) before we move on to Pintzuk (1991).

4.3 The analyses of OV word order in Old English

The reason why I chose to discuss Roberts (1997) on the one hand and Pintzuk (1991) on the other is that Roberts tries to account for the patterns found in Old English as well as diachronic changes like the one which affected the word order in the verb phrase in a Kaynian type of framework, i.e., this analysis presents latest developments in syntactic theory. Pintzuk's analysis is based on a theoretical model (Kroch, 1989) which serves extremely well to explain syntactic changes using quantitative data. As these analyses differ in the points made above it is interesting to see which one of them can account better for the change from OV to VO and it will be shown that Pintzuk's theory does.

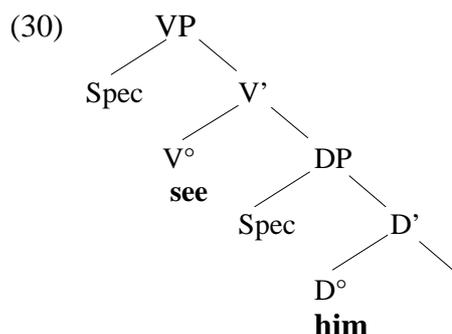
4.3.1 Roberts (1997): Old English as a head-initial language

Following Kayne (1994), Roberts assumes that Old English has an underlying VO order (in fact, all categories are head-initial under this assumption) and that the direct object moves leftwards during the derivation leading to OV orders.

According to Kayne's Linear Correspondence Algorithm³¹ (LCA), asymmetric c-command relations among non-terminals are intrinsically connected to linear order among terminals. Roberts rephrases the algorithm in the following way:

- (29) If A, a non-terminal, asymmetrically c-commands B, a non-terminal, then all terminals a dominated by A precede all terminals b dominated by B.

Roberts illustrates this with the following example:



31 Kayne, R. (1994). *The Antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge: Mass, MIT Press, chapter 1 and 2.

In (30) V asymmetrically c-commands D³². Given (29) *see* must precede *him*. Consequently, there cannot be parametric variation as concerns the order verb – complement. Roberts further notes that (29) requires that heads precede their complements, and thus that all languages are head-initial in the base. In such a system, OV word orders have to be derived by leftward movement of the object. Roberts also claims that a system with a uniform direction in head – complement order can explain languages with mixed typology more satisfyingly than a system which allows for variation in the directionality of the head and its complement (e.g. languages which show head-initial DPs but head-final VPs). What he proposes for Old English is the following:

- (31) Principle: Y' => Y XP
 Parameter: Morphosyntactic features causing
 leftward movement from VP

In Old English, the morphosyntactic features which trigger leftward movement of the direct object from VP are available (or strong in minimalist terms), and movement is possible. What happened in Early Middle English then was that these morphosyntactic features got lost and therefore leftward-movement possibilities got lost too. Roberts claims that there are no empirical reasons for the assumption that Old English was a language with underlying OV order. For this reason, he claims that a head-initial analysis does no worse than a head-final one.

As shown in the examples (6) to (10) the finite verb appears in clause-final position. Example (8) is repeated here as (32):

- (32) ...þæt Darius hie mid gefeohte **secan wolde**.
 ...that Darius them for battle **visit wanted**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 19)

According to the standard assumption, this order shows that I° must be final here, because V°-to-I° movement creates an inflected verb, and the inflected verb is in a final position. Roberts notes, however, that this need not necessarily be the case if it is assumed that the verb is inserted fully inflected and raises to I° to check morphological features (Chomsky 1993), because then the position of the verb does not correspond to I° but to V° (with the possibility that raising to I° takes place overtly or covertly).

32 The definition of asymmetric c-command: X asymmetrically c-commands Y iff X c-commands Y and Y does not c-command X (Kayne 1994: 4).

Roberts notes that the occurrence of clitics in embedded clauses also show that I^o must be in a clause–medial position rather than in a clause–final position. This can be shown in an example like (18), repeated here as (33):

- (33) ...þæt þa Deniscan *him* **ne mehton** þæs ripes forwiernan.
 ...that the Danes *him* **not could** the harvest refuse.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 188)

Here, the clitic pronoun *him* follows the subject. According to Roberts, this implies "that clitics occupy 'medial' head–initial functional projections" (Roberts 1997: 407) which are part of the I^o–system, because they are subject to special checking requirements. The features which need to be checked are presumably phi–features, and thus the checking position for clitics seems to be an Agr–type position. Following Zwart (1993), Roberts concludes that there is evidence that IP is head–initial, and thus examples like (32) cannot be analysed as being I^o–final.

As concerns phenomena like verb raising, Roberts claims that they are proposed to regularise the head–final order. To illustrate his point, example (21) is repeated here as (34):

- (34) ...þe æfre on gefeohte his hande **wolde afylan**.
 ...who ever in battle his hands **wanted defile**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 102)

Roberts claims that under the standard analysis the finite verb *wolde* "wanted" has raised to clause–final I^o. As a consequence, the main verb *afylan* "defile" must have moved to the right of the finite verb. If it is assumed, however, that the finite verb has not moved (as discussed above), then it is possible that the main verb is in a constituent which is a complement of the finite verb. Therefore, Roberts claims that the structure of (34) is (34) b. rather than (34) a.:

- (34) a. ...þe æfre on gefeohte [VP his hande t_i] **wolde afylan**_i.
 (34) b. ...þe æfre on gefeohte his hande_i **wolde** [VP **afylan** t_i].

In (34) b. the object *his hande* "his hands" undergoes leftward movement for Case–checking reasons (for an explanation see Roberts 1997: 408). For cases like (8) (or (32)) where the main verb precedes the finite verb, Roberts claims that the verbal complement is fronted for checking reasons as well, provided that there are no elements which intervene between the two verbs, i.e., the main verb and the finite verb have to be adjacent (see Zwart's (1993) analysis of Dutch small clauses). He assumes that infinitival clauses adhere to a distinct checking

requirement from finite clauses, which are able to remain in final position. Under these assumptions, Roberts claims that verb raising does not have a clear motivation in Old English.

Roberts further claims that verb projection raising does not have a clear motivation either. If the assumptions made above are applied to Verb–Projection Raising, it is not clear why a VP in post–verbal position has to be treated as being outside of the VP which is headed by the finite verb. Following Zwart, Roberts assumes that verb raising is exactly like verb projection raising, with the one difference that the lower object can be checked by Agro^o in the lower clause. Therefore, an example like (24), repeated here as (35), has the structure as shown in (35) b. rather than the structure in (35) a.:

(35) ... hwær ænegu þeod æt oþerre mehte *frið* **begietan**.
 ... where any people from other might *peace* **obtain**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 113)

(35) a. ... hwær ænegu þeod æt oþerre t_i mehte [VP *frið* **begietan**]_i.

(35) b. ... hwær ænegu þeod æt oþerre mehte [*frið*_i **begietan** t_i].

According to Roberts, a phenomenon discussed by Haeberli & Haegeman (1992) is evidence for his analysis of Old English word order as in (35): They show that Old English minimally contrasts with West Flemish in that negative–polarity items may appear in putatively raised VPs and form a single semantic negation with *ne* on the finite verb in Old English as illustrated in (36), while this is not possible in West Flemish as (37) shows:

(36) ... þæt heora nan ne mehte **nanes wæpnas gewældan**.
 ... that of–them none NEG might **no weapon wield**.
 (Roberts 1997: 409)

(37) a.*... dan–ze en–willen **tegen niemand klapen**.
 ... that they EN want **to against no–one talk**.

b. ... dan–ze **tegen niemand** en–willen **klapen**.
 ... that they **against no–one** EN want **talk**.
 (Roberts 1997: 409)

Example (37) a. shows that the West Flemish negative–polarity item *niemand* "no–one" cannot be licensed in a raised VP. Roberts notes that this is expected because it is a well–known fact that rightward–moved categories form islands of various kinds. The Old English example in (36) shows, on the other hand, that the putatively rightward–moved VP *nanes*

wæpnes gewældan "no weapon wield" allows the negation to link up with the main negation *ne* (Old English has negative concord, which vanishes from standard language during the Early Modern English period). Following Haeberli & Haegeman, Roberts therefore assumes that in Old English, constructions which look like verb projection raising should rather be analysed as movement of the finite verb to clause-medial I° (see section 4.3.1).

It should be noted here, that this is not a fact which supports the claim that there is no verb projection raising at all. Pintzuk (1991) interprets the data exactly the same way, she takes this as evidence that in Old English Infl-medial orders existed. Moreover, Haeberli & Haegeman think that their observation supports Pintzuk's hypothesis. The difference between Roberts' and Pintzuk's (and Haeberli & Haegeman's) analysis then is that whereas Roberts' claims that the data shows that Verb-Projection-Raising does not exist at all, Pintzuk only claims that this type of construction cannot be Verb-Projection-Raising which does not imply, however, that the construction does not exist at all.

Roberts further claims that there is another fact that speaks against verb projection raising, namely that pronouns cannot be part of the raised projections. To demonstrate this, he gives the following example where the VP includes a pronominal object:

- (38) ... þæt he wolde *hine læran*.
 ... that she wanted *him to-teach*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 116)

Roberts takes this example to show that this cannot be verb projection raising, because in West Germanic, pronouns do not postpose to the right of the finite verb³³. Therefore, he suggests that the pronoun has moved within the complement. This is possible, because in Old English weak pronouns are clitics, and thus they behave very similarly to clitic pronouns in the Romance languages. As a consequence, there is no need to analyse examples like (38) as verb projection raising.

Again, this is Pintzuk's own interpretation of these examples, i.e., that Infl-medial word orders existed in Old English. Therefore, it is not clear how Roberts' could explain those cases which are clearly Verb-Projection-Raising in Pintzuk's terms.

Given what was said above, Roberts concludes that verb projection raising does not exist in Old English (or in any language), and that examples like (35) should be analysed as in (35) a.

³³ Pintzuk (1991) claims that these examples do not exhibit verb projection raising but are Infl-medial clauses with OV order (see discussion in section 4.3.2).

So far, Roberts has got rid of two rightward–movements which are assumed to occur in Old English under the standard analysis. As concerns another rightward–movement, extraposition of maximal projections, Roberts claims that CPs and PPs do not postpose but stay in their complement positions. With respect to focussed DPs, there are two ways to analyse an example like (28), repeated here as (39):

- (39) ... þæt ænig mon atellan mæge *ealne þone demm*.
 ... that any man relate can *all the misery*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 36)

According to Roberts, either the DP is able to remain in complement position, or the final DP is fronted inside the verbal complement and the remainder of the complement undergoes the usual leftward–movement operation for non–finite complements (see also Hroarsdottir 1999 for a remnant–fronting account of word order change in Icelandic). The latter analysis is illustrated below:

- (39) a. ... þæt ænig mon [XP atellan t_i] mæge [YP [DP *ealne þone demm*]_i t_{XP}]].
 (Roberts 1997: 412)

An argument for the standard view that Old English is underlyingly OV has always been the position of verb particles. Following Koster (1975), Kemenade (1987) showed that in Old English particle positions pattern quite systematically with the verb positions, although they attach to the verb more freely than particles in Dutch. The examples (40) to (43) illustrate the possible positions of verb particles in Old English:

- (40) ... þæt he **ahof up** *the earcan*.
 ... that he **lifted up** *the chest*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 78)
- (41) ... þæt he **wearp** *þæt sweord onweg*.
 ... that he **threw** *the sword away*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 91)
- (42) ... þæt **up arisað** *lease leogeras*.
 ... that **up arise** *false liars*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 84)
- (43) Ða **ahof** Drihten *hie up*.
 Then **raised** the–Lord *them up*.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 33)

Following Kayne (1985), Roberts claims that particles are small–clause predicates which optionally adjoin to the left of the verb in Old English. He further assumes that the verb can "excorporate" from the particle. When the particle does not adjoin to the verb, it occupies the same position as other small–clause predicates, e.g., like the one shown in (44):

- (44) ... he ahof þæt cild up *geedcucod and ansund*.
 ... he raised the child up *quickenened and healthy*.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 36)

According to Roberts' analysis, the examples in (40) to (43) have to be analysed in the following way (the examples are repeated here):

- (40') ...V_j...Prt_i t_j [DP t_i] => V–movement, Prt–movement
 ... þæt he **ahof up** *the earcan*.
 ... that he **lifted up** *the chest*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 78)

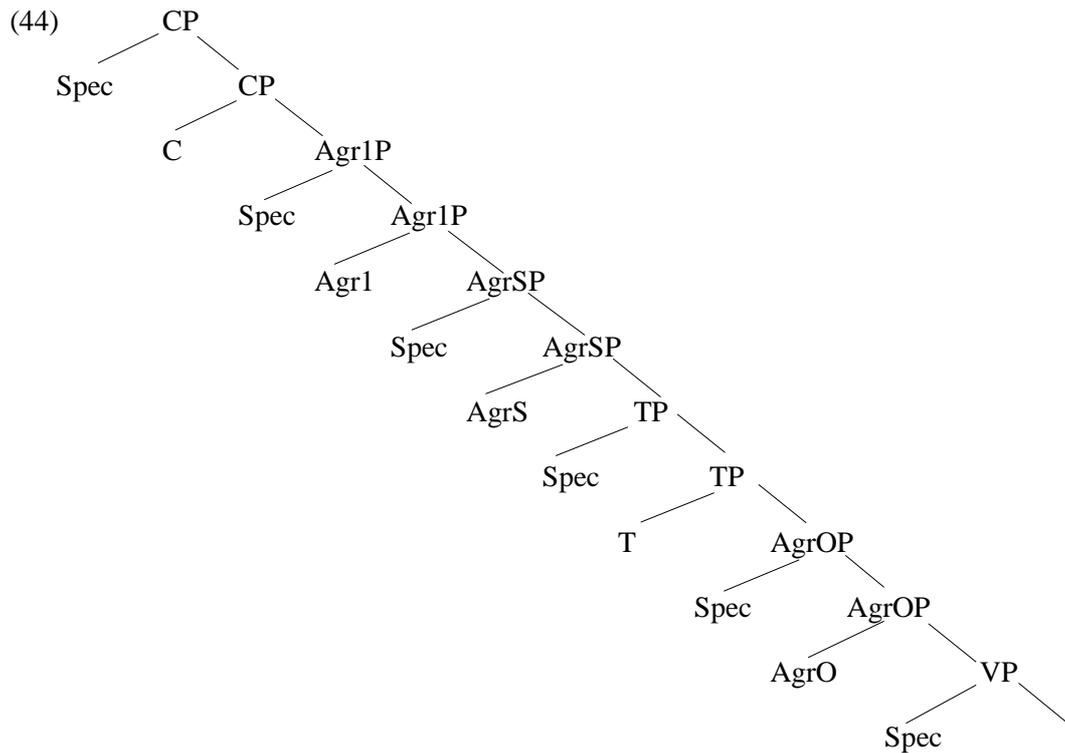
- (41') ...V [DP Prt] => no movement
 ... þæt he **wearp þæt sweord onweg**.
 ... that he **threw the sword away**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 91)

- (42') ... Prt_i + V [DP t_i] => Prt–movement
 ... þæt **up arisað** *lease leogeras*.
 ... that **up arise** *false liars*.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 84)

- (43') ...V_j X t_j [DP Prt] => V–movement
 Þa **ahof** Drihten *hie up*.
 Then **raised** the–Lord *them up*.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 33)

Roberts notes that in the cases where verb movement is involved, the finite main verb moves beyond AgrO°; in (43) it clearly moves to C°. He further suggests that the subject DPs of the small clauses in the examples move out of the small clause to a checking position. This assumption is very likely for the clitic *hie* "them" in (43) and, as Roberts notes, cannot be excluded for the other examples. He points out that if the verb in (41) and (42) does not move higher than AgrO°, then it must be assumed that the object can check its Case inside the small clause. If this is the case, then example (42) can be explained the same way as example (39), namely that the object DP is fronted inside the complement and the remainder of the complement (the particle) undergoes the usual leftward–movement operation for non–finite complements.

For the reasons given above, Roberts claims that it is not necessary to assume rightward movement operations to account for the word order facts of Old English. He points out that there is no real motivation for the three standardly assumed rightward movements: verb raising, verb projection raising, and extraposition. According to his analysis, the structure for Old English clauses looks as follows:



To briefly summarise how Roberts accounts for these orders, we will have a look at the principal embedded word orders (Roberts uses Aux for the finite verb):

- (45) a. S V Aux O (standardly DP–extraposition)
 b. S O Aux V (standardly verb raising)
 c. S Aux O V (standardly verb projection raising)
 d. S O V Aux (standardly underlying order)
 e. S Aux V O (standardly verb raising and DP–extraposition)
 f.*S V O Aux (underivable)

a. S V Aux O (DP–movement and Verb–movement):

According to Roberts' analysis the non–finite verb has to undergo movement. For this word order he assumes an analysis where first the object has moved out of the VP and the remnant VP has been fronted (see (39) a.). He claims that this happens on the lower cycle, i.e., that the object moves out of the fronted constituent inside the lower clause, and then the remnant of the lower clause is fronted.

b. S O Aux V (scrambling or object–movement):

This order is derived by either object scrambling or object–movement to the higher SpecAgrO°.

c. S Aux O V (object–movement):

Here the object raises to Spec,AgrOP for checking–reasons inside the complement clause without movement of the remnant category which contains the verb. Roberts notes that this kind of order is found in some contemporary West Germanic varieties, a fact which leads him to the conclusion that checking of the object on the lower cycle is allowed in these varieties. What is never allowed in these varieties, however, is fronting of the remnant constituent into the higher clause (which gives the order in (45) a.). Consequently, Roberts derives the following prediction for West Germanic (excluding English):

A language in which non–finite complements are fronted has the order [S V Aux O] only if it has Verb–Projection Raising, i.e., the order [S Aux O V] (Roberts 1997: 417)

He points out that this prediction is fulfilled: Old High German and Middle Dutch are like Old English in exhibiting both orders whereas no modern West Germanic variety which has the one order has the other order. However, it should be pointed out here that the prediction does not hold for Modern German as it is a language which shows the order S V Aux O but does not have verb projection raising.

d. S O V Aux (combination of object–scrambling with VP–fronting):

According to Roberts this word order can be derived by first scrambling the object out of the VP, and then fronting the VP. It could also be derived by moving the entire complement including the direct object.

e. S Aux V O (underlying word order):

Under Roberts' analysis this word order presents the underlying order which does not involve movement (except for the movement of Aux to AgrO°). This implies, however, that he has to claim that the object must be focussed in order to escape the requirement that it move to

Spec,AgrOP³⁴.

f.*S V O Aux (underivable)

Roberts notes that the derivation where the verb and the object move as a constituent can be ruled out, as the object must leave the VP in order to be licensed in the lower cycle. Therefore, he assumes that the object and the VP move separately. First, the VP must front to a lower position than the object. Roberts points out that this is guaranteed by his assumption that the VP must move to the same position as small-clause predicates (Spec,AgrOP). Then, however, the object would have to be in VP to give the order S V O Aux, but we have just seen that this is not possible, because, as mentioned above, the VP has to be licensed lower in the cycle.

In this section, Roberts' analysis of word order patterns in Old English was discussed. First, it was shown how the standard analysis explains principal word orders in embedded clauses by assuming that there are phenomena like verb raising, verb projection raising and extraposition. Second, Roberts' analysis was explained, and it was shown how he accounts for these word order patterns, namely by assuming that there is no motivation for any of the three rightward-movement operations. He derives all the patterns found in Old English by leftward-movement of the verb and/or the object. However, this might be problematic because under the Kaynian hypothesis *all* languages are underlyingly VO, i.e., all languages which seem to be underlyingly OV are in fact underlyingly VO with leftward movement operations of the object. But then Roberts has to explain why Old English is exceptional in that reanalysis from OV to VO was possible, i.e., why it had the chance to change whereas this was not possible in the other VO languages. This further implies that showing that Old English does not behave like the other West Germanic languages cannot be evidence that Old English is not OV. If it were, the same evidence would argue that the other languages are OV, but this is exactly what Kayne's hypothesis does not allow. Moreover, there is clear evidence in Late Old English as well as Early Middle English texts that there are underlying OV word orders. This fact and the problems discussed above weaken Roberts' analysis. Therefore, I will not adopt his analysis here but Pintzuk's because as we will see below it can better account for the different Old English word order patterns.

4.3.2 Pintzuk (1991): Synchronic variation between OV and VO word order

Contrary to standard analyses, Pintzuk claims that in Old English, embedded clauses are not uniformly Infl-final in the base. In fact, she argues that the variation in the position of the

³⁴ for problems with this assumption see Roberts 1997: 417.

inflected verb in embedded clauses reflects variation in the underlying position of Infl, it is either clause-final or clause-medial. She further assumes that there is also synchronic variation in the VP, i.e. that occurrences of OV order and VO order reflect variation in the underlying order. First, we will discuss her analysis of synchronic variation in IP.

4.3.2.1 The Position of I°

Pintzuk claims that in embedded clauses, the surface position of the finite verb is derived by verb movement to either clause-final or clause-medial Infl. She points out that an example like (46) is structurally ambiguous:

- (46) ... þe god **worhte** þurh hine.
 ... which God **wrought** through him.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 75)

It could either be derived from an Infl-final base by postposition of the PP or it could be Infl-medial in the base with fronting of the finite verb to Infl. The two possible structures are given in (46') a. and b.:

(46') Infl-medial:

- a. þe [IP god_j [I worhte_i] [VP t_j þurh hine t_i]]

Infl-final:

- b. þe [IP god_j [VP t_j t_k t_i] [I worhte_i]] [PP þurh hine]_k

On the other hand, Pintzuk demonstrates that there are clauses which cannot be analysed as Infl-final, and which therefore must be analysed as Infl-medial. She discusses three kinds of evidence for Infl-medial structure: 1) the distribution of particles, 2) the distribution of pronouns and one-syllable adverbs, and 3) the relatively low frequency of Verb(-Projection) Raising. As mentioned above in section 4.3.1, Koster's (1975) distribution of particles in Modern Dutch cannot be used for describing the distribution of particles in Old English (see also van Kemenade 1987). Therefore, for her purposes Pintzuk proposes the following definition of particles which is based on three characteristics: 1) the particle is separable from the verb, i.e., that it can appear either before or after the verb as illustrated by the examples (47) a. and b.:

- (47) a. ... þæt he his stefne *up* **ahof**.
 ... that he his voice *up* **lifted**.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 77)
- b. ... þæt he **ahof** *upp* þa earcan.
 ... that he **lifted** *up* the chest.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 78)

2) The particle cannot be analysed as a preposition with a PP object or as a modifier of a PP, as in (47) c. and d.:

- (47) c. ... þær he *up* **of þæm sonde** scyt.
 ... there it *up* **from the sand** shoots.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 77)
- d. ... ær he *up* **to heofenum** ferde.
 ... before he *up* **to heaven** went.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 79)

3) The particle does not change the verb from intransitive to transitive and therefore cannot be analysed as a preposition as in (47) e.:

- (47) e. ... þæt se cena iudas **him** *wið*-feohtende wæs.
 ... that the bold Judas **them** *against*-fighting was.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 79)

According to Pintzuk, the dative pronoun *him* "them" in (47) e. could be either the object of the preposition *wið* "against" or the complement of the verb-particle combination *wiðfeohtan* "fight against".

In her analysis, Pintzuk divided her database, which consists of embedded clauses, into two main groups, namely clauses with auxiliary verbs and clauses with tensed main verbs. Each group was divided into two subgroups: verb-final clauses and verb-medial clauses. By means of examples for each group the difference between the standard analysis and Pintzuk's Double Base Hypothesis will be demonstrated:

- (48) Verb-final clauses with auxiliaries:
- a. ... ðeah hit ær **upahæfen** wære.
 ... although it before **up-raised** was.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 81)

- b. ... gif ðæt underfangne ondgiet to ryhtre tide **bið forðbroht**.
 ... if the received understanding at right time **is forth–brought**.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 81)

Under both analyses, the order in (48) a. is derived by string–vacuous movement of the auxiliary to clause–final Infl. (48) b. is one of the clauses with two or more heavy constituents before the auxiliary and the main verb which means that the auxiliary cannot be as high as being in Infl–medial position. Under both analyses, the order is Infl–final with Verb–(Projection) Raising.

(49) Verb–medial clauses with auxiliaries:

- a. ... þæt se Romanisca here **wæs onweg gewiten**.
 ... that the Roman army **was onweg gone**.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 82)
- b. ... þæt hi hine **sceoldon** þær adune **niman**.
 ... that they him **should** there down **take**.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 83)

Under the standard analysis, example (49) a. is an instance of Infl–final phrase structure with verb (projection) raising. Under Pintzuk’s analysis this structure is ambiguous: either it is Infl–final phrase structure with verb (projection) raising or it is Infl–medial phrase structure. (49) b. is also ambiguous: it could be either Infl–final with verb projection raising (this is the analysis under the standard hypothesis) or Infl–medial³⁵.

(50) Verb–final clauses with tensed main verbs:

- ... swa þæt se scinenda lig his locc **up–ateah**.
 ... so that the shining flame his locks **up–drew**.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 83)

Under both analyses, clauses like the one in (50) with two or more heavy constituents before the verb are analysed as Infl–final.

(51) Verb–medial clauses with tensed main verbs:

- ... þæt up **arisað** lease leogeras.
 ... that up **arise** false liars.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 84)

³⁵ Pintzuk assumes that pronouns and adverbs may be syntactic clitics which can attach to the left or right periphery of Spec,IP.

Under the standard analysis, example (51) (repeated from above) is Infl–final with postposition of a post–verbal constituent. Under the Double Base Hypothesis a case like (51) is ambiguous: either it is Infl–final with postposition or it is underlyingly Infl–medial³⁶.

As shown above, the standard hypothesis and the Double Base Hypothesis analyse the examples given differently: Under the standard analysis the four cases are all underlyingly Infl–final and postposition is the only type of movement which can modify the base–generated word order of main verbs and complements and/or adjuncts. Under the Double Base Hypothesis, however, embedded clauses can be categorised as being either underlyingly Infl–final or Infl–medial. Here, the order of the main verb and the complement (adjunct) can be modified by postposition (Infl–final clauses) or by leftward movement of the tensed verb (Infl–medial clauses).

As noted above, Pintzuk takes the distribution of particles in Old English as evidence for underlying Infl–medial order. Under the standard hypothesis, particles are base–generated in preverbal position. As verbs never undergo leftward movement, any particles which appear in postverbal position must have been postposed. Under Pintzuk’s hypothesis, particles are also base–generated in preverbal position and cannot undergo rightward movement. Particles which appear in postverbal position then can only be derived by leftward movement of the verb to Infl–medial position. Further, as only finite verbs may undergo V° –to– I° movement Pintzuk predicts that particles can appear postverbally only in clauses with tensed main verbs in medial position. What she found was that in embedded clauses with auxiliaries and in verb–final clauses with a tensed verb, particles almost never appear after the main verb. They do occur in postverbal position, however, in verb–medial clauses with a tensed verb. Thus, this finding supports Pintzuk’s hypothesis, because it explains the difference in the frequency of post–verbal particles in the various types of embedded clauses.

According to Pintzuk, the second type of evidence for Infl–medial order in Old English is the distribution of pronominal objects and one–syllable adverbs. Under the standard hypothesis, these elements only appear in post–verbal position if they have been postposed. Thus, it is expected here, that in all four types of embedded clauses they will appear with the same frequency. Under Pintzuk’s Double Base Hypothesis, these elements do normally not postpose just like particles. Therefore, pronominal objects and one–syllable adverbs should appear in postverbal position only in those cases, where the tensed verb could have moved to Infl–medial position (verbmedial embedded clauses with a tensed verb). Again, the

³⁶ Pintzuk notes that there are cases with at least one heavy constituent before the particle and tensed main verb which have to be analysed according to the status of the particle.

predictions are borne out: pronominal objects and one-syllable adverbs appear only in this type of clause, but never in verb-final clauses³⁷. Pintzuk claims therefore that this finding provides additional support for her analysis and against the standard analysis of uniform Infl-final phrase structure.

The third type of evidence for underlying Infl-medial order in Old English is, according to Pintzuk, the relatively low frequency of verb-(projection) raising. In section 4.3.1 it was shown that according to Roberts there is no such thing as verb-(projection) raising under his hypothesis that Old English is uniform VO in the base. Now Pintzuk claims that the majority of cases which look like verb-(projection) raising must be analysed as Infl-medial clauses with leftward movement of the verb. This implies, that examples like (52) are structurally ambiguous:

- (52) ... for-þan þe hi **sceoldon fyrdrian**.
 ... because they **must serve-in-the-army**.
 (Pintzuk: 1991, 100)

- (52') Infl-medial:
 a. for-þan þe hi [I sceoldon_i] fyrdrian t_i
- Infl-final:
 b. for-þan þe hi t_i secoldon [V fyrdrian]_i

Pintzuk notes that although there are ambiguous cases like (52), many cases in main and embedded clauses cannot be analysed as Infl-medial, because they show two or more heavy constituents before the auxiliary verb and main verb. Examples of this type are given below (examples (21) and (22) from above):

- (53) ... þe æfre on gefeohte his hande **wolde afylan**.
 ... who ever in battle his hands **wanted defile**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 102)
- (54) ... þæt ofer eall Romana rice seo eorþe **was cwaciende & berstende**.
 ... that over all Roman's kingdom the earth **was quaking and opening**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 102)

Thus, examples like this have to be analysed as instances of Infl-final phrase structure with verb raising.

³⁷ The frequency of postverbal pronominal objects and one-syllable adverbs is lower than the frequency of postverbal particles in verb-medial clauses with a tensed main verb. Pintzuk explains this by assuming that pronouns and adverbs, unlike particles, may be syntactic clitics which move leftward and attach to the right or left periphery of Spec,IP. Therefore, many pronouns and adverbs appear before the verb.

As noted above, according to Pintzuk verb raising does exist in Old English but with a much lower frequency than is assumed under the standard analysis. She claims that not all embedded clauses with auxiliary and main verb order are derived from an Infl–final phrase structure with verb raising. In order to prove this, she limits her data to two unambiguous word order patterns which are illustrated below:

(55) ... þe se ealdormon wiþ hiene **gedon hæfde**.
... that the alderman against him **done had**.

(Pintzuk: 1991, 107)

(56) ... þe æfre on gefeohte his hande **wolde afylan**.
... who ever in battle his hands **wanted defile**.

(Pintzuk 1991: 102)

According to Pintzuk, example (55) is unambiguously Infl–final without verb raising. (56) on the other hand, is an instance of unambiguous Infl–final phrase structure with verb raising. By comparing the frequency of occurrence of these two patterns, Pintzuk calculates the frequency of verb raising in Old English Infl–final embedded clauses with two or more heavy constituents. As concerns clauses with only one heavy constituent before the two verbs, she also compares clauses with unambiguous Infl–final phrase structure without verb raising with clauses which are structurally ambiguous like the one in (57):

(57) ... þæt heora anwaldas **moston standan** him betweonum.
... that their powers **might remain** them among.

(Pintzuk 1991: 109)

Pintzuk claims that the frequency of verb raising in this comparison should be the same as the frequency of verb raising calculated for the comparison of cases like (55) and (56). She assumes that

if all of the structurally ambiguous clauses are derived from Infl–final phrase structure by verb raising, we would expect the frequency of auxiliary verb + main verb word order in clauses with at most one heavy constituent before the two verbs to be the same as the frequency of auxiliary verb + main verb word order in clauses with two or more heavy constituents before the two verbs, under the assumption that the latter frequency is a good estimate of the frequency of verb raising in Old English (Pintzuk 1991: 109)

What Pintzuk found was that indeed the majority of clauses which are in principal structurally ambiguous are actually Infl–medial rather than Infl–final. Thus, this finding is, on the one

hand, further evidence for Infl–medial order in Old English and, on the other hand, disproves the assumption that all clauses with auxiliary and main verb order are derived from Infl–final phrase structure with verb raising.

With respect to verb projection raising, Pintzuk repeated the whole procedure by comparing unambiguous cases of Infl–final phrase structure with and without verb projection raising in clauses which contained one constituent before the potentially projected phrase, and in clauses which contained two or more constituents before the potentially projected phrase. What she found here again was that the great majority of structurally ambiguous cases are derived from Infl–medial phrase structure rather than from Infl–final phrase structure by verb projection raising. Again, Pintzuk points out that this finding is further evidence for the existence of Infl–medial phrase structure in Old English.

However, in contrast to Roberts (1997), Pintzuk shows that in Old English there are clauses with Infl–final phrase structure as well as clauses with Infl–medial phrase structure. She claims that an analysis where Old English is analysed as being uniformly VO in the base cannot be correct which can be shown by the distribution of particles in embedded clauses. As mentioned above, she assumes that particles do not scramble in West Germanic languages. In Old English, they do not scramble leftward, i.e., in clauses with infinitival/participial main verbs, preverbal particles remain in their base-generated position immediately before the verb. This is illustrated in (58):

- (58) ... þæt heo wolde þa baan **up adon** þara Cristes þeowa.
 ... that she would the bones **up take** (of) the Christ's servants.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 126)

Under the assumption that all apparently Infl–final clauses were derived from Infl–medial phrase structure by leftward movement across Infl particles would have to appear post-verbally in embedded clauses with tensed main verbs, as they do not scramble leftwards³⁸. Pintzuk points out that this is not borne out: about 80 % of the time the particle appears before the verb, a distribution which cannot be explained under the assumption of uniform Infl–medial phrase structure. It can be explained, however, under the Double Base Hypothesis: according to Pintzuk, the preverbal position of the particles is evidence for their underlying position in Infl–final structure. Thus, this observation and the ones discussed above clearly speak in favour of the Double Base Hypothesis.

³⁸ Pintzuk assumes that in Old English, just like in other West Germanic languages, the particle does not move along with the verb when the verb is fronted.

4.3.2.2 The Underlying position of V°

With respect to the order verb–complement, the standard assumption is, as mentioned, above, that Old English is a verb–final language, i.e., it is uniformly OV. Pintzuk claims however, that there is evidence which seems to contradict this assumption: 1) there are clauses where the tensed verb appears in medial position; and 2) there are clauses where constituents occur after otherwise clause–final verbs. These two kinds of counterexamples are illustrated below:

- (59) ... & þa se firdstern **for** ham...
 ... and when the army–corps **went** home...
 (Pintzuk 1991: 158)
- (60) ... þæt he ofslean **wolde** þa geleaffullan iudei...
 ... that he slay **would** the believing Jews...
 (Pintzuk 1991: 158)

Pintzuk assumes that Old English not only exhibits clauses with Infl–final as well as Infl–medial phrase structure, but that it also shows word order variation in VP, namely the availability of both OV and VO orders. Hence, Infl–medial clauses with an auxiliary verb and a particle which is in postverbal position (after the main verb) are evidence for her assumption. A construction like this is illustrated in the example below:

- (61) ... þæt he wolde **gan** embe his neode **forð**.
 ... that he would **go** for his need **forth**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 169)

Pintzuk found that particles appeared in this position with a significant frequency in Infl–medial clauses, but never in Infl–final clauses. She notes that if particles in postverbal position in Infl–medial clauses were derived from OV phrase structure by postposition, then we would expect to find them postverbally in Infl–final clauses, which is not the case. Therefore, she suggests that post verbal particles in Infl–medial clauses with an auxiliary verb are derived from underlying VO phrase structure.

The distribution of pronominal objects and one–syllable adverbs lends further support for Pintzuk’s assumption that Old English shows variable OV/VO phrase structure. These elements occur postverbally in Infl–medial clauses but they never occur in this position in Infl–final clauses. Moreover, there are clauses where other constituents appear in postverbal position which is shown in (62):

- (62) ... he **wolde adræfan** ut anne æþeling...
 ... he **would drive** out a prince...
 (Pintzuk 1991: 158)

Here, the full object DP *anne æþeling* "a prince" appears in postverbal position in an Infl–medial clause with an auxiliary and a postverbal particle.

As pointed out by Pintzuk, there is a puzzling phenomenon with respect to the occurrences of these orders: there are Infl–medial clauses which exhibit OV order as well as VO order, but there are no Infl–final clauses with VO phrase structure. Therefore, of the four possible word orders only three can be found in Old English:

- (63) a. Infl–medial and OV
 b. Infl–medial and VO
 c. Infl–final and OV
 d.*Infl–final and VO

Pintzuk notes that the non–occurrence of structures like (63) d. cannot be attributed to the directionality, i.e., the requirement that theta–roles be assigned uniformly in one direction within the IP, since there are Infl–medial clauses (theta–role assignment to the right) with OV phrase structure (theta–role assignment to the left) which is shown by the structure in (63) a. and illustrated by the example in (64):

- (64) ... þæt [IP he_j [I wolde_i] [VP t_j hine læran t_i]]
 ... that she would him teach...
 (Pintzuk 1991: 182)

Pintzuk further notes that it is striking that languages which do not show word order variation are either both head–initial in IP and VP (English, Scandinavian) or both head–final (German and Dutch). As she does not have an explanation for this phenomenon, she stipulates that VO phrase structure cannot occur co–occur with Infl–final phrase structure (for an account which tries to explain the phenomenon see Fuss & Trips forthcoming).

So far we have compared Roberts' and Pintzuk's analysis of Old English. By assuming both a head–final and a head–initial IP and VP at the same time (which can be explained by claiming that there are two grammars in competition), Pintzuk can account for the word order patterns found in Old English. As mentioned above, such an account is preferable over one which assumes that there is only one underlying order, VO, with leftward movement of the

object because there is clear evidence that underlying OV orders existed. Moreover, as we will see below, the observed variation in Old English is also found in Middle English but to an even higher degree. This seems to be a development at transitional stages in a language and it is well-known that Middle English is such a transitional stage in the history of English. Therefore, the data we find there can only be properly explained if we assume that there are grammars in competition at that time. The following section will discuss this point in detail.

4.4 The analyses of the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English

As shown in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, Roberts and Pintzuk analyse the principal word order patterns in Old English in different ways. According to how they analyse Old English, they account for the word order change in Early Middle English. In this section, we will discuss Roberts' and Pintzuk's analyses and we will see that the patterns found in Early Middle English texts clearly show a grammar-in-competition scenario.

4.4.1 Roberts (1997): strong AgrO° was lost

Roberts points out that an account based on the assumption that Old English was uniformly head-initial can link the word order change with two other important changes which took place at this time. Moreover, he points out that the assumption that Old English was head-initial makes the linking of all the changes possible which is an advantage over theories which analyse Old English as head-final. The two other syntactic changes which took place at the same time as the word order change from OV to VO are

- (65) a. The loss of complement clitics
- b. The loss of scrambling

Kemenade (1987) notes that there were three changes that took place in Middle English: 1) the change from OV to VO which was completed by 1200, 2) the loss of V2 which was completed by 1400, and 3) the loss of cliticisation. With respect to the third change, she notes that object cliticisation was drastically reduced in the 12th century, and completely extinct by 1400. On the other hand, subject cliticisation still takes place until 1400, especially in Southern texts. Kemenade connected the loss of subject clitics to the loss of V2. As we deal with the word order change in the verb phrase, the loss of object cliticisation is of interest here.

Roberts notes that the observation that English word order achieved a more rigid status in Middle English could be interpreted as losing the possibility to scramble objects at the time the word order change took place. Roberts further notes that during the development from Old English to Middle English case morphology was dramatically reduced. The Old English case system distinguished four cases, two numbers and up to seven declension classes. Due to phonological changes (the reduction of unstressed vowels) and processes of morphological levelling, this system was reduced by the Early Middle English time to one where the distinction between nominative and accusative was lost, and only dative and genitive singular survived (dative was lost very soon afterwards). To show this change, Roberts compares the paradigm for "stone" in Old English and Early Middle English which is illustrated in (66) below:

(66)

"stone"	Old English	Middle English by 1200	Middle English by 1400
Nom. Sg.	stan	ston	stoon
Acc. Sg.	stan	ston	
Dat. Sg.	stanes	stones	
Gen. Sg.	stane	ston(e)	stoon(e)s
Nom. Pl.	stanas	stones	stoon(e)s
Acc. Pl.	stanas	stones	
Dat. Pl.	stana	stone(s)	
Gen. Pl.	stanum	stonen/s	

Roberts regards the loss of morphological case as shown above in (66) as the trigger for the word order change as well as for the two other changes listed in (65).

According to his analysis, the OV word orders in Old English are derived by fronting the object to Spec,AgrOP and by scrambling the object. He suggests that these two processes are linked. He assumes that scrambling is A'-movement, i.e., scrambling is movement to a non-L-related position³⁹. Further, he assumes that the scrambled element moves to a position higher than AgrOP and is adjoined to a maximal projection which has no lexical feature to assign to the scrambled element. However, the scrambled DP must check Case, hence on its

³⁹ According to Chomsky (1995: 64, 196) a position is L-related if it is the specifier or complement of a feature of a lexical head L. A structural position which is L-related has the basic properties of A-positions, one that is not L-related has the basic properties of A'-positions.

way up it moves through Spec,AgrOP. Roberts points out that the movement of the scrambled element through Spec,AgrOP is required because AgrO° has a strong feature (N–feature). Following Lightfoot (1979, 1991), he assumes that 'deep' syntactic changes like word order change arise through restructuring of grammars by language acquirers. In order to understand why the word order change in Early Middle English took place, Roberts notes that we need to understand what leads language acquirers to postulate that AgrO° has a strong N–feature. To explain this, Roberts proposes the following:

- (67) a. Morphological trigger: if a head H has the relevant L–morphology, then H has strong L–features.
 b. Syntactic trigger: if a well–formed representation can be assigned to a given string by assuming that H has strong L–features, then H has strong L–features.
 c. In general, weak features are the default value. These are assumed in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary of the type in (a) or (b).
 (Roberts 1997: 420f)

(67) a. states what the morphological trigger of a strong feature is. According to Roberts this is motivated by what is known to be the cause of the loss of V°–to–I° movement and the loss of agreement features in Early Modern English. (67) b. gives a short statement as to what the syntactic trigger is. (67) c. includes the idea that maximally simple representations of the input are preferred by the learner. Representations which lack overt movement are taken to be simpler than those which require overt movement due to a strong feature, because they do not create an adjunction structure. Thus, weak features create simpler representations than strong features, and therefore, according to Roberts, robust positive evidence is required for strong features, whereas weak features are the default value.

As concerns the word order change in Early Middle English, the crucial morphology would be nominal morphology, i.e., case–marking. As mentioned above, Old English had moderately rich case morphology and thus a strong N–feature on AgrO°. Once the case system broke down, there was no morphological trigger for a strong N–feature on AgrO° any more. However, Roberts points out that this was not the only factor which changed the featural content of the AgrO°. What was crucial for this development was that there were orders where DPs and other constituents appeared postverbally (as explained above, this orders were due to V°–to–AgrO° movement or stranding of final DPs by remnant movement of non–finite complements). Once the morphological trigger for the movement of DPs to Spec,AgrOP was lost, VO orders were analysed by the language acquirer as structures involving no movement of DPs to Spec,AgrOP, because it is the simplest representation compatible with the input. Hence, the presence of VO orders weakened the syntactic trigger

for a strong feature on AgrO°, which resulted in interpreting this order as a simpler representation which does not involve overt movement. Consequently, there was no robust trigger for the strong feature value any more, and the OV orders died out or were reanalysed. The parameter value changed from strong to weak, which, according to Roberts, entailed the loss of the orders (65) b., c., and d.

As noted above, Roberts links the word order change to the loss of scrambling. According to his analysis, the scrambled element must move through Spec,AgrOP to check Case. But once the strong feature on AgrO° was lost, there was no reason anymore to move to this position. Hence, by Economy, the scrambled element couldn't move there anymore and the scrambling operation was lost⁴⁰.

On the base of the analysis of word order change and scrambling, Roberts also accounts for the loss of cliticisation. Following Sportiche (1990), he takes clitic-placement (in West Germanic) to involve DP-movement which is followed by local D-movement. He notes that scrambling is the only kind of DP-movement which is able to place D within range of the clitic position without violating the Head Movement Constraint. Thus, the loss of scrambling implies the loss of cliticisation at the same time. However, only complements are affected here: subject DPs can still move within range of the clitic position by A-movement. This analysis explains then Kemenade's observation that cliticisation of objects was lost at about the same time as the word order change took place.

With his analysis Roberts not only accounts for the word order change in Early Middle English but also for the loss of scrambling and cliticisation (of complements). The loss of the two operations follows from central principles of his theory and is linked to the change from OV to VO. However, there are a number of problems with this theory: First, according to Roberts' analysis, the derivation with covert movement to AgrO° is more economical than the Old English structure with overt movement to AgrO°. If it is assumed that a weak AgrO-feature evokes a simpler representation than a strong AgrO-feature then the question is why OV orders exist at all (although it could be argued that the development of OV orders is another matter as it must be connected to the development of case and agreement morphology which is presumably the result of grammaticalisation processes). According to the Economy Principle, which is part of Roberts' analysis, OV orders should be precluded right away. OV languages like Modern German are counter evidence against this assumption. Second, Pintzuk (1991) has clearly shown that already in Late Old English and then in Early Middle English there is grammatical competition between OV and VO base orders. Roberts' analysis cannot

40 For the reasons why wh-movement is not affected by this development see Roberts 1997: 422 .

account for variation between these two parameter settings because features can either be weak or strong but they cannot have two values at the same time (the theory excludes this). A feature-based theory could only account for the observed variation if it allowed two grammars at the same time, one where the AgrO-feature is still strong and one where the AgrO-feature is weak. This would only be possible, however, if we allowed a combination of the feature-based theory and the grammars-in-competition hypothesis⁴¹. Third, the assumption that there is a relation between word order change and the loss of morphological case faces problems by explaining other languages than English: Modern Icelandic is a language with rich case morphology, therefore Roberts would have to assume that the N-features on AgrO are strong. However, as it is also a VO language its features should be weak and only move covertly at LF. Moreover, Modern Icelandic lacks scrambling. According to Roberts, in the history of English scrambling was lost when the rich case-system was lost, i.e., when strong N-features became weak. Under this assumption, he cannot explain why a language like Icelandic with a rich case-system lacks scrambling. Further, Roberts cannot explain the fact that Dutch is an OV language with poor case morphology. He claims that in this language, the N-features are still strong because the syntactic trigger has evidence that there are no postverbal object DPs⁴². This means that features remain strong because DP-movement to preverbal positions implies that OV orders are grammatical. However, the reason why DPs move is due to their strong N-features in the first place. Thus, Roberts analysis is circular in that syntactic triggers are dependent on exactly those properties they are designed to determine. The problems mentioned could be solved if morphology was not strictly tied to syntactic operations, i.e., poor case morphology to a weak AgrO-feature and rich case morphology to a strong AgrO-feature. This implies that the status of a language's case morphology is independent from what happens in the syntax, i.e., the absence of overt morphology weakens the learner's evidence for movement although it is not the only factor (it is no absolute trigger) which does so, and the syntactic evidence by itself is not robust enough to keep the system from changing.

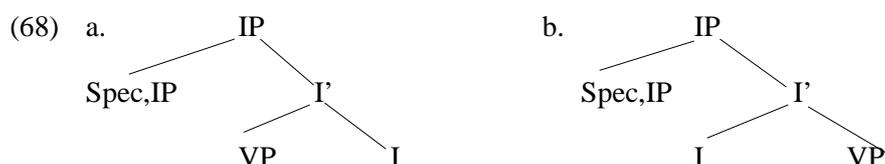
41 It should be noted here that the Kaynian approach which could be called Single Base Hypothesis is compatible with the grammars-in-competition hypothesis as long as two different grammars are assumed (one grammar is underlyingly VO with leftward movement of the object, the other grammar is underlyingly VO with no such movement).

42 The explanation of the properties of Dutch are based on a one-way prediction here: rich case morphology triggers leftward object movement (OV word order) but poor case morphology does not imply lack of movement (VO word order).

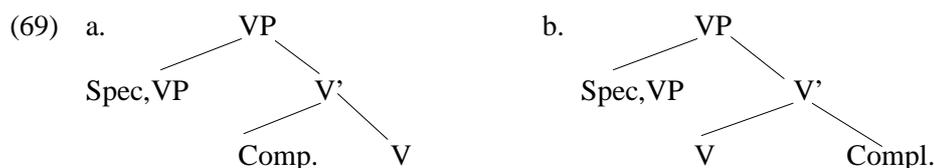
4.4.2 Pintzuk (1991): How the Double Base Hypothesis accounts for the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English

In section 4.3.2. we discussed Pintzuk's analysis of Old English word orders. She showed that there is clear evidence that Old English had synchronic competition between two phrase structure alternates: Infl-final vs. Infl-medial on the one hand, and OV vs. VO on the other hand. The underlying structures that Pintzuk suggests for Old English are illustrated here again:

Infl-final and Infl-medial



OV and VO



It is a well-known fact that during the Middle English period a number of changes took place which affected the structure and word order of the English language. Whereas Old English is variably Infl-final or Infl-medial in the base, Modern English is uniformly Infl-medial. Moreover, Old English also showed word order variation in the verb phrase whereas Modern English is uniformly VO. In this section we will see how Pintzuk accounts for these differences between Old English and Modern English by describing the changes which must have taken place in Middle English.

Under the assumption that the change from OV to VO was caused by contact with Scandinavian it is also important to know what properties the language of the invaders exhibited during the period of the contact situation. As noted above, it has been assumed that Old Norse had a uniform VO base word order:

Now, what I would like to suggest tentatively is that the re-analysis of VO as being the basic pattern inside VP had already taken place in Old Icelandic, and further, that the modern Object Shift is what remains of the leftward movements that were introduced into the language as a result of the re-analysis (Sigurðsson 1985: 43).

Rögvaldsson (1996), on the other hand, adopts Pintzuk's Double Base Hypothesis and claims that Old Icelandic⁴³ had variable base orders in the verb phrase. His assumption is based on the observation that the occurrence of clauses with postverbal pronominal objects indicate that they show underlying VO orders as pronouns do not move rightward. This is also what Kossuth (1978) has proposed. She observed that the word order in Old Norse is mainly VO, because

... as long as there are only two verbal elements, Old Icelandic verb order is unequivocally VO, but when there are three or even four verbal elements, the order varies between a VO order and a modified OV order (Kossuth 1978: 40).

As mentioned above, I will adopt the assumption that Old Norse shows variation in the verb phrase just like Old English, but that VO order was much more frequent than OV order, i.e., only remains of OV orders were still existent at that time. Thus, the VO word order patterns that start to occur in Late Old English and Early Middle English could have well been borrowed from Scandinavian (see below).

As shown above, Pintzuk assumes that Infl-final and Infl-medial phrase structures alternate throughout the Old English period. Moreover, she shows in her study that the frequency of Infl-medial structure increases at the same rate in main and embedded clauses. Harris (1964) claims that in Early Middle English Infl-medial phrase structure occurs quite frequently, but Infl-final phrase structure is also still possible. Pintzuk points out that when sufficient data from the Middle English period are analysed, it will become clear that the change from variation between Infl-final and Infl-medial to uniform Infl-medial will reach completion sometime during the Middle English period (Kroch & Taylor, 2000).

With respect to the synchronic variation between OV and VO orders in Old English, Pintzuk claims (see above) that the postverbal position of pronominal objects and one-syllable adverbs are evidence for the existence of VO base order. Van Kemenade (1987) analysed the change from OV to VO as a resetting of the parameter which specifies the direction of theta-role assignment. She claimed that the change was motivated by the high frequency of VO word orders which were derived by verb raising, postposing of DPs, PPs, and AdvPs and particle raising at the time of the change (about 1200). As the speakers "used" these operations more and more, the frequency of VO word order increased, even in those

43 The terms Old Icelandic and Old Norse both define the same texts which were written before there is evidence of the different Scandinavian languages like Old Swedish or Old Danish. The reason why Old Icelandic is often used is that all the texts which were written at that time were written in Iceland although they are ancestors of all the Scandinavian languages (Old Norse).

environments which prohibited or disfavoured them at the beginning of the Old English period. The result of this development was that the language learner reinterpreted these VO word orders as base orders. Roberts (1997, see section 4.3.1) also takes the occurrence of orders where DPs and other constituents appeared postverbally as an important factor which resulted in the change from OV to VO. Once the morphological trigger for the movement of DPs to Spec,AgrOP was lost, VO orders were analysed by the language acquirer as structures involving no movement of DPs to Spec,AgrOP. Thus, the presence of VO orders weakened the syntactic trigger for a strong feature on AgrO° and led the language learner to interpret this order as a simpler representation which does not involve overt movement. As a consequence, the OV orders died out or were reinterpreted. Under the Double Base Hypothesis the change is explained differently. Pintzuk notes that under her hypothesis, there are two possible sources for the occurrence of VO orders: 1) OV phrase structure with postposition (which she claims to remain stable during the Old English and Middle English periods), and VO phrase structure. This implies that it is not very likely that the frequency of OV order plus postposition motivated the change but rather the increasing frequency of already existing VO orders. What is crucial here is the assumption that the frequency of VO word order increased in clauses with Infl–medial phrase structure, because it is exactly this kind of structure which wins out in the end, i.e., which becomes categorical.

Pintzuk claims that her analysis can describe the variation in word order found in both Old English and Middle English texts most satisfyingly. She further claims that this is an indication that the change took place gradually, which means that it proceeded "via synchronic variation within the grammars of individual speakers to reach completion hundreds of years after the point of actuation" (Pintzuk 1991: 370). Pintzuk's assumption can be supported if the rate of increase in the frequency of post–verbal constituents in Infl–medial (VO) clauses is compared with the rate of increase in the frequency of post–verbal constituents in Infl–medial clauses. Pintzuk assumes that if the second rate is higher than the first rate, it lends further support to the hypothesis that post–verbal constituents in Infl–medial clauses are actually derived in the two ways mentioned above and that VO base word orders existed at the same time as OV base word orders. Although Pintzuk can account for the patterns found in Old English, the weakness of her analysis is that she does not explain why such a situation, i.e. grammars in competition, could develop in Old English.

The discussion of Roberts' and Pintzuk's analyses above has shown that the latter analysis better accounts for the patterns found in the data mainly because 1) it is not forced to make a number of additional assumptions (e.g. sometimes the DP has to move out of the VP

for case-marking reasons and sometimes not) and 2) the representations of the standard account are simpler. Moreover, Pintzuk's account which is embedded in a formal model of language change makes it possible to demonstrate the diffusion of a parametric change within a speakers' community on the basis of statistical methods. Therefore, I will adopt Pintzuk's analysis, i.e., I assume that the variation found in the verb phrase in Old English and (Early) Middle English (underlying OV and VO orders) is due to grammatical competition. Further evidence for this assumption will be given in the following sections.

4.5 OV and VO order in Early Middle English

In this section, we will see that the variation between OV and VO word order found in Early Middle English can be best explained if we assume that there are grammars in competition at that time. Further, it will be shown that the frequency found for OV and VO word orders differ between dialect groups, i.e., texts written in the districts belonging to the Danelaw behave differently than texts from districts outside the Danelaw (Southern and Kentish texts). We will see that this difference is strong support for the hypothesis that the change from OV to VO is mainly due to a language contact situation with the Scandinavian language.

First, we will deal with the diagnostics for VO base orders proposed by Kroch & Taylor (2000). We will discuss their findings from a number of Early Middle English texts⁴⁴. In section 4.5.1.2 it will be shown that the Ormulum also exhibits variation between OV and VO word order in the base. As the texts which show this variation come from the same districts and all show lexical borrowing from Scandinavian it is plausible to assume that the occurrence of the VO word order was caused by contact with the Scandinavians.

As noted above, in Early Middle English texts we find the order object – verb in embedded clauses:

- (70) ... þt ich nule *þe* **forsaken**.
 ... that I not–will *you* **forsake**.
 (CMJULIA,106.172)

- (71) ... ðat we moten mid yeure helpe and mid his hale grace
 ... that we may with your help and with his holy grace

ðis scorte lif her **laden**...
this short life here **lead**...
 (CMVICES1,21.237)

⁴⁴ In chapter 6, Part II, we will deal with the diagnostics for OV base order and its relation to scrambling.

As noted in section 3.1.1 above, the order where the object precedes the main verb is the unmarked word order of embedded clauses in OE. For the reader's convenience, examples (3) and (5) are repeated here:

(72) ... and heora an sona *his swurd* **ateah**.
 ... and of them one immediately *his sword* **drew**.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 16)

(73) ... hu ða æþelingas *ellen* **fremedon**.
 ... how the princes *deed-of-valor* **performed**.
 (Pintzuk 1991: 158)

In the Early Middle English texts we also find the order verb – object in embedded clauses⁴⁵:

(74) ... ðat ic mihte **hauen** *ðat eche lif*.
 ... that I might have that same life.
 (CMVICES1,67.754)

(75) ... þet ye mahen ane **pine** *me* here.
 ... that you may alone torture me here.
 (CMJULIA,102.110)

It seems that both OV and VO orders were possible in Early Middle English. The question is whether the surface OV and VO orders represent base orders or not, i.e., in the following section we will deal with the problem how to find clear cases of underlying VO orders. However, as the texts at that time were written in many dialects, we should investigate whether there is a difference between the dialects at the period when we think the word order was changing.

4.5.1 Variation between texts from the West Midlands and Southeast Midlands with respect to OV/VO order

According to a study by Kroch & Taylor (2000), there is a difference between West Midland texts and Southeast Midlands texts with respect to the order verb–object. In their study, they defined three positions where an object may occur: before the auxiliary (pre–Infl), between the auxiliary and the main verb (post–Infl) and after the main verb (postverb). The position of the object before the auxiliary is analysed as a result of scrambling (fronting of pronominal

⁴⁵ There are also embedded clauses where the complement appears before the tensed verb:

i) ðat he **deað** scolde þolien (VV: 113.443a from Kroch & Taylor (1994))
 that he **death** should suffer

The position of the object here is analysed as a result of scrambling by Kroch & Taylor (1993).

objects) by Kroch & Taylor (1993). It is either the post-Infl or the postverb position which exhibit the base position of the object (see below). Thus, to define the base position of the object, it has to be clear where the main verb occurs. A promising research strategy is to limit the study to embedded clauses with tensed auxiliary to eliminate as far as possible uncertainties in the landing site of main verbs. The distribution of pronouns proved to be very informative in that Kroch & Taylor found texts in which pronominal objects regularly appear after the non-finite main verb and texts in which they do not.

It is important to emphasise again that pronouns in West Germanic do not move rightward, i.e., they do not postpose beyond an otherwise final verb in the way that DPs can. Under this assumption, the appearance of a pronoun in postverbal position is therefore unambiguous evidence of and hence a diagnostic for underlying VO order. Table 1 shows the pattern which Kroch & Taylor found:

West Midlands					
		Pre-Infl	Post-Infl	Post-verb	% Post-verb
Ancrene Riwe	main	10	7	36	68
	subordinate	23	15	36	49
	total	33	22	72	57
Katherine Group	main	13	10	49	68
	subordinate	29	17	32	41
	total	42	27	81	54
Total	main	23	17	85	68
	subordinate	52	32	68	45
	total	75	49	153	55
Lambeth Homilies (L)	main	6	3	0	0
	subordinate	6	1	1	13
	total	12	4	1	6
Lambeth Homilies (E)	main	28	15	3	7
	subordinate	20	13	4	11
	total	48	28	7	8
Southeast Midlands					
		Pre-Infl	Post-Infl	Post-verb	% Post-verb
Trinity Homilies	main	13	12	8	24
	subordinate	29	14	8	16
	total	42	26	16	19
Vices and Virtues	main	31	11	1	2
	subordinate	59	19	5	6
	total	90	30	6	5
Total	main	44	23	9	12
	subordinate	88	33	13	9
	total	132	56	22	10

Table 1: Frequency of pronouns in postverbal position in Early ME (Kroch&Taylor, 2000: 14)

Table 1 shows the results with respect to positions of pronouns in 2 different dialectal areas: The texts which belong to the *The Katherine Group* and the *Ancrene Riwe* both belong to the Northwest Midlands texts. They show Scandinavian influence in their phonology and vocabulary⁴⁶. In these texts, 55% of pronominal objects appear in postverbal position, i.e., there is unambiguous evidence of underlying VO order. The 75 % of pronominal objects in pre-Infl position are evidence that fronting of pronouns has taken place here whereas the 49% of pronominal objects in post-Infl position are ambiguous: they can either show underlying OV order or fronting of pronouns to the left. The texts *Vices and Virtues*, the *Trinity Homilies*, and the *Kentish Sermons*, which all belong to the Southeast Midlands texts, exhibit much less VO word order, namely 10 % of pronominal objects in postverbal position. Kroch & Taylor assume that the quantitative difference between the two dialect groups shows that the West Midlands texts are further along the transition from Old to Modern English, i.e., they are more innovative, whereas the Southeast Midlands are more conservative because they show a lower frequency of VO word order. This implies that the latter texts exhibit the underlying VO order earlier than the Southeastern Midlands texts.

A further diagnostic for underlying VO order is the position of particles. Like pronouns, particles are light elements and thus do not move rightward. This implies that postverbal particles are evidence for underlying VO order. In the texts investigated, the occurrence of verb particles is rather sparse. As has been observed by Spasov (1966), in Early Middle English verb particles are much rarer than in Old English or Modern English, an observation which has not been explained so far. Nevertheless, those clauses which exhibit verb particles, mainly show them in postverbal position. Some of the examples from the texts are given below:

(76) *ha wule schaken of hire slep of uuel slauðe.*
 She *will shake of* her sleep of evil dreams.
 (CMANCRIW,II.115.1453)

(77) ... & swa me *shal* amit te burh **setten** hit on heh **up**.
 ... and so man *shall* in the castle **set** it on high **up**.
 (CMKATHE,36.270)

There is one example from *Vices and Virtues*, where the verb particle occurs in pre-Infl position:

⁴⁶ see also 2.3.1.

- (78) ... þat non godes word **upp** ne *mai* **springen**.
 ... that no God's word **up** NEG *may* **spring**.
 "... that no word of God's may spring up."
 (CMVICES 1,69.778)

Table 2 shows the distribution of particles in the West Midlands texts and the Southeast Midlands texts:

Dialect	postaux	postverb	% postverb
West Midlands	2	12	86
Southeast Midlands	3	1	25

Table 2: The distribution of particles in clauses with an auxiliary verb (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 15)

As can be seen from Table 2, the particle data show the same tendency as the pronoun data. Kroch & Taylor (2000) note, however, that the data are very sparse and therefore not very reliable. Nevertheless, they support the finding from above, namely that they show the same relationship among the dialect areas as the pronoun data show.

The third diagnostic for VO order is the position of particles which are stranded when their objects undergo leftward movement. One such example is illustrated in (79):

- (79) hel mi blodi saule of **al þe blodi sunnen** þet ha is **wið** iwundet
 heal my bloody soul **of all the bloody sins** that she is **with** wounded

 þurh mine fif wittes.
 through my five senses.
 "Heal my bloody soul of all the bloody sins that it is wounded with through my
 five senses."
 (CMANCRIW, I.62.202)

It is generally assumed that prepositions which have been stranded like **wið** "with" in (79) above have to be lexically governed by the main verb of their clause which would be **iwundet** "wounded" here. By following Kayne (1984) that this government must be in the direction canonical for the language, Kroch & Taylor assume that stranded prepositions which occur in pre- or postverbal position are a diagnostic of underlying VO word order. They note, however, that if stranded prepositions are able to scramble or to undergo rightward movement, or if they can be stranded after these movements, then their position cannot be taken as exhibiting underlying VO order. In Modern English, however, this is not the case, i.e., a combination of preposition stranding and extraposition is not allowed:

- (80) a. Who_i did you give books to t_i yesterday?
 b.*Who_i did you give books yesterday to t_i?

If we have a look at Table 3 it becomes clear that Early Middle English resembles Modern English in this respect:

West Midlands				
	Pre-Infl	Post-Infl	Post-verb	% Post-verb
Ancrene Riwe	0	9	9	50
Katherine Group	0	11	10	48
Total	0	20	19	49
Lambeth Homilies (L)	0	3	0	0
Lambeth Homilies (E)	0	3	1	25
Southeast Midlands				
	Pre-Infl	Post-Infl	Post-verb	% Post-verb
Trinity Homilies	2	10	1	8
Vices and Virtues	5	1	0	0
Total	7	11	1	5

Table 3: Stranded prepositions in subordinate clauses with an auxiliary verb (stranding both by *wh*-extraction, passivisation, etc.) (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 16)

Although the data is much sparser than the pronoun data, it becomes clear that stranded prepositions similarly behave like pronominal objects. This implies, as noted above, that preposition stranding in Early Middle English is also incompatible with extraposition, otherwise we would expect to find more stranded prepositions in postverbal position than pronominal objects as these do not extrapose. Since the frequency of postverbal stranded prepositions is lower than the frequency of postverbal pronouns, Kroch & Taylor note that this expectation is directly contradicted.

Another striking observation here is that the Lambeth text behaves like the Southeastern Midlands texts rather than the West Midlands texts although it is geographically closer to the latter group than to the former group. Kroch & Taylor claim that this is further support for the notion that there is a systematic difference between it and the other texts.

So far we have seen that dialects in Early Middle English differ with respect to the order verb-object. There are Southeastern Midlands texts which show underlying OV order although there are also clauses with the order verb-pronominal object which would have to be VO order in the base, i.e., there are two grammars in competition (see section below). Although the three diagnostics discussed above define the frequency of underlying VO order in the texts, it should be kept in mind that preverbal placement of these elements is not diagnostic of OV word order because they can scramble leftward in the Germanic languages.

Therefore, OV word order could also reflect leftward scrambling from an underlying VO word order. In chapter 5, Part II, the extent of leftward scrambling in the texts discussed will be investigated so that we can establish the true extent of underlying VO order.

We have further seen that there is evidence then that the West Midlands texts show VO order earlier than the Southeastern Midlands texts. Moreover, these findings support the assumption that in Early Middle English, synchronic grammatical variation can be found with respect to the order OV/VO between dialects, i.e., West Midlands texts show a different grammar from Southeastern Midlands texts. The question here is, if there is a reason for this dialectal discrepancy and whether we find further support for this finding. Therefore, more texts from Northern dialectal areas should be investigated to see whether they also show a higher frequency of underlying VO order than the conservative Southeastern Midlands texts. Therefore, in the next section we will define the frequency of underlying VO word order in the *Ormulum*, a text from a Northern dialectal area (Lincolnshire).

4.5.2 OV/VO variation in the *Ormulum*

As noted in chapter 2, section 2.2.1, the *Ormulum* is an Early Middle English text in the East Midlands dialect, set down in the hand of its author, Orm (a Scandinavian name), about 1200. The text was probably written in Lincolnshire, an area of relatively heavy Scandinavian settlement which is reflected by non-syntactic evidence in the text. Hence, as shown above we find lexical and grammatical items borrowed from Old Norse (ON). The following examples show lexical borrowing : ON *intill* "into", ON *bape* from *baðir* "both", ON *þwerrt ut* "throughout", ON *fra* "from", ON *att* "to".

In the literature, there are a number of studies on the *Ormulum* but most of these studies investigated the language, metrics or the grammar of the text. Those studies which deal with the syntax of the *Ormulum* do this in a very descriptive way (e.g. Palmatier, 1969), i.e., they merely describe all the patterns that occur in the text without giving analyses or explanations why these patterns should occur. The study on the *Ormulum* discussed here presents new insights into the syntax of the text as the structures found are analysed in the generative framework and brought into connection with language contact. I will show that my findings and the findings from other Early Middle English texts (mainly by Kroch & Taylor) shed new light on the question how the VO word order came into the English language.

The *Ormulum* was investigated along the lines the other texts were investigated by Kroch & Taylor, i.e, embedded clauses with an auxiliary are taken here as a diagnostic for the underlying position of the object. We find embedded clauses with an auxiliary which show

OV order:

- (81) ... giff þatt he wolde *himm* **lokenn**...
 ... if that he would *him* **observe**...
 (CMORM,INTR.L197)
- (82) ... swa þatt tu miht *Drihtiness* **are winnenn**.
 ... so that you might *Lord's kindness* **win**.
 (CMORM,I,53.513)

There are also clauses, however, which show the order VO:

- (83) ... þatt Drihtin sholde **gifenn** *uss god sawless eghesihþe*.
 ... that the Lord should **give us good soul's eye sight**.
 (CMORM,I,63.567)
- (84) ... þurh þatt he wolde tolen dæð wiþþutenn hise wrihte &
 ... through that he would permit death without his fault and
- turnenn menn till Cristenndom. ...& **fullhtenn hemm & clennessenn**
 turn men till Christendom. ...and **baptise them and cleans**
- hemm ...**
them ...
 (CMORM,I,148.1212)

There are even clauses with both orders:

- (85) Forr þatt I wolde bliþelig þatt all Ennglisshe lede wiþþ ære sholde
 For that I would gladly that all English people with ear should
- lisstenn itt**, wiþþ herte sholde **itt trowwenn**, wiþþ tunge sholde
listen it, with heart should **it trust**, with tongue should
- spellenn itt**, wiþþ dede sholde **itt follghenn**.
spell it, with deed should **it follow**.
 (CMORM,DED.L113.33)

Table 4 shows the distribution of pronominal objects:

Text	Pronoun position					
	pre-Infl	% pre-Infl	post-Infl	% post-Infl	postverb	% postverb
The Ormulum	32	17	59	32	95	51

Table 4: Frequency of pronominal objects in postverbal position in the *Ormulum*

Table 4 shows that pronominal objects occur in postverbal position 51 % of the time. The frequency of postverbal pronominal objects is much higher than the frequency of pronominal

objects in post–Infl position (only 59/186 cases or 32 %). However, the text also shows a number of pronominal objects in pre–Infl position (32/186 cases or 17 %), which is again evidence that fronting of pronominal objects must have taken place here to a position preceding the auxiliary (Wackernagel position). Although it seems that the results speak for underlying VO order here, the order is still ambiguous: Either this really shows VO order in the base, or it is underlying OV order with rightward movement of the DP. In chapter 5, Part II, we will discuss the occurrence of scrambling in the text.

As shown in section 4.5.1.1, another diagnostic for underlying VO order is the occurrence of verb particles in postverbal position. In the *Ormulum*, there are 17 embedded clauses with auxiliary which have a verb particle. Although these examples are rather sparse as in the other texts they mainly show the particle in postverbal position. Some of the examples found in the *Ormulum* are given below:

- (86) Þatt Drihhtin *wollde* **lesenn ut**
That Lorde *wanted–to* **release PRT**

Hiss folc off deofless walde, ...
his people of devil’s power, ...
(CMORM,I,21.282)

- (87) Agg whann he *sholde* **ganngenn inn**
Ever when he *should* **go in**

Upp to þatt operr allterr, ...
up to that other altar, ...
(CMORM,I,35.384)

There is one example where the particle appears in preverbal position (note that we have two auxiliaries here):

- (88) Þatt mannkinn *sholde* *mughenn* wel
That mankind *should may* well

Upp cumenn inntill heoffne, ...
up come into heaven, ...
(CMORM,I,136.1139)

Moreover, there is one example where the auxiliary follows the main verb and the particle follows the auxiliary:

- (89) Ann siþe **þewwtedd** *haffdenn* all
 One time **served** *have* all

Abutenn i þe temmple, ...
about in the temple, ...
 (CMORM,I,16.251)

This example could be a case of stylistic fronting because it seems that the subject of the clause *all* "all" is postposed which creates a subject-gap, a condition which has to be fulfilled for stylistic fronting to take place. Then the participle *þewwtedd* "served" is able to move to the subject-gap position (it is assumed that Middle English follows Old English here in that the time adverb *one time* "one time" is adjoined to CP in these cases). The word order without stylistic fronting and subject postposing would be as in (90):

- (90) Ann siþe all haffdenn **þewwtedd abutenn** i þe temmple, ...
 One time all have **served about** in the temple, ...
 (CMORM,I,16.251)

The distribution of particles in the *Ormulum* are shown in Table 5:

	post-Infl	postverb	% postverb
The Ormulum	1	15	94

Table 5: The distribution of verb particles in embedded clauses with an auxiliary

Table 5 shows that there is a clear tendency of verbal particles to appear in postverbal position (94%). If we compare this finding with Kroch & Taylor's findings shown in Table 2 it becomes clear that the *Ormulum* behaves like the West Midlands texts and the Lambeth Homilies. Thus, this finding is additional support for the hypothesis that the West Midlands and Northeast Midlands texts show a higher frequency of underlying VO order earlier than the Southeast Midlands texts.

Although no examples of preposition stranding could be found in the text, both the distribution of pronominal objects and verb particles clearly show that in the *Ormulum* there is a fairly high frequency of underlying VO word order.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have dealt with OV and VO word order patterns in Old English and Early Middle English. It was shown that the standard assumption that Old English is underlyingly

OV cannot hold, because there is evidence that the VO orders occurring in Old English texts were not derived by rightward movement of the complement but represent mainly underlying VO word order. Further, it was shown that Pintzuk's Double Base Hypothesis accounts well for the phenomena found in Old English and (Early) Middle English. On the other hand, it was also shown that a Kaynian-type of approach like the one discussed by Roberts which assumes that OV orders are derived by leftward movement of the object cannot account for a number of facts, e.g. why there are OV languages with a poor case-system like Dutch and VO languages like Icelandic with a rich case-system. In section 4.5.1.1 it was shown that in Early Middle English texts, there are a number of diagnostics for underlying VO word order like postverbal position of pronominal objects and verb particles and the position of stranded prepositions. It was further shown that texts of different dialectal areas behave differently, i.e., they show a different frequency with respect to underlying VO order. Thus, texts from the West Midlands exhibit a higher frequency of VO orders than the texts from the Southeastern Midlands. The findings from the *Ormulum* support the hypothesis that OV and VO grammars are in competition at that time and that Northeast Midlands texts show the same frequency of underlying VO word order as the West Midlands texts. A likely reason why we find a higher frequency of underlying VO order in texts from those areas which were within the Danelaw and hence densely settled with Scandinavians is that the Scandinavian language had a strong influence on the English language spoken there, i.e., it is assumed here that the underlying VO word order pattern was introduced into the language by Scandinavian. In the areas where there were no Scandinavian settlements, other word order patterns are found and therefore it is assumed here that this is the reason why we find differences between the dialects regarding OV/VO word orders.

The question then is what happened in the English language that the newly introduced word order was accepted by the speakers in such a way that it caused the parametric change from OV to VO. I assume that it is an instance of contact-induced language change which was due to imperfect learning of the invaders' language by the native English speakers. This implies that this is a case of second language acquisition where adult speakers learn the foreign language imperfectly and pass certain features of this foreign-influenced language on to their children who are, however, native speakers of this language. The linguistic situation in the area which was densely settled by Scandinavians could well imply that the native English adults learnt Scandinavian imperfectly and that their second language usage became the primary linguistic data for their children. During the process of first language acquisition, these children adopted the interference features of their parents and spread these

"innovations" to others. It is not exactly clear why speakers sometimes prefer to adopt foreign grammatical features from other languages and why some of these grammatical features of a native language (in our case Scandinavian) are carried over into an adult's second language (native adult speakers of English). It is clear, however, that grammatical features can be borrowed this way and that they appear as interference effects in adult second-language acquisition. In the following chapters we will see that this scenario could well have brought about the change from OV to VO because there are further findings in Early Middle English texts which support this hypothesis.

CHAPTER 5: OBJECT MOVEMENT

In this chapter we will deal with two kinds of Object movement, object shift and scrambling. In Part I the Scandinavian type of object shift will be discussed

As noted in the introduction, the reason why these two types of object movement processes will be discussed here is to show that Scandinavian had a strong influence on the syntax of English which resulted not only in the occurrence of syntactic Scandinavian characteristics but also in the word order change from OV to VO. At first sight, both object movement operations seem to be very similar although we will see that their properties differ in many respects. object shift is a characteristic of the Scandinavian languages (which all have underlying VO word order) whereas scrambling is taken to be a characteristic of West Germanic OV languages. The goal of this thesis is to show that the English language was intensely influenced by Scandinavian at the time when Great Britain was invaded by Danes and Norwegians during the ninth and tenth century, and that there is evidence for this strong influence in the syntax of Early Middle English.

The most striking change in the history of English is the parametric change from OV to VO base word order which took place in the Early Middle English period. In chapter 4 it was shown that there is evidence for grammars in competition during that time and it was claimed that this change is due to Scandinavian influence, i.e., that the Scandinavian word order pattern came into the English language and gradually drove out the Old English OV word order in the base. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that in Early Middle English we find further syntactic patterns of Scandinavian origin. It is plausible to assume that the more Scandinavian syntactic characteristics we find the more likely it is that Scandinavian influence is also responsible for the OV/VO word order change in the history of English. Therefore, in this chapter we will deal with the question whether object shift occurs in Early Middle English texts or not. In order to be sure that it is indeed object shift that we find and not another type of object movement, e.g. scrambling, both object movement operations have to be clearly defined. For this reason, Part I and Part II starts out with describing the two operations to see what their properties are. After that, a discussion of how to analyse object shift and scrambling best will follow. The description and analysis of the operations will then enable us to find out whether Early Middle English texts, especially the *Ormulum*, exhibits object shift and/or scrambling.

A note on the usage of the term object shift is in order here: object shift is used in the literature for actually two different kinds of movements, which causes confusion and unclarity. Holmberg dubbed the Scandinavian movement of an object out of the VP as object shift (1986: 165). Characteristic for this movement is, that the main verb has to move out of the VP, only then can the object move. On the other hand, there is the notion of object shift in minimalism. Here, the orders OV and VO are explained by assuming that the object either moves overtly or covertly to a certain position to check its features (see e.g. Roberts 1995 and chapter). As these two kinds of movement have different characteristics, I will call object movement in Scandinavian object shift, and the other type I will simply call object movement (I hope this distinction will lead to more clarity, at least in my thesis).

Part I: Object Shift

5.1 Introduction

Object shift, which is found in all the Scandinavian languages, is a process where an object has moved out of its base position inside the VP to a position to the left of an element (e.g. negation or adverbial) which is not part of the VP:

- (1) Da. a. *Hvorfor læste Peter *aldrig* **den**?
Why read Peter *never* **it**?
b. Hvorfor læste Peter **den** *aldrig*?
Why read Peter **it** *never*?
(Vikner 1997: 2)
- (2) Ic. a. *Af hverju las Pétur *aldrei* **hana**?
Why read Peter *never* **it**?
b. Af hverju las Pétur **hana** *aldrei*?
Why read Peter **it** *never*?
(Vikner 1997: 2)

In the Danish example in (1) a. the pronominal object *den* "it" stayed in its base position (it is still to the right of the adverb *aldrig* "never") and the sentence is ungrammatical. In (1) b. the pronominal object has moved out of its base position to the left of *aldrig* and the sentence is grammatical. The same phenomenon can be seen in the examples (2) a. and b. from Icelandic. The explanation for the contrast in (1) a. and b., (2) a. and b. is that whenever the finite verb moves out of the VP the pronominal object has to move as well. This "rule" has been known as Holmberg's Generalisation (1986: 165) which was referred to as "the phonetic

adjacency condition on object shift":

- (3) The object has to be phonetically adjacent to the adjuncts around which it is shifted.

In section 3.3 we will see that a revision of Holmberg's Generalisation is needed to account for all the properties of object shift.

The effect of Holmberg's Generalisation can also be seen in clauses with an auxiliary where the main verb has to stay in its base position, and as a result, the pronominal object cannot move either:

- (4) Da. a. Hvorfor har Peter *aldrig* læst **den**?
Why has Peter *never* read **it**?
b. *Hvorfor has Peter **den** *aldrig* læst?
Why has Peter **it** *never* read?
(Vikner 1997: 2)

- (5) Sw. a. Jag har *inte* kysst **henne**.
I have *not* kissed **her**.
b. *Jag har **henne** *inte* kysst.
I have **her** *not* kissed.
(Holmberg 1999: 1)

In (4) a. the main verb *læst* "read" cannot move to C because the auxiliary *har* "has" occupies this position. As the main verb does not move out of the VP, the pronominal object cannot move either. This is shown by the contrast between (4) a. and b. (and (5) a. and b.). In Mainland Scandinavian object shift is restricted to main clauses, because in these languages the verb moves out of VP only in main clauses (they do not have V° -to- I° movement in embedded clauses). In Icelandic, on the other hand, there is V° -to- I° movement also in embedded clauses, and therefore object shift is found here too:

- (6) Ic. Það er trúlegt að hann þekki **hana** *ekki*.
It is probable that he knows **her** *not*
- (7) Sw. a. Det är troligt att han *inte* känner **henne**.
It is probable that he *not* knows **her**
- b. *Det är troligt att han **henne** *inte* känner.
It is probable that he **her** *not* knows
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 143)

And there is another difference between Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages: in Icelandic full object DPs may undergo object shift whereas this is not possible in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Faroese (which belongs to Insular Scandinavian):

- (8) Ic. a. Af hverju las Pétur *aldrei þessa bók*?
Why read Peter *never this book*?
- b. Af hverju las Pétur *þessa bók aldri*?
Why read Peter *this book never*?
(Vikner 1997: 2)
- (9) Da. a. Hvorfor læste Peter *aldrig den her bog*?
Why read Peter *never this book*?
- b. *Hvorfor læste Peter *den her bog aldrig*?
Why read Peter *this book never*?
(Vikner 1997: 2)

As shown above, in Mainland Scandinavian and in Insular Scandinavian the pronominal object must undergo object shift if the main verb moves out of the VP (obligatory movement). In Icelandic full object DPs may undergo object shift (optional movement) whereas in Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese this is not possible.

scrambling, which is found e.g. in German, is another type of object movement. When an object is scrambled, it also moves from inside VP to the left of an adverbial. Therefore, these two processes seem to be very similar, in the examples below the two processes even look identical:

- (10) Da. I går læste_i han [I t_i] [VP **dem**_j [VP uden tvivl [VP ikke [VP t_i t_j]]]]
Yesterday read he **them** without doubt not
(Vikner 1994: 487)
- (11) Ge. Gestern las_i er [VP **sie**_j] [VP ohne Zweifel [VP nicht [VP t_j t_i]]] [I t_i]
Yesterday read he **them** without doubt not
(Vikner 1994: 488)

In both examples the object has moved out of its base position within VP and adjoined to VP. As Danish and German both belong to the V2 languages, the finite verb (*læste* and *las* "read") has moved to C. That the object *dem* "them" (10) and *sie* "them" in (11) has moved out of the VP can therefore only be seen because it appears to the left of a VP–adjoined adverbial (*uden tvivl* "without doubt" in (10) and *ohne Zweifel* "without doubt" in (11)). Although it seems, at first sight, that object shift and scrambling are very similar, it will be shown in Part II of this

chapter that they are in fact quite different processes.

In the following, we will further investigate Scandinavian object shift. In section 5.3 three different approaches to explaining object shift will be discussed: In 5.3.1 Vikner's theory of object shift as A-movement will be discussed, as well as the effect of object shift in double-object constructions (Vikner 1989). Section 5.3.2 deals with Josefsson's claim that object shift is cliticisation (head-movement), and in section 5.3.3 the revision of Holmberg's Generalisation (Holmberg 1997, 1999) will be discussed. Section 5.4 concludes. As noted in the introduction, it is crucial here that object shift and scrambling are shown to be two different processes, moreover so, as the former one can only be found in the Scandinavian languages. Since the goal of this thesis is to show Scandinavian syntactic influence on Middle English, it has to be clear what kind of phenomena we find in the texts to be investigated. Therefore, before we move on to the analyses of object shift, section 2 briefly deals with Vikner's distinction between object shift and scrambling (1994) on which his analysis of object shift is based.

5.2 The Differences between Object Shift and Scrambling

In this section, we will need to clarify that there are two types of object movement which have different characteristics: object shift and scrambling. object shift is found in Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish whereas scrambling is found in Afrikaans, Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, (High) German, Swiss German, and Yiddish. The properties of these two types of object movement will be discussed here.

According to Vikner (1989, 1990, 1994, 1997) both object shift and scrambling are adjunction to VP (in German scrambling may also adjoin to IP). Although these two kinds of object movements seem to be very similar (see examples (10) and (11)), they exhibit differences, which leads Vikner to conclude that object shift is A-movement, whereas scrambling is A' movement. Based on this assumption, the different properties of A-movement (object shift) and A' movement (scrambling) are illustrated below:

(12) Properties of A–movement processes and A’–movement processes
(Vikner 1994)

A–movement (object shift)	A’ movement (scrambling)
a. cannot trigger a parasitic gap	may trigger a parasitic gap
b. landing site: +case (only moves DPs) (adjacency requirement)	landing site: –case (moves XPs) (no adjacency requirement)
c. cannot cross a c–commanding A–element	may cross a c–commanding A–element
d. launch site: –case (V–movement necessary)	launch site: + case (V–movement possible, but not necessary)

In the next sections we will discuss the properties of object shift given above in (12). Vikner (1994) claims that object shift is A–movement because it shows properties that other instantiations of A–movement also show. According to Vikner this becomes clear when compared with an A’ movement operation like scrambling. We will turn to his analysis now. In Part II we will come back to the properties listed in (12) and we will focus on the phenomena found with respect to scrambling. We will also see that the assumption that scrambling is an instantiation of A’–movement is very controversial.

5.3 Theories of Object Shift

The first theory which will be discussed here is Vikner’s theory of object shift as A–movement. In section 3.2 Josefsson’s analysis of object shift as an operation where the preposed object adjoins to I° or C will be discussed. Section 3.3 deals with Holmberg’s proposal that object shift is a PF–operation (Holmberg 1999). Section 4 concludes.

5.3.1 Object Shift is A–movement (Vikner 1989, 1990, 1994, 1997)

Based on the general distinction between A–movement and A’–movement Vikner (1994) notes that there are 3 kinds of view points: 1) scrambling (and object shift) are both instantiations of A–movement and on these grounds, the difference between these movement operations and wh–movement can be explained (Fanselow, 1990; Moltmann, 1990; Vanden Wyngaerd 1989); 2) German scrambling shows properties of A’–movement whereas Dutch

scrambling shows properties of A–movement (see Part II); 3) scrambling is an instantiation of A'–bar movement, object shift is an instantiation of A–movement. This becomes clear when the properties of the two object movement processes are compared. Vikner claims that there is evidence that the differences between the two processes can be best explained with the assumption in 3). Therefore, the properties shown in (12) are discussed in the following sections.

5.3.1.1 Object Shift does not license Parasitic Gaps

By following Chomsky (1982, 1986) Vikner assumes that a parasitic gap may only occur in a construction where A' movement has taken place. In the German example below where wh–movement has taken place, a parasitic gap can occur⁴⁷:

- (13) (?) **Wieviele Gäste** wollte Peter [ohne PRO e kennengelernt zu haben] **t**
How many guest wanted–to Peter without met to have
 einladen?
 invite
 (Vikner 1994: 490)

In Danish, parasitic gaps can also occur in clauses with wh–movement:

- (14) **Hvor mange gæster** har Peter inviteret **t** uden at kende **e** på forhånd?
How many guest has Peter invited without to know beforehand
 (Vikner 1994: 491)

As shown in the examples (13) and (14), parasitic gaps can occur in clauses with A' movement. The fact that parasitic gaps may occur in scrambling constructions too, leads Vikner to the conclusion that scrambling is an instantiation of A' movement. A scrambling construction with a parasitic gap is shown in (15):

- (15) (?) ... daß Peter **sie** [ohne PRO e kennengelernt zu haben] **t** einladen wollte
 ... that Peter **them** without knowing to have invite wanted–to
 (Vikner 1994: 491)

Vikner notes that parasitic gaps cannot occur, however, in object shift constructions, which indicates that object shift is not A' movement. The Danish example below illustrates this:

- (16) * Peter inviterede_v **dem** ikke _v **t** uden at kende **e** på forhånd
 Peter invited **them** not without to know beforehand
 (Vikner 1994: 491)

⁴⁷ t is the real gap, e is the parasitic gap.

5.3.1.2 Case assignment

It is standardly assumed that A–movement is case–driven, i.e., it is movement from a position with the feature –case to a position with the feature +case. On the other hand, A' movement is taken to be movement out of a case–marked position. According to Vikner, this distinction between A–movement and A' movement forms the basis for two arguments in favour of object shift being A–movement and scrambling being A' movement.

Vikner's first argument concerns PPs. He claims that they do not receive case, which explains why PPs can undergo scrambling but not object shift (object shift is movement into a case–marked position). He illustrates this with the following examples from German and Danish:

(17) a. Ich habe *nicht* **für das Buch** bezahlt.
I have *not* **for the book** payed

b. Ich habe **für das Buch** *nicht* bezahlt.
I have **for the book** *not* payed
(Vikner 1994: 492)

(18) a. Ich habe *nicht* **dafür** bezahlt.
I have *not* **there–for** payed

b. Ich habe **dafür** *nicht* bezahlt.
I have **there–for** *not* payed
(Vikner 1994: 492)

(19) a. Jeg betalte *ikke* **for bogen**.
I payed *not* **for the book**

b.*Jeg betalte **for bogen** *ikke*.
I payed **for the book** *not*
(Vikner 1994: 492)

(20) a. Jeg betalte *ikke* **for den**.
I payed *not* **for it**

b.*Jeg betalte **for den** *ikke*.
I payed **for it** *not*
(Vikner 1994: 492)

In the German example in (17) the PP *für das Buch* "for the book" can scramble out of its position within the VP (the negation *nicht* "not" shows the left periphery of the VP). The same is true for the pronominal adverbial *dafür* "there–for"(18). In Danish, however, neither the PP *for bogen* "for the book" in (19) nor the PP *for den* "for it" in (20) can move out of the

VP because it would have to scramble but Danish does not allow scrambling. Therefore, scrambling and object shift do have different properties, which can be seen by the contrast between the two languages.

Vikner's second argument concerns case–assignment to the position into which the shifted object is moving. Vikner suggests that the case–assigner here is "I or rather either the verb inside I or a verb trace inside I"⁴⁸. He further assumes that case–assignment adheres to an adjacency requirement. Following Stowell (1981), Vikner claims that case–assignment under government requires the assigner and the assignee to be adjacent. As scrambling is A' movement, the scrambled object need not be adjacent to I°, but the object which undergoes object shift needs to be adjacent to I°. Now Vikner takes both scrambling and object shift to be adjunction to VP, which implies that the landing site is to the immediate right of the subject. From what was said above in object shift, nothing may intervene between the landing site of the object and the case–assigner in I°, whereas in scrambling none of these requirements hold. This is borne out as shown below:

German scrambling

- (21) Gestern hat Peter...
Yesterday has Peter...
- a. **das Buch** *ohne Zweifel* nicht gelesen.
the book *without doubt* not read
 - b. *ohne Zweifel* **das Buch** nicht gelesen.
without doubt **the book** not read
 - c. *ohne Zweifel* nicht **das Buch** gelesen.
without doubt not **the book** read
(Vikner 1994: 493)

Icelandic Object Shift

- (22) a. I gær las Pétur **bókina** *eflaust* ekki.
Yesterday read Pétur **book–the** *doubtlessly* not.
- b. *I gær las Pétur *eflaust* **bókina** ekki.
Yesterday read Pétur *doubtlessly* **book–the** not.
- c. I gær las Pétur *eflaust* ekki **bókina**.
Yesterday read Pétur *doubtlessly* not **book–the**.
(Vikner 1994: 494)

48 Vikner 1994: 493.

Scrambling in German and object shift of a full object DP in Icelandic are optional. Vikner notes that the difference between (21) and (22) is however, that the scrambled object in (21) can land anywhere, the object which has undergone object shift in (22) cannot, i.e., it can only adjoin to the VP in such a way that it is adjacent to I° . If we compare (21) b. and (22) b. we see that the scrambled element need not be adjacent to I° (*ohne Zweifel* "without doubt" intervenes), whereas non-adjacency in (22) b. is ruled out. In 5.2.2.5 the obligatoriness of object shift with pronouns will be discussed in more detail.

5.3.1.3 Object Shift is compatible with the VP-internal subject hypothesis

The proposal that subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs are base-generated in Spec,VP and further moved to Spec,IP by A-movement has been gaining ground in the literature (see Sportiche, 1988 and others). Vikner notes that having both object shift and subject movement in one clause seems to be impossible, because both operations are A-movements which should block each other. According to Rizzi's Relativised Minimality (1990), however, this does not seem to be a problem. He defines Relativised Minimality in the following way:

(23) **Relativised Minimality**

X x-governs Y only if there is no Z such that

- (i) Z is a typical potential x-governor for Y;
- (ii) Z c-commands Y and Z does not c-command X.

(Rizzi 1990: 7)

Applied to A-movement this means that an element which is a potential antecedent for A-movement blocks antecedent-government from an A-position (if Z is a potential antecedent-governor it will block antecedent-government between X and Y).

If we assume that there is object shift and subject movement in one clause, the landing site of the object shifted object would seem to intervene between the launching site and the landing site of the subject (it would block antecedent-government). Vikner, however, claims that object shift is adjunction to VP and not movement into a specifier position, and therefore the landing site of the shifted object is not a potential intervener. Vikner therefore concludes that object shift and subject movement are not incompatible.

5.3.1.4 Object Shift requires the main verb to move

One of the characteristics of object shift is that only if the main verb moves out of the VP can the object move too (see Introduction, especially examples (1) to (5)). This is illustrated

again in the following examples from Danish:

- (24) a. *Hvorfor købte Peter *ikke* **den**?
Why bought Peter *not* **it**?
- b. Hvorfor købte Peter **den** *ikke*?
Why bought Peter **it** *not*?
(Vikner 1994: 499)
- (25) a. Hvorfor skal Peter *ikke* købe **den**?
Why shall Peter *not* buy **it**?
- b. *Hvorfor skal Peter **den** *ikke* købe?
Why shall Peter **it** *not* buy?
(Vikner 1994: 499)
- (26) a. Hvorfor har Peter *ikke* købt **den**?
Why has Peter *not* bought **it**?
- b. *Hvorfor har Peter **den** *ikke* købt?
Why has Peter **it** *not* bought?
(Vikner 1994: 499)
- (27) a. Det var godt at Peter *ikke* købte **den**.
It was good that Peter *not* bought **it**
- b. *Det var godt at Peter **den** *ikke* købte.
It was good that Peter **it** *not* bought
(Vikner 1994: 499)

Example (24) shows that the pronominal object has to move if the main verb has moved out of the VP. In modal constructions (25), in compound tenses (26), and in embedded clauses (27) object shift is not possible, because the main verb *køben* "buy" is inside VP. In Icelandic, things are different. As shown above, there is object shift even in embedded clauses, because the main verb undergoes V° -to- I° movement (if there is no auxiliary verb):

- (28) a. Það var gott að Pétur keypti **hana ekki**.
It was good that Pétur bought **it not**.
- b. *Það var gott að Pétur keypti *ekki hana*.
It was good that Pétur bought *not it*.
(Vikner 1994: 494)

This is another difference between object shift and scrambling, because the latter operation does not require the main verb to move out of the VP (example (21) is repeated here):

German scrambling

- (29) Gestern hat Peter ...
Yesterday has Peter ...
- a. **das Buch** *ohne Zweifel* nicht gelesen.
the book *without doubt* not read
 - b. *ohne Zweifel* **das Buch** nicht gelesen.
without doubt **the book** not read
 - c. *ohne Zweifel* nicht **das Buch** gelesen.
without doubt not **the book** read
(Vikner 1994: 493)

The question is, what is the correlation between verb movement and object shift, or better, why does object shift require there to be a trace in V? Vikner assumes that the verb must assign case to the DP complement which it selects, but case-assignment does not have to take place inside the VP. In the V2 languages accusative case may be assigned from any X containing the verb or the trace of the verb, i.e., from V, or I° or C⁴⁹.

As I° is not involved in case-assignment in the V2 languages, Vikner assumes that the verb can assign accusative case from I°, provided that the verb has moved to or through I° (see examples (25) and (26)). If the verb has not moved out of the VP, it must assign its case inside VP (see examples (24) to (26)). According to Vikner, the reason why object shift cannot apply in (25), (26), and (27) is, that either the object would get case twice, once from the auxiliary in I°, and once from the trace in V (examples (25) and (26)) or the landing site of object shift would not be case-marked at all, because I° neither contains the verb nor a verb trace (example (27)).

49 Vikner notes, however, that accusative case assignment from C is not possible in the V2 languages, because C assigns nominative, and therefore it is not possible to assign any other case from there. He further notes, that this kind of case-assignment from C is also excluded by Relativised Minimality: an object receiving accusative case from a verb in C would have to have undergone object shift across the subject. As object shift is A-movement, and the subject an A-position, this is excluded by Relativised Minimality.

So far we have seen that Vikner analyses object shift as A–movement, because the operation shows a number of characteristics which can be found with A–movement. He further assumes that object shift is adjunction to VP, which makes it possible for him to allow both subject movement and object shift in one and the same clause. According to his analysis, verb movement has to take place in order to guarantee proper case–assignment (in chapter 3 we will see that Holmberg extends this condition). In the following chapter, Vikner’s analysis of the distinction between object shift of pronouns versus object shift of DPs will be discussed.

5.3.1.5 Object Shift of pronouns versus Object Shift of DPs in Icelandic

Example (22) above shows object shift of a full object DP in Icelandic. As mentioned above, this kind of object shift is optional and only occurs in Icelandic. But what about object shift of pronouns, which is obligatory in all the Scandinavian languages? Why do pronouns always have to move? That this really is the case is illustrated in the examples below (for Danish and Icelandic):

- (30) Da. a. I går læste Peter **den** *uden tvivl* ikke.
Yesterday read Peter **it** *without doubt* not
- b. *I går læste Peter *uden tvivl* **den** ikke.
Yesterday read Peter **it** *without doubt* not
- c. *I går læste Peter *uden tvivl* ikke **den**.
Yesterday read Peter *without doubt* not **it**
(Vikner 1994: 507)
- (31) Ic. a. I gær las Pétur **hana** *eðflaust* ekki.
Yesterday read Pétur **it** *doubtlessly* not
- b. *I gær las Pétur *eðflaust* **hana** ekki.
Yesterday read Pétur *doubtlessly* **it** not
- c. *I gær las Pétur *eðflaust* ekki **hana**.
Yesterday read Pétur *doubtlessly* not **it**
(Vikner 1994: 507)

According to Holmberg (1986) and Vikner (1989), the crucial feature for the distinction between Icelandic, on the one hand, and the other Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, is morphological case. Morphological case is found only on pronouns in Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, but on all DPs in Icelandic, i.e., DPs in Icelandic do have morphological case and

can therefore undergo object shift. Vikner notes, however, that this assumption cannot be correct, because in Faroese although DPs have morphological case, they cannot undergo object shift (pronouns obligatorily undergo object shift):

(32) a. Jógvan keypti *ikki* **bókina**.
Jógvan bought *not* **book–the**

b.*Jógvan keypti **bókina** *ikki*.
Jógvan bought **book–the** *not*
(Vikner 1994: 502)

(33) a.*Jógvan keypti *ikki* **hana**.
Jógvan bought *not* **it**

b. Jógvan keypti **hana** *ikki*.
Jógvan bought **it** *not*
(Vikner 1994: 507)

Morphological case–marking in the Scandinavian languages is illustrated in the table below for "the book" (following Vikner 1994: 502):

(34)

the book	Icelandic	Faroese	Danish	Swedish	Norwegian
Nominative	bókin	bókin	bogen	boken	boka/boken
Accusative	bókina	bókina	bogen	boken	boka/boken
Dative	bókinni	bókini	bogen	bogen	boka/boken

From what was shown above, Vikner concludes that the crucial feature of object shift is whether I° contains agreement, i.e., whether a language has V° –to– I° movement or not. As all the Scandinavian languages show the V2 phenomenon, the verb moves from V° to C° through I° , but it is only in Icelandic that the verb can move to I° and stay there (Icelandic exhibits general embedded V2, for a thorough discussion of this phenomenon see also Vikner 1995, ch. 4). Evidence for this movement can be seen in Icelandic embedded clauses, where the finite verb precedes any medial adverbial, whereas in Danish or (spoken) Faroese, the finite verb follows the medial adverbial in embedded clauses:

- (35) Ic. a. *Ég skal veðja að María **vill** örugglega fara í bíó.*
I will bet that María **will** *surely* go in cinema
- b. *Ég skal veðja að María örugglega **vill** fara í bíó.*
I will bet that María *surely* **will** go in cinema
(Vikner 1994: 503)
- (36) Da. a. **Jeg vil vædde på, at Maria **vil** gerne i biografen.*
I will bet on that Maria **will** *surely* in cinema
- b. *Jeg vil vædde på, at Maria gerne **vil** i biografen.*
I will bet on that Maria *surely* **will** in biografen
(Vikner 1994: 503)
- (37) Fa. a. **Eg vil vedda uppá, at Maria **vil** gjarna í biograf.*
I will bet on that Maria **will** *surely* in cinema
- b. *Eg vil vedda uppá, at Maria gjarna **vil** í biograf.*
I will bet on that Maria *surely* **will** in cinema
(Vikner 1994: 507)

The contrast between (35) a. and (36) a. and (37) a. shows that only in Icelandic can the finite verb *vill* "will" move to I°, in Danish and Faroese it has to appear to the right of the adverb *gerne/gjarna* "surely" (the verb is inside the VP).

Vikner assumes that V°-to-I° movement is a reliable indication that I° contains agreement (he also points to the fact that in Icelandic we find verbal morphology which is richer than in the other Scandinavian languages). The question is now, what the connection is between I° and potential object shift of DPs in Icelandic, or put in another way, if I° assigns case to object DPs in Icelandic what is the function of I° in those Scandinavian languages where we find obligatory object shift of pronominal objects (how do they receive case)? As discussed in 2.2.4, Vikner claims that I° assigns accusative case to the shifted object provided that the main verb has moved to (Icelandic) or through I°. There are, as noted in the introduction, other theories (Holmberg 1991, Deprez 1994, Josefsson, 1992, 1993) which claim that object shift (in Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Faroese) is head-movement, i.e., that the object pronoun incorporates into the verb at some point in the derivation. Vikner notes, that although a theory like this can explain why parasitic gaps are not triggered, and also why PPs cannot undergo object shift, the question why the main verb has to move out of the VP, however, remains completely unexplained. Moreover, a theory which analyses object shift as head-movement has to explain object shift of full object DPs in Icelandic differently, i.e., object shift of pronouns and object shift of DPs cannot be the same process although they have exactly the same properties. Moreover, Vikner notes that the incorporation analysis

makes two wrong predictions: First, as it is assumed that the pronominal object incorporates into the main verb, it should not only move along with the verb when it moves from V to I°, but also when it moves from I° to C°. This is not borne out, however, as example (38) illustrates:

- (38) Da. *Hvorfor [C° læste **dem**] Peter [I° t] ikke [V° t] t alle?
 Why read **them** Peter not all?
 (Vikner 1994: 504)

Second, if the pronoun incorporates into the main verb it should not be possible for the pronoun to be left behind according to Baker's Incorporation analysis (1988: 73): a trace cannot be "a proper subpart of a X constituent". But this is exactly how an incorporation analysis of object shift would have to analyse a grammatical example like (39)⁵⁰:

- (39) Da. Hvorfor [C° [I° læste]] Peter [I° [I° t] **dem**] ikke [V° t] t alle?
 (Vikner 1994: 504)

Vikner rejects the incorporation analysis of object shift for the reasons mentioned above. He claims, that a theory where object shift is analysed as A-movement can explain the phenomenon more satisfyingly, e.g., it can explain why the main verb must leave the VP, and why the object-shifted object cannot precede the subject.

The fact that object shift of pronominal object is obligatory has to be explained as well. Holmberg (1986) suggests that object shift in Scandinavian and cliticisation in Romance both underlie a rule which requires weak pronouns to move out of their base positions in order to form a well-formed chain:

- (40) ModF. a. Pierre l'avait acheté.
 Pierre **it** had bought.
 b. *Pierre avait acheté **le**.
 Pierre had bought **it**.
 (Vikner 1994: 507)

Vikner notes that with such a requirement the distribution of pronouns in particle constructions in English could be explained as well:

50 Vikner points out that Robert's (1991) modification of Baker's incorporation theory could explain the ungrammaticality of (40): Excorporation is impossible only across a host-head which morphologically subcategorises for another head. Vikner does not accept this revision, because other problems will arise which cannot be explained then.

- (41) a. Peter threw **the carpet** out **t**.
 b. Peter threw out **the carpet**.
 c. Peter threw **it** out **t**.
 d. *Peter threw out **it**.
 (Vikner 1994: 507)

On the other hand, Holmberg's requirement would also predict that the pronoun has to move out of its base position in cases where object shift is not possible:

- (42) Da. a. Hvorfor har studenterne ikke [*læst den*] ?
 Why have students–the not *read it*?
 b. *Hvorfor har studenterne **den** ikke *læst*?
 Why have students–the **it** not *read*?
 (Vikner 1994: 508)

Therefore Holmberg (1991) proposes a licensing condition which says that weak pronouns must be licensed by being adjacent to a functional category, with adjacency defined in terms of hierarchy, namely, that two elements are adjacent if there is no element which c-commands one of them and not the other. According to Vikner, Holmberg can account for the grammaticality/ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- (43) Ge. a. Warum hat **sie** Peter gestern t gelesen?
 Why has **them** Peter yesterday read?
 b. Warum hat Peter **sie** gestern gelesen?
 Why has Peter **them** yesterday read?
 c. *Warum hat Peter gestern **sie** gelesen?
 Why has Peter yesterday **them** read?
 (Vikner 1994: 508)

In (43) a. the pronoun *sie* "them" is licensed by C, in (43) b. it is licensed by I°, and in (43) c. it is not licensed. According to Vikner, Holmberg's licensing requirement can best explain the obligatoriness of pronominal object shift in Scandinavian.

There is another interesting fact that has to do with the interpretation of clauses where object shift has taken place. According to Diesing & Jelinek (1995) and Diesing (1996, 1997) the interpretation of objects which have undergone object shift differs from those which have not undergone object shift (in Icelandic), and moreover, this difference is parallel to the difference in interpretation between objects which have been scrambled and those which have not been scrambled (in German and Yiddish):

- (44) Ge. ... weil ich ...
 ...because I...
- a. ... selten **die kleinste Katze** streichle.
 ... seldom **the smallest cat** pet.
- b. ... **die kleinste Katze** selten streichle.
 ... **the smallest cat** seldom pet.
- (Vikner 1997: 3)

The clauses in (44) include definite objects which contain a superlative. Diesing notes that there is a difference in interpretation between (44) a. and (44) b.: The interpretation of (44) a. is that whichever group of cats I meet, I seldom pet the one which is smallest in that particular group of cats. The interpretation of (44) b. is that there is a cat which is smaller than the other cats, and that cat I seldom pet. This difference can be explained by scopal relations: the relative scope of *selten* "seldom" and *die kleinste Katze* "the smallest cat" correspond to their surface order, the one which is leftmost has wider scope.

The same kind of difference in interpretation can be seen in an Icelandic example with potential object shift of the definite object which contains a superlative:

- (45) Ic. a. Hann les sjaldan **lengstu bókina**.
 He reads seldom **longest book–the**
- b. Hann les **lengstu bókina** sjaldan.
 He reads **longest book–the** seldom
- (Vikner 1997: 4)

According to Diesing the interpretation of (45) a. is that whichever group of books he is put in front of, he seldom reads the one which is the longest in that particular group. The interpretation of (45) b. is that there is a book which is longer than the other books, and that book he seldom reads. Again, the relative scope of *sjaldan* "seldom" and *lengstu bókina* "the longest book" corresponds to their surface order, i.e., the one leftmost has wider scope. Vikner(1997) claims that the difference in interpretation is also true for indefinite DPs:

- (46) Ge. a. Übrigens haben sie *immer* **ein Clinton–Interview**
 Besides have they *always* **a Clinton interview**
- in den Auslandsnachrichten gezeigt.
 in the Abroad–news shown.

- b. Übrigens haben **ein Clinton–Interview** *immer*
Besides have they **a Clinton interview** *always*

in den Auslandsnachrichten gezeigt.

in the Abroad–news shown.

(Vikner 1997: 5)

- (47) Ic. a. Auk þess sýna þau *alltaf* **viðtal við Clinton** í erlendu fréttunum.
Besides show they *always* **interview with Clinton** in foreign news–the.
- b. Auk þess sýna þau **viðtal við Clinton** *alltaf* í erlendu fréttunum.
Besides show they **interview with Clinton** *always* in foreign news–the.
(Vikner 1997: 5)

According to Vikner the interpretation of (46) a. and (47) a. is (provided that there is no particular stress on *ein* "a" in German) that there is a situation where every foreign news programme contains an interview with Clinton (*immer/alltaf* "always" has scope over the object). In (46) b. and (47) b. the interpretation is that there is a situation where every interview with Clinton is shown in a foreign news programme (the object has scope over *immer/alltaf* "always"). Vikner notes, however, that in those Icelandic cases where object shift of DPs does not take place, only one word order is possible, and this word order is ambiguous between the two interpretations mentioned for (48) a. and b.:

- (48) a. Auk þess hafa þau *alltaf* sýnt **viðtal við Clinton** í erlendu fréttunum.
Besides have they *always* shown **interview with Clinton** in foreign news–the.
- b.*Auk þess hafa þau *alltaf* **viðtal við Clinton** sýnt í erlendu fréttunum.
Besides show they *always* **interview with Clinton** in foreign news–the.
- c.*Auk þess sýna þau **viðtal við Clinton** *alltaf* í erlendu fréttunum.
Besides show they **interview with Clinton** *always* in foreign news–the.
(Vikner 1997: 6)

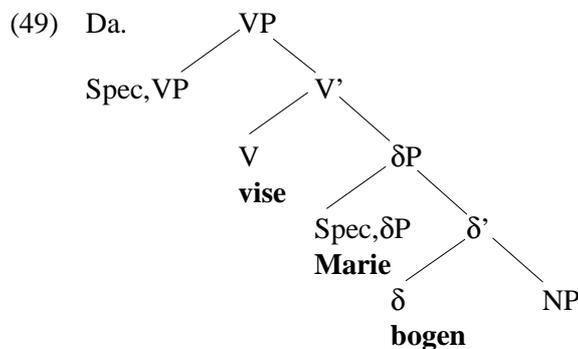
Before we move on to Josefsson's analysis we will briefly discuss object shift in double–object constructions because this construction will serve as a diagnostic environment for object shift in Early Middle English in section 5.3.4.

5.3.1.6 Object Shift in double–object constructions

In this chapter we will see the different kinds of patterns of object shift in double–object constructions following Vikner (1989). In these constructions it becomes clear what rules

there are that define the object movement operation, e.g., the fact that the direct object can never move over the indirect object. This requirement shows that scrambling underlies other requirements as a direct object can move over an indirect object (see Part II). These observations will become important in section 5.4 where the object movement operations which take place in Early Middle English will be investigated. Thus, whenever we find a direct object moving over an indirect object in double-object constructions in Early Middle English texts we know that it cannot be an instantiation of object shift.

Before we deal with these questions, the structure of double-object constructions will be defined. Vikner, mainly following Larson (1988), assumes that this kind of construction has the structure illustrated below:



show Marie book–the (Vikner 1989: 148)

Vikner assumes that δ is a trace of the verb in V. By following Holmberg (1986), Vikner further propose that case-assignment from δ is always optional, which means that a DP receiving case from δ may also occur in other case-marked positions. He also assumes Rizzi's Relativised Minimality (1987)⁵¹.

We will see below that a direct object cannot move over an indirect object. According to Vikner the Relativised Minimality approach can account for this in the following way: the indirect object is in an A-position and c-commands the direct object (in our example (54) Marie c-commands *bogen* "books" from an A-position). If the direct object moves now to a position α , it will be no longer c-commanded by the indirect object (*Marie*). Then the indirect object acts as an intervener Ω , because it c-commands β , the trace of the direct object, but not the direct object itself (α). Thus, it prevents the direct object from antecedent-governing its trace (because the direct object, the indirect object, and the trace of the direct object are all of the same kind, namely A-elements). That is why a sentence like

⁵¹ see also 3.1.3 above.

"**Peter viste bogen Marie*" ("Peter showed the book Marie") is out. As Vikner claims that object shift is A-movement, he in this way can account for the grammaticality/ungrammaticality of double-object constructions with object shift which will be seen below.

First, we will have a look at double-object constructions where both the direct and the indirect object are full object DPs (all the examples are from Danish if not indicated otherwise):

- (50) a. Peter viste jo **Marie bogen**.
 Peter showed indeed Marie book-the.
 b.* Peter viste **Marie** jo **bogen**.
 c.* Peter viste **Marie bogen** jo.
 d.* Peter viste jo **bogen Marie**.
 e.* Peter viste **bogen** jo **Marie**.
 f.* Peter viste **bogen Marie** jo.
 (Vikner 1989: 151)

The only possibility here is (50) a.: neither the indirect nor the direct object can undergo object shift ((50) b., c., f.), because they do not have morphological case (or according to Vikner 1994, I° does not contain agreement, because there is no V° -to- I° movement in Danish). The examples (50) d., e., and f. are ungrammatical due to Relativised Minimality (the direct object cannot move over the indirect object).

In (51) the direct object is a full object DP and the indirect object is a pronoun:

- (51) a.??Peter viste jo **hende bogen**.
 Peter showed indeed her book-the
 b. Peter viste **hende** jo **bogen**.
 c.* Peter viste **hende bogen** jo.
 d.* Peter viste jo **bogen hende**.
 e.* Peter viste **bogen** jo **hende**.
 f.* Peter viste **bogen hende** jo.
 (Vikner 1989: 151)

The only possibility in (51) is (51) b.: the indirect object must undergo object shift (over the adverbial jo "indeed"), because it is a pronoun. It cannot stay in its base position ((51) a., d., e.). The direct object cannot undergo object shift, because it is a full object DP ((51) c., e., f.)
 In (52) the direct object is a pronoun, and the indirect object is a full object DP:

- (52) a. ??Peter viste jo **Marie den**.
 Peter showed indeed Marie it
 b. * Peter viste **Marie jo den**.
 c. ??Peter viste **Marie den jo**.
 d. * Peter viste jo **den Marie**.
 e. * Peter viste **den jo Marie**.
 f. * Peter viste **den Marie jo**.
 (Vikner 1989: 151)

In the examples in (52) the indirect object cannot move, because it is a full object DP ((52) b., c., f.). The direct object has to move, that is why (52) a. is not grammatical. On the other hand, it cannot move, because then it has to move over the indirect object, and thus violates Relativised Minimality ((52) d., e., f.).

In (53) we have double-object constructions where both the direct and the indirect object are pronouns:

- (53) a. * Peter viste jo **hende den**.
 Peter showed indeed her it
 b. * Peter viste **hende jo den**.
 c. Peter viste **hende den jo**.
 d. * Peter viste jo **den hende**.
 e. * Peter viste **den jo hende**.
 f. * Peter viste **den hende jo**.
 (Vikner 1989: 151)

The only example which is grammatical here is (53) c., because both pronouns have to move and Relativised Minimality is not violated (Vikner assumes here that the whole δP has moved). It is violated in (53) f. though, where the direct object indeed crosses the indirect object. On the other hand, both objects must object shift and cannot stay in their base positions ((53) a., b., d., e.).

From what we have seen above, Vikner claims that there are three different requirements operating here:

- (54) a. full DPs may not object shift (they do not have morphological case).
 b. pronominal DPs must object shift, and
 c. the direct object may not move past the indirect object.
 (Vikner 1989: 152)

In Part II it will be shown that all requirements a. and c. do not hold for scrambling, i.e., scrambling allows the movement of full object DPs and, as noted above, direct objects can move over indirect objects. Requirement b. has to be fulfilled too when an object scrambles

but for different reasons. Thus, requirements a. and c. are clear evidence that object shift and not scrambling has taken place.

Vikner, however, notes that in Icelandic the requirement in (55) a. does not hold. He illustrates this with the following examples:

- (55) Ic. a. Pétur sýndi oft **Maríu bókina**.
 Pétur showed often Maríu book–the
 b. Pétur sýndi **Maríu oft bókina**.
 c. Pétur sýndi **Maríu bókina** oft.
 d. *Pétur sýndi oft **bókina Maríu**.
 e. *Pétur sýndi **bókina oft Maríu**.
 f. *Pétur sýndi **bókina Maríu** oft.
 (Vikner 1989: 152)

In Icelandic full object DPs may move which is shown with the examples (55) a., b., and c. The ungrammaticality of (55) d., e., and f. is explained by a violation of Relativised Minimality (the direct object must not move over the indirect object). (55) c. also shows according to Vikner that again the whole δ P has moved. This is also illustrated below:

- (56) Ic. a. ??Pétur sýndi oft **henni bókina**.
 Pétur showed often her book–the
 b. Pétur sýndi **henni oft bókina**.
 c. Pétur sýndi **henni bókina** oft.
 d. *Pétur sýndi oft **bókina henni**.
 e. *Pétur sýndi **bókina oft henni**.
 f. *Pétur sýndi **bókina henni** oft.
 (Vikner 1989: 152)

In (56) below, the direct object is a pronoun which must undergo object shift, and the indirect object is a full object DP which may undergo object shift:

- (57) Ic. a. *Pétur sýndi oft **Maríu hana**.
 Pétur showed often Maríu it
 b. *Pétur sýndi **Maríu oft hana**.
 c. Pétur sýndi **Maríu hana** oft.
 d. *Pétur sýndi oft **hana Maríu**.
 e. ?Pétur sýndi **hana oft Maríu**.
 f. *Pétur sýndi **hana Maríu** oft.
 (Vikner 1989: 153)

In (57) c. both the indirect object DP and the direct object have object shifted to the left of the adverbial. As the pronoun must move and has not moved over the full object DP, the sentence is grammatical. (57) a., b. and d. are ungrammatical, because the pronominal object must

move. The examples (57) d., e., and f. are ruled out by Relativised Minimality.

In (58) both the direct and the indirect object are pronouns, which means that both have to move (compare with (52)):

- (58) Ic. a. *Pétur sýndi oft **henni hana**.
 Pétur showed often her it
 b. *Pétur sýndi **henni** oft **hana**.
 c. Pétur sýndi **henni hana** oft.
 d. *Pétur sýndi oft **hana henni**.
 e. *Pétur sýndi **hana** oft **henni**.
 f. *Pétur sýndi **hana henni** oft.
 (Vikner 1989: 153)

The only possibility here is (58) c., because both object must object shift. Therefore, (58) a., b., d., and e., are ungrammatical. In (58) d., e., and f. Relativised Minimality is violated.

As shown above, when the direct and the indirect object are both pronouns, Danish and Icelandic pattern the same (see (52) and (58)). However, when one of the objects is a full DP, there are differences between the two languages which are due to the optional object shift of full DPs in Icelandic on the one hand, and the inability of full object DPs to undergo object shift on the other hand. We have also seen above that there are three requirements (see (53)) which rule out the ungrammatical sentences. The reason why a direct object cannot move over an indirect object has to do with case–assignment. To explain this phenomenon, Vikner adapts Holmberg’s assumption (1986) that the direct object receives case from the verb, and the indirect object receives case from an empty preposition which is licensed by the verb⁵². Further he assumes that the case–assignment properties of the empty preposition is dependent on the case–assignment properties of the verb, i.e., that the empty preposition is only able to assign case to the indirect object if the direct object receives case from the verb. If the direct object undergoes object shift, the verb does not assign any case, and as a consequence, the empty preposition is not able to assign case to the indirect object. This explains the ungrammaticality of all the e.–examples in Danish and Icelandic. Vikner also assumes that the empty preposition has to be adjacent to the case–assigner (V° or I°), which explains why the direct object cannot precede the indirect object. Therefore, the d.–examples where neither object undergoes object shift, and the f.–examples where both objects undergo object shift are

52 Following Kayne (1984), Holmberg (1986: 180) assumes for a double–object construction a structure where the two objects form a small clause, the subject of which is a PP headed by an empty preposition:

(i) John [VP gave [SC [PP P Mary] a book]]

The verb assigns case to the PP, which lowers down to P. Although P is not able to assign case by itself, it can then transmit case to its object.

ungrammatical. Vikner notes that "this leaves the empty preposition analysis with no problems as far as object shift is concerned"⁵³.

It was explained above why the main verb moves out of the VP and why pronominal objects have to move. We have also seen that full object DPs in Icelandic may undergo object shift, and that there must be a significant correlation between the presence of agreement in I° and potential object shift of DPs. In section 5.3.3 we will see that Vikner's analysis of object shift as A-movement cannot be correct, i.e., that Case cannot be the feature which triggers the movement operation. Before we discuss the problems Vikner's analysis has we will deal with a different analysis which takes object shift to be head movement. Josefsson (1992, 1993) claims that weak pronouns in the Scandinavian languages are single heads without an internal structure. We will see that this analysis is also problematic and that object shift is best described as being a PF-operation as assumed by Holmberg (1999).

5.3.2 Object Shift is movement to I° or C° (Josefsson 1992, 1993)

Josefsson (1993) assumes that in the Scandinavian languages weak pronouns are heads. He claims that evidence for this assumption comes from a construction found in Old Norse which he calls pronominal apposition. A pronominal apposition construction consists of an anticipating pronoun and a noun which often is a proper noun. This construction is shown in the following example:

- (59) ... at **hon Þórdís** vekði hann.
 ... that **she Þórdís** woke him (up).
 she-FEM SG Þórdís-FEM SG
 (Josefsson 1993: 2)

In (59) the DP *Þórdís* is introduced by the anticipating pronoun *hon* "she". Josefsson analyses this construction as one constituent which consists of two parts, a pronoun and a DP with the same reference. He claims that the pronoun, a grammatical or functional head, expresses the phi-features of the DP which it heads. In the example above, the pronoun and the DP show full correspondence in number, gender and case. As Josefsson notes, this is not always the case:

- (60) **Þeir Gísli** snúa til móts við þa.
They Gísli turned to meeting with them.
 they-MASK 3PL Gísli-MASK SG turn-3PL to meeting with them
 (Josefsson 1993: 3)

⁵³ It should be mentioned, however, that Vikner claims that Holmberg's theory runs into problems when explaining "let"-movement in double-object constructions. For a discussion see Vikner 1989, chapter 3.2.

In (60) the pronoun *þeir* "they" is in plural, the verb *snúa* "turn" agrees in 3rd person plural but the proper noun *Gísli* is masculine singular. The meaning of the clause is "Gisli and the other man/men turned to the meeting with them" which shows that in the lexical part of the construction an element has been deleted. Josefsson notes that the morphology of the pronoun identifies the phi-features of the deleted element as masculine. Thus, in constructions like these, the lexical part is more or less optional.

Josefsson claims that pronominal appositions differ from ordinary appositions like

- (61) **Jón, min bror** vekði hann.
John, my brother, woke (him) up.

in that the latter type consists of DP + DP, where both phrases are stressed (i.e. the pronoun is strong) and there is an obligatory break between the first and the second DP, whereas in the former case there can be no break between the pronoun and the DP, because the pronoun is weak. The break in ordinary appositions is reflected by a comma before and after the second DP which adds additional information to the clause. The function of the pronoun in pronominal appositions, on the other hand, is merely to anticipate the lexical part.

According to Josefsson, pronominal apposition constructions can also be found in Modern Swedish. This is illustrated with the examples below:

- (62) **Hon Lisa** är knäpp.
She Lisa is weird.
 "Lisa is weird."
 (Josefsson 1993: 6)

- (63) Känner du **han den gamla vaktmästaren** på institutionen?
 Know you **he the old janitor–the** at department–the.
 "Do you know the janitor at the department?"
 (Josefsson 1993: 6)

Josefsson proposes the following structure for the pronominal apposition construction:

- (64)
- ```

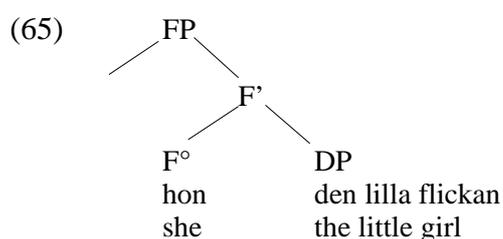
 graph TD
 FP --> Fp[F°]
 FP --> DP
 Fp --- han[han]
 DP --> Spec["(Spec)"]
 DP --> Dp[D']
 Dp --> DpD[D°]
 Dp --> NPDP["NP/DP"]
 DpD --- he[he]
 DpD --- den[den]
 DpD --- the[the]
 NPDP --- gamla[gamla]
 NPDP --- vaktmastaren[vaktmästaren]
 NPDP --- oldjanitor[old janitor]

```
- (Josefsson 1993: 7)

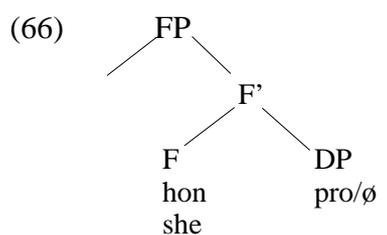
He claims that the weak pronoun *han* occurs in a head  $F^\circ$  the projection of which dominates the DP within the same extended projection.

After having shown that weak pronouns occur in the pronominal apposition construction and strong pronouns in the ordinary apposition construction, Josefsson tries to explain the differences between weak pronouns, strong pronouns and clitics. He claims that strong pronouns have to be analysed as full phrases, DPs or NPs, because they have the same basic structure as ordinary DPs and therefore should behave like them as far as movement is concerned. Weak pronouns, on the other hand, have to be analysed as independent heads which may undergo head-to-head movement. Clitics, finally, are analysed as dependent heads with a subcategorisation frame which results in cliticisation to some functional projection.

Josefsson accounts for the difference between strong and weak pronouns semantically by means of the concepts of anaphoric vs. deictic reference. With respect to weak pronouns, he assumes, following Postal (1969), that these pronouns and determiners are of the same category, i.e., heads of the same kind, because they have the same phi-features (in Swedish the pronominal determiner *den*, *det* and *dom* "the" (Sg. and Pl.) and the weak pronouns *den*, *det* and *dom* "the" (Sg. and Pl.) express the same grammatical phi-features). The difference between them is that whereas determiners express only grammatical phi-features, weak pronouns are expressions of semantic phi-features and/or grammatical phi-features of the dominated projections. Thus, weak pronouns occurring in pronominal apposition constructions have the structure shown in (65) whereas single weak pronouns have the structure shown in (66):



(Josefsson 1993: 17)

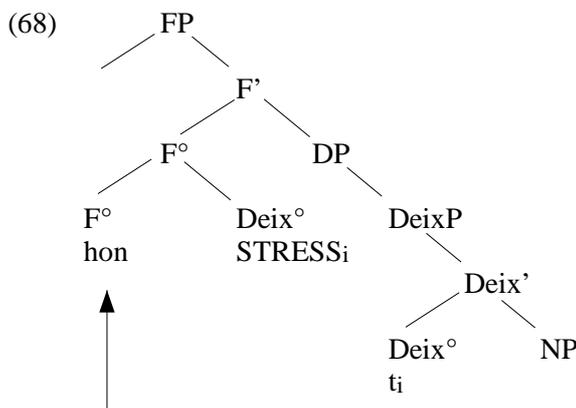


(Josefsson 1993: 17)

Josefsson further notes that there is a difference in meaning between the use of a weak pronoun and a strong pronoun which is important for the syntactic/morphological description of these pronouns. He illustrates this with the following example:

- (67) a. **Han** stal pianot.  
**He** stole piano–the.  
 b. **HAN** stal pianot.  
**HE** stole piano–the.  
 (Josefsson 1993: 17)

In (67) a. the pronoun *han* "he" is unstressed and used anaphorically, i.e., it has no reference except from its reference to the elements in the context. According to Josefsson this reference is obtained by "grammatical features". The strong pronoun *HAN* "HE" in (67) b., however, has additional phonetic content (stress) as well as additional deictic meaning. For this reason, Josefsson thinks it is justified to assume that the deictic component should be represented in the phrase structure of strong pronouns. Therefore, he proposes a deixis phrase *DeixP* which heads the deictic element and which is located as the highest lexical projection in the extended projection suggested above. The structure he proposes for strong pronouns is illustrated below:



The head *Deix°* raises by head-to-head movement and adjoins to *F°*. The difference between weak pronouns and strong pronouns is then that weak pronouns do not contain the projection *DeixP*:

(69) strong pronouns: FP [hon<sub>i</sub> [DP [DeixP [Deix° [NP [pro<sub>i</sub>/ø...]]]]]]

weak pronouns: FP [hon<sub>i</sub> [DP [NP [pro<sub>i</sub>/ø...]]]]

Josefsson points out that the reason for assuming that there be a deictic phrase in the syntax is that there is evidence for it in syntactic operations like object shift. He further notes that there is also evidence for the assumption that strong pronouns are structurally identical with full DPs as far as movement is concerned: neither type of elements can undergo object shift in Swedish.

With respect to the difference between weak pronouns and clitics Josefsson argues that the latter types of elements move higher up than weak pronouns to a position adjoined to a functional projection. He suggests that clitics do so because they have a subcategorisation frame which requires that they invariably merge with a certain functional projection (with certain functional projections). From this point of view, clitics are dependent heads as opposed to weak pronouns which are independent heads. As weak pronouns are independent of the verb they may excorporate when the verb moves. This is not the case with clitics.

Having so far established that weak pronouns are heads rather than XPs, Josefsson tries to account for object shift by assuming that objects in general move to AgrOP, either overtly or covertly. Following Bobaljik & Jonas (1993), he claims that the reason why object DPs cannot raise overtly in Swedish is that  $T^\circ$  does not raise to AgrS $^\circ$  and hence Spec,AgrOP is not available in overt syntax. In Icelandic, on the other hand,  $T^\circ$  overtly raises to AgrS $^\circ$  because it has separate tense and agreement morphemes and therefore Spec,AgrOP is available for moved objects in overt syntax.

Josefsson notes that the question why only weak pronouns in Swedish can undergo object shift could at first sight be answered by assuming that lexical case is the crucial factor which allows object shift (in Swedish, pronouns are the only nominals which contain lexical case). However, evidence from Faroese speaks against this assumption: in Faroese all DPs bear lexical case and yet object shift is allowed only for weak pronouns. Josefsson moreover points out that although demonstratives in Swedish and Icelandic both show lexical case, only the Icelandic demonstratives are allowed to move:

(70) Ic. Þeir lásu bókina/þessa/þessi hérna ekki.  
They read book–the/her/this/this here not.  
(Josefsson 1993: 24)

(71) Sw. De läste \*boken/\*denna/\*den här inte.  
They read book–the/her/this/this here not.  
(Josefsson 1993: 24)

According to Josefsson demonstratives in Swedish are DPs because a deictic–like element is incorporated. In Swedish, object DPs are not allowed to move whereas in Icelandic this is

possible. From these observations, Josefsson draws the conclusion that the grammatical/morphological status of objects is the crucial factor that allows them to undergo object shift, i.e., whether they are single heads or whether they are more complex.

Josefsson claims that additional support for his analysis comes from the observation that in Swedish weak object pronouns may appear between a finite verb in  $C^\circ$  and a non–topic subject as in (72):

- (72) Därför ger **mej** Tutanchamons förbannelse inte någon ro.  
 Therefore gives **me** Tutanchamon's curse not any peace.  
 (Josefsson 1993: 24)

According to Josefsson, the only valid explanation here is that the weak pronoun *mej* "me" has raised from  $I^\circ$  to  $C^\circ$  and thus has undergone head–movement. XP–movement is ruled out because there is no XP position between CP and IP to which the object pronoun could move.

Josefsson's explanation why object shift takes place in Swedish and the other Scandinavian languages is based on Rosengren's (1993) analysis of scrambling. Rosengren explains German scrambling in terms of information structure and focus vs. background (Hintergrund). He assumes that a focus–feature is assigned to a phrase which in turn demarks a borderline upwards of the focus domain. Thus, a focus domain is defined as everything which is dominated or included in the focus domain whereas everything outside the focus domain constitutes the background. According to these assumptions, a scrambled element cannot be in the focus because after movement it is outside the focus domain. Josefsson carries this analysis over to object shift which means that an argument is moved out of a focus projection. This type of operation is not read off at LF but at another level of representation, possibly an Information Structural Form (Informationsstrukturelle Form). Thus, the motivation for scrambling and object shift is the same but the type of grammatical operation is different.

The assumption that object shift is head movement is problematic, however. Vikner claims that if object shift of pronominal objects is defined as being head movement then one has to assume that object shift of full object DPs in Modern Icelandic is a completely different process which is not very likely because both processes show the same properties. Further, if object shift is head movement, then the pronoun would have to incorporate into the verb, but then it should not only move along with the verb from  $V^\circ$  to  $I^\circ$  but also from  $I^\circ$  to  $C^\circ$ . However, this is not borne out as examples (73) from Danish and (74) from Swedish show:

(73) \*Hvorfor [C° læste **dem** ] Peter [I° t] ikke [ V° t] alle?  
 Why read **them** Peter not all?  
 (Vikner 1994: 504)

(74) \*[C° Kysste **henne**] Peter [I° t] inte?  
 Kissed **her** Peter not ?  
 (Vikner 1994: 504)

It should also not be possible for the pronominal object to be left behind in I° when the verb moves to C° because according to Baker (1988), a trace cannot be a subpart of a X° constituent. But this is exactly how an incorporation analysis would have to explain the structure of the examples (75) from Danish and (76) from Swedish below:

(75) Hvorfor [C°[I° læste ]] Peter [I°[I° t ] **dem** ] ikke [ V° t ] t alle?  
 Why read Peter **them** not all?  
 (Vikner 1994: 504)

(76) [C° [I° Kysste ]] Peter [I°[I° t ] **henne**] inte?  
 Kissed Peter **her** not?

In (75) the pronominal object *dem* "them" has incorporated into I° and the verb has moved through I°. The same is true for (76). The result is that the verb trace is a proper subpart of I°. Roberts (1991) claims that a revision of Baker's incorporation analysis is needed and suggests the process "Excorporation" which is only impossible across a host-head which morphologically subcategorises for another head. Like Baker, he can account for the fact that V° cannot move to C° leaving I° behind in cases where I° subcategorises for V°. Roberts, however, cannot account for why moving out of an I° which has been adjoined to across the adjoined element is possible as in (75) and (76).

Vikner points out that exactly this point of Roberts' analysis also has the consequence that it cannot account for the French cases of cliticisation given in (77) a. and b.:

(77) a. Où **l'avait**-ili [IP ti acheté]?  
 Where it had he bought?  
 b.\*Où **avait**-ili [IP ti l' acheté ]?  
 Where had he it bought?  
 (Vikner 1994: 505)

According to the Excorporation analysis example (77) b. would not be ruled out whereas rejecting an Incorporation analysis for Scandinavian, i.e., object shift is not head movement, and not revising Baker's analysis accounts for the ungrammaticality of both (77) b. and (73)

and (74).

### 5.3.3 Object Shift is a PF–operation (Holmberg 1999)

In the Introduction we have seen that the occurrence of object shift was defined by Holmberg (1986) by "the phonetic adjacency condition on object shift" which said the object has to be phonetically adjacent to the adjuncts around which it is shifted. In Holmberg's "Remarks on Holmberg's Generalisation" (1999) he argues that that the dependence of Scandinavian object shift on verb movement is a special case of a more general condition which prevents object shift across any phonologically visible category within VP (a verb, a verb particle, another argument). He shows that the interplay between object shift and verb topicalisation can be taken to show that it makes no difference to object shift how the verb moves, as long as it moves. He also shows that Holmberg's Generalisation is a matter of derivation, not representation, and that object shift does not observe the strict cycle. Holmberg proposes that object shift applies after insertion of phonological features in a component which he calls Stylistic syntax (stylistic rules which contain rules dependent on focus structure). In the following we will discuss the revision of the generalisation by looking at further properties of object shift.

As shown above, object shift in Scandinavian is dependent on verb movement. When the verb has moved the object moves, when the verb has not moved it will always block object shift:

- |          |    |                                               |                                           |
|----------|----|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| (78) Sw. | a. | Jag <b>kysste henne</b> <i>inte</i> .         | a'. (*)Jag <b>kysste inte henne</b> .     |
|          |    | I <b>kissed her</b> <i>not</i>                | I <b>kissed not her</b>                   |
|          | b. | *Jag har <b>henne</b> <i>inte kysst</i> .     | b'. Jag har <i>inte kysst henne</i> .     |
|          |    | I have <b>her</b> <i>not kissed</i>           | I have <i>not kissed her</i>              |
|          | c. | ...*att jag <b>henne</b> <i>inte kysste</i> . | c'. ...att jag <i>inte kysste henne</i> . |
|          |    | ...that I <b>her</b> <i>not kissed</i>        | ...that I <i>not kissed her</i>           |

In (78)a. the verb and the object has moved out of VP over *inte* "not"; the status of a'. varies across dialects, here the verb has moved but the object has remained inside VP; in b. the main verb has not moved because the auxiliary has moved, but still the object has moved out of VP, that is why the sentence is ungrammatical; the b'. sentence is fine, because here neither the main verb nor the object has moved out of VP; in the embedded clause in c. the object has moved out of VP although the main verb has not moved, that is why the sentence is ungrammatical; in c'.,again, neither the main verb nor the object has moved, therefore the sentence is fine.

Holmberg points out that not only an unmoved verb, but any phonologically visible category inside the VP which precedes the object position will block object shift. This is shown in the examples in (79):

- |          |    |                                                   |     |                                                  |
|----------|----|---------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------|
| (79) Sw. | a. | *Jag talade <b>henne</b> <i>inte</i> <b>med</b> . | a'. | Jag talade <i>inte</i> <b>med</b> <b>henne</b> . |
|          |    | I spoke <b>her</b> <i>not</i> <b>with</b> .       |     | I spoke <i>not</i> <b>with</b> <b>her</b> .      |
|          | b. | *Jag gav <b>den</b> <i>inte</i> <b>Elsa</b> .     | b'. | Jag gav <i>inte</i> <b>Elsa</b> <b>den</b> .     |
|          |    | I gave <b>it</b> <i>not</i> <b>Elsa</b> .         |     | I gave <i>not</i> <b>Elsa</b> <b>it</b> .        |
|          | c. | *Dom kastade <b>mej</b> <i>inte</i> <b>ut</b> .   | c'. | Dom kastade <i>inte</i> <b>ut</b> <b>mej</b> .   |
|          |    | They threw <b>me</b> <i>not</i> <b>out</b> .      |     | They threw <i>not</i> <b>out</b> <b>me</b> .     |

In all of the examples in (79) the verb has moved but still object shift is not allowed: in a. because the object has moved over a preposition, in b. because it has moved over the indirect object, and in c. because the object has moved over a verb particle. In the prime examples the object has not moved out of the VP and thus has not moved over other elements of the VP. That is why they are grammatical.

Holmberg further notes that in all the Scandinavian languages except Swedish object shift can apply to a pronominal object of a verb particle construction because here the object always precedes the particle (in Swedish the verb follows the particle and if moved is blocked by the particle).

Holmberg proposes a unified explanation of the facts illustrated in (78) and (79) contrary to most other explanations in the literature where it is assumed that the facts in (78) have to be explained independently of the facts in (79). Holmberg shows that the interplay between object shift and a construction which he calls verb topicalisation provides strong support for a unified explanation, and this explanation makes crucial reference to phonological visibility. The verb topicalisation facts, which will be demonstrated below, show that Scandinavian object shift is free to apply whenever all phonologically visible non-adjunct material has been removed from between the launching site and the landing site of the movement. That means that no trace, whatever its source is, will block object shift (it is a PF-operation). The question is then what it means for an operation to apply in the phonological component. One approach (cf. Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), Rochemont (1978)) ascribes it to a "component of 'stylistic rules' which is post-Spell-Out in that it has access to certain phonological features, namely prosodic features, but feeds the phonological component proper" (Holmberg 1999: 4). Holmberg adopts this assumption to explain object shift<sup>54</sup>.

54 Holmberg mainly discusses object shift of weak pronouns which is the most general form of object shift found in Mainland Scandinavian. He further claims that the shift of weak pronouns and full object DPs in Icelandic are instances of the same operation, that is they are both subject to Holmberg's Generalisation in

Before we discuss Holmberg's explanation of Holmberg's Generalisation, we will briefly discuss two different explanations which have been proposed in the literature: 1) equidistance (Chomsky, 1993, 1995) and 2) morphological merger (Bobaljik, 1995).

Whenever an object moves out of the VP to a higher position (Spec,AgrOP) this movement will be problematic as the object has to cross over an A-position, namely the position of the subject in Spec,VP. This problem occurs regardless of whether it is Scandinavian object shift or the object shift assumed by Chomsky (1993, 1995) which applies to all objects either overtly or covertly. In minimalist terms this problem is defined in how it is possible that the object moves out of VP (to Spec,AgrOP) without violating the Shortest Movement Condition, which requires that movement of an element is always to the nearest position of the relevant type<sup>55</sup>. Chomsky proposes a mechanism which makes the described movement possible. He claims that V-movement to AgrO makes object shift possible because the chain (V,t) which results from Verb-movement to AgrO has the minimal domain (Spec,AgrOP,Spec,VP,compV). According to the definition of equidistance which says that

- (80) If  $\alpha, \beta$  are in the same minimal domain they are equidistant from  $\gamma$   
(Chomsky 1995: 184).

Spec,AgrOP and Spec,VP will be equidistant from  $V^\circ$ , and thus movement of the object to Spec,AgrOP is technically as short as movement to Spec,VP (the operation is then repeated to allow subject movement across Spec,AgrOP). Holmberg notes, however, that in the examples in 2) the verb has moved and still object shift is not possible. Therefore Holmberg argues that the minimal domain of the verb chain and equidistance are irrelevant for object shift.

Bobaljik accounts for the ungrammaticality of examples like (78) c. in a different way. For the reader's convenience the example is repeated here:

- (78) c. \*...att jag **henne** *inte* **kysste**.  
... that I **her** *not* **kissed**.

He claims that (78) c. is ungrammatical because the shifted object intervenes between  $I^\circ$  and the finite verb which results in blocking "morphological merger" of  $I^\circ$  and the finite verb. Morphological Merger is defined by Bobaljik as a process which creates the inflected form of a word from a lexical and a functional head provided that both heads are adjacent in the syntax. Holmberg notes, however, that Bobaljik cannot explain the ungrammaticality of the

the same way.

<sup>55</sup> Chomsky's condition of Shortest Movement is a reformulation of Rizzi's Relativised Minimality Condition (Chomsky's system is more restricted but less explicit as Rizzi's RMC).

examples (78) b. and (79) with Morphological Merger: although there is nothing that intervenes between  $I^{\circ}$  and the auxiliary the sentences are out.

Holmberg assumes that Holmberg's Generalisation is a matter of derivation and not representation, i.e., that a violation of the generalisation cannot be repaired by subsequent operations. He illustrates this with the following examples:

- (81) a. **Kysst** har jag **henne** inte (bara hållit henne i handen).  
**Kissed** have I **her** not only held her by the hand.
- b. **Sett** har han **mej** kanske (men han vet inte vad jag heter).  
**Seen** has he **me** perhaps but he knows not what I am called.

(81) are examples of VP-fronting where the object has been left behind and has undergone object shift. The semantic/pragmatic effect here is that the verb is contrastive. Holmberg notes that (76) could be analysed as a case of remnant topicalisation (term coined by den Besten & Webelhuth 1987 for the German construction):

- (82) Ein Buch gegeben hat er **dem Jungen** nicht.  
 A book ACC given has he **the boy** DAT not.  
 "He didn't give the boy a BOOK."  
 (Holmberg 1999: 8)

In (82), the indirect object *dem Jungen* "the boy" has first been scrambled out of the VP and then the VP which contains the trace of the indirect object has been topicalised. In order to analyse (81) along these lines one had to assume that a violation of Holmberg's Generalisation occurs because object shift applies across and unmoved main verb. As the sentence is grammatical it would have to be further assumed that the structure is repaired by the following topicalisation of the VP which obliterates the traces of the violation. The derivation would be as in (83):

- (83) a. Jag<sub>i</sub> har **henne<sub>j</sub>** inte [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' kysst t<sub>j</sub>]] (object shift violating HG)
- b. [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' kysst t<sub>j</sub> ]]<sub>k</sub> har jag<sub>i</sub> henne<sub>j</sub> inte t<sub>k</sub> (VP-topicalisation)  
 (Holmberg 1999: 8)

If this is the right analysis, then Holmberg's Generalisation is subject to a 'surface filter' which says that "Violation of HG is all right so long as the structure undergoes other operations which yield the surface order where the object is followed by adjuncts but no visible head preceding the original object position" (Holmberg 1999: 8). Holmberg, however,

shows that this analysis cannot be correct:

- (84) a. Tidsskillnaden gör **mej** alltid [SC **t** förvirrad].  
Time–difference–the *makes* **me** always confused.
- b. \*Den har **mej** alltid gjort [SC **t** förvirrad].  
It has **me** always *made* confused.  
(Holmberg 1999: 8)

The examples in (84) are clauses where the verb takes a small clause as its complement. The subject of the small clause is the weak pronoun *mej* "me" which has undergone object shift. (84) a. is grammatical whereas (84) b. is ungrammatical because here the object has moved across the finite verb *gjort* "made". The surface–filter predicts, however, that the sentences can be repaired by following movement of the VP. This is not borne out as (85) shows:

- (85) \*Gjort förvirrad har den *mej* alltid.  
Made confused has it me always.  
(Holmberg 1999: 9)

From the observation made above Holmberg concludes that Holmberg's Generalisation is not a matter of S–structure word order but derivation. This implies that cases like (76) are not derived by object shift followed by remnant topicalisation but by object shift followed by verb topicalisation to Spec,CP. Therefore, he proposes the following formulation of Holmberg's Generalisation:

- (86) Object shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c–commanding the object position except adjuncts (Holmberg 1999: 15).

Holmberg points out that 'asymmetrically c–commands' here implies 'precedes' at least for Swedish and the other Scandinavian languages. The class of 'adjuncts' includes here particular adverbs and adverbial PPs, and also floated quantifiers. The definition in (86) also implies that object shift is blocked by any VP–internal constituent which asymmetrically c–command the object as well as by VP–external constituents which are not adjuncts.

Holmberg notes that according to his reformulation of Holmberg's Generalisation object shift is possible if the visible non–adjunct categories are moved to a higher position leaving only a trace in the VP. This prediction can be tested with an example like (87):

- (87) a. \*Jag gav **den<sub>i</sub>** inte Elsa **t<sub>i</sub>**.  
I gave **it** not Elsa.

- b. **Vem<sub>j</sub>** gav du **den<sub>i</sub>** inte **t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub>**?  
**Who** gave you **it** not?  
 (Holmberg 1999: 17)

(87) a. is ungrammatical because the indirect object *den* 'it' has moved out of the VP although the indirect object *Elsa* has remained in the VP. In (87) b., however, the indirect object has been moved out of the VP leaving a trace and the subsequent movement of the direct object is possible. Therefore, object shift requires that every visible category which asymmetrically c-commands the object overtly move out of the VP (traces are not visible and therefore do not block object shift). Thus, there is no special interplay between verb movement and object shift as proposed in the original formulation of Holmberg's Generalisation.

As shown above, object shift is sensitive to phonologically visible features and does not see traces. According to Holmberg, these observations are evidence that object shift is a PF-operation. He points out that the properties of object shift which have been widely discussed in the literature (see section 5.3.1) are indeed consistent with the assumption that object shift is a PF-operation:

- (88) a. It does not license a parasitic-gap.  
 b. It does not exhibit weak cross-over effects.  
 c. It violates strict cyclicity/the extension Condition<sup>56</sup>

(88) a. and b. will not be discussed here as we have seen in section 5.2 that object shift neither exhibit parasitic-gaps nor weak cross-over effects which was taken to be evidence that the movement operation is neither A-movement nor A'-movement (see also Vikner 1994). Holmberg also shows that object shift does not adhere to strict cyclicity:

- (89) Infl [inte [har [VP jag [V' kysst henne]]]]  
           not have I kissed her
- [CP kysst<sub>v</sub> [C' har<sub>aux</sub> [IP jag<sub>s</sub> Infl inte t<sub>aux</sub> [VP t<sub>s</sub> [V' t<sub>v</sub> **henne**]]]]]  
 [CP kysst<sub>v</sub> [C' har<sub>aux</sub> [IP jag<sub>s</sub> Infl **henne**<sub>o</sub> inte t<sub>aux</sub> [VP t<sub>s</sub> [V' t<sub>v</sub> **t<sub>o</sub>**]]]]]]]  
 (Holmberg 1999: 19)

According to Holmberg the verb moves to Spec,CP which is only possible when IP has merged with C°. The head C° contains the feature which attracts the contrastively focussed verb. After verb movement, object shift applies by moving the object *henne* "her" to a position lower in the tree which requires recycling of the sentence. This, however, causes a

<sup>56</sup> see Chomsky, 1993; 1995: chapter 4.

violation of strict cyclicity. Chomsky (1993) defines strict cyclicity in terms of the Extension Condition:

- (90) The Extension Condition: Substitution operations always extend their target.  
(Chomsky 1995: 190)

Following the condition defined above, Holmberg points out that the moved object in (89) does not extend its target because the landing-site is a IP-internal position which means that object shift does not adhere to the Extension Condition. Therefore, object shift either cannot be substitution or it must apply after Spell-Out in the phonological component where the condition does not apply (see Chomsky 1995: 327).

In Holmberg & Platzack (1995) it was claimed that object shift cannot not be a PF-operation because it is sensitive to traces. They showed this with the following example:

- (91) Trogen var han henne inte.  
Faithful was he her not.  
"He wasn't FAITHFUL to her."  
(Holmberg 1999: 20)

According to Holmberg & Platzack the sentence was derived by first moving the object *henne* "her" out of the AP and then moving the remnant AP to Spec,CP. This implies that the sentence in (91) would be derived by remnant topicalisation which is preceded by object shift. As topicalisation is not a PF-rule object shift cannot be a PF-rule either as it even precedes topicalisation. Holmberg (1999) notes that this line of argumentation only holds, however, if it is assumed that only XPs can move to Spec,CP. If the axiom is given up, the sentence in (91) could be derived by moving only the adjective to Spec,CP which may apply before object shift. Then there would be no argument against the assumption that object shift applies after Spell-Out, and hence is a PF-operation.

Holmberg points out that object shift certainly is a case of a very general rule which requires that clause constituents encoding "old information" have to move leftwards out of the VP. German scrambling and clitic pronoun placement in the left periphery are other instances of this phenomenon although they have different properties. Holmberg suggests that "this universal syntactic process has been 'grammaticized' in Scandinavian as a PF-operation, applying after spell-out, while it remains pre-spell-out in other languages, such as German"(Holmberg 1999: 21).

Under the assumptions outlined above, Holmberg proposes a "new" theory which he calls "Phonological Relativised Minimality". He notes that the analyses of Vikner (1994, see

5.3.1) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995) cannot explain object shift properly because they assume that Case is the feature which triggers the movement operation. Although object shift only moves nominal categories which is consistent with the assumption that Case plays a crucial role here, the analyses cannot explain why only a subset of nominal categories, namely definite, light, non-focussed nominals can undergo object shift, whereas non-specific, heavy, focussed objects never shift in any Scandinavian language. Therefore, Holmberg (1999) assumes that the feature which triggers object shift distinguishes between non-specific, heavy, focussed nominals on the one hand, and specific, light, non-focussed elements on the other hand. He suggests that the crucial feature is [+/- Foc] where only those nominal objects undergo object shift which are [- Foc]. Holmberg claims that this feature not only triggers object shift but also scrambling and Clitic Movement because all three movement operations have in common that they move arguments which are not focussed out of the VP. He further notes that this idea has been widely accepted to account for phenomena like scrambling in the literature. The basic idea here is that in terms of information structure a sentence obligatorily expresses new information (new in relation to the discourse) as well as old information (optionally). New information is known to be the focus of the sentence whereas old information is taken to be the presupposition. In the syntax, the VP corresponds to the focus domain, which is why non-focussed elements have to move out of the VP into the presupposition domain (between  $C^\circ$  and VP). Based on these assumptions, Holmberg claims that arguments either inherently have [+ Foc] or [- Foc] or they acquire it at some point during the derivation. Weak pronouns and clitics are inherently [- Foc], wh-phrases are inherently [+ Foc]. If an argument is [+ Foc] it can stay in the focus domain, if it is [- Foc] either its presence has to be licensed by a syntactic operation or it has to move out of the focus domain into the presupposition domain. A nominal category with the feature [- Foc] can stay inside VP if it is governed by a visible verb, verb particle, preposition or even by another argument. In this respect, [- Foc] is just like Case. Holmberg points out, however, that it is also licensed if it is 'governed' by a verb particle or even by another argument as long as they are visible. Thus, the crucial requirement is that the elements have to be visible. To illustrate this, the examples in (78) and (79) are repeated here under (92):

- (92) a. Jag har inte *kysst* **henne**.  
 I have not *kissed* **her**.
- b. Jag talade inte *med* **henne**.  
 I spoke not *with* **her**.

- c. Jag gav inte *Elsa* **den**.  
I gave not *Elsa* **it**.
- d. Dom kastade inte *ut* **mej**.  
They through not *out* **me**.

In the examples, the objects *henne* "her", *den* "it" and *mej* "me" are 'governed' by the main verb, preposition, an indirect object DP and a verb particle (licensing categories). The clauses are ungrammatical if the objects move out of the VP because they cannot be licensed then. If the licensing category moves, the object has to move as well to a position either adjacent to the moved verb, or if the verb is moved across the subject, adjacent to the subject:

- (93) a. Jag *kysste*<sub>i</sub> **henne**<sub>j</sub> inte [VP *t*<sub>i</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub>].  
I *kissed her* not.
- b. Sågi *Elsa* **den**<sub>j</sub> inte [VP *t*<sub>i</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub>]?  
Saw *Elsa it* not.

What this shows is, according to Holmberg, that the element marked [– Foc] moves up to the first position where it will be governed by a phonologically visible category which is able to license [–Foc] (here the verb and the subject). He further claims that elements like negation and other predicate adjuncts cannot license this feature because they are neither [+/- Foc]. Therefore they cannot license [– Foc] but they can block licensing by intervening between the two features.

What the categories which license [– Foc] have in common is the feature [+ Foc]. Thus, Holmberg suggests the following licensing condition:

- (94) [– Foc] must be governed by [+ Foc]<sup>57</sup>.  
(Holmberg 1999: 25)

He claims that the main verb is assumed to have this feature, as it is the head of the projection which defines the focus domain, but prepositions and verb particles also have to have the feature [+ Foc]. Nominal arguments are optionally [+ Foc]. If an indirect object is a full object DP it can license [– Foc] as illustrated in the example (92) c. where *Elsa* licenses [– Foc] of the weak pronoun *den* "it". However, if the indirect object itself is a weak pronoun it cannot license [– Foc] of *den* and therefore has to undergo object shift. As a consequence, the

<sup>57</sup> Holmberg defines Government as follows:

(i) A feature F of a category A governs a category B iff A c-commands B, and no further category c-commands B but not A (Holmberg 1999: 26).

direct object would have to undergo object shift as well to the nearest position where it is licensed by [+ Foc]. This means that the moved verb licenses both the objects with [– Foc]. This is shown in (95):

- (95) Jag gav<sub>i</sub> **henne**<sub>j</sub> **den**<sub>k</sub> inte [VP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>k</sub>].  
 I gave **her** **it** not.  
 (Holmberg 1999: 26)

According to Holmberg adjuncts are not integrated in the topic–focus structure, as the feature [+ Foc] is only shared between the predicate and its arguments due to the lack of interaction between adjuncts and predicate–argument structure as regards focus.

Holmberg notes that the assumption that the feature [+ Foc] triggers object shift is justified because it has two properties: a) it distinguishes between arguments and adjuncts, and b) it is a phonological feature which accompanies the phonological matrix which moves (it cannot be an empty category). Therefore, he claims that it is a syntactic feature because it has an effect on the semantic interpretation, and it is also involved in the triggering movement, but it is introduced in the syntactic derivation together with the phonological feature matrix of a syntactic category (traces of verbs e.g. cannot license [– Foc] as the features are on the head of the chain).

What was said above implies that the feature [+/- Foc] proposed by Holmberg is a phonological feature. Following Chomsky (1995), he claims that a lexical item consists of phonological, formal and semantic features. Moreover, he assumes that there is a component of the derivation which operates only on the formal features, constructing from bottom to top sentences from the lexical items in the Numeration by the operations Move and Merge. Holmberg calls this component Formal Syntax. He further assumes, following Groat & O'Neill (1996), that there is no division between an overt and a covert component which is separated by Spell–Out but rather an entirely uniform syntactic derivation with movement operating on the formal features. The derivation terminates when the Numeration is emptied, at which point the terminal nodes of the tree are provided with p–features. Whether a movement is overt or covert depends on whether the head or the tail of the chain receives the p–features. Once the p–features are inserted, the sentence may undergo further syntactic operations which happen, according to Holmberg, in the component called Stylistic Syntax. These operations are sensitive to Focus and are dependent on p–features. Therefore, Holmberg assumes that [+/- Foc] enters the derivation together with the p–features. If object shift is triggered by [– Foc], it applies therefore in Stylistic Syntax.

Holmberg further argues that if we stick to what was said about the Extension Condition we must say that object shift is adjunction; this is consistent with the assumption that object shift is triggered by the need for the [– Foc] feature to be governed by a [+ Foc] feature as this will be accomplished if the object is adjoined to a phrasal projection governed by a [+ Foc] marked category.

According to the analysis outlined above, Holmberg accounts for object shift in Icelandic in the following way: weak pronouns in Icelandic are inherently [– Foc], i.e., they will always have to move unless they are governed by an element in situ which is [+ Foc]. As noted above, certain DP types are inherently [+ Foc] like *wh*-headed DPs, negative DPs and bare indefinites. Some DPs can be either [+ Foc] or [– Foc] at the point when the *p*-features are inserted. Holmberg claims that full DP shift and pronoun shift are subject to Holmberg's Generalisation in exactly the same way. This becomes clear when we investigate Icelandic double-object constructions: a visible indirect object blocks object shift of the direct object but the trace of the indirect object does not block the operation. This is illustrated with the examples below<sup>58</sup>:

- (96) a. Hann skilar **bókasafninu** aldrei **bókunum**.  
He returns **library–the** never **books–the**.  
"He never returns the books to the library."
- b. ?? Hann skilar **bókasafninu** **bókunum** aldrei.  
He returns **library–the** **books–the** never.
- c. \* Hann skilar **bókunum/theim** aldrei **bókasafninu**.  
He returns **books–the/them** never **library–the**.
- d. Hvatha **bókasafni** skilar hann **bókunum/theim** aldrei?  
Which **library** returns he **books–the/them** never  
(Holmberg 1999: 32)

In (96) a. the indirect object *bókasafninu* "the library" has shifted, it is [– Foc] whereas the direct object *bókunum* "the books" is [+ Foc]. In (96) b. both objects have shifted, which means that both are [– Foc] and therefore have to move to a position adjoined to a verbal projection where they are licensed by the moved verb. However, the lexical indirect object disturbs the licensing relation between the verb and the direct object, that is why it is degraded. In (96) c. the direct object has moved out of VP over the indirect object. The

58 Holmberg's analysis also predicts that the clause *Hann skilar aldrei bókasafninu theim* is grammatical on the assumption that in this case the full object DP *bókasafninu* is [+ Foc]. According to Icelandic informants this is borne out if it is clear from the context what *theim* refers to.

indirect object, however, is [+ Foc] and can thus license the direct object which is [- Foc]. In this case, Movement as a Last Resort is violated and therefore the sentence is ungrammatical. In (96) d. the indirect object has been wh-moved, whereas the direct object has undergone object shift. The [+ Foc] feature of the indirect object is inserted with the other p-features at the head of the chain of the indirect object. Therefore, the direct object has to move to the verb for the feature [- Foc] to be licensed.

To sum up, Holmberg claims that Holmberg's Generalisation is a special case of a more general condition: any phonologically visible category, be it a verb, a preposition, a verb particle, or another argument, which governs the object in VP blocks object shift. Movement of the blocking categories will make object shift possible. object shift is insensitive to traces, which is evidence that it is a derivational and not a representational operation. As noted above, object shift does not respect the Extension Condition which implies that it is a stylistic operation, taking place in the component called Stylistic Syntax, which takes as input the output of the syntax proper, Formal Syntax, with the addition of p-features.

From the discussion of the analyses of object shift it becomes clear that Holmberg's analysis can account best for the phenomena of this movement operation. First, he has shown that object shift does not really depend on verb movement as claimed with Holmberg's Generalisation. Moreover, he clearly shows that as long as there is a phonologically visible category inside VP, the object cannot move out of the VP. The assumption that object shift is a PF-operation seems to be a plausible one because it is insensitive to traces. It also became clear that Case cannot be the crucial trigger for object shift, because then it cannot be explained why only a subset of nominal categories can undergo this movement operation. Therefore, Holmberg's assumption that the feature which triggers object shift distinguishes between special sets of nominals seems to be a plausible one. Thus, the hypothesis that object shift is an operation sensitive to focus seems to be plausible. For the reasons mentioned, we will adopt here Holmberg's (1999) analysis of object shift. In the following we will investigate if this movement operation can also be found in Early Middle English.

#### **5.4 Object Shift in the Ormulum**

As outlined above, the goal of this thesis is to show that Scandinavian had a strong influence on the English language during its history, due to the Scandinavian invasions in the 9th and 10th century. "Strong influence" means that we find Scandinavian characteristics not only in the lexicon but also in syntax. If this is correct, then we should find syntactic phenomena

which can only be found in Scandinavian languages. As shown above, object shift is such a case because it is a type of object movement which only occurs in Scandinavian. In section 5.3.1.6. the Mainland Scandinavian type of object shift was discussed and we saw that pronominal objects have to move out of VP unless a phonologically visible category (verb, preposition, another argument) blocks movement. The Insular Scandinavian type of object shift differs in that additionally full object DPs may move out of VP if they are [- Foc] (see the discussion of Holmberg's analysis in section 5.3.3). In the examples below, the different possibilities of object shift in Icelandic are illustrated again:

(97) Object shift of an indirect and a direct pronominal object:

- a. Pétur sýndi **henni hana** oft.  
Peter showed **her it** often.

Object shift of an indirect full object DP and a direct pronominal object:

- b. Pétur sýndi **Maríu hana** oft.  
Peter showed **Maria it** often.

Object shift of an indirect pronominal object and a direct full object DP:

- c. Pétur sýndi **henni oft bókina**.  
Peter showed **her** often **book-the**.
- d. Pétur sýndi **henni bókina** oft.  
Peter showed **her book-the** often.

Object shift of an indirect and full direct object DP:

- e. Pétur sýndi oft **Maríu bókina**.  
Peter showed often **Maria book-the**.
- f. Pétur sýndi **Maríu** oft **bókina**.  
Peter showed **Maria** often **book-the**.
- g. Pétur sýndi **Maríu bókina** oft.  
Peter showed **Maria book-the** often.

According to these patterns the Early Middle English text will be investigated, i.e., we will investigate if object shift of pronominal objects occurs and if full object DPs may move out of VP too. As noted above, object shift of full object DPs underlies order restrictions, namely that the order indirect object > direct object must not be changed. Therefore, if we find cases where both full object DPs have moved but the order of them has been changed then we have to conclude that these are cases of scrambling rather than of object shift. Moreover, these

cases would have to be scrambling as object shift can only take place if the main verb (or any other phonologically visible categories) has moved out of the VP as well. Therefore, double-object constructions serve to define the type of object movement operation which has taken place: scrambling or object shift.

In the *Ormulum*, there are 192 examples with double-object constructions. The difficulty in the search was to find examples of these constructions with a VP-adverb. Thus, none of the patterns shown in (97) a., b. and d. to g. could be found. Of course, there are examples where the two objects are adjacent and immediately follow the finite verb, but that does not tell us much as we do not have evidence that the verb really has moved. There were only three examples which look like being of the pattern shown in (97) c. These are given below:

- (98) He sennde **uss** *some* hiss word, hiss witt,  
He sent **us** soon his word, his wit,

Hiss sune, hiss mahht, hiss kinde,...  
his son, his power, his race,...  
(CMORM,INTR.L85.116)

- (99) & toc **himm** *þa* þatt illke blod  
and took **him** then that same blood

Þatt he þær haffde greggþedd,...  
that he there had prepared,...  
(CMORM,I,35.388)

- (100) He chæs **himm** *some* kinness menn  
He chose **him** *soon* kinsmen  
All swillke summ he wollde,...  
all such some he wanted,...  
(CMORM,I,120.1042)

In these examples the temporal adverbs *þa* "then" and *some* "soon" occur in a position between the indirect pronominal object and the direct full object DP. Thus, it could be assumed that the finite verb and the indirect pronominal object have both moved out of the VP. As the direct object DP has not moved out of the VP this pattern could reflect both the Mainland Scandinavian type and the Icelandic type of object shift because in the former type full object DPs must not move whereas in the latter type they do not have to move. It should also be kept in mind that in Mainland Scandinavian, object shift is possible only in main clauses whereas in Icelandic it is possible in both main and embedded clauses (see section

5.1). Therefore, we could take these three examples from the *Ormulum* as exhibiting object shift. It should be noted that object shift is a characteristic of Scandinavian VO languages. Thus, the hypothesis that object shift occurs in the *Ormulum* is based on the assumption that the text is mainly VO and that the clauses where this type of object movement occurs must be VO. In chapter 4 it was shown that the text is mainly VO (see also below) with only some sparse examples of OV order.

However, there is another "criterion" that has to be fulfilled so that we can be sure that what we have found is really object shift. As noted above, any phonologically visible category in VP blocks object shift. This implies that e.g. if the main verb cannot move out of VP because there is an auxiliary higher in the clause the object cannot move either. This results in the ungrammaticality of the following examples from Icelandic:

- (101) \* Þess vegna mun Gunnar henni bókina örugglega **sýna**.  
Therefore will Gunnar her book–the surely **show**.
- (102) \* Þess vegna mun Gunnar henni örugglega **sýna** bókina.  
Therefore will Gunnar her surely **show** book–the.

In (101) and (102) the main verb *sýna* "show" is inside VP. Neither of the pronominal objects can therefore move out of the VP. If we find cases like these in the *Ormulum* we can be sure that the examples in (103) to (104) do not show object shift<sup>59</sup>. There are indeed cases in the *Ormulum* which seem to confirm this assumption:

- (103) Þurrh þatt icc hafe *hemm wrohht tiss boc*  
Through that I have *them made this book*  
  
To þeggre sawle nede, ...  
to their souls' need ...  
(CMORM,DED.L143.38)
- (104) & beo þu sikerr þatt he shall  
and be you sure that he shall  
  
*Þe gifenn eche blisse, ...*  
*thee give each blisse ...*  
(CMORM,I,167.1380)

<sup>59</sup> This does not exclude the possibility that in Early Middle English both object shift and scrambling is possible.

- (105) & ta shall ure Laferrd Crist  
and then shall our Lord Christ

Att ure lifess ende  
at our life's end

*Uss gifenn ure swinnkess læn,*  
*us give our labour's reward*

Wiþþ enngless eche blisse;  
with angles' each blisse  
(CMORM,I,111.959)

- (106) ... forrþi þatt he þe **wolde gifenn bisne**, ...  
... forthi that he *thee* **wanted give** *example* ...  
(CMORM,I,129.1103)

Although these examples seem to show that the type of object movement found in the *Ormulum* cannot be object shift, the examples are ambiguous: they could also be derived from an OV order with heavy–DP shift of the full object DP *ure swinnkess læn* "our labour's reward". However, it was shown in chapter 4, section 4, that there is clear evidence that the *Ormulum* almost categorically shows underlying VO word order and hence this analysis can be excluded.

As noted above, object shift cannot take place if there is still a phonologically visible category inside VP. Thus, clauses with an auxiliary and a double–object construction with two object pronouns where one pronoun is in preverbal position and the other pronoun in postverbal position are ungrammatical because an object has moved out of the VP although the main verb is still inside VP. The examples below from Icelandic illustrate this:

- (107) \*Þess vegna mun Gunnar *henni* örugglega **sýna hana**.  
Therefore will Gunnar *her* surely **show it**.

- (108) \*Þess vegna mun Gunnar *Maríu* örugglega **sýna hana**.  
Therefore will Gunnar *Maria* surely **show it**.

As discussed in chapter 4, I assume that in the *Ormulum* a postverbal pronominal object is unambiguous evidence for underlying VO order. If we found examples with the pattern shown in (107) and (108), i.e., with an indirect object (either pronoun or DP) in preverbal position and a postverbal direct object in the *Ormulum*, we would have unambiguous evidence that these cases do not exhibit object shift.

The result I obtained from searching for this pattern in the *Ormulum* is that there is no such example. However, there are examples with other patterns which clearly violate the requirements of object shift. There is one example with a double-object construction where we find the indirect pronominal object in pre-Infl position and the direct pronominal object in postverbal position. This is illustrated below:

- (109) & witeþþ me to seggenn  
and know me to say
- Whær icc *me* **mughe findenn** *himm*  
where I *me* **may find** *him*
- To lakenn himm & lutenn.  
to serve him and obey.  
(CMORM,I,222.1837)

This example clearly shows that an indirect object pronoun can move to a high position left of an auxiliary although the main verb is still inside VP. This is not possible in languages where only object shift is allowed. The findings from the *Ormulum* show evidence that there is scrambling (see also Part II, section 5.8.2 and Kroch & Taylor 2000) but they do not show us if there is also object shift although it would be expected to find clear cases of object shift in the text if this operation was part of Orm's grammar.

There is a further diagnostic for object shift, namely the relative order of the object and the negation. Whenever the object (and the verb) precedes negation in the Scandinavian languages we know that object shift has taken place under the assumption that the negation *ekki/ikke/inte* "not" occurs to the left of VP. If the verb or any other phonologically visible category and the object both occur to the left of VP both elements must have moved out of VP. Thus, it could be assumed that whenever we find the order verb – object – not in Early Middle English we have evidence for object shift. However, there is one aspect here which makes things more difficult: the status of negation in Early Middle English is not so clear as we have bipartite negation. Thus, in the following we will briefly discuss the status of negation in Early Middle English (based on Frisch, 1994, 1996) to see if the diagnostic order verb – object – not does still hold here.

"Jespersen's cycle" (1917), i.e. cyclic variation in the history of the negative expressions of a language, can be observed in the history of English. In Old English, the sentential negator was the preverbal *ne*:

- (110) Ic **ne** toweorpe ða burg.  
 I **not** destroy the castle.  
 "I didn't destroy the castle."  
 (Haerberli 1991: 53)

During the Old English period *not* was added to make an emphatic negative and in Middle English *not* was reanalysed as part of a bipartite negative *ne ... not*:

- (111) Forr he **ne** magg **nohht** elless onn Ennglissh writtenn riht te word, ...  
 Forr he **ne** may **not** else on English write right the word, ...  
 (CMORM,DED.L83.28)

Gradually the *ne* dropped out of use and by the beginning of the Early Modern English period (ca. 1450) *not* stood alone as a sentential negator:

- (112) ... as Crist wolde **not** come doun of þe croos to conferme þe false Iewes.  
 ... as Christ would **not** come down of the cross to confirm the false Jews.  
 (CMWYCSER,226.55)

In Modern English, *not* is often reduced to a postverbal clitic *-n't*:

- (113) I won't tell you.

Thus, the development of negation in the history of English shows the full cycle. The single negator *ne* was reinforced by *not*, and then lost. This form has since been phonologically weakened. A similar development of negation (*ne ... at* is found in Old Norse (see Eythórsson, 1995).

Frisch (1996) claims that Jespersen's cycle is the result of alternation between licensing strategies for NEGP. Following Speas' (1994) he assumes that there is a principle of Economy of Projection which states that every maximal projection must be licensed in order to appear in the phrase marker. There are two ways to license NEGP: Either the head Neg or the specifier Spec, NegP can be used, i.e. either of the two positions must contain overt material.

As noted above, in Early Middle English we find bipartite negation: *ne V not*. Frisch assumes that at this stage NEGP was licensed by the negative head *ne*. The specifier of NEGP was open, however, so that a bipartite negator could be formed by reanalysis of some other constituent. This is what happened to *not* which was reanalysed from a sentence adverb to a sentential negator while *ne* was still present.

There is evidence that *ne* was a head at that time because it shows allomorphy which is characteristic of inflection (*ne* behaves like verbal inflection):

- (114) ... þatt he **nolde** nohht haldenn wiþþ þatt illke þing ...  
 ... that he **not–wolle** nohht haldenn with that same thing ...  
 (CMORM,I,100.860)

The negative word *not* was used as a sentence adverb. According to Frisch it was used both in preverbal and postverbal position just like the sentence adverb *never*:

- (115) Josæp, forr þatt he *nolde* **nohht** onn ane wise gilltenn, ...  
 Joseph for that he *not–wolde* **nohht** on any wise be guilty, ...  
 (CMORM,I,106.910)
- (116) gho, þatt ne *wolde* **næfre** ben þurh were o life filedd.  
 She, that ne *would* **never** be through man on life filled.  
 (CMORM,I,87.770)
- (117) ... þatt Jesuss **nohht** ne *wolde* ben borenn nowwhar i þe land, ...  
 ... that Jesus **not** *Neg would* be born nowhere in the land, ...  
 (CMORM,I,122.1053)
- (118) ... & heo **næfre** ne *beoð* isceadde from þare ece murhðe<sup>60</sup>.  
 ... and he **never** *Neg is* separated from there each mirth.  
 (Frisch 1996: 9)

In late Middle English, the preverbal use of *not* is lost. This indicates that *not* has been reanalysed syntactically (occupying the specifier of NEGP).

In the *Ormulum*, *nohht* can still be used preverbally which implies that it is still a sentence adverb left–adjoined to VP. Thus, if we found cases where the verb and the object precede *nohht* we would have evidence for object shift. Table 1 shows the most frequent patterns with bipartite negation in the *Ormulum*:

<sup>60</sup> In the *Ormulum* the sentence adverb *never* does not occur in preverbal position.

|              | S ne Aux nohht   | S ne V nohht | nohht          | ne V S nohht       |
|--------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|
| main cl.     | 15               | 11           | 2              | 28                 |
| embedded cl. | 38               | 33           | 10             | 3                  |
| TOTAL        | 53               | 44           | 12             | 31                 |
|              | ne Aux S nohht V | ne V O nohht | ne V S O nohht | stylistic fronting |
| main cl.     | 0                | 6            | 1              | 0                  |
| embedded cl. | 12               | 0            | 0              | 40                 |
| TOTAL        | 12               | 8            | 1              | 40                 |

Table 1: Most frequent patterns of bipartite negation (and *nohht* alone) in the *Ormulum*

The pattern which interests us most here is *ne – V– O– nohht* because these could be cases of object shift. The six cases found in main clauses are given below:

- (119) Ne **ræw himm nohht**, swa þatt he +teggm fra pine wollde lesenn;  
Neg **repent him not**, so that he them from pain would redeem;  
(CMORM,INTR.L57.113)
- (120) Forrþi ne **ræw himm nohht** off hemm, ne nohht off here pine;  
Forthi Neg **repent him not** of them Neg not of their pain;  
(CMORM,INTR.L57.114)
- (121) Acc nu ne **geggneþþ itt hemm nohht** to winnenn eche blisse.  
But now Neg **gain it them not** to win eternal bliss.  
(CMORM,I,31.353)
- (122) Ne get te deofell **nisste itt nohht** þatt gho wass swa wiþþ childe.  
Neg yet the devil **not-know it not** that she was so with child.  
(CMORM,I,66.601)
- (123) Off nan þing elless **niss þe nohht** butt off þatt an þing ane, ...  
Of no-thing else **not-is you not** but of that one thing alone, ...  
(CMORM,I,277.2268)
- (124) Ne **segge icc þe nohht**.  
Neg **say I you not**.  
(CMORM,I,176.1449)

In all the cases given above it seems that the main verb has moved out of the VP as well as the pronominal object because both elements appear in front of *nohht*. If we follow Holmberg's latest analysis of object shift example (120) cannot show this type of object movement. Although the verb *ræw* "repent" and *himm* "him" seem to have moved out of the VP

there is still phonologically visible material inside VP, namely the PP *off hemm* "of them". Therefore, this example should be excluded here.

Example (124) shows that the verb has moved along with *ne* to a higher position because both elements precede the subject pronoun *icc* "I". As the object pronoun *þe* also precedes *nohht* (but follows the subject) it could still be object shift only that the verb has further moved up to a higher position to check off the relevant features (in the sense of Rizzi's Wh-criterion, 1991).

Apart from these facts all the examples given below (except (120)) could be interpreted as exhibiting object shift.

In embedded clauses there is only one example which could be instantiations of object shift. It is given below:

- (125) & loc þatt tu ne **tæle himm** *nohht* þohh þatt he beo to tæle;   
 and look that you Neg **blame him** *not* although he be to blame;   
 (CMORM,I,212.1746)

In (125) the main verb *tælen* "blame sb." and the pronominal object *himm* "him" have moved to the left of *nohht* which implies that both elements have moved out of the VP. The other examples which show that a pronominal object has moved to the left all contain auxiliary verbs which block movement of the main verb out of the VP<sup>61</sup>:

- (126) Þatt all hiss gode dede ne mune **himm** *nohht* **beon** god inoh   
 That all his good deed Neg must **him** *not* **be** good enough   
  
 To berrghenn himm fra pine.   
 to save him from pain.   
 (CMORM,I,275.2253)
- (127) Swa þatt he þurh an idell word ne sholde **himm** *nohht* **forrgilltenn**.   
 So that he through an idle word Neg should **him** *not* **render guilty**.   
 (CMORM,I,109.940)

61 The following example shows that both the pronominal object and the main verb are in their base positions within VP (*ne wollde* has probably moved higher up as these elements both precede the subject):

- (i) Forr giff he mihte findenn himm ne wollde he *nohht* **himm lakenn**, ...   
 For if he might find him Neg would he *not* **him serve**, ...   
 (CMORM,I,230.1897)

These cases clearly show that it is not object shift that has taken place because the main verb is still inside VP. Therefore, I take these cases to be pronominal object fronting.

The fact that auxiliary verbs occur much more frequently in embedded clauses than in main clauses might be the reason why the frequency of potential object shift is higher in main clauses than in embedded clauses.

The findings we obtained show that there is only sparse evidence for object shift in the *Ormulum*. We could assume that exactly this evidence exhibits a grammar with object shift (due to Scandinavian influence) and another grammar without object shift (or another type of object movement; see Part II of this chapter). However, it will become clear below that by looking at the history of Old Norse it is not surprising that we do not find object shift here and that the cases found are instantiations of another type of object movement.

At first sight, the results obtained from the *Ormulum* seem to weaken the assumption that Scandinavian syntactic patterns can be found here. Since object shift is a syntactic phenomenon found only in the Scandinavian languages, one would assume that if language contact is able to trigger syntactic change, characteristic syntactic phenomena of the language which heavily influences another language should also be found. This implies that if Scandinavian had such a strong influence as to be the cause of the change from OV to VO in English as claimed in this thesis, we should find further traces of this influence, not only in the lexicon, but also in syntax. It will be shown below by looking at the history of the Scandinavian languages that the fact that we cannot find object shift in the *Ormulum* does not weaken this claim but rather supports it.

Sundquist (1999) discusses the decline of OV word order in Middle Norwegian. He claims that OV word order declines in constructions with certain kinds of object DPs (bare DPs, definite DPs and proper nouns) earlier than in constructions with pronominal objects. He relates this to the observation that these two types of objects behave differently with respect to movement, i.e., that pronominal objects (weak pronouns) are able to move higher than object DPs. The example below from Middle Norwegian demonstrates this:

- (128) ...som *honom* **hafde giort** *storan skadha*.  
 ...who *him* **had done** *big damages*.  
 "...who had caused him great injury."  
 (Sundquist 1999: 20)

Example (128) shows that the pronominal object *honom* "him" has moved to a position preceding the auxiliary *hafde* "had". This example shows the same pattern as (109) from the

*Ormulum*. Moreover, in Modern Mainland Scandinavian and Modern Icelandic, examples like this would be ungrammatical which implies that the type of object movement found in the older stages of Scandinavian is different from what is known as object shift.

Sundquist explains his observations by following Holmberg (1997, 1999) who assumes that weak pronouns contain the features [– Foc] and [– stress] alongside other phonological features which are given below for the Swedish weak pronoun *henne* "her":

- (129)     *henne*
- |          |        |
|----------|--------|
| – stress | 3 sing |
| – Foc    | + hum  |
| + acc    | + fem  |

The phonological features of *henne* form the group to the left and the formal features of *henne* form the group to the right.

Sundquist claims that the observation that in Middle Norwegian pronouns move whereas object DPs do not move seems to show the development of object shift in Modern Mainland Scandinavian. However, as noted above (see also 5.3.3) in clauses with an auxiliary neither pronouns nor object DPs can move out of the VP as the auxiliary blocks movement of the non-finite verb, whereas this is possible in older stages like Middle Norwegian. Holmberg (1997) has shown that this is only a subcase of Holmberg's Generalisation because other categories than verbs such as prepositions, other arguments and verb particles also block object shift. As discussed in section 5.3.3 he suggests a rule which he calls "Phonological Relativised Minimality" which stipulates that phonological features such as [– Foc] cannot move over other phonological features unless they are pied-piped along with a larger feature group.

Sundquist further adopts Holmberg's (1997) claim that with respect to object shift, Mainland Scandinavian has a ranking of three constraints in an OT-like fashion. The Phonological Relativised Minimality Constraint is highest ranked and must never be violated. The Feature Integrity Constraint (features in a group must move together) outranks the Move Few Features Economy Constraint. The best candidate here are clauses with objects the features of which move overtly, do not violate Phonological Relativised Minimality, move as a group and adhere to Feature Integrity. An ungrammatical derivation, on the other hand, violates Feature Integrity but satisfies Move Few Features through covert movement of [– Foc].

If we look at some further examples of Middle Norwegian, we see that weak pronouns could move over non-finite main verbs:

- (130) Vilium ver *þæt* med ængho mote **þola**.  
 Want we *it* with no way **endure**.  
 "We do not want in any way to endure it."  
 (Sundquist 1999: 32)
- (131) Vi allæ firskrifnir ... skulom *hænnæ* **styrkia** oc hiælpa j allum.  
 We all before-written should *her* **support** and help in all.  
 "We, all those previously mentioned, should help her and support her in all ways."  
 (Sundquist 1999: 32)
- (132) Hær firir hefuer ek *honom* **sett**.  
 Here before have I *him* **seen**.  
 "I have seen him here before."  
 (Sundquist 1999: 32)

Sundquist claims that in Middle Norwegian the phonological features associated with weak pronouns like [- Foc] and [- stress] could violate Holmberg's phonological rule. According to Holmberg's analysis this means, that the constraints were ranked differently then, namely Feature Integrity > Phonological Relativised Minimality > Move Few Features. Weak pronouns could violate the phonological constraint as long as the features overtly moved together to a preverbal position.

Regardless of how the patterns found are analysed, it becomes clear that at the older stages of Scandinavian, object shift of the modern type did not exist, i.e., pronominal objects could freely move out of the VP. This is also confirmed by Sigurðsson (1988) and Hróarsdóttir (1999) who have shown that in Old Norse, pronominal objects preferred a preverbal position more often than object DPs did. Some examples for Old Norse are given below:

- (133) ... og því hefi eg *hana* **svø** leyniliga hulið.  
 ... and therefore have I *her* **so** secretely hidden.  
 "And therefore, I have hidden her so secretely"  
 (Hróarsdóttir 1999: 148)
- (134) ... og vér fáum *það* **ei** þekkt.  
 ... and we get *it* **not** recognised.  
 "and we cannot recognise it."  
 (Hróarsdóttir 1999: 157)

Therefore, at the time of Scandinavian invasion in Great Britain, the Scandinavian language did not have the type of object shift we find today in Mainland Scandinavian and Modern Icelandic. As shown above, pronominal objects could move out of the VP regardless of whether the main verb or other categories inside VP had moved out before. Therefore, it is no surprise that we cannot find object shift in the *Ormulum*. In fact, the observation that pronominal objects move more frequently than object DPs in the text seems to indicate that Scandinavian influenced the language of the text here too. Moreover, Old English (see section 5.8.1) texts show that pronominal objects moved to the left very frequently which could be taken as further evidence for the assumption that this characteristic could have been inherited from Scandinavian.

So far we have seen that there are no clear cases of object shift in the *Ormulum*. We have seen, however, that there are object movement operations which show that leftward movement of pronominal objects occurred very frequently. According to Sundquist, object shift must have developed later in the history of the Scandinavian languages because it cannot be found in Old Norse or Middle Norwegian. Therefore, it is not surprising that we cannot find it in the Early Middle English text. In Early Middle English texts there is clear evidence for object shift which looks quite similar to the operation found in Scandinavian (Roberts, 1995). The question then is how it developed if external factors like language contact with Scandinavian is excluded. It is plausible to assume that the movement operation developed due to internal factors (Roberts claims that it is dependent on verb movement). Further research is needed here to shed light on this phenomenon and it would be important to investigate if Early Middle English adheres to the revision of Holmberg's Generalisation and if the kind of verb movement is found here is the same as the one found in Scandinavian.

In Part II of this chapter we will deal with scrambling and pronominal object fronting, two types of object movement found in the Germanic languages. We will see that it differs from object shift in a number of ways and that it can be found in the *Ormulum*.

## Part II: Scrambling

### 5.5 Introduction

In Part I of this chapter, we discussed the Scandinavian type of object movement. We saw that a crucial condition for object shift to take place is that the main verb moves out of its base-generated position inside VP to a higher projection. This condition is known as Holmberg's Generalisation. In section 5.3.3 we have also seen that in order to explain object shift appropriately, a revision of this generalisation was needed. Moreover, it became clear that although object shift and scrambling seem to be very similar processes at first sight, there are a number of properties of object shift which do not seem to hold for scrambling. Based on the comparison by Vikner (1994) of these two movement operations, it was claimed here that object shift is an instantiation of A-movement, whereas scrambling is an instantiation of A'-movement. In the following sections we will critically discuss this classification. Following Haider & Rosengren (1998) and Haerberli (1999), it will become clear that some of the properties of scrambling noted above cannot serve as diagnostics as easily as has been claimed in studies by Vikner (1994) or Müller (1995). It will be shown that the definition of scrambling based on these properties is still very controversial.

In section 5.6. the properties of scrambling in comparison with object shift will be discussed based on the assumption that scrambling is not clearly an instantiation of A'-bar movement. Section 5.7. will deal with Haider & Rosengren's analysis of scrambling. The reason why the analysis of scrambling is discussed thoroughly here is that this type of movement operation has to be clearly defined so that it can be distinguished from object shift. This is crucial for section 5.8., where it will be shown that in Old English and Middle English we can find this kind of object movement and that it is not another kind that we find (we have seen that there is no clear evidence for object shift in the texts). We will further see that that the *Ormulum* exhibits cases of scrambling. Chapter 5.9. concludes.

Before we deal with the properties of scrambling, a definition of the phenomenon based on Haider & Rosengren (1998) will be given.

The idea that in languages like German, Latin and Russian constituents which are fixed in a base structure can be reordered goes back to Ross (1967) who called this phenomenon scrambling. He assumed that the movement operation takes place outside the formal part of syntax and treated it as a stylistic reordering rule which stated that two adjacent constituents can be permuted if they are clause-mates (Ross 1967: 40). Since then, there have been a number of analyses around which try to account for the word order variation

phenomenon (see section 5.7.). It was noted above that although many languages seem to have the possibility to reorder their constituents, they do so in different ways, i.e., they show different "kinds" of scrambling. As it is not very attractive from a theoretical point of view to unite these different processes under one term because it leads to a misleading extension of the term, "true" scrambling will be defined by delimiting it from the other types of variation in the following way:

(i) It was shown above that scrambling in German is different from object shift in Scandinavian (Icelandic) because fronting of (definite) full object DPs is possible only if there is no phonologically visible category inside VP which blocks the operation. The differences between German scrambling and object shift in Icelandic are demonstrated below:

- (135) Ge. a. ... dass dieses **Buch<sub>i</sub>** Gunnar nicht **t<sub>i</sub>** gelesen hat.  
 ... that **this book** Gunnar not read has.
- b. Gestern hat **dieses Buch<sub>i</sub>** Gunnar nicht **t<sub>i</sub>** gelesen.  
 Yesterday has **this book** Gunnar not read.
- (136) Ic. a. \*... að þessa **bók<sub>i</sub>** hafa Gunnar ekki lesið **t<sub>i</sub>**.  
 ... that **this book** has Gunnar not read.
- b. \*Í gær hafa Gunnar þessa **bók<sub>i</sub>** ekki lesið **t<sub>i</sub>**.  
 Yesterday has Gunnar **this book** not read.
- c. ... að þessa **bók<sub>j</sub>** las<sub>i</sub> Gunnar ekki **t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>**.  
 ... that **this book** read Gunnar not.
- d. Í gær las<sub>i</sub> Gunnar þessa **bók<sub>j</sub>** ekki **t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>**.  
 Yesterday read Gunnar **this book** not.

(ii) It has often been claimed that German and Dutch are much more similar in that respect as both languages allow scrambling. Thus, the word order in the German example in (137) is also grammatical in Dutch:

- (137) Es ist komisch,  
 It is strange
- ...dass der Sten **der Tanja die Mohrenköpfe** *nicht* gibt.  
 ...that the Sten **the Tanja the sweets** *not* gives.
- IO                  DO

- (138) Het is  
It is strange

...dat de Sten **de Tanja het** *niet* geeft.  
...that the Sten **the Tanja the sweets** *not* gives.

On the assumption that the negation *nicht* "not" in (137) occupies a position in the left periphery of VP, the direct object DP *die Mohrenköpfe* "the sweets" and the indirect object DP *der Tanja* "the Tanja" have moved out of the VP to the left of negation. The same seems to apply to the example from Dutch. However, as soon as the objects are reordered, German and Dutch differ in that in German reordering is allowed whereas in Dutch the example is ungrammatical:

- (139) Es ist komisch,  
It is strange

...dass der Sten **die Mohrenköpfe der Tanja** *nicht* gibt.  
...that the Sten **the sweets the Tanja** *not* gives.

- (140) Het is  
It is strange

\*...dat de Sten **het de Tanja** *niet* geeft.  
...that the Sten **the sweets the Tanja** *not* gives.

Based on this observation it has been proposed in the literature that the type of object movement found in Dutch is not scrambling (Haider & Rosengren, 1998). We will come back to this issue below.

(iii) Haider & Rosengren note that the kind of word order variation found in Japanese, which is called Long distance scrambling, is not the same as scrambling found in German because the latter process is clause-bound whereas the former is not (see Grewendorf & Sabel, 1994).

(iv) According to Haider & Rosengren the reordering of full object DPs in German is not the same as the fronting of weak pronouns to the Wackernagel position because of the different properties of the two categories. We will come back to the definition of the fronting of weak pronouns in section 3.1.2 because this phenomenon is found not only in German but also in Old English and (Early) Middle English.

Based on the assumptions outlined in (i) to (iv), scrambling is defined as

...the optional change of the base order of phrases within the domain of the lexical head, and it therefore is clause-bound, as in German (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 2).

## 5.6 The Properties of scrambling revisited

In Part I, section 5.2, the properties which are generally taken to be diagnostics for object shift (A-movement) and scrambling (A'-movement) were discussed. In this section, we will come back to these properties and check whether they can really be taken as diagnostics to define scrambling. Before we deal with the properties of scrambling, it will be shown below that scrambling is not possible in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. (141) shows scrambling in German (example (139) from above), (142) shows that scrambling is not possible in Danish:

- (141) Es ist komisch,  
It is strange

...dass der Sten **der Tanja die Mohrenköpfe** *nicht* gibt.  
...that the Sten **the Tanja the sweets** *not* gives.

- (142) Det er mærkeligt  
It is strange

\*...at Sten **Tanja flødebollerne** *ikke* giver.  
...that Sten **Tanja sweets-the** *not* gives.

In Danish it is not possible for full object DPs to move out of the VP which shows that Danish does not have scrambling. As shown in Part I, Danish exhibits object shift with the restriction that only pronominal objects move out of the VP if there is no phonologically visible category within VP which blocks movement. It was also shown that analysing object shift as A-movement is problematic because it cannot account for the fact that only a subcategory of nominals (definite, light, nonfocussed nominals) can undergo object shift. By comparing object shift with scrambling, properties of A'-movement have been attributed to the latter process which, however, is also known to be problematic. For the reader's convenience, the list of properties is repeated here (12) from Part I):

(143)

| A–movement (object shift)                                             | A' movement (scrambling)                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. cannot trigger a parasitic gap                                     | may trigger a parasitic gap                                        |
| b. landing site: +case<br>(only moves DPs)<br>(adjacency requirement) | landing site: –case<br>(moves XPs)<br>(no adjacency requirement)   |
| c. cannot cross a c–commanding<br>A–element                           | may cross a c–commanding<br>A–element                              |
| d. launch site: –case<br>(V–movement necessary)                       | launch site: + case<br>(V–movement possible, but not<br>necessary) |

Especially the alleged observation that parasitic gaps are only triggered by instantiations of A'–movement has been taken as a diagnostic for scrambling. Thus, Vikner (1994) notes that the following scrambling construction contains a parasitic gap which indicates that scrambling is A'–movement:

- (144) Ge. (?) ...dass Peter sie [ohne PRO pg kennengelernt zu haben] t einladen  
 ...that Peter them without met to have invite  
 wollte.  
 wanted–to  
 "...that Peter wanted to invite them without having met them."  
 (Vikner 1994: 491)

Haider & Rosengren (1998) point out that examples like this must be reevaluated for their validity because they do not seem to be real cases of parasitic gaps. They claim that the gaps in adverbial infinitival clauses in German do not have the same properties of parasitic gaps in English. This is illustrated by the examples below, (145) for English<sup>62</sup> and (146) for German (examples from Haider & Rosengren: 1998, 42f):

- (145) a. \*Where did Elaine work  $t_i$  without ever living  $e_i$ ?  
 b. \*What he became  $t_i$  without wanting to become  $e_i$  was a traitor.  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 42)

<sup>62</sup> I would like to point out here that for some speakers (150) a. is completely acceptable and (150) b. is only marginally bad.

- (146) a. Wo hat Elaine, anstatt mit Dir [-] zu wohnen, ihr Büro eingerichtet?  
Where has Elaine instead-of with you to live her office established  
"Where did Elaine establish her office instead of living there together with you?"
- b. Was er wurde, ohne eigentlich [-] werden zu wollen, war ein Syntaktiker.  
What he became without really become to want was a syntactician.  
"What he became without really wanting it was a syntactician."  
(Haider & Rosengren 1998: 42)

According to Haider & Rosengren, the typical parasitic gap constructions in English are severely deviant in German because in finite clauses gaps are ungrammatical:

- (147) a. ?Which disease did everyone who caught  $t_i$  want Dr. Jones to study  $e_i$ ?
- b. \*Welches Haus wollte jeder, dem er  $e_i$  zeigte,  $e_i$  sofort kaufen?  
Which house wanted everyone who he showed at once buy.  
(Haider & Rosengren 1998: 43)

It should be noted that in Modern English it is also not so clear that the cases given in (147) show the same phenomenon as in (145). Thus, in Modern German the constructions in (146) are different from the constructions in (152) b. (and this might also be the case in Modern English, i.e., that the cases in (145) are not the same construction as in (147) a.). Additional evidence for this assumption comes from Fanselow (1993) who notes parallels between the adverbial infinitival construction and conjunction reduction. He claims that *ohne* "without" and *anstatt* "instead of" both function syntactically as coordinating heads. Hence, the alleged parasitic gaps are the result of coordinating ellipsis and not the result of the variable binding mechanism which is typical for parasitic gap constructions. We will see below that there are other properties of scrambling which cannot be attributed to A'-movement.

As already noted, the classification of scrambling as A'-movement seems to be problematic. Therefore, in the following we will take the properties of scrambling that are suggested by Haider & Rosengren into consideration. They claim that the movement operation has the following grammatical properties:

- (148) a. Scrambling is clause-bound and restricted to the domain between  $C^\circ$  and the base position of the lexical head (the area which corresponds to the *Mittelfeld*). The target position of scrambling is not the same position as the target position of T-scrambling<sup>63</sup>.

63 According to Haider & Rosengren T-scrambling is different from Scrambling as it is non clause-bound fronting of elements to a  $C^\circ$ -adjacent functional spec-position. Thus, example (i) shows T-scrambling of an element that cannot be scrambled (ii):

- b. Scrambling is an optional operation, there is no instance of obligatory scrambling.
- c. Scrambling is found in particular with all arguments of all categories (DP, PP, CP).
- d. Scrambling chains are non-string-vacuous "by-pass-chains", which means that the operation changes the order of the arguments (and selected adverbials) in surface structure (it is visible).
- e. Scrambling of possible binders extends their respective binding domains.
- f. Scrambling results in scope ambiguities (chain-connectivity).

In what follows we will briefly discuss these properties.

Property a: As illustrated in the examples below, scrambling is uncontroversially clause-bound, neither extraction out of finite clauses nor extraction out of infinitival clauses is possible:

- (149) \*...dass niemand **die Lösung**<sub>i</sub> geglaubt hat, dass er **t<sub>i</sub>** gefunden hätte.  
 ...that no-one **the solution** believed has that he found had.  
 "...that no one believed that he had found the solution."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 7)

- (150) \*...dass niemand [**ihn zu besuchen**]<sub>i</sub> glaubt, dass er sich **t<sub>i</sub>** leisten kann.  
 ...that no-one **him to visit** believes that he REFL afford can.  
 "...that no one believes that he can afford to visit him."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 8)

Property b: It is a well-known fact that scrambling is an optional operation. According to Haider & Rosengren the semantic and/or pragmatic effects which are induced by the word order variation operation cannot be the factors which trigger it as the interpretation effect found in constructions with scrambling can also be found in the unscrambled structures. Thus, the generic interpretation of the DP in (151) a., the indefinite interpretation of the DP in (152) a. and the definite specific interpretation of the DP in (153) a. can also be found in the b.-examples where the DPs have been scrambled :

- (151) a. ...dass ja wer (**die**) **Pockenviren** ausrotten sollte. (generic)  
 ...that PRT who **the smallpox** exterminate should.  
 "...that someone should exterminate the pockvirus."

---

(i) ... dass **verlieren**<sub>i</sub> Boris nicht **t<sub>i</sub>** konnte.

(ii) \* ... dass Boris **verlieren**<sub>i</sub> nicht **t<sub>i</sub>** konnte.

- b. ...dass ja (**die**) **Pockenviren**<sub>i</sub> wer **t<sub>i</sub>** ausrotten sollte. (generic)  
 ...that PRT **the smallpox** who exterminate should.  
 "...that someone should exterminate the pockvirus."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 9)
- (152) a. Wenn wer **eine rothaarige Frau** sucht, dann ist das Maria. (indef. specific)  
 If who **a red-haired woman** searches then is this Mary.  
 "If someone searches for a red-haired woman then this is Mary."
- b. Wenn **eine rothaarige Frau**<sub>i</sub> wer **t<sub>i</sub>** sucht, dann ist das Maria. (indef. specific)  
 If **a red-haired woman** who searches then is this Mary.  
 "If someone searches for a red-haired woman then this is Mary."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 9)
- (153) a. ...dass er wem **ihr Kleid** gezeigt hat, hat Anna nicht gefallen. (def. specific)  
 ...that he whomDAT **her dress** showed has has Anna not liked.  
 "...that he showed her dress to someone Anna did not like."
- b. ...dass er **ihr Kleid**<sub>i</sub> wem **t<sub>i</sub>** gezeigt hat, hat Anna nicht gefallen. (def. specific)  
 ...that he **her dress** whomDAT showed has has Anna not liked.  
 "...that he showed her dress to someone Anna did not like."

Property c.: In German all categories of arguments can scramble. In (154) a DP, in (155) a PP, in (156) a finite CP and in (157) an infinitive construction have undergone scrambling:

- (154) ...dass ja **den Mohrenkopf**<sub>i</sub> die Heike **t<sub>i</sub>** gesucht hat.  
 ...that PRT **the sweets** the Heike searched has.  
 "...that Heike searched for the cover stick."
- (155) ...dass dort jetzt [**auf Fabian**]<sub>i</sub> jemand **t<sub>i</sub>** wartet.  
 ...that there now **for Fabian** someone waits.  
 "that someone is waiting for Fabian there now."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 10)
- (156) ? ...weil ja heutzutage [**dass die Erde rund ist**]<sub>i</sub> niemand **t<sub>i</sub>** ernsthaft bezweifelt.  
 ...because PRT nowadays **that the earth round is** no-one seriously doubts.  
 "that nowadays no one seriously doubts that the earth is round."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 10)
- (157) ...dass doch [**diese Tür aufzubrechen**]<sub>i</sub> keiner je **t<sub>i</sub>** versucht hat.  
 ...that PRT **this door open-to-break** no-one ever tried has.  
 "...that no one ever tried to break open this door."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 11)

Haider & Rosengren note that the question mark in (156) indicates that finite scrambled

clauses are slightly marginal and that they are best when extraposed to the right of the clause or in a position immediately after C° (this is what they call T–scrambling).

Property d: According to Haider & Rosengren scrambling always involves crossing of at least one non–empty argument base position. They illustrate this claim with the following examples from German and Dutch:

- (158) ...dass [**der Erste**]<sub>i</sub> [**die Zweite**]<sub>j</sub> (gestern) \***t<sub>i</sub>**\***t<sub>j</sub>** küsste.  
 ...that **the firstNOM the secondACC** (yesterday) kissed.  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 11)

- (159) ...dat [**de eerste**]<sub>i</sub> [**de tweede**]<sub>j</sub> (gisteren) \***t<sub>i</sub>**\***t<sub>j</sub>** zoende.  
 ...that **the firstNOM the secondACC** (yesterday) kissed.  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 11)

They point out that this claim has an important implication for adverbials: if adverbials do not occupy structurally unique base positions then the relative order of arguments and adverbials is not an indication that scrambling has taken place. Therefore, the movement of arguments to the left of (free) adverbials in Dutch is not a case of scrambling but rather the result of alternative adverb placement (but see Cinque: 1999).

Property f: Haider & Rosengren note that scrambling of a potential binder creates new binding possibilities. In the following examples which show the base order of the elements there are the following binding relations:

- (160) \*...dass man einander<sub>i</sub> die Zeugenaussagen<sub>i</sub> anglich.  
 ...that one each other the testimonies assimilated.  
 "...that the testimonies were adjusted to one another."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)

- (161) ...dass man [den Vater<sub>i</sub> des Polizisten]<sub>j</sub> dem Polizisten<sub>i/j</sub> nicht übergeben hat.  
 ...that one the father of the policeman the policeman not surrendered has.  
 "...that the father of the policeman was not surrendered to the policeman."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)

- (162) ?...dass man [seinem<sub>i</sub> Vorgesetzten] fast jeden<sub>i</sub> ankündigte.  
 ...that one his boss almost everyone announced.  
 "...that almost everyone was announced to his boss."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)

The example in (160) is ungrammatical because the anaphor *einander* "each other" has to be bound by an antecedent. (161) is grammatical because the DP *den Vater des Polizisten* "the father of the policeman" cannot bind the referential expression *dem Polizisten* "the

policeman". In (162) Q-binding of the pronoun *seinem* "his" is not possible. However, scrambling of a potential binder creates new binding possibilities which can be seen if scrambling takes place in the examples from above:

- (163) ...dass man **die Zeugenaussagen**<sub>i</sub> einander<sub>i</sub> **t<sub>i</sub>** anglich.  
 ...that one the testimonies each other assimilated.  
 "...that the testimonies were adjusted to one another."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)
- (164) \*...dass man **dem Polizisten**<sub>i/j</sub> [den Vater<sub>i</sub> des Polizisten]<sub>j</sub> **t<sub>i</sub>** nicht übergeben hat.  
 ...that one the policeman the father of the policeman not surrendered has.  
 "...that the father of the policeman was not surrendered to the policeman."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)
- (165) ...dass man **fast jeden**<sub>i</sub> seinem<sub>i</sub> Vorgesetzten **t<sub>i</sub>** ankündigte.  
 ...that one almost everyone his boss announced.  
 "...that almost everyone was announced to his boss."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)

The example in (163) is grammatical now because *einander* "each other" can be bound by the antecedent *die Zeugenaussagen* "the testimonies" in its binding domain. In (164), where the indirect object *dem Polizisten* "the policeman" has scrambled over the direct object *den Vater des Polizisten* "the father of the policeman" is ungrammatical now because the indirect object can bind the direct object which is a violation of Principle C. In (165) Q-binding of the pronoun *seinem* "his" is now possible because the universal quantifier (*fast*) *jeden* "everyone" has scrambled and serves as a binder now. Haider & Rosengren note that scrambling of a bindee across a binder can also destroy binding relations which are present in the base word order. This is shown in example (166):

- (166) a. \*...dass man **einander**<sub>i</sub> die Bilder<sub>i</sub> **t<sub>i</sub>** anglich.  
 ...that one each–other the pictures assimilated.  
 "that the pictures were assimilated to one another."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 12)

What these examples show, according to Haider & Rosengren, is that binding takes place at the target position of scrambling and not at the respective base positions (no reconstruction possible). They point out that scrambling-chains differ from A'-chains which are created e.g. in topicalisation constructions:

- (167) b. **Aneinander**<sub>i</sub> hat man die Bilder<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> angeglichen.  
 Each–other has one the pictures assimilated.  
 "The pictures were assimilated to one another."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 13)

In (167) b. the reciprocal anaphor *aneinander* "each other" has been topicalised. Binding, however, is checked in the base position of the anaphor because Principle A applies here.

Property g: Haider & Rosengren note that scrambling produces scope ambiguities. According to Frey (1993) scoping applies to chain links:

- (168) A quantifier Q can get a wide scope reading with respect to a phrase E, iff at least one member of the chain of E is c–commanded by Q (Frey 1993: 120)

As scrambling creates chain links, it may produce scope–ambiguities. This is illustrated with the examples below:

- (169) a. ...dass man mindestens einem Linguisten **fast jedes Buch** gibt.  
 ...that one at least one linguist **almost every book** gives.  
 "...that at least one linguist was given almost every book."  
 b. ...dass man [**fast jedes Buch**]<sub>i</sub> mindestens einem Linguisten t<sub>i</sub> gibt.  
 ...that one **almost every book** at least one linguist gives.  
 Reading a: "that at least one linguist was given almost every book."  
 Reading b: "that almost every book was given to at least one linguist."

(169) a. has only one interpretation: There is at least one linguist such that for almost every book it is the case that at least one linguist was given almost every book. (169) b., on the other hand, is ambiguous, i.e., the example has two interpretations: the one that (169) a. has and the interpretation that for almost every book there is at least one linguist such that it is the case that almost every book was given to at least one linguist. According to Haider & Rosengren, the ambiguity of (169) b. is produced through scrambling: in the base position, the existential quantifier has wide scope over the universal quantifier. This relation also holds after scrambling of the universal quantifier as the trace of it is still in the scope of the existential quantifier. The additional interpretation results from scrambling as the universal quantifier has wide scope over the existentially quantified expression.

So far we have discussed the grammatical properties of scrambling. In the next section we will deal with several ways to analyse the reordering operation.

## 5.7 Theories of scrambling

Since Ross (1967) first discussed what he called scrambling there have been a number of analyses within the framework of Generative Grammar which try to account for the reordering operation in various natural languages. The current approaches can be divided into two types of approaches: 1) the base generation approach which claims that there is not one basic word order but a variable order of constituents which is freely generated in an arbitrary order at D-structure and 2) the movement approach according to which there is one underlying word order where word order variation is the result of movement of constituents. The difference between the two approaches is illustrated with the following example:

- (170) a. ...weil Arne ohne Zweifel **den Karottensaft** gekauft hat.  
           ...because Arne without doubt **the carrot juice** bought has.
- b. ...weil Arne **den Karottensaft<sub>i</sub>** ohne Zweifel **t<sub>i</sub>** gekauft hat.  
           ...because Arne **the carrot juice** without doubt bought has.

The base generation approach analyses both examples as structures generated at the D-level which implies that constituents do not have a fixed order at the level of D-structure (free constituent order is already present at D-structure). The movement approach, on the other hand, analyses (170) a. as the base order and (170) b. as the derived order. The inverted order direct object-adverb is derived by movement (Move  $\alpha$ ). Under this analysis it is generally assumed that in the base position the direct object DP is adjacent to the verb from which it receives a theta-role. Any deviations from the base order are derived by movement operations leading to syntactic chains. The question then is whether the chain created by scrambling is an A-chain or an A'-chain.

Under the base generation approach it is assumed that the assignment of theta-roles and Case does not universally require that the assigner and the assignee be adjacent. This means that a direct object DP can receive a theta-role from the verb even if a subject or another element intervenes. Thus, the direct object occupies an argument position in scrambled structures. At S-structure, the verb assigns (accusative) Case to the non-adjacent direct object DP.

Within this type of approach a further distinction can be made between configurational and non-configurational analyses of constituent structure. According to the former analysis, the variable D-structure representation is hierarchically and asymmetrically structured and the arguments and adjuncts are freely distributed. According to the latter

analysis, the variable D-structure is flat, subject and object are not separated by a VP-boundary and the arguments within the VP are not hierarchically organised.

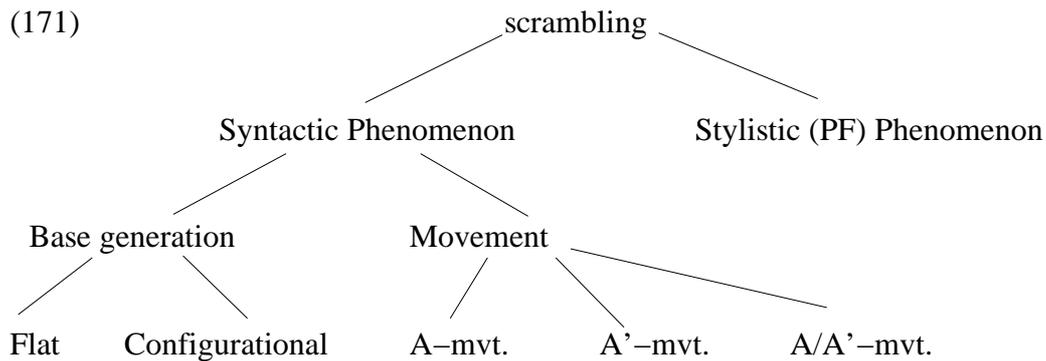
From what was said above it becomes clear that the base generation approach and the movement approach make different predictions with respect to the grammatical properties scrambling exhibits. Under the movement approach, the question is what kind of movement scrambling is: does it show properties of elements which undergo A-movement or does scrambling belong to the A'-movement operations? As was shown above and in Part I, it has often been claimed that scrambling is an instantiation of A'-movement because it licenses parasitic gaps and shows weak cross-over effects. On the other hand, it has also been claimed that scrambling is A-movement as it is clause-bound like DP-movement, it gives rise to new A-binding possibilities and it does not allow for reconstruction. Some linguists have claimed that the standard A/A'-distinction does not suffice to adequately describe scrambling. For example, Webelhuth (1989) assumes that the distinction between A-positions and A'-positions is too rough and that a third type of position should be considered which the properties of which exhibit a mixture of both A-properties and A'-properties. According to his assumptions, Webelhuth takes scrambling as an operation which moves a constituent to a single derived landing position (adjoined to VP or IP) with both A and A'-properties. The chain which is created by scrambling also exhibits properties of both A and A'-movement.

Deprez (1994) claims that there is a relation between the mixed behaviour of scrambling and the caseless status of specifiers in languages which allow scrambling. She proposes to redefine the notion of the A/A' dichotomy so as to allow a different division of properties. Thus, she distinguishes between head-related positions ([+HR]) and non-head-related positions ([-HR]). When scrambling exhibits properties of A-movement, movement is substitution for a case-marked specifier position, i.e., a [+HR +case]-position. When scrambling exhibits mixed properties, movement is substitution for a non-case-marked specifier, i.e., a [+HR -case]-position. Thus, Deprez assumes that the A and A'-properties are licensed simultaneously.

Mahajan (1994, 1997) analyses scrambling (in German and Hindi) as a non-unitary phenomenon. He claims that the standard distinction between A and A'-properties is sufficient to appropriately describe the properties of scrambled structures. He assumes that there are both: an A-position as landing site (a case-marked specifier position) and an A'-position as landing site (a caseless position adjoined to a maximal projection) for scrambled constituents. The mixture of both A and A'-properties arises because scrambling involves successive A-scrambling movement and A'-scrambling movement. In this way, he tries to

account for structures which exhibit both binding relations and parasitic gaps.

From what was said above, it becomes clear that at the moment there is no consensus among the proponents of the movement approach about the type of movement involved in scrambling. Table 1 below serves to illustrate the various approaches that have been made to explain scrambling (from Corver & Van Riemsdijk 1994: 13):



### 5.7.1 Scrambling: Base generation or movement operation?

In this section we will briefly deal with some approaches which are proponents of both types of analyses. We will start out with Fanselow's (1998) approach which claims that scrambling does not exist. For further analyses of the base generation type see also Bayer & Kornfilt (1994), Haider (1989), Neeleman (1994), Kiss (1994).

#### 5.7.1.1 The base generation approach (Fanselow, 1998)

According to Fanselow (1998), free constituent order is a base-generated phenomenon. This implies that there is no single base word order in the syntax and any word order variation is due to external ordering factors, i.e., scrambling takes place at PF. Fanselow further claims that the checking of features takes place at LF, where the features of DPs will move into the relevant checking positions. Thus, a specific ordering of constituents will take place only at LF. Fanselow's approach allows for a specific interplay between PF and LF which will become clear if we look at some scoping data. Under his assumption, scope can be read off either from the PF-order or from the LF-configuration provided that there is a fixed order of feature-checking positions at that level. Then the ambiguity of the example below can be explained in the following way:

- (172) a. PF: ...dass er [mindestens eine FrageACC] [fast jedem KandidatenDAT]  
 ...that he at least one question almost every candidate  
 stellte.  
 put.  
 Reading: "... that he asked almost every candidate at least one question."  
 (some candidates got more than one question)
- b. LF: ...[Q<sub>i</sub> [Q<sub>j</sub> [mindestens<sub>j</sub> eine FrageACC [fast jedem<sub>i</sub> KandidatenDAT]]]].  
 Reading: "... that almost every candidate was asked at least one  
 question" (not all candidates were asked questions).  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 29)

In the example above, the LF order of the arguments is DAT>ACC. As noted above, scope can be read off either at Spell–Out or after Spell–Out. If it is read off at Spell–Out (172) a., the accusative DP *mindestens eine Frage* "at least one question" has wide scope over the dative DP *fast jedem Kandidaten* "almost every candidate". If scope is read off at LF, however, the dative DP has wide scope over the accusative DP as at LF the dative DP moves to a checking position which is higher than the position for accusative. Haider & Rosengren note, however, that under these assumptions scoping effects for the base order ACC>DAT cannot be explained. They illustrate this with the following example:

- (173) a. ...dass man ja [fast alle KandidatenACC] [mehr als einem TestDAT]  
 ...that one PRT almost all candidates more than one test  
 unterzog.  
 subjected.  
 "that almost all candidates were subjected to more than one test."  
 ( $\forall\exists$ )
- b. ...dass man ja [mehr als einem TestDAT]<sub>i</sub> [fast alle KandidatenACC] t<sub>i</sub>  
 ...that one PRT more than one test almost all candidates  
 unterzog.  
 subjected.  
 "...that almost all candidates were subjected to more than one test."  
 ( $\exists\forall, \forall\exists$ )  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 30)

If it is assumed that the scope position for dative is always higher than for accusative, it would follow that (173) a. is scope–ambiguous: at the surface, the accusative DP has wide scope over the dative DP, and at LF the converse applies. (173) b., on the other hand, is predicted to have the unique scope property which corresponds to the surface order, because

PF-order and LF-order coincide. This is not borne out, as Haider & Rosengren point out. The scope data follow from the base order ACC>DAT as shown in (173) a. plus scrambling as shown in (173) b. The scope ambiguity follows from the chain formation created by scrambling.

Moreover, Haider & Rosengren note that under Fanselow's approach the interplay between PF and syntax "...that becomes manifest in a structurally determined position of sentence accent, focus potential and chain-connectivity for topic-focus accent (rise-fall intonation), would have to be discarded in order to await redesigning in yet unexplored ways" (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 30).

Fanselow also tries to account for the absence of scrambling in English, or better, why it does not allow any free argument order at all. By following checking theory, he assumes that the strength of D-features in  $V^\circ$  and  $T^\circ$  determine the occurrence of scrambling. In English, DP features need to be checked before Spell-Out (the D-features in  $V^\circ$  and  $T^\circ$  are strong), whereas in German neither  $T^\circ$  nor  $V^\circ$  possesses strong D-features (see Fanselow 1998: 11ff). Haider & Rosengren, however, point out that Fanselow cannot explain the properties of Icelandic within his approach. Icelandic resembles German in that we find the same verb-class dependent word orders<sup>64</sup>. In Icelandic, however, we neither find free word order within the VP nor outside of VP (in the case of object shift). The fact that word orders like DAT>ACC depends on the verb class is contradictory to the assumption that checking of DPs takes place in specific specifier positions of functional projections before Spell-Out. This implies that Icelandic has weak features like German which have to be checked at LF but then the different kind of argument ordering should be visible just as in German which is clearly not the case. Thus, on the one hand, Icelandic should have weak features because of verb-class dependent word orders, and strong features, on the other hand, because of fixed word order. This shows that there cannot be a correlation between feature strength and word order as proposed by Fanselow.

In general, a feature-based approach will always run into problems when trying to explain a movement operation which is optional. If it was assumed that scrambling is triggered by a strong scrambling feature on the head of some functional projection it would be problematic to plausibly explain when arguments have to move to that projection to check the feature without restating the facts. Moreover, the one and the same argument would have to have both weak and strong scrambling features to account for the optionality of the

<sup>64</sup> Both Modern German and Modern Icelandic have verb-class dependent base orders for nominal arguments. Thus, in German the verb *bedauern* "regret" has the base order NOM > ACC, *helfen* "help" has the base order NOM > DAT, etc. (see Haider & Rosengren 1998: 14f).

movement operation, an assumption that is strictly ruled out in checking theory (Chomsky 1995).

Haider & Rosengren also point out that free word order in German does not mean "arbitrary" word order. So the only word order in an English sentence corresponds to the only neutral word order in German with verbs of the same meaning and the same construction type:

- (174) a. Tobias zeigte seiner Schwester das neue Rathaus. (max.foc.)  
 b. Tobias showed his sister the new town hall.  
 c. Tobias zeigte [**das neue Rathaus**]<sub>i</sub> seiner SCHWESter **t<sub>i</sub>**.  
 d.\* Tobias showed the new town hall his sister.

The comparison of the example in (174) d. and (174) c. shows that in English a PP has to be used instead of a bare DP with the inverted order between the objects. Thus, English does not allow double-object constructions with ACC>DAT base orders as in German, the dative argument in German has to be a PP in English, especially in the following cases:

- (175) Er hat uns einer ernsten Gefahr ausgesetzt.  
 He has us a severe danger exposed.  
 "He exposed us \*(to) a severe danger."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 31)
- (176) Sie musste sich ihrem Chef unterordnen.  
 She had REFL her boss subjected.  
 "She had to be subject \*(to) her boss."
- (177) Die Briten unterwarfen sich den Nordmännern.  
 The British submitted REFL the Norse men.  
 "The British submitted \*(to) the Norse men."

Haider & Rosengren point out that this fact supports their assumption that the argument order in the lexicon is not free but determined by semantic factors and that "it determines the syntactic configuration by ranking-gear'd discharge of the A-structure into syntactic structure.

### 5.7.1.2 The movement approach: scrambling as chain formation in the domain of the head of a projection ( Haider & Rosengren 1998)

There is a plethora of analyses which take scrambling to be a movement operation which changes the base word order. Some of these analyses claim that the landing site of the scrambled constituent is a specifier position (Diesing 1992; Müller, 1997). Other analyses

assume that scrambling is movement targeting a functional projection (Hoop 1992; Delfitto & Corver 1997). In this section, we will discuss Haider & Rosengren's analysis of scrambling as chain formation in the domain of the head of a projection because it plausibly accounts for a range of scrambling data and it moreover relates the movement operation to the OV character of the languages in question although, as we will see below, the latter prediction is not borne out<sup>65</sup>.

According to Haider & Rosengren, scrambling is only found in OV languages and therefore they argue that OV orders are base-generated. As their analysis of scrambling is based on this assumption we will briefly discuss it here because it has consequences for the findings in Old English and Early Middle English texts, i.e., if scrambling clearly occurs in clauses with underlying VO order in these texts we have evidence against Haider & Rosengren's claim that scrambling only occurs in OV languages.

Haider & Rosengren point out that, contra Kayne (1994), a head-initial VP is a more complex structure than a head-final one. According to Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) theory, there is a universal VO-base configuration from which OV orders are derived by leftward movement of the complement. This means that all VP-internal material is moved to the left which is, according to Haider & Rosengren, an assumption that does not have any clear justification. They note that there are two implications of the LCA approach which do not hold (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 45f):

(178)

Implication I: What is a VP-internal element in a VO-language should occur in (at least some) OV-languages in postverbal positions.

Implication II: The various movement operations that are to produce the apparent OV-order target functional spec-positions. So, the preverbal XPs in an OV-language are predicted to be as opaque for extractions as XPs in uncontroversial functional spec-positions (as for instance the functional subject position in a VO-language).

With respect to Implication I, they note that elements which are obligatorily VP-internal in VO-languages are particles, object related depictive predicates, result predicates and certain manner adverbials. If OV order is derived from VO order it is expected that these VP-internal elements appear postverbally as VP-internal in the LCA framework means VP-internal in a head-initial verb projection. The assumption that in VO languages (English,

<sup>65</sup> As we will see later there are VO languages like Russian which allow for free word order, i.e., elements in the clause can move rather freely around and this movement looks like scrambling (see Franks, 1994, 1997).

Romance or Scandinavian) these elements can appear only in postverbal position is demonstrated with the examples below:

- (179) a. They handed it *out*.  
 a'. \*They *out* handed it.  
 b. They drank him *under the table*.  
 b'. \*They drank *under the table* him.  
 c. [The meat]<sub>i</sub> was served t<sub>i</sub> *raw*.  
 c'. \*The meat was *raw* served.  
 d. They have lived *frugally*.  
 d'. \*They have *frugally* lived.  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 45)

The examples in (184) show that the postverbal elements have stayed in VP-internal positions and that there is no universal trigger for moving them out. Haider & Rosengren point out that in OV-languages, there is no reason to move these elements out of the VP either, i.e., that in an OV-language like German these elements should be able to appear postverbally which is not borne out:

- (180) a. \*Sie haben es gehändigt *aus*.  
 They have it handed *out*.  
 b. \*Sie haben ihn getrunken *unter den Tisch*.  
 They have him drunk *under the table*.  
 c. \*Das Fleisch wurde serviert *roh*.  
 The meat was served *raw*.  
 d. \*Sie haben gelebt *genügsam*.  
 They have lived *frugally*.  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 46)

Haider & Rosengren further point out that there is no OV-language known which allows elements in postverbal position (according to Kayne, such languages should exist), and there is also no VO-language in which elements could move out of VP. Under these assumptions, there is no reason to believe that OV orders are derived from VO orders.

With respect to Implication II, Haider & Rosengren note that although uncontroversial specifier positions are opaque for extraction in both OV and VO languages, preverbal positions, scrambled or not, are not opaque for extraction:

- (181) a. \*Wen<sub>i</sub> hat er gesagt [t<sub>i</sub> darüber zu informieren]<sub>j</sub> habe ihm keiner damals t<sub>j</sub>  
 Who has he said about-that to inform has him no-one at-that-time  
 geraten?  
 advised?

- b. Wen<sub>i</sub> hat er gesagt, habe Dir keiner [t<sub>i</sub> darüber zu informieren]<sub>j</sub> damals t<sub>j</sub>  
 Who has he said has you no-one about-that to inform at-that-time

geraten?

advised?

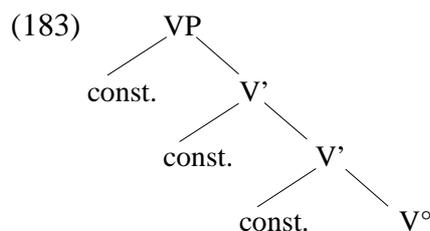
(Haider & Rosengren 1998: 47)

(181) a. is an example for the predicted ungrammaticality of extraction out of constituents in specifier positions (Spec,CP): the infinitival complement clause is in Spec,CP in an embedded V2 clause. In (181) b. the infinitival complement clause has been scrambled to a VP-internal position. In this case, extraction out of the clause is fully grammatical and Implication II of the LCA is not borne out.

According to Haider & Rosengren no such counterfactual implications arise in an approach that takes OV order as an underived, base-generated structure. Haider (1992) suggests that head-initial structures are derived by head-to-head movement which is triggered if a specific parameter value meets the universal condition to project structure. This condition is the Basic Branching Condition (BBC):

- (182) The Basic Branching Condition  
 The branching node of the projection line is to the right of its sister node.  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 48)

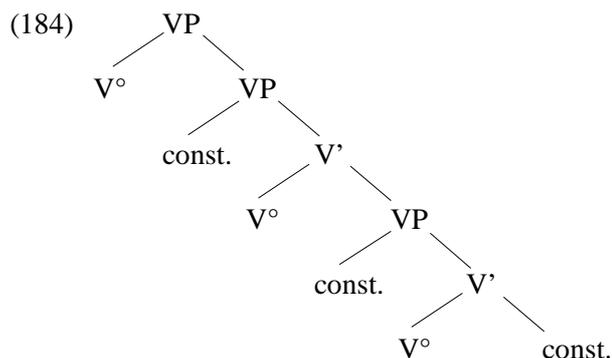
Haider & Rosengren take this condition to be axiomatic, i.e., a property of Universal Grammar and not derived from deeper rooted principles. They further claim that a well-formed structure must adhere to at least three structural conditions: 1) the head of the projection occurs in the foot position; 2) the projection structure must obey the BBC; 3) the head licenses the nodes attached to the projection line directionally, and parametrically either to the right, or to the left. According to Haider & Rosengren a head-final structure meets these three conditions right away. To illustrate this, the structure below is given:



In the structure in (183) the head of the projection occurs in the foot position. The head also licenses the nodes attached to the projection line directionally and parametrically to the left.

All branching nodes in this structure are attached to the right of its sister nodes on the projection line. Thus, all three conditions are fulfilled.

Haider & Rosengren argue that in order to be able to meet the three conditions, head-initial projections need a more complex structure. They note that VO orders are problematic in that they have to meet two conflicting demands, namely that the head be in the foot position and that the parametric option for the head is progressive licensing in a structure constrained by the BBC. A head in a foot position which licenses to the right (head-initial structure) will license only the complement to its right. With respect to the licensing of the other arguments the head has to raise up to a position close to the top of the structure. Thus, a head cannot be in a foot position and in a head-initial position at the same time. Haider & Rosengren claim that the spec-head-complement pattern (see Larson, 1988) solves this problem. The head-initial structure is shown below:



As (184) shows there are three head positions but only one of them is a lexical head. The structure is well-formed if the heads are conindexed with each other, i.e., they form a head-movement chain. Every node which is attached to the verbal projection line is locally licensed, i.e., the head in the specifier or complement position licenses the node. Each verbal projection shell is itself directionally licensed, i.e., licensed by a preceding head in the canonical direction. According to Haider & Rosengren the necessity to have VP-shells in a head-initial projection structure follows from the BBC.

Haider & Rosengren point out that the structural differences between head-final and head-initial orders lead to empirical consequences: complex head-final structures do not contain a V-chain whereas complex head-initial structures do. This can be tested with examples from languages which may strand their particles. The prediction for VO-languages is that stranded particles can occur between arguments:

- (185) a. \*They brought the clients some drinks *up*.  
 b. They brought the clients *up* some drinks.  
 c. They brought *up* the clients some drinks.

The positions of the stranded particle indicate verb positions. In languages like English and Norwegian optional verb particle stranding is possible. In OV–languages like German and Dutch, verb particles are always adjacent to the verb and in preverbal position (except under V2). According to the LCA theory, however, they should occur in postverbal position like other VP–internal elements.

Haider & Rosengren’s analysis of scrambling is based on two claims: 1) scrambling is left–adjunction to head–final lexical projections; 2) the adjoined positions are positions where arguments may be identified. This implies for a language like German which is of the non–positional identification type that identification positions do not have to be structurally unique. On the other hand, languages of the positional identification type (VO) do not allow variant base orders, hence no scrambling. Scrambling meets these two claims if adjunction to a projection of a head–final lexical head is adjunction to the X’–level. Therefore, the following scrambling criterion has to hold:

- (186) *Scrambling criterion:*  
 If in a head–final language L the identification of argumental constituents is not subject to positionally fixed unique identification configurations, L is a scrambling language (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 60).

Following Fukui & Speas (1986) and Saito & Fukui (1998), Haider & Rosengren assume that there is no restriction with respect to the number and category of phrases which are attached to the binary branching projection line. Therefore, they assume the following structures<sup>66</sup>:

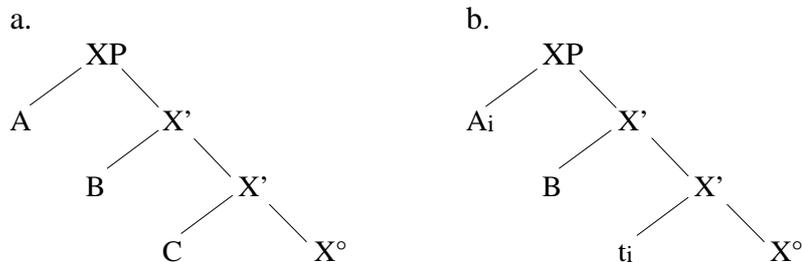
- (187) a. [XP A X°]  
 b. [XP A [X’ B X°]  
 c. [XP A [X’ B [X’ C X°]

(187) a. is a case of unary branching. As soon as one or more elements are integrated into a projection, one or more X’–nodes must be projected. According to Haider & Rosengren the structure in (187) c. is ambiguous: it is either an XP with three lexical non–head constituents, or an XP with two such constituents and a trace. In this case, A and C would be coindexed

<sup>66</sup> see also Chomsky (1995).

and the structure would be an appropriate scrambling structure (A scrambles across B). The two possible structures for (187) c. are:

(188)



Haider & Rosengren further claim that there are two preconditions for scrambling: 1) head-final projections are simple projections, i.e., binary layered structures with the head in the right foot position; 2) the scrambling position must be within the identification domain of the lexical head of the projection. With respect to the first precondition it means that left-adjunction to a head-final structure extends the identification domain of the head. Left-adjunction to a head-initial structure, on the other hand, does not extend the identification domain of the head because it creates a position which is not in the identification domain of the head. This is exactly the difference between OV-languages and VO-languages. It further implies that the grammatical properties of scrambling must be different from analogous operations in a VO-language.

According to Haider & Rosengren, the second precondition can account for differences between German as a scrambling language and Icelandic as a non-scrambling language. scrambling in an OV-language is contrasted with scrambling in a VO-language in the following structures:

- (189) a. [VP XP<sub>i</sub> [VP ...t<sub>i</sub>... V°]]  
 b. [VP XP<sub>i</sub> [VP V° ...t<sub>i</sub>...]]  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 52)

In (189) a. the XP which has undergone scrambling is in the identification domain of V° whereas in (189) b. the XP is outside the identification domain of V°, it precedes a progressively identifying head. Haider & Rosengren note that arguments within the identification domain of the lexical head are L-related positions (Chomsky 1991).

From what was said so far, a definition of scrambling can be derived (all definitions are from Haider & Rosengren 1998: 60):

- (190) *Scrambling of XP* =<sub>def.</sub> chain formation in the extendable projection domain of  $H^\circ$ , with the XP as the head of the chain in an identification position of the lexical head  $H^\circ$ , and the foot of the chain as a base position in the MAC (= minimal argument complex: minimal projection of the head that contains all argument positions).

where the extendable projection domain of the head  $H^\circ$  is defined as

- (191) *Extendable projection domain of the head  $H^\circ$*  =<sub>def.</sub> all nodes that are immediately dominated by a projection of  $H^\circ$  and are not included in the MAC.

and the definition of the identification domain is the following:

- (192) *Identification domain of the lexical head  $H^\circ$*  =<sub>def.</sub> all nodes in the maximal projection of the lexical head  $H^\circ$  that are both immediately dominated by a projection of the head and serialised according to the directionality requirement of the given head  $H^\circ$ .

As pointed out above, the crucial difference between head–final languages and head–initial languages is the availability of the extended projection domain. Adjunction in the former type of language is within the identification domain whereas adjunction to the latter type of language is to a position preceding the head and therefore outside the identification domain. Hence, the extended projection domain is empty. This is why scrambling structures cannot arise in head–initial projections.

Haider & Rosengren further note that what also has to be defined is the position of the gap (trace) of scrambled constructions. They define it as the foot of the scrambling chain in the base position of the scrambled element. The position of the gap is determined by the base order and hence predictable from the A–structure of the lexical head of the projection. They further propose the following principle to guarantee that ranking in the lexical structure is conserved in the syntactic structure:

- (193) *Principle of conservative mapping of A–structure onto syntactic structure:*

the A–structure ranking in the lexical A–structure of a lexical head is mapped onto a syntactic c–command hierarchy (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 52).

To illustrate this, Haider & Rosengren assume a head with an A–structure with three arguments and the ranking as given in (194) a.:

- (194) a.  $h^\circ < A_i < A_j < A_k >>>$  lexically stored information  
 b. [HP  $A_i$  [ $A_j$  [ $A_k$   $h^\circ$ ]]] head final  
 c. [HP  $A_i$  [ $h^\circ$  [ $A_j$  [ $h^\circ$   $A_k$ ]]]] head-initial, projection shells  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 53)

The domain which contains all arguments (MAC = minimal argument projection complex) is either a structure like the one shown in (194) b. for head-final projections, or a structure like the one in (194) c. for head-initial projections. What becomes clear here is that in head-initial projections the external argument is the only argument left of the head. In head-final projections, on the other hand, all arguments are in the same relation to the head, they are all left of the head.

Haider & Rosengren note that the position of the gap is identifiable in the MAC according to the ranking of the A-structure:

- (195) ...dass (ja) [ $die\ Bilder_k$  [ $Linguisten_j$  [MAC niemand [ $t_j$  [ $t_k$  zeigte]]]]]  
 ...that PRT the pictures linguists no-one showed.  
 "...that nobody showed the pictures to linguists."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 53)

In (195) the scrambled arguments *die Bilder* "the pictures" and *Linguisten* "linguists" are adjoined to the V-projection and therefore, they remain in the identification domain of the head. Case is checked in the landing sites of the scrambled arguments. The scrambling operation creates chains between an overt A-identification position and a covert linking position, hence an A-chain. Haider & Rosengren point out that this is not the case for head-initial projections because here positions adjoined to the MAC are outside the identification domain of the head:

- (196) [something<sub>k</sub> [MAC someone [show<sub>i</sub> [somebody [ $t_i$   $t_k$ ]]]]]  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 53)

The scrambled constituent in (196) is outside the MAC and therefore identification of the lexical head is not possible because it is subject to a directionality requirement. Thus, the chain cannot be an A-chain. As right-adjunction is ruled out on general assumptions, the chain created in head-initial projections can only be an A'-chain. Moreover, scrambling in head-initial languages is not allowed according to the scrambling criterion which requires the availability of alternative licensing positions. In a head-initial structure with VP-shells, there are, however, only fixed licensing positions, i.e., for each DP there is exactly one licensing position. Haider & Rosengren note that this is a structural requirement independent of the





- b. Jón las<sub>i</sub> [bækurnar oft/ekki/?líklega t<sub>i</sub>].  
Jon read books–the often/not/probably.  
"Jon read often/probably the books/did not read the books."
- c. Jón<sub>k</sub> hefur<sub>i</sub> [VP<sub>j</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [VP<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> [lesið<sub>i</sub> [bækurnar [t<sub>i</sub> oft/\*ekki/\*líklega]]]]].
- d. Jón<sub>j</sub> las<sub>i</sub> [VP<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> [bækurnar [oft/ekki/?líklega t<sub>i</sub>]]]].  
(Haider & Rosengren 1998: 66)

In (202) a. neither the finite verb nor a trace of it can be c–commanded by the negation *ekki* "not" and the adverbial *líklega* "likely". In (202) b., however, the negation and the adverbial c–command the trace of the finite verb, or according to Haider & Rosengren, a link of the verbal chain which leads to the functional head position outside VP which checks the T–feature of the clause. Thus, the head chain of (202) b., given in (202) d., is a composite chain which consists of the head chain in the VP and the chain to the functional head position. Haider & Rosengren point out that only in this configuration, the VP–internal negation and the adverbial c–command a link of a chain which extends to the T–head. In (202) a. and c. respectively, the negation and the adverbial c–command a chain of the finite verb which ends in a position lower than the T–head. Therefore, the example is ungrammatical.

As discussed above, Haider & Rosengren’s analysis is based on a strong correlation between object shift and verb movement. They claim that

...only if the finite verb is the main verb and thus the head of the VP ... there is an overt chain between the base position of the head of the VP and a functional head of the clause. It is this chain that provides the licensing environment for those adverbial elements that require a relation to the functional heads that check propositional features like tense–features. In addition, the restrictions would follow trivially, if there is no argument permutation at all, provided that ‘Object Shift’–patterns are not captured by shifting objects, but as a reflex of an alternative distribution of adverbial elements (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 67).

Although Haider & Rosengren’s analysis can account for the cases of object shift discussed above, it is based on the restricted version of Holmberg’s Generalisation which was revised. Moreover, the analysis is also based on the assumptions 1) negation in Icelandic is adverbial and VP–internal and 2) that adverbial elements can occupy different positions, two assumptions which are more than questionable, especially 2), since Cinque (1999) has clearly shown that adverbials do occupy fixed positions.

Before we discuss scrambling of object DPs in Old and (Early) Middle English, we will discuss the behaviour of pronominal objects. As noted in section 1, point (iv), Haider & Rosengren claim that the fronting of weak pronouns (unaccented strong pronouns) to the so called "Wackernagel position" is not the same as scrambling. In the following, we will deal with their arguments in favour of this assumption.

Haider & Rosengren note that the characteristic properties of weak pronouns in German are:

(203)

- (i) order restriction with respect to case: NOM>ACC>DAT
- (ii) preference for fronting to what has been called the Wackernagel area, which seems to be a position to the left of modal particles and sentential adverbials.

(Haider & Rosengren 1998: 70)

Property (i) is illustrated with the examples below:

- (204) a. ?...dass niemand/<sub>ER</sub><sub>NOM</sub> ihr/<sub>DAT</sub> ihn/<sub>ACC</sub> vorstellte<sup>67</sup>.  
 ...that no-one/he her him introduced.  
 "...that no one/he introduced her to him."
- b. ...dass ihn/<sub>ACC</sub> ihr/<sub>DAT</sub> niemand/<sub>ER</sub><sub>NOM</sub> vorstellte.  
 ...that him her no-one/he introduced.  
 "...that no one introduced him to her."
- c. ...dass ihr/<sub>DAT</sub> ihn/<sub>ACC</sub> niemand/<sub>ER</sub><sub>NOM</sub> vorstellte.  
 ...that her him no-one/he introduced.  
 "...that no one/he introduced her to him."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 71)

Although Haider & Rosengren claim that the ordering ACC>DAT is strictly obeyed irrespective of the position of the pronouns, this claim is problematic with respect to examples like (204) c. which is perfectly grammatical. Thus, it is not clear whether property (i) is as strong as Haider & Rosengren claim. They further argue, however, that the same ordering pattern can be found with Dutch weak pronouns, which is even more remarkable here as Dutch does not allow scrambling of direct object DPs in front of an indirect object DP. They call property (i) "factor P" and argue that it is a grammatical condition, not just a PF-phenomenon, as well as a S-structure condition. According to Haider & Rosengren, the source for factor P is that unaccented pronouns avoid the typical nuclear stress position, which is "...the position immediately preceding the verbal head in the most frequent base

<sup>67</sup> According to my intuitions, the clause is worse and therefore should be marked with ??.

order by using the same chain–building mechanism, which also gives rise to scrambling"(Haider & Rosengren 1998: 72). Thus, both movement operations involve the same chain–building mechanism. They point out, however, that the factors which exploit this mechanism (see the discussion above) are different for the two sets of elements (object DPs and pronominal objects), an assumption which is supported by the behaviour of the elements of the two sets: pronouns strongly prefer the fronted position whereas object DPs optionally scramble out of VP. Haider & Rosengren note that the different behaviour of pronouns is due to pronoun–specific conditions. By this they mean the deictic–anaphoric character of pronouns which is bound to their lexical form and meaning. They are, just like object DPs, arguments but they occur in two "shapes": when they are accented, they present the rhematic or new information. When they are unaccented, however, they represent thematic or old (background) information. In the latter case, they tend to move to the left in a position which does not bear focus. According to Haider & Rosengren, this assumption is further supported by left–dislocation constructions. In (205) a., the dislocated phrase *dieses Faktum* "this fact" is coreferenced with a demonstrative pronoun (resumptive pronoun). The contrast between (205) a. and b. shows that the pronoun is fronted. When it is used as a demonstrative pronoun as in (205) c., it may remain in situ:

- (205) a. Dieses Faktum, haben das denn damals die Experten nicht beachtet?  
 This fact            have this PRT at–that–time the experts not observed?  
 "This fact, didn't the experts observe it then?"
- b.? Dieses Faktum, haben denn damals die Experten das nicht beachtet?  
 This fact            have PRT at–that–time the experts this not observed?  
 "This fact, didn't the experts observe it then?"
- c. Haben denn damals die Experten das nicht beachtet?  
 Have PRT at–that–time the experts this not observed?  
 "Didn't the experts observe that then?"  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 76)

If the reason why weak pronouns prefer to move is their deictic–anaphoric character, the fronting operation should not be in conflict with scrambling. According to Haider & Rosengren, the pronouns will typically appear higher than scrambled object DPs. This is borne out as the examples below illustrate:

- (206) a. Heute hat er<sub>i</sub> ja t<sub>i</sub> [das neue Auto]<sub>j</sub> seiner FREUNDin t<sub>j</sub> gezeigt.  
 Today has he PRT the new car his girl–friend showed.  
 "Today he has showed the new car to his girl–friend."

- b. Heute hat ihr<sub>i</sub> ja [sein neues Auto]<sub>j</sub> PEter t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> gezeigt.  
 Today has her PRT his new car Peter shown.  
 "Today Peter has shown her his new car."
- c. Heute hat es<sub>i</sub> ja [seiner Freundin]<sub>j</sub> Peter t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> geZEIGT.  
 Today has it PRT his girl–friend Peter shown.  
 "Today Peter has it shown to his girl–friend."  
 (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 97)

Thus, from what we have seen above, we can conclude that weak pronouns use the same chain–formation mechanism as scrambled DPs do. Pronouns, however, typically move to a higher position and will therefore not get into conflict with scrambling. As also shown above, the fronting of weak pronouns is due to their deictic–anaphoric character. In their preferred position, they are out of focus. scrambling, on the other hand, has a semantic as well as informational function which is, however, according to Haider & Rosengren, different from that of the pronouns, because it is not directly linked to thematicity. Therefore, they conclude that the two movement operations are similar but not the same, i.e., fronting of weak pronouns to the Wackernagel area is not scrambling. I will accept their analysis here and therefore make a distinction between scrambling (of full object DPs) and pronominal object fronting.

## 5.8 Scrambling in Old English and Middle English

### 5.8.1 Scrambling in Old English

In section 5.7.2. Haider & Rosengren's analysis of scrambling was discussed. It became clear that it may be plausible to assume that there is a correlation between head–final languages and the occurrence of scrambling. This assumption has been widely accepted in the literature, because it was shown that in West Germanic OV languages like German, Dutch and also Old English scrambling occurs very frequently. We will see, however, that there is good reason to doubt the standard assumption. In chapter 3 we saw that Old English was neither uniformly Infl–final nor uniformly OV in the base. Pintzuk (1991) has shown in detail that, especially in late Old English texts there was variation between Infl–final and Infl–medial structures as well as OV and VO structures. Therefore, the claim that there is a correlation between OV and scrambling seems to be problematic. In the following, we will deal with the position of full object DPs and pronominal objects in Old English, based on the work by van Kemenade (1987), Koopman (1990), Pintzuk (1991) and Haeberli (1999). The positions of objects in Old English will be compared with the positions for these elements in Modern German to

clarify if the two types of objects behave alike in the two languages. In section 5.8.2 we will see that Early Middle English exhibits both scrambling of full object DPs and fronting of pronouns found e.g. in German, although at that time, the language mainly exhibits VO word order. Based on van der Wurff (1999) and Kroch & Taylor (2000), we will also discuss the status of the objects which are able to undergo scrambling, and we will see that scrambling of quantified DPs can serve as a diagnostic for true OV order in Early Middle English. We will conclude that in Early Middle English which is mainly VO in the base we find scrambling and that the assumed correlation between OV languages and scrambling does not hold.

### 5.8.1.1 The distribution of full object DPs

It has often been noted that the syntactic behaviour of pronouns differs from that of full object DPs, due to the special properties of the former type of objects. In chapter 7 we will see that there also is a difference between full subject DPs and pronominal subjects. Therefore, we will discuss the two types of categories separately. First, we will deal with the behaviour of full object DPs.

It is generally assumed that whenever a full object DP appears to the left of an adverb which is taken to be in the left periphery of VP, the object has moved out of VP. This is also true for Old English as the examples below illustrate:

- (207) ...þæt fela manna **Antecrist sylfne næfre** his eagum ne geseo.  
 ...that many persons **Antecrist self not-ever** his eyes not saw.  
 "...that many people have never seen the Antichrist himself with their own eyes."  
 (Haerberli 1999: 356)
- (208) ...þæt man þam halgan were **þæt ilce hors eft** bringan sceolde.  
 ...that one the holy man were **that same horse again** bring should.  
 "...that one had to bring the holy man the same horse again."  
 (Haerberli 1999: 356)
- (209) & æghwæþer **oþerne oftrædlice** utdræfde.  
 and every-one **other frequently** outdrove.  
 "and each of them frequently drove the other away."  
 (Haerberli 1999: 356)
- (210) hwæðre ic **ðone sweg ða gena** ... in earum hæfde.  
 However, I **the sound then still** ... in ears had.  
 "However, I then still had the sound in my ears."  
 (Haerberli 1999: 356)

Note that in the examples above, the direct object occurs to the left of an adverbial. Moreover, the finite verb occurs to the right of the adverbial, which suggests, according to Haerberli, that the order full object DP – adverbial is not due to rightward movement of the adverbial as the adverbial would then have to appear to the right of the finite verb. Therefore, the order has to be the result of object movement out of the VP to the left of the adverbial just as in German. Moreover, the examples show that the scrambled objects are definite/specific objects which are marked by the definite article, by a demonstrative or by a possessive. The question is then, if there are examples which show that indefinite/non-specific objects can also move leftwards. This is borne out as the examples below illustrate:

- (211) & he **monig mynster & cirician** *in ðæm londe* getimbrede.  
and he **many monasteries and churches** *in that land* built.  
"and he built many monasteries and churches in that land."  
(Haerberli 1999: 357)
- (212) ...gyf hwa **forsteal oððon openne wiþeercwyde** *ongean* lahriht Christes  
...if someone **resistance or open opposition** *against* legal-right Christ's  
  
oððe cyninges ahwar gewyrce.  
or the-king's anywhere does.  
"...if anyone ever shows open resistance against Christ's or the king's law  
anywhere"  
(Haerberli 1999: 357)

In (211) the PP adjunct *in ðæm londe* "in that land" and in (212) the adjunct *ongean* "against" separates the main verb from the object which indicates that the object has undergone scrambling.

Haerberli (1999) notes that double-object constructions with both a nominal and a pronominal argument in postverbal position must be analysed as verb-initial orders since pronouns cannot extrapose in Old English (Pintzuk 1991: 95). Some examples are given below:

- (213) ...þæt he wolde *geswutelian* swa **his digelnyse eow**.  
...that he wanted *reveal* so **his secrets (ACC) you (DAT)**.  
"...that he wanted to reveal his secrets to you in such a way."  
(Haerberli 1999: 360)
- (214) ...ac we wyllað swaðeah sceortlice *secgan* **þas geendunge eow**.  
...but we want nevertheless briefly *say* **this conclusion (ACC) you (DAT)**.  
"...but we want nevertheless to tell you briefly this conclusion."  
(Haerberli 1999: 360)

Haeberli points out that under the analysis for (213) and (214) all clauses which show the (nominal) arguments in postverbal position must be analysed as head–initial orders. This is also true for the following examples:

- (215) and we sceolon eft *agifan ure sawla urum scyppende*.  
and we must again *give our souls (ACC) our creator (DAT)*.  
"and we must return our souls to our creator."  
(Haeberli 1999: 360)
- (216) ...gif ic sceole *cyþan þinne tocyme helwarum*.  
...if I had–to *make–known your coming (ACC) inhabitants–of–hell (DAT)*.  
"...if I had to make know your coming to the inhabitants of hell."  
(Haeberli 1999: 360)

Haeberli further notes that under the assumption that the underlying order of objects is indirect object – direct object (IO>DO) the word orders shown in (215) to (216) have to be the result of leftward movement of the direct object across the indirect object. He points out that Old English behaves like Modern Icelandic then in having object inversion to the right of the main verb which is not the result of extraposition.

And there is further evidence that with respect to the movement of nominal objects Old English behaves like Modern Icelandic. According to Haeberli in Modern Icelandic, definite as well as indefinite direct objects can invert with the indirect object. As shown above this is not possible in German. This implies that neither Icelandic nor Old English obey the specificity/definiteness restriction on object movement. This is shown with the examples below:

- (217) Ðonan he *daelð manega & misleca gemetgunga eallum his gesceaftum*.  
Thence he *bestows many and various rules (DO indef.) all his creatures (IO)*.  
"Then, he gives various rules to his creatures."  
(Haeberli 1999: 362)
- (218) Ða ongan se arwyrða Equitius *don unmaete þancas þam*  
Then began the honourable Equitius *do immense thanks (DO indef.)*
- ælmihhtigan Gode.**  
**the almighty God (IO).**
- "Then, the honourable Equitius began to give thanks to God."  
(Haeberli 1999: 362)

In section 5.8. we will see that there is evidence that in Early Middle English both definite and indefinite nominal arguments can undergo scrambling which supports Haeberli's

assumption that Old English behaves like Modern Icelandic.

### 5.8.1.2 The distribution of pronominal objects

In section 5.7.1.2 we saw that in German the placement of pronominal objects is subject to an order restriction with respect to case, i.e., the pronominal objects have to occur in the order NOM>ACC>DAT. Moreover, there is a preference for fronting pronominal objects to the Wackernagel area, a position to the left of modal particles and sentential adverbials. The German example is repeated below to illustrate this:

- (219) ...dass niemand/**er**<sub>NOM</sub> **ihn**<sub>ACC</sub> **ihr**<sub>DAT</sub> vorstellte.  
 ...that no-one/**he him her** introduced.  
 "...that no one/he introduced him to her."

In Old English clauses with three pronouns we find exactly the same order:

- (220) ...gif **he it him** ðonne sellan mæge.  
 ...if **he it them** then gave can.  
 "...if he can give it to him then."  
 (Koopman 1990: 93)
- (221) **He hit us** forgylt be hundfealdum on ðam towardan life.  
**He it us** rewards a hundredfold in the future life.  
 "He will reward us a hundredfold in the life to come."  
 (Koopman 1990: 92)

The examples found by Koopman (1990) all show the order NOM>ACC>DAT. If example (221) is translated into Modern German, it becomes clear that in these cases, the finite verb has to be in a higher position in Modern German than in Old English:

- (221') a. **Er** *lohnt* **es uns** hundertfach in der Zukunft.  
**He** *rewards* **it us** a hundredfold in the future.
- b.\* **Er es uns** *lohnt* hunderfach in der Zukunft.  
**He it us** *rewards* a hundredfol in the future.

In (221') a. the finite verb *lohnt* "rewards" moves to C° and the subject pronoun *er* "he" moves up to Spec,CP. Following Kroch & Taylor (1997), the pronouns *es* "it" and *uns* "us" occur in the CP/IP-boundary. This becomes clearer if the Modern German main clause in (221') a. is compared with the relevant example as embedded clause where the finite verb *lohnt* "rewards" is in clause-final position:

- (222) ...weil **er es uns** hundertfach in der Zukunft *lohnt*.  
 ...because **he it us** a hundredfold in the future *rewards*.

In (222) the complementiser *weil* "because" occupies C° and the finite verb *lohnt* "rewards" is in clause-final position. Regardless of the order of the finite verb, however, the comparison between Old English and Modern German show that in both languages the order restriction NOM>ACC>DAT holds.

With respect to the occurrence of pronominal objects in certain positions it seems to be more problematic to find parallels between Old English and Modern German. According to van Kemenade (1987), Koopman (1990) and Pintzuk (1991), in Old English pronominal objects, like subject pronouns (see chapter 6), occur in a small variety of fixed patterns. First, in Infl-medial clauses they occur to the left of the finite verb:

- (223) **Þin** agen geleafa **þe** *hæfþ* gehæledne.  
 Your own faith **you** *has* healed.  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 206)
- (224) ...þæt þa Deniscan **him** ne *mihton* þæs ripes forwiernan.  
 ...that the Danes **him** not *could* the harvest refuse.  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 206)

Again, if these clauses are translated into German, it becomes clear that in main clauses, the position of the finite verb in German is higher than that in Old English because the pronoun *Dich* "you" cannot be in second position:

- (223') Dein eigener Glaube *hat* **Dich** geheilt.  
 \*Dein eigener Glaube **Dich** *hat* geheilt.

In embedded clauses in German, the finite verb always has to be in clause-final position (in V°) whereas in Old English it may also be in Infl-medial position:

- (224') a. ...dass die Dänen **ihm** nicht die Ernte vorenthalten *konnten*.  
 \*...dass die Dänen **ihm** nicht *konnten* die Ernte vorenthalten.

Although it seems that the pronominal object in (224) and (224') is in the same position, it should be noted that the position of the pronoun in the German example is rather marked. The unmarked order always has the pronoun(s) right after the complementiser as in (224') b.:

- (224') b. ...dass **ihm** die Dänen nicht die Ernte vorenthalten *konnten*.  
 ...that **him** the Danes not the harvest refuse could.

Thus, in German the position of the pronouns is fixed. In Old English, this seems not to be the case, i.e., the data show that pronouns are able to appear in different positions. First, Pintzuk notes that in Infl-final clauses pronominal objects may occur in clause-initial position<sup>68</sup>:

- (225) **him** þær se gionga cyning þæs oferfæreldes forwiernan mehte.  
**Him** there the young king the crossing prevent could.  
 "The young king could prevent him from crossing there."  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 206)
- (226) ...if **him** ðonne God ryhtlice & streclice deman wile.  
 ...if **them** then God rightly and severely judge will.  
 "...if God will then judge them rightly and severely."  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 206)

Further, they may appear immediately to the left of the main verb as shown in the examples below (this is not allowed in Modern German):

- (227) Hwi wolde God swa lytles þinges **him** forwyrnan.  
 Why would God such small thing **him** deny.  
 "Why would God deny him such a small thing?"  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 112)
- (228) ...þæt we us sylfe clæne and ungewemmede **him** gegearcian.  
 ...that we us self clean and undefiled **him** prepare.  
 "...that we prepare ourselves for him clean and undefiled."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 112)
- (229) ac ða burhware noldon þæs færes **him** getyðian.  
 but the burghers not-would the passage **them** permit.  
 "but the burghers would not permit them the passage."  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 208)

In clauses with an auxiliary and main verb, pronominal objects may appear in a post-auxiliary position non-adjacent to the main verb<sup>69</sup>:

68 The unmarked word order of the clause in Modern German has the pronoun right after the subject:

(i) "... wenn Gott *sie* dann ... verurteilen wird."

69 The example in (216) has the same word order in Modern German but not (217): here both pronouns have to occur right after the complementiser:

(i) "... dass *es ihm* sein Feind mit Worten so einfach einschränkt."

- (230) Þonne mot **hine** se hlaford *gefreogean*.  
 Then may **him** the lord *free*.  
 "Then may the lord free him."  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 208)
- (231) ...þætte him his feond mæge swa eaþe **his** mid wordum *gestieran*.  
 ...that him his enemy may so easily **it** with words *restrain*.  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 208)

As noted above, in Modern German pronominal objects may also occur in positions different from the Wackernagel area, but they can only do so if they are accented because then they can be used as focus exponents. In general, however, they avoid the nuclear stress position, i. e., the position immediately preceding the finite verb in the verb phrase. Thus, the German translation of example (227) is only grammatical if the pronominal object *ihm* "him" bears stress:

- (227') a.\* Warum wollte Gott ein solch kleines Ding **ihm** *verwehren*?  
 b. Warum wollte Gott ein solch kleines Ding **IHM** *verwehren*?  
 c. Hwi wolde God swa lytles þinges **him** *forwyrnan*.

In her study of Old English, Pintzuk (1990) notes that pronominal objects occur in pre–topic and post–topic position invariably frequently which indicates that they do not favour a special position in the clause. Van Kemenade notes that pronominal objects further occur in exactly the same positions as pronominal subjects, namely 1) immediately to the right of the complementiser in embedded clauses, 2) immediately preceding the finite verb in main clauses, 3) in clauses where the first constituent is a *wh*–element, a negative element or *þa* the pronominal object follows the finite verb. Examples for these cases are given below:  
 complementiser *þæt* immediately followed by a pronominal object:

- (232) ...þæt **him** his fiend wæren æfterfylgende.  
 ...that **him** his enemies were following.  
 "...that his enemies were chasing him."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 113)
- (233) ...þæt **hi** God him forlæte.  
 ...that **them** God them permits.  
 "...that God will permit them to them."  
 (Koopman 1990: 94)

main clause with pronominal object immediately preceding the finite verb:

- (234) God **him** *worhte* þa reaf of fellum.  
 God **them** *wrought* then garments of skins.  
 "Then God made garments of skin for them."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 114)
- (235) Fela spella **him** *sædon* þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande,...  
 Many stories **him** *told* the Permians both of their own country...  
 "The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 114)

main clause with clause-initial wh-element/negative element/þa:

- (236) ...*gif* **us** deoful drecce mid manigfealdum gepohtum.  
 ...*if* **us** devil trouble with manifold thoughts.  
 "...if the devil trouble us with manifold thoughts."  
 (Koopman 1990: 80) => not the right example!!!
- (237) *Þa* sticode **him** mon þa eagan ut.  
 Then stuck **him** someone the eyes out.  
 "Then his eyes were gouged out."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 114)
- (238) *Ne* geseah **hine** nan man nates-hwon yrre.  
 Not saw **him** no man so little angry.  
 "No one ever saw him so little angry."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 114)

The Old English examples and our discussion above show that in Old English pronominal objects may occur in positions in which pronominal objects in Modern German cannot occur. This indicates that pronominal objects in Old English behave differently. According to van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1990) they are clitics which attach to IP, VP and PP. In Modern German, the occurrence of pronominal objects seems to be restricted to IP only. The reason for this difference might be due to the properties of Old English pronouns (their clitic-like character) which will not be discussed here. For a discussion see van Kemenade (1987, chapter 4 and 6), Pintzuk (1991, chapter 4) and Koopman (1990, chapter 3).

According to the findings of Pintzuk (1991), in Old English both OV and VO base word orders existed side by side, i.e., there was grammatical competition between the two patterns. This finding is counterevidence to the standard assumption that Old English was uniformly OV in the base with scrambling of objects to the left (Bean 1983; van Kemenade 1987; Stockwell & Minkova, 1990). The postverbal position of particles and pronominal objects are evidence for underlying VO order:

- (239) He wolde *adræfan* **ut** anne æþeling.  
 He would *drive* **out** a prince.  
 "He would drive out a prince."  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 180)
- (240) & *dreofon* hine **onweg**.  
 and *drive* them **away**.  
 (BEDE,5.112.24.85)

Pintzuk notes that both OV and VO base orders occur in the texts investigated but that the former order was found much more frequently. It is also well-known that languages with underlying OV word order allow scrambling of full object DPs as well as fronting of pronominal objects. Thus, whenever the object occurs in a high position adjacent to the subject in an Infl-final clause as in (241), the object has been fronted. In embedded clauses with Infl-medial auxiliary the object has been fronted if it precedes the auxiliary verb as in (242):

- (241) ...þæt hi **hit** ðam folce dælan *scoldon*.  
 ...that they **it** the people give *might*.  
 "...that they might give it to the people."  
 (Koopman 1990: 156)
- (242) ...þæt ðu **hit** *wolde* me getæcan.  
 ...that you **it** *would* me teach.  
 "...that you wanted to teach it to me."  
 (Koopman 1991: 171)

Under the assumption that Old English does have VO base orders, the question arises whether scrambling or pronominal object fronting also occurs in these clauses. A diagnostic environment here is double-object constructions with a postverbal pronominal object (see below). If object fronting is allowed in VO orders then the remaining object will occur to the left of the main verb. The pattern is indeed found as the examples below illustrate:

- (243) ... gif we **hit** *secgað eow*.  
 ... if we **it** *say you*.  
 "...if we say it to you."  
 (Koopman 1991: 170)
- (244) Hwi noldest ðu **hit** *secgan me*.  
 Why not-would you **it** *say me*.  
 "Why didn't you want to say it to me."  
 (Koopman 1991: 170)

In (243) and (244) the pronominal object *hit* "it" immediately precedes the main verb and a postverbal pronominal object. Under the assumption that the base order in these examples is VO, i.e., the objects follow the main verb, the pronominal object preceding the main verb must have moved leftwards. This finding leads to the conclusion that in Old English scrambling and pronominal object fronting was possible in clauses both with OV and VO base order.

### 5.8.2 Scrambling in Early Middle English

In this section we will deal with the occurrence of scrambling of full object DPs as well as the fronting of pronominal objects. We will see that in the Early Middle English texts investigated both types of object movement occur, although there are differences between the dialects. The following discussion is based on the study by Kroch & Taylor (2000).

Kroch & Taylor claim that in the Early Middle English texts they investigated, they found both underlying word orders, OV and VO. Moreover, they argue that scrambling is possible in structures with VO orders as well as with OV orders, an assumption which clearly contradicts Haider & Rosengren's analysis that there is a correlation between underlying OV word order and scrambling. We will see below that both operations, leftward movement of full object DPs and pronominal objects, are productive in the Early Middle English texts. Before we deal with the distribution of full object DPs, a note on the provenance of the texts is in order here. For more information on the texts see chapter 2.

The texts investigated by Kroch & Taylor are all Early Middle English prose texts from the early 13th century (see also chapter 4). Three texts are from the West Midlands area and two texts are from the Southeastern area. The texts from the latter area are the Lambeth Homilies, the *Ancrene Riwe* and the *The Katherine Group*, which includes as noted in chapter 2, the texts *Hali Meidhad*, *St. Julia*, *St. Katherine*, *St. Margaret* and the *Sawles Warde*. The *Ancrene Riwe* and the *The Katherine Group* are both dated to the first quarter of the 13th century and are written in the language centered on the border of Herefordshire and Shropshire, and Worcestershire respectively. The Lambeth Homilies have a special status because they have been copied from two exemplars with different orthographies. Both are dated to the 12th century but one was written earlier than the other. The earlier exemplar (Lambeth Homilies (L)) is a compilation of older documents, dated to the 11th century, which have been transliterated into Middle English. The older exemplar (Lambeth Homilies (E)) did not contain any Old English documents. The two exemplars of the Lambeth Homilies are dated to the 12th century and have been localised to the same West Midlands area. Five of the Lambeth Homilies also appear in the *Trinity Homilies*.

The two texts from the Southeastern area are the *Trinity Homilies* (a series of homilies) and *Vices and Virtues*. The former text is dated from before 1225 and is written in London language. The latter text is dated to 1200–1225, although it has also been claimed that it may have been written as early as 1175 (Utley, 1972). The language of the text is attributed to the Essex area. All texts which were investigated here are from the second version of the Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (see chapter 2).

### 5.8.2.1 The distribution of full object DPs

As shown in chapter 4, according to Kroch & Taylor (1994) there is strong evidence for underlying VO order in the texts. The diagnostic environments they give are the postverbal position of 1) pronominal objects, 2) postverbal verb particles and 3) stranded prepositions in embedded clauses with an auxiliary. Although the postverbal occurrence of these light elements is unambiguous evidence for underlying VO order, OV orders in the texts could also be underlyingly VO, derived by leftward movement of the object. Therefore, Kroch & Taylor claim that the extent of scrambling has to be investigated in order to define the true extent of VO base order.

Kroch & Taylor note that there is evidence in the texts that full object DPs as well as pronominal objects may move leftward because then they appear in a position to the left of an VP–adjoined adverb (here *never*). This is illustrated with the examples below:

- (245) ...þet heo ne schal **þene stude** *neauer* mare changin bute for nede ane.  
 ...that she NEG shall **the abode** *never* more change but for need alone.  
 "...that shall never again change her abode except when necessary."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 17)

- (246) ...þach god ne kunne **him** *neauer* þonc of his sonde.  
 ...though God NEG can **him** *never* thank of his sending.  
 "...though God can never thank him for sending it."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 17)

The examples in (245) and (246) show that scrambling and pronominal object fronting occurs in Middle English Infl–medial clauses the order of which, however, could still be OV in the VP. As shown in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, these two types of object movement were also frequent in Old English. For the sake of the reader's convenience, some of the Old English examples are given here again (example (247) is (209) c. from above):

- (247) & æghwæþer **oþerne** *oftrædlice* utdræfde.  
and every–one **other** *frequently* outdrove.  
"and each of them frequently drove the other away."  
(Haerberli 1999: 356)
- (248) He sæde Bedan þæt se cyning **him** *oft* behete mycel on lande  
He said Bede that the king Ecfrid **him** *often* promised much on land  
  
and on feo.  
and on property.  
"He said to Bede that King Ecfrid often promised him much land and property."  
(Haerberli 1999: 356)

Although scrambling has always been taken to be restricted to OV languages like German and Dutch, according to Kroch & Taylor (see also Santorini 1992, 1993) it also appears in VO languages like Yiddish which the examples below illustrate:

- (249) Farvos host du **mikh** *damols* geshmishn?  
Why have you **me** then hit?  
"Why did you hit me then?"  
(Kroch & Taylor 2000: 18)
- (250) Un er ken **di mayse** beser dertseyln.  
And he can **the story** better tell.  
"And he can tell the story better."  
(Kroch & Taylor 2000: 18)

In (249) the pronominal object *mikh* "me" occurs to the left of the main verb and has scrambled over another preverbal constituent, here the adverbial *damols* "then". In (250) the full object DP *di mayse* "the story" has scrambled to the left of the VP.

Kroch & Taylor claim that in order to determine whether there really is scrambling in Infl–medial clauses with underlying VO order, we need evidence for scrambling in unambiguous cases of underlying VO order. They argue that the most common diagnostic environment in this respect are double–object constructions where one of the objects is a pronominal object in postverbal position. If the other object appears to the left of the verb we have clear evidence for scrambling. What Kroch & Taylor found was that scrambling as well as fronting of pronominal objects occurs in their texts. Some examples are given below:

Scrambling of nominal arguments:

- (251) For alle þeo þe habbeð **ani good** *idon me*.  
 For all those that have **any good** *done me*.  
 "For everyone who has done me any good."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 19)

Fronting of pronominal objects:

- (252) & he **hit** wule *gelde þe* as his treowe feire.  
 and he **it** will *yield thee* as his true company.  
 "and he will yield it to you as his true company."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 19)

Table 1 shows the frequency of scrambling in double-object constructions:

| <b>West Midlands</b>      |          |           |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------|
|                           | DP–V–pro | V–pro–DP  |
| Ancrene Riwe              | 5        | 9         |
| Katherine Group           | 3        | 13        |
| Total                     | 8        | 22        |
| Lambeth Homilies          | 0        | 1         |
| Total                     | 8        | 23        |
| <b>Southeast Midlands</b> |          |           |
|                           | DP–V–pro | V–pro–DP  |
| Trinity Homilies          | 0        | 4         |
| Vices and Virtues         | 0        | 2         |
| Total                     | 0        | 6         |
| <b>Total all texts</b>    | <b>8</b> | <b>29</b> |

Table 1: Position for the remaining object in double-object clauses with a postverbal pronoun object (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 19)

Kroch & Taylor note that the evidence they found in double-object clauses is not enough to draw any conclusions because the data is too sparse. However, they point out that there are other diagnostics, namely cases where 1) a postverbal pronoun has moved to a pre-Inflection position leaving a preposition behind and 2) where a pronoun appears to the right of the non-finite verb and a preposition has been scrambled to the left. The one example they found for case 1) is from the Southeastern text of the *Trinity Homilies*, the example they found for case 2) is from the *Ancrene Riwe*:

- (253) Vnderstondeð get an <þing> þat ich **giu**<sub>i</sub> wile warnie **t**<sub>i</sub> fore.  
 Understand yet one thing that I **you** will warn of.  
 "Understand yet one thing that I will warn you of."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 20)
- (254) ...þt he schulde **in**<sub>i</sub> huden *him* **t**<sub>i</sub> gef he walde libben.  
 ...that he should **in** hide *him* if he would live.  
 "...that he should hide himself in if he would live."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 21)

According to Koopman's (1990) work on double-object clauses in Old English (see section 4.1.1) there are a number of instances with an indirect object pronoun inside VP and a direct object which has been moved leftwards:

- (255) Hwi noldest ðu **hyt** secgan me.  
 Why NEG-wanted thou **it** say me.  
 "Why didn't you want to say it to me?"  
 (Koopman 1990: 170)

Kroch & Taylor claim that the example in (255) indicates that in Old English there were clauses with underlying VO order, and that fronting of pronouns and scrambling was possible. The examples from the Early Middle English texts show that this patterning is carried over from Old English to Middle English. What this implies is that Haider & Rosengren's scrambling criterion which was given above (in 186) does not hold as Old English and even more so Early Middle English exhibited a VO grammar which allowed scrambling. According to them this is not possible for structural reasons because in VO languages the identification of arguments is subject to positionally fixed unique identification configurations. The findings of the Old English and Early Middle English texts show, however, that this is not borne out, i.e., that scrambling may adhere to criteria which are independent of structural reasons.

As shown in chapter 4, section 4.1., it is plausible to assume that the Early Middle English Southeastern texts behave more conservatively than the West Midlands texts in exhibiting scrambling of pronominal objects as the latter texts also show a higher frequency of Infl-final clauses and therefore resemble Old English texts. We will see below that Kroch & Taylor found evidence that the fronting of pronominal objects in Southeastern texts is very frequent which is the reason why there is a shortage of diagnostic clauses for VO order.

The evidence Kroch & Taylor found for VO base word order could indicate that Early Middle English Infl-medial clauses already exhibited a uniform VO word order. They point

out, however, that this is not very likely because all Germanic languages which changed from being OV to being VO showed that there is a transitional period where there are two grammars in competition, i.e., these languages exhibit both OV and VO base word orders alongside. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that there are languages like the West African language Vata (see Koopman, 1984) which are Infl-medial with underlying OV word order in the verb phrase. Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that Infl-medial and OV verb phrases combine and that we find this combination in Early Middle English texts. The problem which occurs here is that Infl-medial orders with OV verb phrases are ambiguous: either they exhibit the underlying order or they are underlyingly Infl-medial and VO and are derived by scrambling the object phrase (or by fronting the pronominal object) to the left. Therefore, diagnostics are needed which explicitly show that the orders found are Infl-medial and OV.

First, in Early Middle English texts there are a number of clauses which show surface OV orders:

- (256) ...for þat hie nedden **here synnes** *er bet*.  
 ...for that they NEG-had **their sins** *before atoned-for*.  
 "...because they had not atoned for their sins before."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 22)
- (257) ðanne hie willeð **here ibede** *to godde bidden*,...  
 when they will **their prayer** *to God pray*,...  
 "when they will pray their prayer to God,..."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 22)

The examples in (256) and (257) show surface OV order. The occurrence of the object phrase *here synnes* "their sins" in (256) to the left of the adverb *before* "before" even indicates that scrambling has taken place, it is not clear, however, whether the scrambled object phrase was in preverbal or postverbal position. Moreover, the fact that all arguments of the verb in (257) appear in preverbal position could be an indication for OV order but it does not demonstrate it. However, Kroch & Taylor also found cases like the following:

- (258) Þeos ne schulen neuer **song** *singen* in heouene.  
 These NEG shall never **song** *sing* in heaven.  
 "These shall never sing songs in heaven."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 22)

In (258) the object *song* "song" is in preverbal position and occurs to the right of *neuer* "never", an adverb it sometimes scrambles across. If this interpretation is correct, then an

example like (258) shows underlying OV word order. Kroch & Taylor point out, however, that in Early Middle English it is not clear where the position of these adverbs is, i.e., the general assumption that they are attached low in the clause so that the order object–adverb indicates that the object has moved across the adverb does maybe not hold. Kroch & Taylor illustrate this problem with the following example:

- (259) Þv qð ha keiser nauest *nawt þis strif rihtwisliche* idealet.  
 Thou said she emperor NEG–have *not this strife rightly* settled.  
 "Thou, Emperor", she said, "hast not rightly settled this dispute."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 23)

In (259) the object phrase *þis strif* "this strife" seems to have moved across the adverb *rihtwisliche* "rightly". However, it is still to the right of *nawt* "not", which shows according to Kroch & Taylor that the position of this adverb cannot be taken as a diagnostic for scrambling (it is too high in the clause). Therefore, another diagnostic is needed here.

Kroch & Taylor note that according to van der Wurff (1999) in Late Middle English only quantified or negative objects can appear in the position immediately preceding the non–finite verb:

- (260) He haþ on vs mercy, for he may **al þynge** do.  
 He has on us mercy for he may **all things** do.  
 "He has mercy on us, for he can do everything."  
 (van der Wurff 1999: 8)

According to Kroch & Taylor this construction is related to a construction found in Modern Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian where a negative or quantified object phrase can appear in exactly the same position as in (260). This is illustrated in (261) for Icelandic and in (262) for Danish:

- (261) Ic. a. Gunnar hefur **fáar bækur** lesið.  
 Gunnar has **few books** read.  
 b. Gunnar hefur **marga/margir bækur** lesið.  
 Gunnar has **many books** read.  
 c. ?Gunnar hefur **neinna bækur** lesið.  
 Gunnar has **no books** read.  
 d. Gunnar hefur lesið **neinna bækur**.  
 Gunnar hefur lesið **any books**.

- e. Gunnar hefur *ekki* lesið **neinna bækur**.  
Gunnar has *not* read **any books**.
- (262) Da. a. Arne har **fá bøger** læst.  
Arne has **few books** read.
- b. Arne har **mange bøger** læst.  
Arne has **many books** read.
- c.?Arne har **ingen bøger** læst.  
Arne has **no books** read.
- d. Arne har *ikke* læst **nogen bøger**.  
Arne has *not* read **any books**.
- e.\*Arne har læst **ingen bøger**.  
Arne has read **no books**.

Kroch & Taylor assume that this construction can also be found in their Early Middle English data. Moreover, they claim that the assumption that only negative and quantified full object DPs can scramble may then serve to find out Infl–medial clauses with an underlying OV verb phrase which would be all occurrences of clauses with preverbal non–quantificational object phrases. Moreover, it would show that the same construction which is found in Late Middle English, Modern Icelandic, and Modern Norwegian, can also be found in Early Middle English. Again, Kroch & Taylor take double–object constructions to be a diagnostic here (the cases with two non–pronominal objects are removed). The results they obtained through their investigation are shown in the table below:

| <b>West Midlands</b>      |           |               |           |               |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
|                           | DP–V–pro  |               | V–pro–DP  |               |
|                           | quant. DP | non–quant. DP | quant. DP | non–quant. DP |
| Ancrene Riwle             | 2         | 1             | 2         | 7             |
| Katherine Group           | 2         | 0             | 4         | 8             |
| Total                     | 4         | 1             | 6         | 15            |
| Lambeth Homilies          | 0         | 0             | 1         | 0             |
| Total                     | 4         | 1             | 7         | 15            |
| <b>Southeast Midlands</b> |           |               |           |               |
|                           | DP–V–pro  |               | V–pro–DP  |               |
|                           | DP–V–pro  | V–pro–DP      |           |               |
| Trinity Homilies          | 0         | 0             | 1         | 3             |
| Vices and Virtues         | 0         | 0             | 1         | 1             |
| Total                     | 0         | 0             | 2         | 4             |
| <b>Total all texts</b>    | <b>4</b>  | <b>1</b>      | <b>9</b>  | <b>19</b>     |

Table 2: Position of quantified and non–quantified DP objects in clauses with a postverbal pronominal object (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 24)

Although the numbers in Table 2 are very small, it seems that both quantified and non–quantified object phrases may scramble in Early Middle English provided that the example from the *Ancrene Riwle* is interpreted as scrambling of a non–quantified object phrase (the surface OV order is derived by scrambling the object from its postverbal position to the left)<sup>70</sup>. According to Kroch & Taylor this assumption is supported by the large difference in the rates of scrambling between quantified and non–quantified object phrases. Based on the results shown in Table 2 they estimate the rate for scrambled quantified object phrases to be about one third and the rate for scrambled non–quantified object phrases to be about 5 %. If these rates are compared with the results for non–quantified object phrases in preverbal position (post–Infl) as shown in Table 3, however, the average rate of surface OV word order with non–quantified objects is 30 %, a frequency which is much too high to result from scrambling only:

70 For an interpretation of the exceptional case found in the *Ancrene Riwle* see Kroch & Taylor 2000: 24.

| <b>West Midlands</b>      |             |            |            |             |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|
|                           |             | Post–Infl  | Post–verb  | % Post–Infl |
| Ancrene Riwe              | main        | 18         | 75         | 19          |
|                           | subordinate | 25         | 80         | 24          |
|                           | total       | 43         | 155        | 22          |
| Katherine Group           | main        | 15         | 51         | 23          |
|                           | subordinate | 25         | 49         | 34          |
|                           | total       | 40         | 100        | 29          |
| Total                     | main        | 33         | 126        | 21          |
|                           | subordinate | 50         | 129        | 28          |
|                           | total       | 83         | 255        | 25          |
| Lambeth Homilies (L)      | main        | 2          | 14         | 13          |
|                           | subordinate | 19         | 7          | 73          |
|                           | total       | 21         | 21         | 50          |
| Lambeth Homilies (E)      | main        | 9          | 42         | 18          |
|                           | subordinate | 20         | 63         | 24          |
|                           | total       | 29         | 105        | 22          |
| <b>Southeast Midlands</b> |             |            |            |             |
|                           |             | Post–Infl  | Post–verb  | % Post–Infl |
| Trinity Homilies          | main        | 18         | 49         | 27          |
|                           | subordinate | 45         | 36         | 56          |
|                           | total       | 63         | 85         | 43          |
| Vices and Virtues         | main        | 11         | 45         | 20          |
|                           | subordinate | 37         | 54         | 41          |
|                           | total       | 48         | 99         | 33          |
| Total                     | main        | 29         | 94         | 24          |
|                           | subordinate | 82         | 90         | 48          |
|                           | total       | 111        | 184        | 38          |
| <b>Total all texts</b>    |             | <b>244</b> | <b>565</b> | <b>30</b>   |

Table 3: The distribution of non–quantified object phrases in clauses with an auxiliary (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 25)

Kroch & Taylor further claim that, provided that the rate of underlying OV is the same for quantified and non–quantified object phrases, quantified object phrases will occur in preverbal position more frequently than non–quantified object phrases because, as shown above, they scramble more frequently than non–quantified objects. The results in Table 4 show that this is indeed the case<sup>71</sup>:

<sup>71</sup> The frequencies for non–quantified objects in Post–Infl position are taken over from Table 3.

| West Midlands          |             |           |           |                 |                     |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|
|                        |             | Post–Infl | Post–verb | % Post–Infl QNP | % Post–Infl non–QNP |
| Ancrene Riwle          | main        | 2         | 10        | 17              | 19                  |
|                        | subordinate | 6         | 12        | 33              | 24                  |
|                        | total       | 8         | 22        | 27              | 22                  |
| Katherine Group        | main        | 5         | 8         | 38              | 23                  |
|                        | subordinate | 4         | 6         | 40              | 34                  |
|                        | total       | 9         | 14        | 39              | 29                  |
| Lambeth Homilies (L)   | main        | 0         | 1         | 0               | 13                  |
|                        | subordinate | 1         | 1         | 50              | 73                  |
|                        | total       | 1         | 2         | 33              | 50                  |
| Lambeth Homilies (E)   | main        | 3         | 8         | 25              | 18                  |
|                        | subordinate | 7         | 7         | 50              | 24                  |
|                        | total       | 10        | 15        | 40              | 22                  |
| Total                  | main        | 10        | 27        | 28              | 21                  |
|                        | subordinate | 18        | 26        | 36              | 28                  |
|                        | total       | 28        | 53        | 32              | 25                  |
| Southeast Midlands     |             |           |           |                 |                     |
|                        |             | Post–Infl | Post–verb | % Post–Infl QNP | % Post–Infl non–QNP |
| Trinity Homilies       | main        | 4         | 10        | 29              | 27                  |
|                        | subordinate | 10        | 5         | 67              | 56                  |
|                        | total       | 14        | 15        | 48              | 43                  |
| Vices and Virtues      | main        | 9         | 10        | 47              | 20                  |
|                        | subordinate | 9         | 7         | 56              | 41                  |
|                        | total       | 18        | 17        | 51              | 33                  |
| Total                  | main        | 13        | 20        | 39              | 24                  |
|                        | subordinate | 19        | 12        | 61              | 48                  |
|                        | total       | 32        | 32        | 50              | 38                  |
| <b>Total all texts</b> |             | <b>60</b> | <b>85</b> | <b>41</b>       | <b>30</b>           |

Table 4: The distribution of quantified object phrases in clauses with an auxiliary verb (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 26)

Based on the figures in Table 4, Kroch & Taylor calculate an estimate of the rate of scrambling for non-quantified object phrases. It is based on the surface frequency of non-quantified objects in preverbal position (the 30 % from Table 3) and the rate of scrambling for this type of object phrase from Table 2 (5 %). The result is 26 % for scrambling of non-quantified objects and 74 % for underlying VO word order. With respect to quantified objects, the surface frequency from the texts investigated is 41 % (see Table 4). Kroch & Taylor point out that the difference of 15 % between this figure and the one obtained for scrambling of non-quantified objects must be due to scrambling from an underlying VO verb phrase. Then they obtain the estimated rate of 20 % for scrambling of quantified object phrases. What these results show is that scrambling of non-quantified objects is too rare (the

5 % from above) to account for the frequencies of OV word order in the Early Middle English texts investigated. Thus, there are a number of Infl–medial clauses with underlying OV verb phrases.

Kroch & Taylor note that this finding is supported by the comparison of the frequencies of surface OV patterns from their Early Middle English texts and the frequencies of surface OV order from the Late Middle English texts as described by van der Wurff (1999). Therefore, they investigated a number of Late Middle English texts from the PPCME2. The results are shown in Table 5:

|             | Post–Infl |         | Post–verb |         | % Post–Infl |         |
|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-------------|---------|
|             | QNP       | non–QNP | QNP       | non–QNP | QNP         | non–QNP |
| main        | 28        | 13      | 289       | 1694    | 9           | 1       |
| subordinate | 42        | 34      | 305       | 2367    | 12          | 1       |
| total       | 70        | 47      | 594       | 4061    | 11          | 1       |

Table 5: The distribution of quantified and non–quantified object phrases in clauses with an auxiliary verb in Late Middle English (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 28)

Table 5 shows that the frequency for quantified objects in post–Infl position (OV) is much higher than that of non–quantified objects in post–Infl position. According to Kroch & Taylor the low rate of post–Infl non–quantified objects can be interpreted either as scrambling, provided the assumption that Late Middle English is uniformly VO, or as representing a remnant of underlying OV order. Either way, the data from the Late Middle English texts support Kroch & Taylor’s assumption that underlying OV word order exists in Early Middle English. Moreover, the results also show that scrambling of object phrases was still possible in Early Middle English, from phrases which are both underlyingly OV and VO.

### 5.8.2.2 The distribution of pronominal objects

As shown above, the fronting of pronominal objects to a position to the left of adverbs which appear in the left VP–periphery is found in Old English and Early Middle English. This is illustrated with the examples below: the examples (263) to (264) show the pronominal object in post–Infl order, the examples (265) to (269) show the pronominal object in pre–infl order:

- (263) ...þach god ne kunne **him** neuer þonc of his sonde.  
 ...though God NEG can **him** never thank of his sending.  
 "...though God can never thank him for sending it."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 17)

- (264) ...ne **him** neauer teone ne tintreohe trukien in inwarde helle.  
 ...neither **him** never hurt nor torture run–short in inward hell.  
 "...neither "  
 (CMKATHE,42.357)
- (265) ...ðat we moten forð mid gew on blisse wunigen, ...  
 ...that we may forth with you on bliss live, ...
- and **him** eure ma luuien and herien on ecnesse.  
 and **him** ever more love and praise on eternity.  
 (CMVICES1,21.237)
- (266) ...hu ge **ham** schulen leoueliche learen.  
 ...how you **them** shall lovingly teach.  
 (CMANCRIW,I.52.125)
- (267) Ich **hire** wule don to þe derueste deað þt me mei hire demen.  
 I **them** will done to the most–torturing death that me may them doom.  
 (CMKATHE,28.139)
- (268) and eft he **us** wile feie; þanne we shulen arisen of deaðe.  
 and often he **us** will then we shall arise of death.  
 (CMTRINIT,23.325)
- (269) ouer michel þing ic **ðe** scal setten.  
 over much things I **thee** shall set.  
 (CMVICES1,17.190)

The findings from the texts Kroch & Taylor investigated are illustrated in Table 6 below:

| West Midlands        |             |          |           |           |             |
|----------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
|                      |             | Pre–Infl | Post–Infl | Post–verb | % Post–verb |
| Ancrene Riwe         | main        | 10       | 7         | 36        | 68          |
|                      | subordinate | 23       | 15        | 36        | 49          |
|                      | total       | 33       | 22        | 72        | 57          |
| Katherine Group      | main        | 13       | 10        | 49        | 68          |
|                      | subordinate | 29       | 17        | 32        | 41          |
|                      | total       | 42       | 27        | 81        | 54          |
| Total                | main        | 23       | 17        | 85        | 68          |
|                      | subordinate | 52       | 32        | 68        | 45          |
|                      | total       | 75       | 49        | 153       | 55          |
| Southeast Midlands   |             |          |           |           |             |
|                      |             | Pre–Infl | Post–Infl | Post–verb | % Post–verb |
| Lambeth Homilies (L) | main        | 6        | 3         | 0         | 0           |
|                      | subordinate | 6        | 1         | 1         | 13          |
|                      | total       | 12       | 4         | 1         | 6           |
| Lambeth Homilies (E) | main        | 28       | 15        | 3         | 7           |
|                      | subordinate | 20       | 13        | 4         | 11          |
|                      | total       | 48       | 28        | 7         | 8           |
| Trinity Homilies     | main        | 13       | 12        | 8         | 24          |
|                      | subordinate | 29       | 14        | 8         | 16          |
|                      | total       | 42       | 26        | 16        | 19          |
| Vices and Virtues    | main        | 31       | 11        | 1         | 2           |
|                      | subordinate | 59       | 19        | 5         | 6           |
|                      | total       | 90       | 30        | 6         | 5           |
| Total                | main        | 44       | 23        | 9         | 12          |
|                      | subordinate | 88       | 33        | 13        | 9           |
|                      | total       | 132      | 56        | 22        | 10          |

Table 6: The position of pronominal objects in clauses with an auxiliary verb (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 14)

Table 6 shows that there is a difference between West Midlands texts and Southeastern texts with respect to the position of pronominal objects: in the texts which belong to the former dialectal group, 153 cases of postverbal pronominal objects (55 %) are found. In the texts which belong to the latter dialectal group only 22 cases of pronominal objects in postverbal position (10 %) occur. As noted above, the Lambeth Homilies neither fully belong to either of the groups: here, however, the texts seems to pattern like the Southeastern texts, i.e., only a few cases are found (7 cases, which corresponds to 8 %) which are in postverbal position. Kroch & Taylor claim that the large difference observed between the texts from the two dialectal areas might be due either to a difference in the frequency of the underlying order or to a difference in the frequency of leftward movement (fronting) of pronominal objects. They further note that the OV word order frequencies for object phrases could shed light on this question. Table 4 shows that the rates of OV word order with non-quantified objects in the

West Midlands texts is 25 %, whereas in the Southeastern texts it is 38 %. Kroch & Taylor assume that these numbers have to be taken as estimates of the rates of underlying OV word order in the texts. If we look now at Table 6, which shows the occurrences of pronominal objects in the two dialectal groups, we see that there is a large difference between the frequency of preverbal pronominal objects in the West Midlands texts (55 % of postverbal pronominal objects and therefore 45 % of preverbal pronominal objects) and the frequency of preverbal pronominal objects in the Southeastern texts (10 % of postverbal pronominal objects and therefore 90 % of preverbal pronominal objects). It becomes clear that these numbers deviate from the results obtained for scrambling of object phrases which means then that the differences between the two dialectal groups with respect to the frequency of OV word order with pronominal objects cannot be entirely due to differences in the rate of underlying word order. Therefore, Kroch & Taylor claim that the large difference between the two dialectal groups is due to different frequencies of fronting of pronouns. If it is assumed as outlined above that non-quantified object phrases do not scramble, the rate of pronominal object fronting is 27 % in the West Midlands texts and 84 % in the Southeastern texts.

Kroch & Taylor point out that the assumption that the two dialectal groups differ with respect to the fronting of object pronouns can help to explain the behaviour of the Lambeth Homilies data. As noted above, there are two exemplars of the Lambeth Homilies. According to Kroch & Taylor the text behaves, on the one hand, more like the Southeastern texts with respect to the distribution of pronominal objects, but on the other hand, more like the West Midlands text with respect to the distribution of full object DPs. This could be explained by the fact that the text was written somewhat earlier than the other West Midlands texts and was more influenced by Old English. Thus, the pattern found in the Lambeth Homilies (largely underlying VO order but with consistent pronominal object fronting) suggests that while both OV word order and pronominal object fronting declined earlier in the West Midlands than in the Southeast, the decline of OV word order predates the decline of pronominal object fronting. This assumption is supported by the findings Kroch & Taylor obtained by looking at the distribution of object pronouns in Late Middle English texts. The findings are given in Table 7:

|             | Pre–Infl | Post–Infl | Post–verb | % Post–verb |
|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| main        | 2        | 10        | 868       | 99          |
| subordinate | 10       | 33        | 1208      | 97          |
| total       | 12       | 43        | 2076      | 97          |

Table 7: The distribution of pronominal objects in clauses with an auxiliary verb in Late Middle English (Kroch & Taylor 2000: 31)

What Table 7 and the comparison of Table 7 with Table 5 shows is that pronominal objects in preverbal position, i.e., pronominal object fronting, mainly disappeared in Late Middle English whereas the scrambling of quantified full object DPs was still productive.

To sum up, we have seen that in Early Middle English texts both the scrambling of full object DPs and the fronting of pronominal objects exist. Moreover, it was shown that in Infl–medial clauses both underlying OV and VO word orders exist and that scrambling may also occur in clauses with an VO verb phrase. This is evidence against the proposed correlation between scrambling of object phrases and OV languages. It was further shown that the texts from the two dialectal groups, the West Midlands and the Southeast, exhibit different rates of pronominal object fronting. The Lambeth Homilies show a mixed character as they behave like the other West Midlands texts with respect to the rate of underlying OV order on the one hand, but it behaves like the other West Midlands texts with respect to their rate of pronominal object fronting on the other hand.

In the next section we will investigate the *Ormulum*. To do this, the diagnostics from Kroch & Taylor are taken over to define the rate of scrambling as well as the rate of pronominal object fronting.

### 5.8.3 Scrambling and fronting of pronominal objects in the *Ormulum*

As shown above, the Early Middle English texts investigated by Kroch & Taylor (2000) exhibit both scrambling and fronting of object pronouns. This also seems to be the case in the *Ormulum*. As shown in chapter 4, section 4.2., this text is mainly Infl–medial as well as VO in the base. To demonstrate that there definitely is scrambling in the text, however, we need examples which are unambiguously VO and where it is obvious that an element has undergone scrambling. Structures of this type are double–object constructions with one object a pronominal in postverbal position. If we find cases where the other object appears to the left of the verb, we have unambiguous evidence for scrambling. Table 8 shows the orders found in the *Ormulum*:

| Ormulum     | DP–V–pro | V–pro–DP | pro–V–pro | V–pro–pro |
|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| main        | 1        | 59       | 0         | 0         |
| subordinate | 0        | 31       | 2         | 1         |
| total       | 1        | 90       | 0         | 1         |

Table 8: Position of the remaining object in double–object constructions with a postverbal pronominal object

Table 8 shows that there is only sparse evidence for scrambling. The one example found in main clauses is given below:

- (270) & *all forrþi forrbæd hemm Godd,*  
 and *all forthi forbid them God*  
           DO      IO  
*Swa summ icc habbe shæwedd, ...*  
 so as      I have showed ...  
 (CMORM,I,66.596)

Although this example shows the order full object DP – verb – pronominal object it is problematic because the subject DP *Godd* "God" is extraposed to the right. There is, however, one case with double–object constructions with two pronominal objects where one object clearly has been fronted:

- (271) Þatt he *it* [het] **forrgife** *uss* all riht swa,  
 That he *it*      **forgive** *us* all right so  
  
 Summ we forrgifenn oþre.  
 as      we forgive      others.  
 (CMORM,I,188.1555)

Additional evidence comes from embedded clauses with double–object constructions and an auxiliary. Table 9 shows the patterns found in this type of clause in the *Ormulum*:

|          |        | The Ormulum |        |        |        |        |        |        |
|----------|--------|-------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| main cl. | AuxVOO | AuxOVO      | AuxOOV | OAuxVO | OAuxOV | OOAuxV | OOVAux | OVAuxO |
| DP–DP    | 0      | 0           | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| DP–PRO   | 0      | 0           | 0      | 0      | 0      | 7      | 1      | 0      |
| PRO–DP   | 14     | 4           | 1      | 1      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| PRO–PRO  | 0      | 0           | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| emb. cl. | AuxVOO | AuxOVO      | AuxOOV | OAuxVO | OAuxOV | OOAuxV | OOVAux | OVAuxO |
| DP–DP    | 1      | 0           | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| DP–PRO   | 0      | 0           | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| PRO–DP   | 15     | 8           | 3      | 2      | 5      | 1      | 1      | 1      |
| PRO–PRO  | 0      | 0           | 0      | 1      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      |

Table 9: Position of the remaining object in double–object constructions with a postverbal pronominal object and an auxiliary

As can be seen in Table 9, both full object DPs and pronominal objects most frequently occur in postverbal position (in main clauses both objects occur 14 times in postverbal position, in embedded clauses both objects occur 15 times in postverbal position). If an object moves, it is more likely that it is a pronominal object than a full object DP (see below). There is only one case of the type described above which serves as unambiguous evidence for pronominal object fronting<sup>72</sup>: it is the pattern pronominal object – Aux – verb – pronominal object. This example is given below:

(272) & witeþþ me to seggen  
and know me to say

Whær icc *me* **mughe findenn** *himm*  
where I *me* **may find** *him*

To lakenn *himm* & lutenn.  
to like *him* and obey.  
(CMORM,I,222.1837)

It was shown in chapter 4, section 4.1.1. that another diagnostic for underlying VO word order is a verb particle in postverbal position. This implies that whenever we have an object preceding the verb and the verb particle in postverbal position we have evidence for scrambling or pronominal object fronting. Of the 16 cases where a verb particle occurs in an embedded clause with auxiliary, there are three where we have evidence that the object has moved to the left. These examples are given below:

<sup>72</sup> I will not discuss the cases with the pattern OOAux V here.

- (273) ... forr he wolde swa  
... for he wanted–to so

Þurrh himm & þurrh hiss moderr  
through him and through his mother

*Uss* alle samenn **bringenn onn** ...  
*us* all together **bring on** ...  
(CMORM,I,268.2183)

- (274) & all þe birrþ *itt* **biggenn ut**  
and all thee behoves *it* **buy out**

Wiþþ fife wehhte off sillferr, ...  
with five weight of silver ...  
(CMORM,I,271.2215)

- (275) Þatt Godd *uss* wollde **lesenn**  
That God *us* wanted–to **release**

**Ut** off þe laþe gastess band,  
**out** of the loathsome spirit's band

Ut off þe deofless walde, ...  
out of the devil's power ...  
(CMORM,INTR.L85.116)

These cases clearly show that pronominal objects have moved to the left in the text. As this evidence is sparse, however, it only shows us that pronominal object fronting was possible but it does not tell us how often it really occurred.

Although the examples for scrambling are sparse, we have evidence that it was a possible operation in the *Ormulum*. If we take the results from chapter 4 as evidence that the *Ormulum* exhibited nearly consistent underlying VO word order, all cases with the order pronominal object/full object DP – (Aux) – verb – full object DP also show scrambling or pronominal object fronting. The occurrence of these orders in the *Ormulum* is shown below. Table 10 shows the order in clauses with a finite verb and Table 11 shows the occurrence of the order in clauses with an auxiliary and main verb (Infl–medial).

| The Ormulum  |           |            |             |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
|              | preverbal | postverbal | % preverbal |
| main cl.     | 13        | 55         | 20          |
| embedded cl. | 10        | 23         | 30          |
| total        | 23        | 78         | 23          |

Table 10: The frequency of pronominal object fronting in clauses with a VO verb phrase (verb – full object DP)

| The Ormulum  |        |         |            |             |
|--------------|--------|---------|------------|-------------|
|              | preaux | postaux | postverbal | % preverbal |
| main cl.     | 1      | 4       | 14         | 26          |
| embedded cl. | 3      | 8       | 16         | 41          |
| total        | 4      | 12      | 30         | 35          |

Table 11: The frequency of pronominal object fronting in clauses with an auxiliary and a VO verb phrase (verb – full object DP)

If the two tables are compared, it becomes clear that in clauses with an auxiliary the fronting of object pronouns occurs more frequently than in clauses which contain only a finite verb. Thus, in the latter type of clauses pronominal object fronting occurs 24 % of the time whereas in the former type of clauses the leftward movement occurs 35 % of the time. If the behaviour of pronominal objects is compared with that of full object DPs with respect to leftward movement we see a contrast (the positions "preaux", "postaux" and "preverbal" are all subsumed under "preverbal"):

| The Ormulum  |                    |            |                 |            |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
|              | Pronominal objects |            | full object DPs |            |
|              | preverbal          | postverbal | preverbal       | postverbal |
| main cl.     | 18                 | 69         | 5               | 92         |
| embedded cl. | 21                 | 39         | 2               | 55         |
| total        | 39                 | 108        | 7               | 147        |
| total %      | 27                 | 73         | 5               | 95         |

Table 12: Comparison of pronominal objects and full object DPs with respect to the frequency of leftward movement in double-object constructions

What we clearly see here is that pronominal objects undergo leftward movement 27 % of the time in double-object constructions and stay in the VP 73 % of the time. Full object DPs, on the other hand, behave differently: they stay inside VP 95 % of the time and undergo scrambling only 5 % of the time. The findings from double-object constructions are supported by the findings we get by looking at scrambling/pronominal object fronting in embedded clauses with an auxiliary. The order subject – object – Aux – Verb is unambiguous evidence for the fact that the object, be it a pronoun or a full object DP, has undergone

leftward movement. Examples for these cases are shown below:

Fronting of a pronominal object:

(276) ... þatt menn *himm* **sholldenn** fosstrenn.  
 ... that men *him* **should** nourish.  
 (CMORM,I,267.2175)

(277) forrþi þatt he  
 forthi that he

*Þe wollede* gifenn bisne, ...  
*thee wanted-to* give example ...  
 (CMORM,I,129.1103)

Scrambling of full object DP<sup>73</sup>:

(278) & tatt te follc all þess te bett  
 and that the folk so much the better

*Hiss lare sholde* follghenn, ...  
*his learning should* follow ...  
 (CMORM,I,12.222)

(279) ... þatt he *Johan Bapptisste* **sholde** streonenn.  
 ... that he *Johan Bapptiste* **should** beget.  
 (CMORM,I,61.556)

Table 13 shows that pronominal objects undergo fronting much more frequently than full object DPs do:

| The Ormulum  |              |           |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|
|              | preaux       |           |
|              | pron. object | object DP |
| embedded cl. | 62           | 23        |
| total %      | 73           | 27        |

Table 13: scrambling/pronominal object fronting in embedded clauses with an auxiliary

As noted above, it has been observed by Sigurðsson (1988), Hróarsdóttir (1999) and Sundquist (2000) that in languages like Old Norse and Middle Norwegian pronominal objects preferred a preverbal position more often than full object DPs. Following Holmberg (1997, 1999) I assume that (weak) pronominal objects contain the features [ – Foc] and [ – stress] because they can neither be stressed nor bear focus as they represent thematic or known

<sup>73</sup> Example (284) could also be a case of verb raising because there are at least two heavy constituents here which precede the auxiliary.

information. Therefore, they strive more to the left of the clause, i.e., they have to move out of the VP (see also section 5.7.2.). This observation has already been made by Selkirk (1984) and others who noted that stress is determined by the "Nuclear Stress Rule" which means that the nuclear accent has to be placed as far back in the clause as possible (background > focus). Full object DPs, on the other hand, generally contain the features [+ Foc] and [+ stress] because they represent rhematic or new information. However, object DPs can also be unfocussed and unstressed due to their type (e.g. definite/indefinite, quantified/non-quantified) and thus have to move out of the VP. We will see below that there might be a correlation between scrambling and the properties of DPs in Early Middle English texts and that this observation may serve as a diagnostic for underlying OV word order.

As pointed out by Kroch & Taylor (2000), a further problem is to find evidence for structures which are unambiguously OV in the base. It is a well-known fact that all the Germanic languages had transitional stages where they exhibited both OV as well as VO orders (as well as Infl-final and Infl-medial orders) because they moved from being Infl-final OV languages to Infl-medial VO languages. Therefore, there should be evidence in the *Ormulum* for remains of this order. Although light elements which occur in postverbal position are evidence for underlying VO order they can move to the left and therefore, OV structures are ambiguous: they can either show underlying OV order or scrambling of the object in a preverbal position. Therefore, what we need is a diagnostic which clearly defines real cases of underlying OV order. According to Kroch & Taylor the preverbal position of non-quantified DPs could serve as diagnostic on the assumption that they do not move leftwards as opposed to quantified DPs. Again, double-object constructions with the pattern full object DP – verb – pronominal object are the crucial orders here. If the full object DPs in preverbal position prove to be all quantificational we would have evidence that preverbal non-quantified objects show underlying OV order as well as for a constraint on scrambling of DPs of the type van der Wurff (1999) describes for Late Middle English. The orders found in the *Ormulum* are given in Table 14:

| The Ormulum |               |           |               |
|-------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| DP–V–pro    |               | V–pro–DP  |               |
| quant. DP   | non–quant. DP | quant. DP | non–quant. DP |
| 1           | 0             | 25        | 72            |

Table 14: Position of quantified and non–quantified DP objects in clauses with a postverbal pronominal object

Table 14 shows that the numbers here are very small for quantified and non–quantified objects in the pattern described above. The only example where a quantified DP occurs in a position preceding the VO verb phrase is given below:

- (280) Patt dide he forr he wolde swa  
That did he for he wanted–to so

**DP<sub>quant</sub> [Uss alle]** *gifenn bisne, ...*  
**us all** *give example ...*  
(CMORM,I,146.1204)

The non–occurrence of non–quantified DPs in this position could indicate that in the *Ormulum* they do not undergo scrambling, i.e., they always stay inside VP. This seems to be a plausible assumption at first sight because Table 14 also shows that non–quantified DPs occur in a post–pronominal object position quite frequently:

- (281) & unnc birrp biddenn Godd tatt he  
and we–two behoves–to bid God that he

*Forrgife hemm here sinne;*  
*forgive them their sins.*  
(CMORM,DED.L83.23)

- (282) & Godess enngell Gabriæl  
and God’s angel Gabriel

*gaff hire anndswere.*  
*gave her answer.*  
(CMORM,I,83.733)

Quantified DPs can occur in the same position:

- (283) & ec icc habbe *shawedd guw*  
and also I have *showed you*

**Summ del** off þeggre wikenn.  
**some part** of their duty.  
 (CMORM,I,36.395)

However, we have seen above that in clauses with only one object, non-quantified objects can undergo scrambling (see (278) and (279) because they appear in a position preceding the auxiliary in embedded clauses which are Infl-medial. Therefore, we have to assume that both types of DPs, quantified and non-quantified, may undergo scrambling. Some of the examples found with quantified and non-quantified full object DPs in preverbal order are given below:

- (284) & off Goddspell icc wile guw *get summ del mare* **shæwenn**;  
 and of gospel I want you *yet some part more* **show**;  
 (CMORM,PREF.L81.91)
- (285) & her icc wile sone anan *þa seoffne gifess* **shæwenn**, ...  
 and here I will soon anon *the seven gifts* **show**, ...  
 (CMORM,I,189.1563)
- (286) & ec þe tale off seoffne magg *þa seoffne gifess* **tacnenn** ...  
 and also the number of seven may *the seven gifts* **signify** ...  
 (CMORM,I,185.1533)
- (287) & tanne mahht tu *þin Drihhtin* **lakenn** þærwiþþ tocweme, ...  
 and then may you *your Lord* **serve** therewith in-a-pleasing-manner, ...  
 (CMORM,I,49.492)
- (288) & swa we mughenn alle imæn *þe lambess bisne* **follghenn**;  
 and so we may all in common *the lambs example* **follow**;  
 (CMORM,I,269.2193)
- (289) Herode wollde bliþelig *þatt gunge king* **offcwellenn**, ...  
 Herode would gladly *that young king* **destroy**, ...  
 (CMORM,I,239.1967)

This is confirmed if we have a look at the distribution of quantified and non-quantified DPs in the *Ormulum* (not exclusively in double-object constructions). Table 15 shows the results for non-quantified DPs, Table 16 shows the results for quantified DPs:

| Non-quantified DPs |          |           |           |             |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
|                    | Pre-Infl | Post-Infl | Post-verb | % Post-Infl |
| Ormulum            |          |           |           |             |
| main               | 5        | 16        | 42        | 25          |
| subordinate        | 22       | 33        | 84        | 24          |
| total              | 27       | 49        | 126       | 24          |

Table 15: Distribution of non-quantified DPs in the *Ormulum*

| Quantified DPs |          |           |           |             |
|----------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
|                | Pre-Infl | Post-Infl | Post-verb | % Post-Infl |
| Ormulum        |          |           |           |             |
| main           | 5        | 6         | 14        | 24          |
| subordinate    | 1        | 10        | 13        | 42          |
| total          | 6        | 16        | 27        | 33          |

Table 16: Distribution of quantified DPs in the *Ormulum*

If the two tables are compared we see that although quantified DPs in general occur less frequently in the *Ormulum* than non-quantified ones, both types of full object DPs occur in positions to which they can only have scrambled. However, if we estimate the rates of scrambling for quantified and non-quantified DPs by means of the results from Table 15 and Table 16 we get a rate of 22 % for quantified DPs and a rate of 13 % for non-quantified DPs<sup>74</sup>. If we have a look at the rate of Post-Infl non-quantified DPs, which is 24 %, we see that this frequency cannot be accounted for by scrambling as the rate of scrambling is lower here (only 13 %). This implies that in the *Ormulum* there are indeed clauses with underlying OV word order.

Following Kroch & Taylor (2000) we further assume that the rate of underlying OV word order is the same for quantified and non-quantified DPs, which implies that the rate for quantified DPs in preverbal position must be higher than the rate for non-quantified DPs because of the difference in the frequency of occurrence of scrambled quantified DPs as opposed to scrambled non-quantified DPs. This is indeed the case because the rate of quantified DPs in Post-Infl position is 33 % whereas for non-quantified DPs it is 24 %.

Kroch & Taylor further note that the frequencies shown in the tables above allow us to calculate the rate of scrambled quantified DPs independent of the sparse data shown in Table 14 under the assumption that the frequency of underlying OV order does not depend on the type of object, i.e., whether it is quantified or not. It is based on the frequency of preverbal non-quantified DPs which is 24 % (see Table 15) and the rate of scrambling which was 13

<sup>74</sup> As the data from double-object constructions are too sparse (Table 14) I take the quantified/non-quantified DPs in Pre-Infl position as unambiguous evidence for scrambling. For non-quantified DPs this means that from a total of 202 cases 27 cases show scrambling (13 %). For quantified DPs this means that from a total of 55 cases 12 cases show scrambling (22 %).

% . We get 13 % with a corresponding frequency of underlying VO order of 87 % . As regards quantified DPs, as shown in Table 16 the frequency of these DPs in preverbal position is 33 % . According to Kroch & Taylor the difference of 9 % between this figure and the frequency of underlying OV word order must be due to scrambling from a VO verb phrase. Thus, we get an estimated rate of scrambling for quantified DPs of 11 %<sup>75</sup>. This result shows that in the *Ormulum* there is evidence for scrambling of quantified and non-quantified full object DPs and it further shows that there is indeed a small amount of OV word orders left in the *Ormulum*.

## 5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter we have dealt with two types of Object Movement: object shift and scrambling. By looking at the properties of the two processes we have seen that they adhere to different constraints although at first the two operations seem to be very similar. By discussing a number of theories it became clear that the crucial constraint of object shift, which makes it different from scrambling, is that during the former operation objects can move out of the VP only if any phonologically visible category has moved out of the VP before. Otherwise, movement is blocked. It became clear that this is not true for the latter operation: here, objects can move out of the VP regardless of the presence of other categories inside VP. Another difference is, that whereas reordering of arguments is not allowed with object shift it is possible with scrambling. Moreover, we have seen that only in Modern Icelandic full object DPs may undergo object shift, an operation which seems to have been developed rather late in the history of Icelandic and Scandinavian in general as there is evidence from older stages where this type of movement is completely absent. We have further seen that in the Early Middle English texts investigated we also find instances of object movement. According to the criteria discussed in previous sections, we could define the type of object movement which is found there. It became clear that although there is no clear evidence for object shift there is clear evidence for scrambling and pronominal object fronting. Under the assumption that Early Middle English was heavily influenced by Scandinavian, it is not surprising that we did not find cases of object shift in the *Ormulum*. We will see in chapter 7 that there is clear evidence in the text that it adopted syntactic Scandinavian constructions due to this influence. Thus, the absence of object shift is

<sup>75</sup> According to Kroch & Taylor we obtain this rate by taking the the frequency of preverbal quantified DPs that must be derived by scrambling which is 9 % (33 % – 24 %) and the frequency of underlying VO word order which is 86 % (100 % – 14 %). The rate of scrambling is the quotient of the two.

additional support for this hypothesis.

It was further shown that Haider & Rosengren's claim that scrambling can only be found in OV languages is not borne out as there are clear cases in the *Ormulum* and other Early Middle English texts which show an underlying VO word order and scrambling. Additional evidence comes again from older stages of Scandinavian where scrambling was also possible. Hence, there is no correlation between scrambling and OV languages.

We have also discussed the fronting of pronominal objects, and it became clear that in languages with scrambling as well as in the Scandinavian languages which exhibit object shift today, leftward movement of pronominal objects clearly differs from leftward movement which affects full object DPs. We have seen that pronominal objects in Old English, Early Middle English, Middle Norwegian and Old Norse behaved very similar because they were able to move to positions high in the clause and they moved much more frequently than object DPs. During this discussion we have seen that in the older stages of Scandinavian, pronominal objects moved out of the VP as freely as they did in Old English and as they do in Modern German, i.e., there was no constraint which forced them to stay inside VP as is the case today in Modern Scandinavian. Thus, it seems that Scandinavian object movement has undergone a change from fronting objects rather freely in the older stages to fronting objects only in a limited way due to the constraint known as Holmberg's Generalisation. Why this change took place is not clear, it is very likely due to other properties of these languages.

The investigation of Early Middle English texts has shown that pronominal objects moved very frequently and that full object DPs could move but only did so with a low frequency. Moreover, it became clear that this is not due to the type of object, i.e., whether it is quantified or not. In fact, it was shown that both types of objects could undergo scrambling although the quantified DPs moved more frequently than non-quantified objects. Following Kroch & Taylor, it was shown that based on these assumptions it was possible to find a remnant of underlying OV order in the texts. Thus, we have evidence that the texts clearly exhibit OV as well as VO base orders.

## CHAPTER 6: V2 AND CLITICISATION OF SUBJECT PRONOUNS

### 6.1 Introduction

One of the most striking similarities between the Modern Germanic languages (with the exception of Modern English) is the V2 phenomenon, which describes the fact that (at least) in main clauses the finite verb always appears in second position. The movement of the finite verb to the second position implies that a constituent moves to the clause-initial position. This fronting operation where any constituent may appear in first position is called topicalisation. The languages which show the V2 phenomenon are German, Dutch, Swiss German, West Flemish, Yiddish, Danish, Modern Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Faroese. The only exception here, as mentioned above, is Modern English because it only shows V2 in limited contexts. Rizzi (1990) called this special type of V2 "residual V2" because in Old English and Middle English V2 occurred in more contexts than in Modern English and thus he assumes that in the history of English there is a development from a V2 grammar (Old English) to a grammar with only residues of V2 (Modern English). Kiparsky (1995) argues, however, that the type of V2 which occurs in Modern English should be taken as the initial point of the development of the V2 phenomenon in a language rather than the final point:

"Residual verb second" ... is then the original core of the verb-second system. The Modern Germanic verb-second languages have extended the Spec-C position to Topics, and consequently generalised V-to-C° movement (Kiparsky 1995: 141).

Moreover, most of the languages which allow V2 in main clauses also show the V2 phenomenon in embedded clauses. Modern Icelandic and Yiddish allow embedded V2 in clauses with a complementiser in all contexts whereas most of the other languages which allow V2 in main clauses exhibit V2 in embedded clauses in a restricted context (under bridge verbs)<sup>76</sup>. That is why Vikner calls the former type "general embedded V2" and the latter type "limited embedded V2" (Vikner 1995: 65).

In chapter 3, section 3.4, Kroch & Taylor's (1997) study of the behaviour of subject pronouns in Middle English was briefly discussed. They found evidence that with respect to V2 the dialects of Middle English behave differently. They claim that Northern texts exhibit a

<sup>76</sup> In Modern Icelandic and Yiddish there is evidence for V°-to-I° movement whereas for the other Germanic V2 languages this is debatable. This difference has been taken to explain why Icelandic and Yiddish allow embedded V2 with a complementiser as opposed to the other V2 languages which do not allow embedded V2 with a complementiser (for restrictions on embedded V2 in Modern Icelandic see Sigurðsson 1989).

Scandinavian type of V2 (which they call CP–V2) whereas the Southern texts exhibit the Old English type of V2 (IP–V2) and argue that this difference is due to Scandinavian influence. As the goal of this thesis is to show that contact with Scandinavian resulted in the change from OV to VO, it is necessary to show what other Scandinavian characteristics can be found in Early Middle English texts which were written in areas where Scandinavian settlement was dense. Therefore, in this chapter we will deal with the question whether the *Ormulum* shows the Scandinavian type of V2<sup>77</sup> or the Old English type of V2. We will take the position of subject pronouns as a diagnostic, i.e., whether the finite verb always occurs in second position regardless of the status of subject or whether subject pronouns occur in front of the finite verb and thus trigger V3 orders as in Old English.

The chapter is organised as follows: In 6.2 the V2 phenomenon in the Modern Germanic languages will be described based on the analyses of den Besten (1983, 1985) and Thiersch (1978). Section 6.3 deals with V2 in Old English and it will become clear that this kind of V2 differs from the Modern Germanic type discussed in 6.2. In section 6.3.2 three analyses of V2 in Old English (van Kemenade, 1987; Cardinaletti & Roberts, 1991; Kroch & Taylor, 1997) will be discussed to show which of them accounts best for the phenomenon. In 6.4 we will focus on the dialectal differences between Southern and Northern Early Middle English texts with respect to the V2 phenomena. The discussion is based on the study of Kroch & Taylor (1997). Section 6.5 deals with what type of V2 is found in the *Ormulum* and what this finding implies for the assumption that contact with the Scandinavians had a strong influence on the syntax of English. In section 6.6 conclusions will be drawn.

## 6.2 The V2 phenomenon in the Germanic languages

As noted above, in the Modern Germanic languages (except English) the finite verb obligatorily occurs in clause–second position in main clauses, i.e., the finite verb immediately follows the clause–initial constituent, whatever this constituent is<sup>78</sup>: it can be a subject as in

77 We have to distinguish here between Modern Icelandic and the other Scandinavian languages like Danish, Swedish, etc. because, as noted above, they differ in their V2 syntax.

78 Fuss (1998) notes, however, that some constituents cannot occupy the clause–initial position (in German), e.g. relative clauses and unstressed object pronouns (on the latter, see Travis 1984, Zwart 1997):

- (i) \*Der das entscheidende Tor geschossen hat, hat der Trainer den Spieler gelobt.  
Who that decisive goal made has, has the trainer the player praised.
- (ii) Das Zebra verspeist das Cous–Cous.  
The zebra consumes the cous–cous.
- (iii) \*Es (das Cous–Cous) verspeist das Zebra.  
It (the cous–cous) consumes the zebra.

(1), an object as in (2), a PP as in (3), an adverbial as in (4) or a wh–phrase as in (5):

(1) Subject–Vfin

- Ge. a. *Thomas* **hat** das Buch gelesen.  
 Da. b. *Thomas* **har** denne bog læst.  
 Du. c. *Thomas* **heeft** dit boek gelezen.  
 En. d. *Thomas* **has** read the book.

(2) Object–Vfin

- Ge. a. *Dieses Buch* **hat** Thomas gelesen.  
 Da. b. *Denne bog* **har** Thomas læst.  
 Du. c. *Dit boek* **heeft** Thomas gelezen.  
 En. d. *\*This book* **has** Thomas read.

(3) PP–Vfin

- Ge. a. *Für dieses Buch* **hat** Thomas bezahlt.  
 Da. b. *For denne bog* **har** Thomas betalt.  
 Du. c. *Voor dit boek* **heeft** Thomas betaald.  
 En. d. *\*For this book* **has** Thomas paid.

(4) Adv–Vfin

- Ge. a. *Gestern* **hat** Thomas das Buch gelesen.  
 Da. b. *I gar* **har** Thomas denne bog læst.  
 Du. c. *Gisteren* **heeft** Thomas det boek gelezen.  
 En. d. *\*Yesterday* **has** Thomas read this book.

(5) Wh–Vfin

- Ge. a. *Was* **hat** Thomas gelesen?  
 Da. b. *Hvad* **har** Thomas læst?  
 Du. c. *Wat* **heeft** Thomas gelezen?  
 En. d. *What* **has** Thomas read?

The examples above show that Modern English does not adhere to the Germanic V2 pattern, only (1) d. where a subject precedes the finite verb and (5) d. where a wh–phrase precedes the finite verb are grammatical. This is further supported by the examples in (6) which show that V3 orders are not possible in German, Danish and Dutch but that they are grammatical in Modern English:

## (6) V3 order

Ge. a. \*Gestern Thomas **hat** dieses Buch gelesen.

Da. b. \*I gar Thomas **har** denne bog læst.

Du. c. \*Gisteren Thomas **heeft** dit boek gelezen.

En. d. Yesterday Thomas **read** this book.

Under the standard assumption, this type of V2 language shows an asymmetry between main clauses and embedded clauses with respect to the position of the finite verb. In languages like German or Danish, in embedded clauses with a complementiser the finite verb cannot occur in second position, because this position is occupied by the complementiser:

(7) Ge. a. Er sagt, **daß** die Kinder diesen Film gesehen **haben**.

He says **that** the children this film seen **have**.

b. Diesen Film **haben** die Kinder gesehen.

This film **have** the children seen.

(Vikner 1995: 43)

(8) Da. a. Han siger **at** børnene **har** set denne film.

He says **that** children—the **have** seen this film.

b. Denne film **har** børnene set.

This film **have** children—the seen.

(Vikner 1995: 43)

According to den Besten (1983, 1985) and Thiersch (1978) the finite verb moves to C° in main clauses but it cannot do so in embedded clauses because this position is already filled by the complementiser. Under the assumption that clauses also consist of functional categories which may serve as landing sites for lexical categories (Chomsky 1986), the structure of a clause includes the heads I° and C° with its maximal projections IP and CP. This implies that there are two different positions in front of the subject which are filled by the finite verb in C° and the initial constituent in Spec,CP. Following Travis' (1984) Head Movement Constraint, heads move in a successive–cyclic fashion, i.e., they cannot skip over intervening heads. Therefore, it is assumed that in a main clause with V2 order, the finite verb first moves from its base position in VP as far as I° (which contains inflection) and then further up to C°. Under these assumptions, the following structure for main clauses with V2 is suggested ((9) a. illustrates the structure of SOV languages with clause–final Infl as in Dutch and German, (9) b. illustrates the structure of SVO languages with clause–medial Infl as e.g. in Danish):

- (9) a. [Spec,CP [C' [ C° [I° Vfin<sub>i</sub>+ I]<sub>j</sub>] [IP [I' [VP ...t<sub>i</sub>] t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]  
 b. [Spec,CP [C' [ C° [I° Vfin<sub>i</sub>+ I]<sub>j</sub>][IP [I' t<sub>j</sub> [VP t<sub>i</sub>... ] ]]]]

The analysis of V2 as verb movement to C° is further supported if we have a look at conditional clauses. In general, there are two versions available in a V2 language, one with a complementiser as in (10) and one with a finite verb in front of the subject as in (11):

- (10) Ge. a. **Wenn** ich mehr Zeit gehabt hätte, ...  
 Da. b. **Hvis** jeg havde haft mere tid, ...  
 En. c. **If** I had had more time, ...

- (11) Ge. a. **Hätte** ich mehr Zeit gehabt, ...  
 Da. b. **Havde** jeg haft mere tid, ...  
 En. c. **Had** I had more time, ...

... hätte ich mehr Bücher gelesen.  
 ... ville jeg have læst flere bøger.  
 ... I would have read more books.  
 (Vikner 1995: 43)

If the position of the complementiser in the examples in (10) is the same as the position of the finite verb in the examples in (11) we can account for why examples like the ones in (12) are ungrammatical: both elements cannot occupy the same position and therefore both the finite verb and the complementiser cannot precede the subject. These examples further show that this type of clause also requires V2 in Modern English:

- (12) Ge. a. \***Wenn hätte** ich mehr Zeit gehabt, ...  
 Da. b. \***Hvis havde** jeg haft mere tid, ...  
 En. c. \***If had** I had more time, ...  
 (Vikner 1995: 43)

Vikner (1995) notes that the same can be illustrated for embedded clauses of the *as if*-type: the examples in (13) and (14) illustrate that the complementiser has the same position as the finite verb when the complementiser is absent:

- (13) Ge. Sie schaute ihn an, ...  
 She looked him at, ...  
 a. ... als **ob** er ein großes Verbrechen begangen **hätte**.  
 ... as **if** he a big crime committed **had**.

- b. ... als **hätte** er ein großes Verbrechen begangen.  
 ... as **had** he a big crime committed.  
 (Vikner 1995: 44)

As in the conditional clauses above, both the complementiser and the finite verb cannot occur in front of the subject:

- (14) Ge. \*... als **ob hätte** er ein großes Verbrechen begangen.  
 ... as **if had** he a big crime committed.  
 (Vikner 1995: 44)

As noted above, most of the V2 languages show an asymmetry between main clauses and embedded clauses, i.e., the finite verb must occur in second position in main clauses but cannot occur in second position in embedded clauses with a complementiser. However, in Danish and German, V2 may occur when the embedded clause is the complement of so called "bridge verbs"<sup>79</sup>. The examples in (15) and (16) show that the verbs allow embedded clauses both with and without V2:

- (15) Ge. a. Watson behauptete, *daß* Moriarty nur das Geld gestohlen **hatte**.  
 Watson claimed *that* Moriarty only the money stolen **had**.  
 Da. b. Watson påstod *at* Moriarty kun **havde** stjålet pengene.  
 Watson claimed *that* Moriarty only **had** stolen money—the.  
 (Vikner 1995: 71)
- (16) Ge. a. Watson behauptete, dieses Geld **habe** Moriarty gestohlen.  
 Watson claimed this money **had** Moriarty stolen.  
 Da. b. Watson påstod *at* disse penge **havde** Moriarty stjålet.  
 Watson claimed that this money **had** Moriarty stolen.  
 (Vikner 1995: 71)

Note that there is a contrast here between German and Danish: in German, V2 under bridge verbs is only possible when the embedded clause does not contain a complementiser. In Danish, on the other hand, V2 under bridge verbs is possible after a complementiser ((16) b.)). The examples further show that in these cases the finite verb has moved out of the VP to a higher functional head.

Although embedded V2 is allowed under bridge verbs in German and Danish, it is not allowed in certain embedded clauses like indirect questions:

<sup>79</sup> These kinds of verbs allow extraction from their sentential complement. These verbs are e.g. Ge. "entscheiden" (decide), "hoffen" (hope), "meinen" (mean), "sehen" (see). For a list of these verbs, see Vikner 1995: 70ff.

- (17) a. \*Ich weiss nicht, wo gestern **hat** die Kuh gestanden.  
I don't know where yesterday **has** the cow stood.
- b. \*Jeg ved ikke hvor i går **har** koen stået.  
I don't know where yesterday **has** the cow stood.  
(Vikner 1995: 74)

Modern Icelandic and Yiddish differ from German and the other Scandinavian languages in that we regularly find V2 in embedded clauses after a complementiser independently of the type of matrix verb (general embedded V2). As these two languages do not show an asymmetry of the type illustrated above, they are also called "symmetric V2 languages"<sup>80</sup>. The difference between languages which allow limited embedded V2 and languages which allow general embedded V2 is illustrated in (18) and (19):

- (18) Ic. a. Jón efast um að á morgun **fari** María snemma á fætur.  
Yi. b. Jonas tsveyfelt az morgen **vet** Miriam fri oyfshteyn.  
Ge. c. \*Johan bezweifelt, morgen **wird** Maria früh aufstehen.  
Da. d. \*Johan tvivler på at i morgen **står** Maria tidligt op.  
John doubts (on) (that) tomorrow **will** Mary get up early.  
(Vikner 1995: 72)
- (19) Ic. a. Jón harmar að þessa bók **skuli** ég hafa lesið.  
Yi. b. Jonas bedoyert az dos bukh **hob** ikh geleyent.  
Ge. c. \*Johan bedauert das Buch **habe** ich gelesen.  
Da. d. \*Johan beklager at denne bog **har** jeg læst.  
John regrets (that) this book **have** I read.  
(Vikner 1995: 72)

From the examples above it becomes clear that there are differences between the V2 languages and it should be noted here that the distinction between asymmetric vs. symmetric V2 languages is important here: It is used to describe the different position of the finite verb in main and embedded clauses. This observation has also been called the root/embedded asymmetry. Thus, Modern German is asymmetric because in main clauses the finite verb is in C° but in embedded clauses the finite verb is generally in V°.

<sup>80</sup> The claim that these languages are symmetric with respect to V2 is debatable; Vikner (1995) notes that IP–V2 languages do not allow V2 word order as freely in embedded clauses as in main clauses, e.g. it is not allowed in embedded object wh–questions (see also van Kemenade 1997):

- (i) Ic. \* Helgi hefur keypt bók, [ OP sem trúlega **hefur** Jón ekki lesið ].  
Helgi has bought a book that probably **has** Jón not read.  
(Vikner 1995: 79)
- (ii) Yi. \* Der yid [ vos in Boston **hobn** mir gezen] is a groyser lamdn.  
The man that in Boston **have** we seen is a great scholar.  
(Vikner 1995: 79)

Modern Icelandic are symmetric because the finite verb seems to appear in the same position in main and embedded clauses. Due to this observation, many theories try to analyse embedded V2 in the same way as V2 in main clauses, i.e., efforts are made here to generalise as much as possible the V2 phenomenon in both types of clauses. Thus, the motivation to analyse embedded V2 with a CP–recursion analysis (e.g. Vikner, 1995) is that the position of the finite verb remains  $C^\circ$  in main as well as in embedded clauses, i.e., in the latter type of clause the complementiser is in the higher  $C^\circ$  of the construction. Other analyses also try to uniformly account for the V2 phenomenon in both types of clauses in that they assume that V2 takes place in IP, i.e., the finite verb is in  $I^\circ$  and the preverbal XP in Spec,IP (e.g. Iatridou & Kroch, 1992). A further analysis (e.g. Cardinaletti & Roberts, 1991), which will be discussed below, claims that there is another functional projection level ZP (Agr1P) which is located between CP and IP. Whenever the finite verb occurs in second position it is in  $Z^\circ$  (Agr1 $^\circ$ ) and the preverbal XP in Spec,ZP (Spec,Agr1P). All three analyses have in common that they try to give a uniform explanation for V2 in main and embedded clauses<sup>81</sup>. With respect to the analysis of the V2 pattern found in Scandinavian languages I will follow here Vikner by assuming that embedded V2 has to be analysed as CP–recursion. Although such a uniform explanation seems to be justified from a theoretical point of view, I would like to point out that it is not clear at all if both phenomena are due to one and the same parameter value, i.e., it could well be claimed that acquiring main clause V2 is completely independent from acquiring embedded V2.

To sum up, according to the analyses mentioned above all the languages which show the V2 phenomenon can be subdivided into mainly three classes: languages like Modern German which show a V2 asymmetry (embedded V2 only in limited contexts), languages like Modern Icelandic which show a V2 symmetry (embedded V2 in a broader range of contexts) and languages like Modern English which show only "residual" V2, i.e., the finite verb is in second position only in questions and in clauses with topicalised negative elements<sup>82</sup>. The following table serves to illustrate these differences:

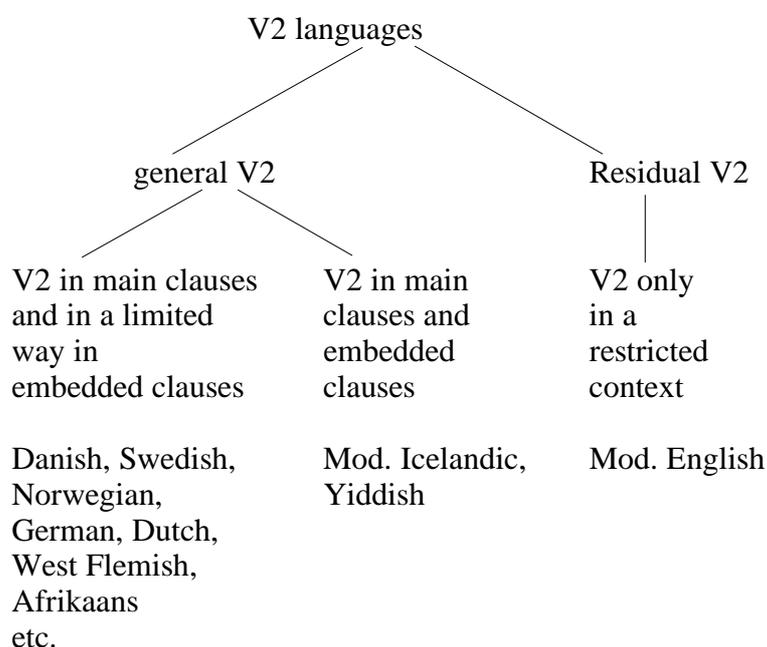
81 There are also theories (e.g. Travis, 1984, 1991; Zwart, 1991) which claim that V2 takes place at CP only if there is a non–subject topic. Thus, if there is a subject in clause–initial position in a V2 language like German, the finite verb moves only as far as  $I^\circ$  and the subject is in Spec,IP. This type of theory is different from the others explained here in that they could be called asymmetric as they assume different positions for subjects/non–subjects in V2 clauses.

82 Vikner (1995) notes, however, that embedded V2 is also possible in Modern English:

- (i) She has often said [ that under no circumstances **would** ] she vote for Quayle.  
(Vikner 1995: 84)

He notes that this is possible only with preposed negative elements in the embedded clause (note that there has to be a complementiser). He takes examples like this to be evidence for a CP–recursion structure.

## (20) Typological variants of V2 in the Germanic languages



### 6.3 The V2 phenomenon in Old English

In the preceding section it became clear that the Modern Germanic languages exhibit different types of V2, e.g., in some languages V2 only occurs in main clauses whereas in other languages V2 order occurs in main clauses and embedded clauses. It also became clear that Modern English does not belong to either of these groups because it allows V2 only in a very restricted set of contexts. The question we will deal with now is if English always had this status or if "residual" V2 developed from a language which in former times behaved exactly like the Scandinavian languages<sup>83</sup>. In this section we will discuss the V2 phenomenon in Old English. First, we will look at some data before we will discuss some analyses.

#### 6.3.1 The data

According to the standard view, the underlying order in Old English is OV. In main clauses the finite verb moves from its base position via  $I^{\circ}$  to  $C^{\circ}$ , i.e., there are clauses which clearly exhibit V2 order, because the finite verb immediately follows any clause-initial constituent just like in the Germanic languages illustrated above. The examples below show V2 in main clauses in Old English:

<sup>83</sup> But see Kiparsky (1995) and Fuss (1998) for a different point of view.

## (21) full subject DP–Vfin

- a. *Þæt cild is* tuwa acenned.  
*That child is* twice born.  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 67)
- b. *Se scamfæsta hæfð* genoh on þæm to his betrunge þæt his lareow hiene...  
*The modest man has* enough in that for his betterment that his teacher him...  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 17)

## (22) full object DP–Vfin

- a. *Eall þis aredað* se reccere swiðe ryhte.  
*All this arranges* the ruler very rightly.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 17)
- b. *Swelcum ingeþonce gerist* þæt...  
*Such a disposition suits* that...  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 17)

## (23) PP–Vfin

- a. *On þæs sacerdes hrægle wæs* toeacan golde & iacincte & purpuran...  
*On the priest's garment was* in addition to gold and jacinth and purple...  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 17)
- b. *On twam þingum hæfde* God þæs mannes sawle gegodod.  
*In two things had* God the man's soul endowed.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 17)

## (24) Adverb–Vfin

- a. *Þy ilcan geare drehton* þa hergas on East englum...  
*The same year harried* the armies in East England...  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 18)
- b. *Þonne beoð* eowere eagan geopenede.  
*Then are* your eyes opened.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 19)

## (25) Wh–Vfin

- a. *Hwæt sægest* þu yrþlincg? *Hu begæst* þu weorc þin?  
*What say* you ploughman? *How do* you work your?  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 111)
- b. *Hwi wolde* God swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan?  
*Why wanted* God such small thing him deny?  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 112)

There is evidence in Old English texts that V2 in embedded clauses was also possible but only in a limited way, i.e., the finite verb could occur in second position if the main verb was a bridge verb:

- (26) Gregorius se trahtnere cwæð þæt *forði* **wolde** drihten getrahtnian  
Gregory the interpreter said that *therefore* **wanted** God interpret

þurh hine sylfne þæt bigspel ðe ...  
through himself the parable that ...

(van Kemenade 1997:333)

Van Kemenade (1997) notes that embedded V2 also occurs in impersonal passive constructions or in clauses with experiencer dative 'subjects'. These possibilities are illustrated below:

- (27) ... þæt *eallum folce* **sy** gedemed beforan ðe.  
... that *all people*(DAT.SG) **be**(SG) judged before thee.

(van Kemenade 1997: 335)

- (28) ... þonne ælce dæge beoð manega acennede þurh hys mihte  
... when each day are (PL.) many (NOM.PL.) given–birth through his power

on woruld.

on world.

(van Kemenade 1997: 335)

Kroch & Taylor (1997) point out that Modern Icelandic and Yiddish examples of topicalisation in embedded clauses are similarly limited to contexts where the subject is missing or where it appears in a VP–internal position. In section 6.3.2.3 we will come back to the analysis of these constructions.

As shown above, Old English clearly exhibited the V2 phenomenon, in main clauses and, in a limited context, in embedded clauses. There are, however, deviations from this pattern which are not found in the other V2 languages. In clauses, where the first constituent is a non–subject the finite verb occurs in second position as illustrated above. For the reader's convenience one of the V2 examples is repeated here ((24) b.)):

- (29) *On twam þingum* **hæfde** God þæs mannes sawle gegodod.

*In two things* **had** God the man's soul endowed.

(van Kemenade 1987: 17)

The order V<sub>fin</sub>–full subject DP results from what is called subject–verb inversion. However, when the subject is a pronoun subject–verb inversion does not take place. The pronominal subject precedes the finite verb which results in V3 orders. This is illustrated below:

- (30) *Þas þing we **habbaþ** be him gewritene.*  
 These things *we* **have** about him written.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 110)
- (31) *Forþon we **sceolan** mid ealle mod & mægene to Gode gecyrran.*  
 Therefore *we* **shall** with all mind and power to God turn.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 110)
- (32) *Be þæm we **magon** suiðe swutule oncnawan þæt...*  
 By that *we* **may** very clearly perceive that...  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 111)
- (33) *Æfter his gebede he ahof þæt cild up...*  
 After his prayer *he* **lifted** the child up...  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 110)

If the examples (22) b., (23) b. ((29)), (24) a. and b. are compared with the examples in (30) to (33) we see that pronominal subjects behave differently from full subject DPs with respect to the position of the finite verb. But it is not only pronominal subjects which immediately precede the finite verb in these clauses, pronominal objects may also occur in this position:

- (34) *God *him* **worhte** þa reaf of fellum.*  
 God *them* **wrought** then garments of skins.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 114)
- (35) *Fela spella *him* **sædon** þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande...*  
 Many stories *him* **told** the Permians both of their own country.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 114)

Examples (34) and (35) show that a pronominal object may also immediately precede the finite verb which also results in V3 orders (see chapter 5 on object movement). Moreover, it should be noted that there are other cases where V3 orders occur, e.g., the possibility that two XPs precede the finite verb. As the focus of this chapter is the nature of pronominal subjects and V2, these cases will not be discussed here. For a discussion of these cases see a.o. Fuss (1998), Haerberli (1999).

Although the pronominal subject always precedes the finite verb in clauses like (30) to (33) it never does in clauses where the first constituent is 1) a *wh*–element, 2) the negative

element *ne*, 3) the adverb *þa*. This is illustrated in the examples below<sup>84</sup>:

(36) wh–element

- a. Hwi **sceole** *we* opres mannes niman?  
 Why **should** *we* other man's take?  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 204)
- b. Hu **lomp** *eow* on lade?  
 How **happened** *you* on journey?  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 198)

(37) negation *ne*

- a. Ne **mæg** *ic* her leng wesan.  
 Not **can** *I* here longer be.  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 198)
- b. Ne **sceal** *he* noht unalyfedes don.  
 Not **shall** *he* nothing unlawful do.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 111)

(38) adverb *þa*

- a. Ða **foron** *hie* mid þrim scipum ut.  
 Then **sailed** *they* with three ships out.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 112)
- b. Ða **began** *he* to modigenne.  
 Then **began** *he* to grow proud.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 112)

In embedded clauses, the position of subject (and object) pronouns is not as variable as in main clauses, i.e., they always have to immediately follow the complementiser *þæt*:

- (39) ...*þæt* *hi* mihton swa bealdlice Godes geleafan bodian.  
 ...*that* *they* could so boldly God's faith preach.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 59)
- (40) ...*þæt* *he* Saul ne dorste ofslean.  
 ...*that* *he* Saul not dared murder.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 59)

As shown above, in Old English the V2 pattern is violated whenever the subject in the clause is a pronoun because it always precedes the finite verb. Subject–verb inversion and

<sup>84</sup> The same applies to pronominal objects (see chapter 6). It should be noted that there are some exceptions, namely clauses in which the pronoun follows the finite verb although the clause–initial element is neither a wh–phrase, *þa* or the negation *ne* (see Fuss' talk given at Console 8).

thus V2 only occurs when the subject is not a pronoun but a full subject DP. To sum up, the distribution of subject pronouns is schematically given in (41):

(41) Distribution of subject pronouns

In main clauses:

a. XP – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub>...

\*XP – V<sub>fin</sub> – subject pronoun...

b. wh/ne/þa/þonne – V<sub>fin</sub> – subject pronoun...

\*wh/ne/þa/þonne – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub>...

In embedded clauses:

c. Complementiser – subject pronoun – ...

\*Subject pronoun – complementiser – ...

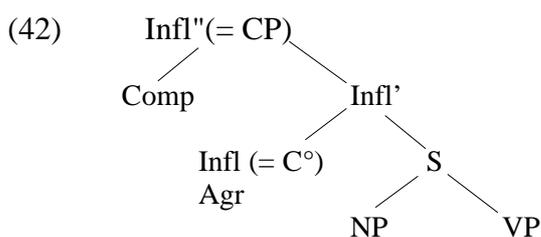
In the following section, we will discuss some analyses of V2 in Old English and the status of pronominal subjects.

### 6.3.2 The analyses of the Old English V2 pattern

As noted above, we will focus on three studies which discuss the V2 phenomenon in Old English and the status of subject pronouns. The reason why these three studies were chosen is to give an overview of different theoretical approaches which serve as the basis for further explanations of the same phenomenon in Middle English. We will start out with van Kemenade's (1987) analysis. In section 6.3.2.2 we will deal with the analysis of Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and in section 6.3.2.3 with the analysis of Kroch & Taylor (1997) to see how they account for the phenomena described above.

#### 6.3.2.1 Subject clitics and V2 (van Kemenade, 1987)

Van Kemenade (1987) claims that standard explanations of V2 in languages like German and Dutch can be mainly carried over to V2 in Old English. By following Platzack (1983) and Koopman (1984), she assumes that in a V2 language the position of the Infl node is in Comp and that the trigger for the finite verb to move to a higher position is the condition that Infl be lexicalised by either the finite verb or the complementiser. In this system, Comp is the position for topicalised phrases. Van Kemenade claims that topicalisation and V2 are independent processes, i.e., movement of the finite verb to clause-second position is obligatory, whereas the fronting of a topicalised element is optional and happens for pragmatic/stylistic reasons. Based on these assumptions, she proposes the following structure for Old English clauses:



On the basis of Platzack (1983) and Koopman (1984) who define the obligatoriness of lexicalised Infl in terms of case theory, Infl/C° is lexicalised obligatorily because nominative case is assigned only by a lexical head. Thus, it is lexicalised either by the finite verb or by a complementiser. Van Kemenade further claims that the position of the finite verb and the complementiser has properties which make it eligible for cliticisation of weak subject pronouns. She illustrates this with the following examples:

- (43) a. **Dat** gisteren **hij** Jan het boek heeft gegeven ...  
**That** yesterday **he** Jan the book has given ...
- b. **Dat–ie** gisteren Jan het boek heeft gegeven ...
- c. \***Dat** gisteren **ie** Jan het boek heeft gegeven ...  
 (van Kemenade: 1987: 50)

These examples show that the non-clitic subject pronoun *hij* "he" can be separated from Comp whereas the clitic subject pronoun *ie* "he" has to be adjacent to *dat* "that". According to van Kemenade, this is evidence that *ie* is cliticised onto Comp (it is also phonologically reduced and assimilated to Comp). Following Borer (1983) and Aoun (1985), van Kemenade claims that clitic pronouns are manifestations of case properties which means that they absorb the relevant case features of their governing head, and thus they have to be associated with their case–assigner.

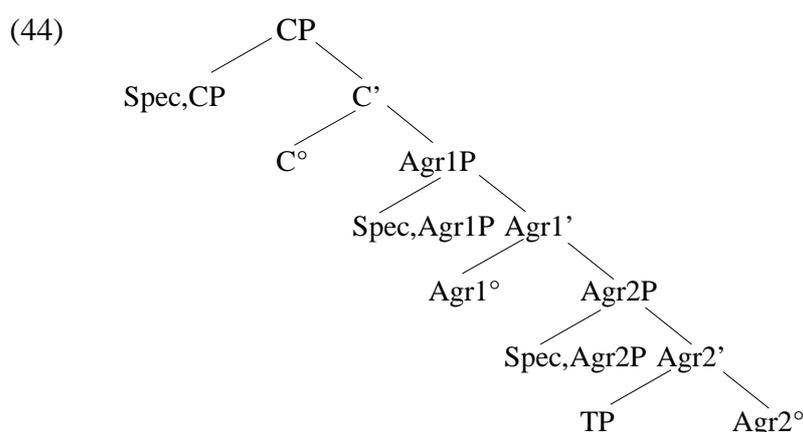
Van Kemenade carries over these observations to Old English. She assumes that not only in V2 orders but also in V3 orders the finite verb is in Infl/C°. She derives the order XP – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub> by cliticisation of the pronominal subject to the left of Infl/C°. As shown above, however, in V2 clauses with *wh/ne/pa/ponne* as first constituent, subject clitics appear on the right of the finite verb whereas they appear on the left of the finite verb in the other contexts. She accounts for this difference by assuming that when an operator moves to Comp (*wh/ne/pa/ponne*), Comp and Infl behave as one constituent (they are coindexed with each other). In these cases, cliticisation to the left of the finite verb is blocked and clitics can only cliticise to the right of Infl.



speak against the structural similarities between these languages as assumed by van Kemenade. Therefore, the analysis does not account for comparative differences between V2 in Old English and V2 in the modern V2 languages in a very attractive way because it has to assume a number of additional rules to be able to explain the Old English data.

### 6.3.2.2 AgrP–Recursion (Cardinaletti & Roberts, 1991)

The motivation for Cardinaletti & Roberts' analysis of Old English is to give a consistent explanation for the second position of verbs and clitics in the Germanic and earlier Romance languages. By following Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991) they propose a split–Infl structure with an additional functional projection, Agr1P, between CP and Agr2P (highest projection of the Infl complex). By assumption, Agr1P and Agr2P instantiate different values of the head–parameter: Agr1P is head–initial whereas Agr2P is head–final in West Germanic. The structure Cardinaletti & Roberts suggest for Old English is shown below:



Agr1° is the head which assigns nominative case whereas Agr2° contains verbal inflection. Cardinaletti & Roberts assume that the presence of Agr1P in a system depends on whether a language has or does not have a morphological case–system. Therefore, languages may vary with respect to how nominative case is assigned: either under government or via Spec–head agreement. Moreover, they claim that it is possible in a language to have both options. Under these assumptions, there are different subject positions available: In languages where nominative case is assigned only under government of Agr1°, the subject always has to occur in Spec,Agr2P. In languages, on the other hand, where nominative case is assigned under Spec–head agreement, the subject has to be in Spec,Agr1P. And finally, languages which allow both options, have two subject positions available, either Spec,Agr1P or Spec,Agr2P.

Based on the assumptions explained above, Cardinaletti & Roberts propose an analysis for languages which allow general embedded V2 like Yiddish or Modern Icelandic. They claim that in these languages V2 orders are not generated in the C-system but in the Agr-system. Thus, the position of the topicalised XP is Spec,Agr1P and the position of the subject is Spec,Agr2P (in Modern Icelandic nominative case is only assigned under government). This leads to an asymmetry between subject-initial clauses and clauses with a topicalised XP: in the former case the subject occurs in Spec,Agr2P and the finite verb in Agr2°; in the latter case the topicalised XP moves up to Spec,Agr1P and the finite verb occurs in Agr1°. Verb movement occurs only in a restricted set of contexts like questions, imperatives and conditional clauses which all involve an operator in Spec,CP. Languages like Mainland Scandinavian, German and Dutch and also Old French are analysed as CP-V2 languages.

Cardinaletti & Roberts further assume that the position of clitics in their system is Agr1° in order to account for so called Wackernagel effects. They claim that clitics occur in Agr1° because they are then in a Spec-head agreement configuration with Spec,Agr1P which is necessary for nominative case-assignment. They account for the V3 orders in Old English by assuming that the finite verb moves to Agr1° where it forms a complex head with the clitic and the specifier of Agr1P serves as the position for topicalised XPs (just like Modern Icelandic). With respect to the cases where clitics cannot occur to the left of the finite verb (clause-initial *wh/ne/þa/þonne*), they claim that the finite verb directly moves to C° by skipping Agr1°. According to their analysis the main clauses described above ((25) and (35)) have the following structures:

- (46) a. Fela spella *him sædon* þa Beormas...  
 Many stories *him told* the Permians...
- b. Hwæt *sægest þu*, yrþlincg?  
 What *say you* ploughman?
- (47) a. [Agr1P Top [Agr1' [Agr1° cl + Vfin] [Agr2P Subj. [Agr2' [TP ...] [Agr2° t]]]]
- b. [CP *wh/ne/þa/þonne*[C' [C° Vfin] [Agr1P [Agr1' [Agr1° cl [Agr2P Subj.  
 [Agr2' [TP ...] [Agr2° t ]]]]]]

According to Cardinaletti & Roberts Old English has the same structure as Modern Icelandic: the C-system is only activated when the clause contains an operator (*wh/ne/þa/þonne*) which moves up to Spec, CP. Then the finite verb moves as far as C°. Other V2 orders, however, are generated in the Agr-system. The structure in (47) b. also presents clitic placement in the

modern Germanic languages.

Cardinaletti & Roberts' analysis tries to account for the V2 phenomenon and clitic placement not only in the Germanic languages but also in the Romance languages. By assuming that there is another projection above Agr2P (IP), they can explain clitic positions in clauses which could not be explained by an analysis like van Kemenade's. As they motivate the existence of Agr1P (and Agr2P) through nominative case-assignment they are able to explain the V2 patterns as well as the occurrence of phonetically empty pronouns (*pro*). Moreover, by claiming that there is a functional head (Agr1°) for clitics and a functional head with inflectional morphology (Agr2°), they can explain the attested V3 orders with the additional assumption that clitics can occur either to the right or to the left of the finite verb (or C°) dependent on the context. Under their assumptions they can also explain why clitics sometimes occur non-adjacent to the finite verb and why clitics may also occur after the subject. As their system allows other specifier and adjunction positions to the left of Agr1° they can further explain V3 orders with two XPs in front of the finite verb. Although the analysis of Cardinaletti & Roberts seems to do a better job than van Kemenade's analysis, there are some problems the theory faces which shall be discussed in the following.

The most striking problem with the analysis of Cardinaletti & Roberts is that they analyse Old English exactly as Modern Icelandic. However, Modern Icelandic shows general embedded V2 which we would expect to find in Old English as well if both languages function the same way. But this is not the case as demonstrated above. Although Old English allows V2 in embedded clauses, it does so in a limited context.

As shown above, Cardinaletti & Roberts also assume that in clauses with an operator the finite verb skips Agr1° and directly moves up to C°. They motivate the regular violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) by assuming a further restriction, the Tobler–Mussafia law, which says that in Romance languages a clitic must not appear in initial position. For this reason, a finite verb only skips Agr1° if the movement operations would otherwise lead to a structure where the clitic is in first position: [Agr1° cl + V<sub>fin</sub>]. This is what happens in (48):

- (48) **Voit** *le* li rois.  
**Sees** *him* the king.  
 (Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991: 21)

Fuss (1998) notes that in Old English the skipping of Agr1° is not motivated in contexts where there is an operator in clause-initial position which means that in this case the Tobler–

Mussafia law cannot serve here to justify the violation of the HMC. Fuss further notes that this problem is not explained by the analysis. He also claims that the assumption that (object) clitics always occupy a fixed position is problematic. As shown by van Kemenade (1987) (object) clitics can appear clause-initial, in second or third position or adjacent to the main verb within the VP in clauses with an auxiliary. Therefore, if one accepts Cardinaletti & Roberts' analysis, it has to be assumed that the other constituents in the clause move to different positions<sup>85</sup>. This leads however, as Fuss points out, to the problem that other positions between Agr1° and C° have to be created<sup>86</sup>. Therefore, Fuss proposes two alternative explanations: either it is assumed that in Old English there were also a number of strong pronouns which need not occur in Agr1°. On the other hand, a systematic analysis of clitic positions in Old English could be developed on the basis of the assumption that clitic placement depends on the distribution of certain features like Agr or Case in the structure.

The analysis of Roberts (1996) should also be briefly mentioned here because it tries to account for the patterns found in Old English by assuming that the V2 phenomenon takes place in the C-system. Roberts accounts for the clitic – verb/verb – clitic alternation (see examples (45) a. and b. above) in Old English by adopting the split-Comp structure proposed by Rizzi (1995) which is given below:

(49) ForceP (TopicP) (FocusP) (TopicP) FinitenessP TP

For his analysis of Old English Roberts mainly concentrates on the division of C into ForceP (the category which marks clause type) and FinP (the category which marks finiteness). Following Rivero (1997) he assumes that there are C-oriented and I-oriented clitics. The former type of clitics which gravitate to the C-system are often subject to second-position effects. The latter type of clitics are not attracted to second-position but are attracted to the finite verb. The West Germanic clitics are C-oriented while clitics of the Modern Romance languages are I-oriented.

Roberts assumes that Old English clitics occupy Spec,FinP (because they belong to the West Germanic C-oriented type of clitics). This implies that in our examples in (45) which are repeated here, the verb is in Fin in (50) a. and in a higher position in (50) b.:

(50) a. Fela spella *him sædon* þa Beormas...  
Many stories *him told* the Permians...

<sup>85</sup> This is not problematic, however, for the theory of head-movement in Roberts (1994).

<sup>86</sup> It should be noted that this need not be a problem if a more elaborate structure of the C-system is assumed (see Roberts, 1996).

- b. Hwæt **sægest** *þu*, yrþlincg?  
What **say** *you* ploughman?

In (50) b. the verb is required to move to Foc, in (50) a. it moves only as far as Fin. According to Roberts this means that Foc is PF–interpreted when it contains features like Neg, Wh, or Foc, and Fin is PF–interpreted when it contains the "unmarked declarative" feature. The structures for the clauses in (50) are given below:

- (51) a. [CP XP ... [FinP cl [Fin V ]] [IP ...  
b. [CP Wh (etc.) [C° V ] [FinP cl Fin [IP ...

Roberts notes that further support for the analysis of Old English clauses with clitics shown in (51) comes from the fact that in Old English two XPs can precede clitic – verb whereas only one XP precedes *ne/þa/wh* – verb – clitic:

- (52) a. eft æfter lytlum on þysre ylcan Romana byri *he* **wearð** forbærned ...  
Afterwards after little time in this same Roman borough *he* **was** burned ...  
"Afterwards, after a little time, he was burnt in this same Roman town ..."  
(Pintzuk 1991: 104)  
b. þa under þæm þa **bestæl** *he hine* on niht onweg ...  
Then meanwhile then **stole** *he him* in night away ...  
"Then, meanwhile, he stole away in the night ..."  
(Pintzuk 1991: 105)

In (52) a. two XPs precede the clitic in Fin, in (52) b. only one XP precedes *þa* "then" and the verb *bestæl* "stole" precedes the clitic. The structures for the examples in (52) are given below:

- (53) a. [ForceP XP [FocP YP [FinP [Fin cl [Fin V ]] ...  
b. [ForceP XP [FocP þa [Foc V [FinP [Fin cl Fin ]] ...

Roberts points out that the difference between the two patterns is explained if it is assumed that in the b. example the verb moves higher (to Foc) than in the a. example (it moves to Fin). Thus, there is just one XP–slot above FocP and that is why only one XP can precede *þa* in (52) b.

With respect to the word orders found in embedded clauses in Old English, Roberts assumes that complementisers appear in Force and clause–type features of Force are licensed

under selection. As Old English in general does not exhibit embedded V2, it has to be explained why the verb cannot appear in Foc (and Fin) here. Roberts suggests that in embedded declaratives the complementiser is generated in Fin (which blocks verb movement) and raises to Force. In indirect questions, selected Force (bearing a Q–feature) selects a free morpheme in Foc. There are two different clitics positions available in embedded clauses:

- (54) a. ... þæt **him** *his fiend* were æfterfylgende.  
 ... that **him** *his enemies* were following.  
 "... that his enemies were following him."  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 113)
- b. ... þæt þa *Densican* **him** ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan.  
 ... that *the Danes* **him** NEG could the harvest refuse.  
 "... that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest."  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 188)

According to Roberts, in the a. example the complementiser *þæt* "that" raises from Fin to Force, the clitic is in Spec,FinP and the subject is in Spec,TP. In (54) b. the complementiser raises from Fin to Foc, and to keep up the claim that clitics are in the same position the subject has to be in the specifier of TopicP.

Although Roberts can account for the patterns in Old English main clauses in an elegant way, e.g. he does not have to assume CP–adjunction to explain patterns with two XPs preceding the verb, his analysis is problematic with respect to embedded clauses. First, his assumption that complementisers move from Fin to Foc means that verb movement is not possible to these positions. This also means, however, that the clitic cannot occur in Fin which it does in main clauses but has to appear in another position which Roberts claims to be the specifier of Spec,Fin. It does not become clear, however, when clitics have to appear in head positions (Fin) and when they have to appear in specifier positions (Spec,Fin). Moreover, in order to hold the clitic position constant in the examples (54) a. and b., Roberts has to assume that in the b. example the subject occurs in Spec,TopicP although he notes that for his analysis of Old English TopicP does not play a role (Roberts 1996: 158). It is not clear what the motivation is for the subject to move to Spec,TopicP rather than to Spec,TP where subject–agreement is guaranteed. Further, it is not clear why V2 in Old English should be located in a split C–system at all, i.e., what are the features that require (West Germanic) clitics to move to Fin and Old English clitics to occupy Spec,Fin (what is the connection between a category that marks finiteness and clitics) etc. These inconsistencies weaken

Roberts' assumption that the different patterns found in Old English take place in the C–system. In the following we will see that an analysis which claims that topics move to Spec,CP and the verb remains in I° can better account for the situation found in Old English.

### 6.3.2.3 A revision of Pintzuk's analysis (Kroch & Taylor, 1997)

Kroch & Taylor's analysis is a revision of Pintzuk's (1991) analysis of V2 in Old English. Pintzuk assumes that Old English is an IP–V2 language like Modern Icelandic and Yiddish where the finite verb generally occurs in I° and the topic in Spec,IP. Only in clauses with an operator (*wh/ne/pa/þonne*) does the finite verb move to C° and the operator to Spec,CP. With respect to the placement of clitics she proposes a special rule to postpose clitics as they would otherwise occur clause–initially in her system, something which is, however, not attested in any of the West Germanic languages. Kroch & Taylor note that Pintzuk's analysis faces the clitic problem and that, moreover, she cannot explain why in Old English V2 in embedded clauses occurs only in a limited way although it is analysed exactly as Modern Icelandic and Yiddish which both show general embedded V2. With the aim of mitigating these two difficulties, Kroch & Taylor suggest an analysis of Old English which claims that verb movement and XP movement head for different functional projections, i.e. that in an Old English V2 clause, the finite verb moves to I° and the topic moves to Spec,CP. In this way, clitic pronouns can move to the IP/CP boundary and the correct word order will result without having to propose a special clitic–inversion rule. The reason why Kroch & Taylor "change" the landing site of the topic is that "V2 seems to become a hybrid between the CP–V2 and the IP–V2 types. The tensed verb moves as in an IP–V2 language while the topic moves as in a CP–V2 language" (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 305).

Kroch & Taylor argue that both C° and Spec,IP must remain empty in Old English main clauses. With respect to C°, they assume that Old English reserves this position for verbs with special V–features, i.e., ordinary indicative verbs do not belong in that position. Following Chomsky (1993, 1995) they claim that these verbs only have weak features and therefore movement to C° takes place only at LF. In contexts like questions, on the other hand, the feature of the verb is strong, and thus it moves to C° to check an operator feature (*wh* etc.) Kroch & Taylor note that in both cases the finite verb will occur in C° at LF, and that is why the topic has to be in Spec,CP to be properly licensed. The motivation for the assumption that topics have to be in Spec,CP is that from a cross–linguistic perspective, topics are always the leftmost elements of their clauses<sup>87</sup> because they are "the surface

<sup>87</sup> See Rizzi (1997) for counter evidence.

'subjects' of the clause's topmost predication level" (Heycock 1994). In embedded clauses, the position of the topic seems to vary between Spec,IP and Spec,CP which depends, according to Kroch & Taylor, on the language, the dialect and sentence type.

Under these assumptions, clitic pronouns require no special treatment because they move to the Wackernagel position as in Modern German which is structurally associated with the IP/CP boundary (left periphery of IP). V3 orders occur in that the topic moves to Spec,CP, the clitic pronoun to the left periphery of IP and the finite verb to I°. In clauses which contain an operator (in clauses where C° contains [+wh]) the finite verb moves to C° by crossing the clitic. The structures of V2 and V3 clauses in Kroch & Taylor's system are given below:

- (55) a. Hwi **sceole** we opres mannes niman?(expl. (35))  
 Why **should** we another man's take?
- b. [CP Op [C' [C<sub>[+Op,+V]</sub>° + [I°+V°]<sub>i</sub>] [IP cl [IP [I' t<sub>i</sub> [VP ...]]]]]]
- (56) a. Ælc yfel he **mæg** don.  
 Each evil he **can** do.  
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 302)
- b. [CP Topic [C' [C° [IP cl [IP [I' [I°+V°] [VP ...]]]]]]

The reason why Spec,IP in main clauses must not be filled is explained by Kroch & Taylor in the following way: They note that the V2 constraint which says that topics have to be in a Spec–head relationship with the finite verb cannot apply directly in Old English because the finite verb and the topic are not in a spec–head relation: the topic is in Spec,CP but the verb can only move as far as I° due to its feature content. They claim that the V2 constraint is still fulfilled in these cases because the topic moves through Spec,IP on its way to Spec,CP by leaving a trace. Kroch & Taylor claim that this trace is able to serve the function of creating the required spec–head configuration between the topic and the finite verb<sup>88</sup>. As the specifier of IP contains the trace of the topic in Old English main clauses it can never contain anything else and thus appears to be empty.

The question arises how the subject is licensed in such a system. According to Kroch & Taylor, Spec,IP is not available to establish a Spec–head relationship between the subject and

<sup>88</sup> That this is possible is shown with an example from German where in a subordinate clause without complementiser the finite verb in C° is in a Spec–head relationship with the trace of the extracted topic:

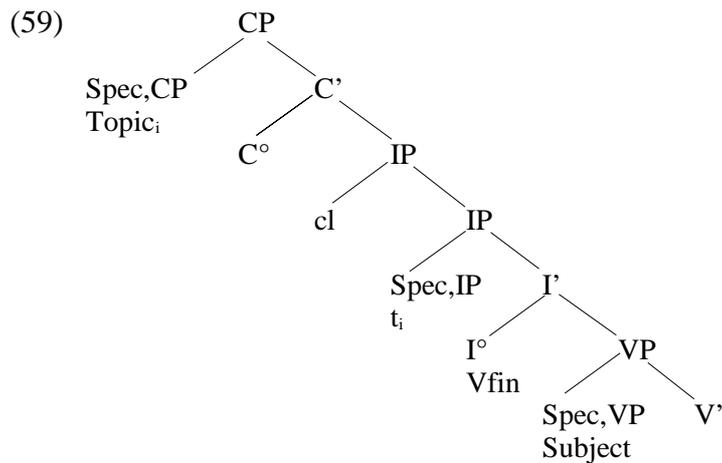
- (i) Das Museumi hat er gesagt [CP t<sub>i</sub> dürfen [IP wir t<sub>i</sub> besuchen]].  
 The museum has he said may we visit.  
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 308)

the agreement morpheme of the finite verb. Therefore, they assume that main clauses with non–subject topics contain incorporated empty expletives to check off the agreement features of  $I^\circ$  and to chain–license the subject in a lower position (Spec,VP or Spec,TP if a split–Infl system is assumed).

Kroch & Taylor’s explanation why Spec,IP cannot be overtly filled in main clauses is based on the observation made by van Kemenade (1997) that in Old English, embedded clauses sometimes exhibit V2 order with a non–subject as topic. These cases only occur when the nominative subject is absent or when it is licensed in another position in the clause (in passives or clauses with experiencer ‘dative’ subjects). The examples from above ((27) and ((28)) are repeated here:

- (57) ...þæt *eallum folce* **sy** gedemed beforan ðe.  
 ...that *all people*(DAT.SG) **be**(SG) judged before thee.  
 (van Kemenade 1997: 335)
- (58) ...þonne *ælcæ dæge* **beoð** manega acennede þurh hys mihte on worulde.  
 ...when *each day* **are**(PL) many(NOM.PL) given birth through his power on world.  
 (van Kemenade 1997: 335)

Kroch & Taylor note that the nominative DP in an example like (57) remains inside VP. They argue that from these examples it becomes clear that in a language with IP–V2 the specifier of IP generally hosts the subject and can only be a topic position when the subject is entirely absent or licensed elsewhere in the clause. What happens in embedded clauses with a topic in Spec,IP is that the agreement morpheme on the finite verb serves as the binder of a VP–internal subject with which it forms a chain and is coindexed (Kroch & Taylor follow den Besten (1985) here). According to Kroch & Taylor the coindexation between the agreement morpheme and the subject reflects incorporation of an empty expletive in  $I^\circ$  which in this way checks off the agreement features and the nominative case feature. By this process, the subject DP is case–licensed and can stay in situ, and the substitution of an empty expletive at LF is not necessary. This checking mechanism implies that Spec,IP is freed up for a topic which can then move into that position. This is only possible, however, if the subject DP itself does not move to Spec,IP in order to check the relevant features. This configuration is illustrated below:



Kroch & Taylor's analysis can also account for V3 orders with two XPs preceding the finite verb (the clause-initial element is a temporal adverb which functions as 'scene-setter') as illustrated in an example like (54):

- (60) On þisum gear Willelm cyng **geaf** Raulfe eorle Willelmes dohtor Osbearnes  
 In this year Willelm king **gave** Raulfe earl Willelme's daughter Osbearne's  
 sunu.  
 son.  
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 304)

For Kroch & Taylor, these are cases of adjunction to CP to the left of the specifier. The reason why CP-adjunction is less restricted in Old English than in the modern Germanic languages lies in the connection between the functional projection where V2 is realised and the possibility of adjoining an element to exactly this functional projection. According to Kroch & Taylor, in a language like German<sup>89</sup> there is the restriction that adjunction to CP is not possible because V2 is realised in that functional projection whereas in Old English

89 It is not clear how contrastive left-dislocation in Modern German is analysed:

- (i) Den Thomas, den habe ich heute noch nicht gesehen.  
 The Thomas, who (resumpt.pron.) have I today yet not seen.
- (ii) Kindern Bonbons sollte man niemals geben.  
 Children sweets should one never give.

Kiparsky (1995) notes that in Modern English there are also cases where the topic seems to be adjoined to CP:

- (iii) Beans, who needs them?  
 (Kiparsky 1995: 144)
- (iv) Beans, not once did I eat them.  
 (Kiparsky 1995: 144)

adjunction to CP is possible but not allowed in IP because V2 is realised in IP.

Recent work from Haeberli (2000) has shown that in Old English clauses with a topic and a full subject DP the finite verb occurs in third position rather than in second position. The frequency of occurrence of these cases is about the same as Kroch & Taylor found for these cases in Early Middle English. Haeberli argues that these cases are cases where there is no empty expletive which could license the subject and therefore it has to stay in a low position in the clause. The parallelism between Haeberli's findings from Old English and Kroch & Taylor's findings from Early Middle English strongly suggest that Kroch & Taylor's analysis of these data seems to be on the right track.

As demonstrated above, the analysis of Kroch & Taylor can account for the main Old English word orders with respect to the finite verb. It has the advantage of being able to explain a number of facts which cannot be explained by the analyses discussed so far, e.g. clause-final position of the finite verb in embedded clauses. Moreover, the clause-final position of the finite verb in main clauses can also be explained through a combination of the Double Base Hypothesis and Kroch & Taylor's V2 analysis. In this way, verb-final main clauses can be explained in analogy to V2 main clauses because they have the same structure (the difference is that in the former case Infl is head-final whereas in the latter case Infl is head-initial)<sup>90</sup>.

As shown above, the analyses of van Kemenade (1987) and Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) both faced problems in accounting for V3 orders due to the placement of clitic pronouns. Kroch & Taylor's analysis does not have these problems because the canonical position for clitics is the IP/CP boundary between the topic in Spec,CP and the finite verb in I° and thus their position follows from the general assumptions of the hypothesis. Moreover, the occurrence of V2 is also accounted for by assuming that only in clauses with an operator in Spec,CP is the finite verb able to move to C° because C° contains strong features which attract the verb. In this way, Kroch & Taylor show a connection between Old English and Modern English: in both languages, V2 is only allowed if there is an operator in Spec,CP, and thus Modern English still makes the distinction between interrogatives and declaratives. The only difference between Old English and Modern English is then that the latter lost its IP-V2 character.

Although Kroch & Taylor's analysis has the advantages mentioned above, it also faces some problems. First, the position of clitics is not clearly defined, it is plausible to assume that the CP/IP boundary is a position adjoined to Spec,IP. If this is the case, it then is

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90 See also Fuss (1998, chapter 3).

contradictory to the assumption made by Kroch & Taylor that Old English, as an IP–V2 language, does not allow adjunction to IP. It is not clear how this problem is solved here. Second, they analyse clauses where two XPs precede the verb as cases of CP–adjunction. Such an analysis is highly debatable as Rizzi (1995) and McCloskey (1996) have shown that there is a general ban on CP–adjunction. Third, the claim that Spec,IP is an A'–position seems to be contradictory to the observation that in Old English, topicalisation of non–subjects is less frequent in embedded clauses than in main clauses. Fuss (1998) notes that Kroch & Taylor's answer to this problem, namely that this difference is due to discourse–based information considerations, is not very satisfying because the topicalisation of non–subjects is restricted to a limited syntactic context. Therefore, a syntactic explanation for this phenomenon seems to be required.

From the discussion above and by comparing the analyses, it becomes clear that despite the problems discussed above Kroch & Taylor's analysis – a combination of an IP–V2 analysis and the Double Base Hypothesis – explains best the phenomena found in Old English data as shown above in the discussion of three different theories. In the following section, we will deal with the V2 phenomenon in Early Middle English.

#### 6.4 The V2 phenomenon in Early Middle English: two V2 grammars in competition

In section 6.3 the V2 pattern in Old English was described. It was shown that the V2 pattern found here is different from the V2 pattern found in the other Germanic languages because Old English allowed V3 orders whenever the subject is a pronoun. The properties of V2 found in Old English main clauses are listed below:

1) Any constituent (subject, object, PP, etc.) can appear in clause–initial position immediately preceding the finite verb (subject–verb inversion) => V2 pattern found in the Germanic languages.

- (61) *Se swicola Herodes cwæð to ðam tungel–witegum.*  
*The treacherous Herodes spoke to the star–wise men.*  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 17)

2) Whenever the subject is a pronoun (this is also true for pronominal objects) it directly precedes the finite verb which results in a V3 pattern (no subject–verb inversion) => not found in the other Germanic languages.

- (62) Hiora untrymnesse *he* **sceal** ðrowian on his heortan.  
 Their weakness *he* **shall** atone in his heart.  
 (Pintzuk 1991: 202)

3) There are specific contexts (e.g. *wh/ne/þa* in clause-initial position) where subject-verb inversion does apply even with pronominal subjects => V2 order (V1).

- (63) Ne **mihton** *hi* nænige fultum æt him begitan.  
 Not **could** *they* no help from him get.  
 (van Kemenade 1987: 111)

- (64) **Sie** *he* mide stanum ofworpod.  
**Be** *he* with stones slain.  
 (Pintzuk 1993: in Haerberli 1999: 335)

Thus, it seems that the status of subject pronouns plays a crucial role in the occurrence of V3 orders in Old English.

During the Middle English period the V2 pattern decreases which may be linked to other syntactic changes (van Kemenade, 1987, Kroch 1989, Pintzuk 1991). What is striking is that the Early Middle English dialects differ in their grammars with respect to V2, i.e., in the Southern and West Midlands texts the Old English patterns are preserved much longer than in the Northern and Northeastern texts. In chapter 3, we discussed the assumption that language contact with the Scandinavians plays an important role in the change from OV to VO in the history of English. Kroch & Taylor (1997) argue that there was not only competition between OV and VO grammars during that time but also competition between the V2 grammars of the Southern and Northern dialects. In section 6.5 the V2 pattern in the *Ormulum* will be investigated and it will be shown that the orders we find there reflect contact of the Old English V2 system with a Scandinavian-influenced one. In the following section we will see in which way the Southern dialects differ from the Northern dialects.

#### 6.4.1 The V2 syntax of Middle English dialects

In this discussion we will mainly follow the studies by van Kemenade (1987), Kroch & Taylor (1997) and Haerberli (1999). The texts investigated by Kroch & Taylor, Haerberli are all excerpts from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME). The findings I obtained here for a number of texts, especially for the *Ormulum*, are also excerpts from the PPCME2.

### 6.4.1.1 The Southern dialects

As mentioned above, the Southern texts show the same V2 patterns (and deviations) as the Old English texts. Thus, what we find are the three properties listed above in 1) to 3) which implies that full subject DPs behave differently from pronominal subjects. To show this, Kroch & Taylor (1997) investigated seven Early Midlands texts: *Ancrene Riwle*, *Hali Meidhad*, *The Lambeth Homilies*, *Sawles Warde*, *St. Katherine*, *The Trinity Homilies*, and *Vices and Virtues* (see chapter 2). They point out that these texts have been grouped together because they do not show any difference in their V2 syntax. Table 1 shows the position of full subject DPs and pronominal subjects when the preposed element is 1) a DP/PP/Adj. complement, 2) *þa/then*, 3) *now*<sup>91</sup>, 4) a PP adjunct, 5) any other adverb.

| preposed element | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                  | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement    | 50               | 4                 | 93         | 4                   | 84                | 5          |
| PP complement    | 12               | 4                 | 75         | 0                   | 11                | 0          |
| Adj.complement   | 20               | 1                 | 95         | 7                   | 14                | 33         |
| a/then           | 37               | 2                 | 95         | 26                  | 10                | 72         |
| now              | 12               | 1                 | 92         | 8                   | 22                | 27         |
| PP adjunct       | 56               | 19                | 75         | 2                   | 99                | 2          |
| any other adverb | 79               | 59                | 57         | 1                   | 181               | 1          |

Table 1: V2 in seven early Midlands texts (from Kroch & Taylor 1997)

Some examples for the position of the full subject DP are given in (65) to (69), examples for the position of the pronominal subject in the examples (70) to (73):

(65) PPadjunct – Vfin – full subject DP

Bi þis wilderness **wende** ure lauerdes folc...  
 By this wilderness **turns** our Lady's folk...  
 (CMANCRIW,II.147.1996)

(66) Full object DP – Vfin – full subject DP

Ðese hali mihte **forleas** Dauid kyng...  
 This holy power **lost** David King...  
 (CMVICES1,81.943)

91 In Old English *now* sometimes behaved exactly like *þa*, i.e., both elements triggered subject–verb inversion. That is why both are included in the following tables.

- (67)
- þenne*
- Vfin – full subject DP

Þenne **flið** *his ferd* ananas dude olofernes.  
 Then **flees** *his army* anon as did Holofernes.  
 (CMANCRIW,II.220.3200)

- (68)
- Nou*
- (now) – Vfin – full subject DP

Nu **seið** *sum mann*: 'Scal ic luuige ðane euele mann?'  
 Now **says** *some man*: "Shall I love the evil man?"  
 (CMVICES1,67.733)

- (69) other adverb – Vfin – full subject DP

Eft **sæde** *ðes ilke profiete*: Sitiuit in te anima mea, corpus multipli–citer.  
 Often **said** *the prophet*: Sitiuit in te anima mea, corpus multipli–citer.  
 (CMVICES1,93.1106)

- (70) PPadjunct – subject pronoun – Vfin

On alle wise *he* **fandeð** *hu* he muge gode weorkes letten.  
 On all wise *he* **finds** how he may good works hinder.  
 (CMVICES1,3.18)

- (71) Full object DP – subject pronoun – Vfin

Ðas sibsumnesse *he* **brohte** mid him fram heuene to ierðe.  
 This peace (brotherly love) *he* **brought** with him from heaven to earth.  
 (CMVICES1,99.1178)

- (72)
- þenne*
- subject pronoun – Vfin

Þenne **haseruïð** wel þe ancre hare lauedi hwenne ha noteð ham alle inhire saule .  
 Then *she* **serves** well the anchor, her lady, when she notes them all in their soul's  
 neode.  
 need.  
 (CMANCRIW,II.133.1763)

- (73) other Adverb – subject pronoun – Vfin

Ðar ðu **luge**, ðu lease dieuel.  
 There *you* **lied**, you false devil.  
 (CMVICES1,9.92)

What we see from Table 1 is that the texts pattern like Old English: the topicalisation of complements generally triggers subject–verb inversion with full subject DPs but hardly ever does so with pronominal subjects. Clause–initial *þa* and *then* trigger inversion with both full

subject DPs and pronominal subjects ((67) and (72)), however, with pronominal subjects not as regularly as in Old English, which, according to Kroch & Taylor, is an indication that the temporal adverbs lose their special status. If we compare the findings in the Early Middle English texts with the findings from ten Old English texts (Haeberli 1999: 383) in Table 2, we will see that the V2 syntax has not undergone any substantial changes.

| preposed element  | full subject DPs |                   |              |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|
|                   | number inverted  | number uninverted | % uninverted |
| DP complement     | 52               | 11                | 17,5         |
| PP complement     | 2                | 2                 | 50           |
| Adjective         | 18               | 0                 | 0            |
| <i>a/ onne/nu</i> | 318              | 19                | 5,6          |
| PP adjunct        | 92               | 38                | 29,2         |
| any other adverb  | 150              | 47                | 23,9         |

Table 2: Subject–verb inversion in 10 Old English texts (Haeberli 1999: 383)

There is further evidence that the Old English pattern can still be found in Middle English. Kroch & Taylor investigated a Kentish text, the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, which also shows the V2 patterns repeated. Moreover, it also shows that there is dialectal variation in Middle English texts with respect to syntactic phenomena: The text is from the mid fourteenth century, at least 100 years later than the other texts from above. Kentish, however, was an isolated dialect which eventually died out. That is why the Old English V2 pattern found in this text has been well preserved. According to Kroch & Taylor, the only difference between the frequency of patterns found in this text and the frequency of V2 patterns found in the earlier texts is 1) that the exceptional status of *then* and *now* is further eroded and 2) a general freer attachment of adjuncts to CP, which is reflected in the lower number of inversion of full subject DPs after PP adjuncts and adverbs (see Table 3 below).

| preposed element | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                  | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement    | 14               | 3                 | 82         | 1                   | 11                | 8          |
| PP complement    | 2                | 0                 | 100        | 0                   | 1                 | 0          |
| Adj.complement   | 5                | 0                 | 100        | 0                   | 1                 | 0          |
| a/then           | 4                | 12                | 25         | 7                   | 5                 | 58         |
| now              | 1                | 0                 | 100        | 7                   | 7                 | 50         |
| PP adjunct       | 5                | 9                 | 36         | 1                   | 30                | 3          |
| any other adverb | 19               | 15                | 56         | 5                   | 52                | 10         |

Table 3: V2 patterns in the "Ayenbite of Inwit" (from Kroch &amp; Taylor 1997: 312)

The following examples from the Kentish text demonstrates the higher variability of subject–verb inversion in contexts with clause–initial *þanne* and *nu*:

(74) *þanne*–full subject DP–Vfin

*þanne þe man wenþ* more of him–zelue *þanne he ssolde*.  
Then *the man believed* more of himself than he should.  
(CMAYENBI,21.311)

(75) *þanne*–Vfin–full subject DP

*þanne zayþ oure lhord* ine his spelle. 'Pou sselt by ine trauayl ine þise  
Then *says our Lord* in his speech: "Thou sailed by in travel in this  
worlde.  
world."  
(CMAYENBI,250.2288)

(76) *þanne*–pronominal subject–Vfin

*þanne he zelp* his ogen.  
Then *he gives* his own.  
(CMAYENBI,51.905)

(77) *þanne*–Vfin–pronominal subject

*þanne is he* of þe kende, of þe baselycoc.  
Then *is he* of the kind, of the baselycoc.  
(CMAYENBI,28.433)

(78) *Nou*–Vfin–pronominal subject

*Nou* **might** *pou* ysi uor þet we habbeþ hyer yzed.  
 Now **might** *thou* see for that we have here said.  
 (CMAYENBI,54.974)

(79) *Nou*–pronominal subject–Vfin

*Nou* *pou* **hest** y–hyerd þe zennes þet comeþ of glotounye and of lecherie.  
 Now *thou* **have** heard the sins that come of glotony and of lecherie.  
 (CMAYENBI,56.1015)

(80) *Nou*–Vfin–full subject DP

*Nou* **abydeþ** *þane* *bridde* *dyeaþ*.  
 Now **abide** this third  
 (CMAYENBI,72.1375)

#### 6.4.1.2 The Northern dialects

As noted above, Kroch & Taylor claim that the Early Middle English Southern texts and Northern texts differ in their V2 grammars, i.e., the Southern texts which were investigated show those V2 and V3 patterns found in Old English whereas Northern texts clearly exhibit a Scandinavian–type of V2 grammar. Kroch & Taylor note that many texts from the North show a mixture of V2 and non–V2 sentences which implies that there is competition between V2 and non–V2 grammars. In what follows, we will first deal with some of the Northern texts which show variation in that respect before we go on to investigate a Northern text which behaves differently.

In the *Prose Rule of St. Benet*, a Northern text from about 1425 written in Yorkshire, clauses with non–subject topics exhibit almost categorical subject–verb inversion regardless of the type of subject. Kroch & Taylor note that inversion occurs whether the subject is a full DP or a pronoun and also independently of the grammatical and lexical status of the topic. Thus, this text does not show the Old English pattern found in the other texts. These findings will be discussed below in detail.

Van Kemenade (1987) was one of the first to note that some Northern texts behaved differently from Southern texts. The texts she investigated were the works of Richard Rolle which were written in the first half of the thirteenth century in Yorkshire (for more information see chapter 2). She showed that in clauses with a non–subject topic and a full subject DP, V2 patterns are found as well as V3 patterns depending on the type of topic, just like in Old English. The examples (81) to (86) show the Old English V2 patterns: XP–Vfin–

full subject DP:

- (81) Full Object DP–Vfin–full subject DP

Dis gylder **layes** *oure enemy* to take us wiþ.  
This tribute **lays** *our enemy* to take us with.  
(CMROLLEP,87.378)

- (82) Dis medlid liffe **shewith** *oure Lorde* in hym silfe...

This moderate life **shows** *our Lord* in himself...  
(CMROLLTR,27.555)

- (83) PP–Vfin–full subject DP

In þus many maners **touches** *þe ymage of dremes* men when þai slepe.  
In thus many manners **touches** *the image of dreams* men when they sleep.  
(CMROLLEP,93.499)

- (84) With herte, **takes** *false crystyn men* it in vayne...

With heart **takes** *false Christian man* it in vain...  
(CMROLLTR,11.280)

- (85) Adverb–Vfin–full subject DP

Thus **said** *þe prophete* in þe persone of oure Lorde.  
Thus **said** *the prophet* in the person of our Lord.  
(CMROLLTR,43.877)

- (86) Forþi **says** *þe wyse man*, þat many besynes folowes dremes;

Forthi **says** *the wise man* that many follow dreams;  
(CMROLLEP,93.492)

The examples (87) to (89) show true V3 orders, i.e., that some adverbs fail to trigger subject–verb inversion. It should be noted here, however, that in these texts it is not only temporal adverbs which trigger inversion, as claimed by Kroch & Taylor (1997) for Old English because they would function as "scene setters", but all kinds of adverbs like adverbs of manner or adverbs of cause as shown below:

- (87) Sothely *þe mynd* **towchede** with the souerayne swettnes ...

Truly *the mind* **touched** with the sovereign sweetness ...  
(CMROLLTR,2.54)

- (88) Thare–fore *Ihesu* **es** noghte fundene in riches bot in pouerte ...

Therefore *Jesus* **is** not found in riches but in poverty ...  
(CMROLLTR,5.140)

- (89) At the last *gret sorowe of herte* **ouercome** his scheme, ...  
 At the last *great sorrow of heart* **overcame** his shame ...  
 (CMROLLTR,7.195)

As noted above, in Old English adverbs like *þa/þonne/nu* had a special status in that they regularly triggered subject–verb inversion regardless of whether the subject was a full DP or a pronoun. In the works of Richard Rolle, however, we find cases where these adverbs do not trigger subject–verb inversion as well as cases where they still do. This finding implies that adverbs like *þa/þonne/nu* are on the way to losing their special status as claimed by Kroch & Taylor (1997: 312).

Moreover, this is evidence that there are indeed two grammars in competition: one grammar of the Old English type which requires subject–verb inversion after *þa/þonne/nu* and one grammar which deviated from the Old English grammar because it does not require inversion in this context (one could see this as a shift towards the grammar of Modern English). The variability of inversion with clause–initial *þa/þonne/nu* is illustrated by the examples below:

Variation of position of full subject DPs in clauses with initial *þane/þen*:

- (90) Thane *the prioure* **said** till hym, Gaa.  
 Then *the prior* **said** to him, go.  
 (CMROLLTR,7.197)
- (91) Þan *lufe* **puttes** out al dedely syn.  
 Then *love* **puts** out al deadly sin.  
 (CMROLLEP,109.781)
- (92) Thane **es** *þe saule* abill.  
 Then **is** *the soul* taken away?  
 (CMROLLTR,17.394)

Variation of position of pronominal subjects in clauses with initial *þane/þen*:

- (93) Þen *þai* **wene** þat þai may do what so þair hert es sett on.  
 Then *they* **believe** that they may do what so their heart is set on.  
 (CMROLLEP,87.380)
- (94) Þen *he* **gyves** hymself till þaime in swetnes and delyte in byrnyng of luf,  
 Then *he* **gives** himself to them in sweetness and delight in burning of love,  
 and in joy and melody.  
 and in joy and melody.  
 (CMROLLEP,90.434)

- (95) Than **shall** *pou* dispose the for to pray or for to thynke som gude thoghte.  
Then **shall** *thou* dispose thee for to pray or for to think some good thought.  
(CMROLLTR,36.763)
- (96) Pan **enters** *pou* into þe toþer degre of lufe.  
Then **enters** *thou* into the other degree of love.  
(CMROLLEP,64.71)

Variation of position of full subject DPs/pronominal subjects in clauses with initial *now*:

- (97) Now *þe name of Ihesu* **es** noghte elles bot þis gastely hele.  
Now *the name of Jesus* **is** nothing else but this holy subterfuge.  
(CMROLLTR,44.905)
- (98) Now *I* **write** a sang of lufe, þat þou sal delyte in when þow ert lufand  
Now *I* **write** a song of love that thou shall delight in when thou are loving  
  
Jhesu Criste.  
Jesus Christ.  
(CMROLLEP,70.147)
- (99) Now **may** *pou* see þat þai wer foles, and fowle glotons.  
Now **may** *thou* see that they were fooles and foul gluttons.  
(CMROLLEP,81.316)

And there are other innovations to be found: there is evidence in the works of Richard Rolle that pronominal subjects start to behave like full subject DPs, i.e., they may appear in the same position as full subject DPs in clauses with a topicalised element, namely after the finite verb. This implies that subject–verb inversion is optional here which is illustrated in the examples below:

Variation of position of pronominal subjects in clauses with initial object DP:

- (100) Mykel lufe *he* **schewes**, þat never es irk to lufe,...  
Much love *he* **showes** that never is also to love,...  
(CMROLLEP,61.8)
- (101) This ensample *I* **say** to þe noghte for þou duse noghte þus as I say...  
This example *I* **say** to thee not for thou dost not thus as I say...  
(CMROLLTR,29.611)
- (102) Ful mykel grace **have** *þai* þat es in þis degre of lufe.  
Full much grace **have** *they* that is in this degree of love.  
(CMROLLEP,105.684)

- (103) Other joy **lyst** *it* noght.  
 Other joy **likes** *it* not (pleases it not).  
 (CMROLLEP,105.690)

Variation of position of pronominal subjects in clauses with initial PP:

- (104) In þis degre of **lufe** *pou* sal overcome þi enmyse, þe worlde, þe devel,  
 In this degree of **love** *thou* shall overcome thy enemies, the world, the devil,  
  
 and þi flesche.  
 and thy flesh.  
 (CMROLLEP,66.105)
- (105) In all thire **I soghte** Ihesu.  
 In all you **I sought** Jesus.  
 (CMROLLTR,4.128)
- (106) Of þat maner of syngyng **speke** *I* noght.  
 Of that manner of singing **speak** *I* not.  
 (CMROLLEP,106.710)
- (107) In soverayne rest **sal** *þai* be, þat may gete it.  
 In soverayne rest **shall** *they* be that may get it.  
 (CMROLLEP,106.718)

Variation of position of pronominal subjects in clauses with initial adverb:

- (108) Forþi *he* **wil** not gyf it to folys, þat ken noght held it and kepe it tenderly;  
 Forthi *he* **will** not give it to fools, that can not held it and keep it tenderly;  
 (CMROLLEP,77.237)
- (109) Un–nethes **I lyfe** for joye.  
 Peacefully **I live** for joy.  
 (CMROLLTR,2.36)
- (110) Sekyrly **may** *he* or scho chese to lyfe anely þat has chosene þe name of Ihesu  
 Surely **may** *he* or she chose to live only/once that has chosen the nam of Jesus  
  
 to thaire specyalle.  
 to their special.  
 (CMROLLTR,5.148)
- (111) git **askes** *pou* wheþer a mane may haue þis desire contenually in his herte or  
 Yet **asks** *thou* whether a man may have this desire continually in his heart or  
  
 noghte.  
 not.  
 (CMROLLTR,34.730)

Table 4 shows the frequency of the patterns discussed above in the Richard Rolle texts:

| preposed element | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                  | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement    | 4                | 5                 | 44         | 9                   | 14                | 39         |
| PP complement    | 0                | 1                 | 0          | 1                   | 3                 | 25         |
| Adj.complement   | 2                | 0                 | 100        | 0                   | 1                 | 0          |
| a/then           | 2                | 8                 | 20         | 10                  | 10                | 50         |
| now              | 1                | 2                 | 33         | 2                   | 1                 | 67         |
| PP adjunct       | 12               | 11                | 52         | 3                   | 19                | 14         |
| any other adverb | 13               | 18                | 42         | 6                   | 32                | 0          |

Table 4: V2 in the works of Richard Rolle (from the PPCME2)

If the results in Table 4 are compared with both the results in Table 2 and in Table 3 it becomes clear that in the Richard Rolle texts there is indeed competition between V2 and non-V2 grammars. There is no clear-cut difference between the behaviour of full subject DPs and subject pronouns as in the Kentish text, and we can also not find categorical inversion whether the subject is a DP or a pronoun as in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet*. Full subject DPs invert about half of the time (43 %) whereas pronominal subjects invert 28 % of the time in all contexts. Therefore, Kroch & Taylor's assumption that these texts are variable with respect to their V2 grammars is confirmed. Moreover, the adverbs *þane/then/now* do not trigger inversion here as categorically as they did in Old English, which also supports the assumption made above that they are losing their special status (see especially the cases of inversion with subject pronouns which happens only half of the time).

Further support for a difference between the Northern and Southern dialects comes from the language mixture found in later Middle English texts which are on the way to losing the V2 pattern. Kroch, Taylor & Ringe (2000) made a comparison of two manuscripts (Thornton and Vernon) of the text called the *Mirror of St. Edmund* with respect to the V2 patterns found there. The text is a fourteenth century translation into English of a thirteenth century Latin text which was originally written by the canonised Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry III. The Thornton manuscript, which dates from the fifteenth century, is written in Northern language while the Vernon manuscript, which was written somewhat earlier, is written in the Southwestern dialect. The frequencies of subject-verb inversion by topic type are given in the tables below:

| preposed element    | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                     | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement       | 8                | 0                 | 100        | 16                  | 9                 | 64         |
| PP complement       | 21               | 3                 | 88         | 48                  | 21                | 70         |
| Adj.complement      | 10               | 0                 | 100        | 2                   | 6                 | 25         |
| then (no a in text) | 6                | 1                 | 86         | 24                  | 23                | 51         |
| now                 | 4                | 0                 | 100        | 14                  | 3                 | 82         |
| PP adjunct          |                  |                   |            |                     |                   |            |
| adverbs             | 20               | 5                 | 80         | 35                  | 26                | 57         |

Table 5: V2 in the Thornton manuscript (Northern) of the *Mirror of St. Edmund* (Kroch, Taylor & Ringe 2000: 16)

| preposed element    | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                     | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement       | 12               | 1                 | 92         | 5                   | 13                | 28         |
| PP complement       | 24               | 5                 | 83         | 9                   | 41                | 18         |
| Adj.complement      | 14               | 0                 | 100        | 0                   | 1                 | 0          |
| then (no a in text) | 6                | 2                 | 75         | 13                  | 13                | 50         |
| now                 | 3                | 0                 | 100        | 5                   | 9                 | 36         |
| PP adjunct          |                  |                   |            |                     |                   |            |
| adverbs             | 20               | 5                 | 80         | 4                   | 41                | 9          |

Table 6: V2 in the Vernon manuscript (Southwestern) of the *Mirror of St. Edmund* (Kroch, Taylor & Ringe 2000: 16)

Table 5 and Table 6 show a high degree of variability with respect to the inversion of verbs with pronominal subjects. If we leave aside the results for V2 with adverbs we see that the manuscripts neither show the almost non-existence of inversion of the Southern texts (Table 3) nor the categorical inversion as found in the Northern text the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* as we have seen above (and see also the discussion below). The findings from all the Middle English texts discussed here suggest that a V2 and a non-V2 grammar coexisted at that time. This is a further instantiation of the grammars in competition scenario which led to the loss of V2 in the history of English.

What we have seen so far implies that there are Northern texts which show variation between V2 and non-V2 grammars which indicates competition between the two grammars. The deviations from the Old English patterns found in the works of Richard Rolle are shown

schematically in Table 7:

| Patterns found                                           | Old English                                                                                                                                                          | Middle English (North.)<br>(Richard Rolle)                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| V2 pattern:<br>XP–Vfin–full subject DP                   | <i>Eall þis aredað se reccere</i><br><i>All this arranges the ruler</i><br><br>swiðe ryhte.<br>very rightly.<br>(van Kemenade 1987: 17)                              | <i>Þis medlid liffe shewith</i><br><i>This moderate life shows</i><br><br><i>oure Lorde in hym silfe...</i><br><i>our Lord in himself...</i><br>(CMROLLTR,27.555)                              |
| V2 pattern:<br>XP–Vfin–pron.subject                      | -----                                                                                                                                                                | Ful mykel grace <b>have</b> þai<br>Full much grace <b>have</b> they<br><br>þat es ...<br>that is ...<br>(CMROLLEP,105.684)                                                                     |
| V3 pattern:<br>XP–pronom.subject–Vfin                    | <i>Þas þing we habbaþ be him</i><br><i>These things we have about</i><br><br>gewritene.<br>him written.<br>(van Kemenade 1987: 110)                                  | Mykel lufe <i>he</i> <b>schewes</b> , þat<br>Much love <i>he</i> <b>shows</b> that<br><br>never es irk to lufe,...<br>never is to love,...<br>(CMROLLEP,61.8)                                  |
| true V3 pattern:<br>XP–full subject DP–Vfin              | <i>On þisum gear Willelm</i><br><i>In this year Willelm</i><br><br>cyng <b>geaf</b> Raulfe eorle...<br>king <b>gave</b> Raulfe earl...<br>(Kroch & Taylor 1997: 304) | Thare–fore <i>Ihesu</i> <b>es</b> noghte<br>Therefore <i>Jesus</i> <b>is</b> not<br><br>fundene in reches bot in<br>found in riches but in<br><br>pouerte...<br>poverty...<br>(CMROLLTR,5.140) |
| <i>þa/þane/nou</i> –Vfin–full<br>subject DP/pron.subject | <i>Þa began he to modigenne.</i><br><i>Then began he to grow proud.</i><br>(van Kemenade 1987: 112)                                                                  | <i>Þan enters þou</i> into þe<br><i>Then enters thou</i> into the<br><br>toþer degre of lufe.<br>other degree of love.<br>(CMROLLEP,64.71)                                                     |
| <i>þa/þane/nou</i> –full subject<br>DP/pron.subject–Vfin | -----                                                                                                                                                                | <i>Þan lufe puttes</i> out al<br><i>Then love puts</i> out al<br><br>dedely syn.<br>deadly sin.<br>(CMROLLEP,109.781)                                                                          |

According to Kroch & Taylor (1997) there are other Northern texts which do not show the variability found in the Rolle texts. One of these texts is the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* which is the first surviving prose document in the Northern dialect. It was written about 1425 in central West Yorkshire, an area in the Northern part of Great Britain which used to be populated by Norwegians. Like Kent in the South, it is also an isolated region in which a dialect could have been preserved longer than elsewhere. Kroch & Taylor found that this text exhibits almost categorical subject–verb inversion in clauses with initial non–subject topic. What is crucial is that inversion occurs whether the subject is a full DP or a pronoun and also independently of the status of the topic. This is illustrated with the examples below:

Full Object DP–Vfin–full subject DP/subject pronoun

- (112) Þis **sais** *sain benet*.  
This **says** *Saint Benet*.  
(CMBENRUL,23.793)
- (113) Alle **sal** *man comunlike recaie*, And men of reliquin and pilgrims.  
All **shall** *man commonlike receive* and men of religion and pilgrims.  
(CMBENRUL,35.1131)
- (114) Þair auen wille **will** *þai* do.  
Their own will **will** *they* do.  
(CMBENRUL,4.115)
- (115) Glutunie **luue** *þai*.  
Gluttony **love** *they*.  
(CMBENRUL,4.116)

PP–Vfin–full subject DP/subject pronoun<sup>92</sup>

- (116) In þis sentence **mustirs** *sain benet* us hu we sal lede ure lif.  
In this sentence **musters** *Saint Benet* us how we shall lead our life.  
(CMBENRUL,2.37)
- (117) Of mekenes **spekis** *sain benet* in þis sentence.  
Of meekness **speaks** *Saint Benet* in this sentence.  
(CMBENRUL,11.366)
- (118) In oþir stede **sais** *he*: "In god sal man be glad and loue him in dede."  
In other position **says** *he* in God shall man be glad and love him in deed.  
(CMBENRUL,3.61)

<sup>92</sup> The difference between PP complements and PP adjuncts is ignored here.

- (119) In mikill suetnes **may** þu renne, wen þu can knau god  
 In much sweetness **may** thou coagulate when thou can know God  
 and his cumandement.  
 and his commandment.  
 (CMBENRUL,4.90)

Adv–Vfin–full subject DP/subject pronoun

- (120) Þus **kennis** ure lauerd us his werkis, at folu his cumandementis.  
 Thus **knows** our Lord us his works to follow his commandments.  
 (CMBENRUL,3.67)
- (121) Þus **sais** sain benet: Mi scole wil i stablis to godis seruise.  
 Thus **says** Saint Benet my students will I stable to God's service.  
 (CMBENRUL,4.84)
- (122) Sua **salle** hir fautes be mendid.  
 So **shall** their faults be mended.  
 (CMBENRUL,21.734)
- (123) Sua **sal** ye do.  
 So **shall** you do.  
 (CMBENRUL,14.494)
- (124) Þan **sall** þi charge be liht.  
 Than **shall** thy charge be light.  
 (CMBENRUL,4.88)
- (125) Þan **sing** ye riht.  
 Than **sing** you right.  
 (CMBENRUL,19.659)

Thus, the alternations of the V2 and V3 patterns found in Old English and Southern Middle English with their complex conditions are not found in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet*. The findings of Kroch & Taylor in the Northern text are shown in Table 8:

Table 8: V2 in the *Northern Prose Rule of St. Benet* (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 313)

| preposed element | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                  | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement    | 7                | 0                 | 100        | 58                  | 3                 | 95         |
| PP complement    | 18               | 0                 | 100        | 10                  | 0                 | 100        |
| Adj.complement   | 1                | 0                 | 100        | 4                   | 2                 | 67         |
| a/then           | 15               | 0                 | 100        | 28                  | 1                 | 97         |
| now              | –                | –                 | –          | 2                   | 0                 | 100        |
| PP adjunct       | 42               | 5                 | 89         | 73                  | 7                 | 91         |
| any other adverb | 25               | 1                 | 96         | 51                  | 5                 | 91         |

Kroch & Taylor note that there are two major differences between the findings in Table 8 (V2 in a Northern text) and the findings in Table 1 (V2 in Midlands texts) and Table 3 (V2 in a Southern text). First, in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet*, pronominal subjects undergo subject–verb inversion almost as frequently as full subject DPs do. Second, there is no tendency for preposed adverbs and PPs to adjoin to CP which implies that true V3 orders are not found (no subject–verb inversion). If the findings in Table 1 and Table 8 are compared it becomes clear that the V2 pattern of the Northern text is very different from the V2 pattern of the Southern text. According to Kroch & Taylor there are two ways to analyse the difference. One possible analysis is that the status of pronominal subjects has changed in the North, i.e., that pronominal subjects do not behave like clitics of the Old English sort but rather like pronouns of Modern English which behave more or less like full subject DPs. This means that Northern pronouns have lost their clitic–like status. Support for this analysis comes from the fact that the Scandinavian pronoun "they" was borrowed first in the Northern dialect and then its use gradually spread to the Southern areas. Thus, the borrowing could have changed the syntactic character of the entire pronominal system. Kroch & Taylor point out, however, that the status of pronominal subjects not only changes in the Northern dialect but also in the Southern dialect and it also changes in non–V2 environments. Moreover, there is another difference between the two texts which cannot be accounted for if we took the change of the pronominal system as the source of the differences in the V2 patterns of the Northern and Southern text. The second difference is that in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* there is nearly categorical inversion of full subject DPs in sentences which are introduced by adverbs or adjunct PPs. This pattern cannot be explained by a change in the pronominal system because it is full subject DPs which behave differently here, i.e., this finding is completely independent of the

status of pronominal subjects. Therefore, Kroch & Taylor claim that even if the status of pronouns had changed in the Northern dialect resulting in regular V2 patterns, this change could not account fully for the V2 pattern of the Prose Rule because it could not explain why full DP subjects invert in contexts with clause-initial PP adjuncts and adverbs.

Kroch & Taylor note that another problem for this analysis is that in the Northern text there is evidence of clitics of the Old English type. They demonstrate this with examples which show stylistic fronting:

(126) *Pat erin* hauis, herkins wat þe haly spirt sais in haly writ.  
Whoever **ears** has harkens what the holy spirit says in Holy Writ.  
(CMBENRUL,2.17)

(127) *Bot yef it sua* bi-tide, þat any falle in mis-trouz; þan sal scho pray gerne  
But if *it so* betide that any fall in mistruth then she shall pray earnestly  
to god.  
to God.  
(Kroch & Taylor 1997: 314)

(128) *Yef yt sua* may be, alle sal lie in a hus, þat ilkain wite of oþir.  
If *it so* may be all shall lie in a house that each know of (the) other.  
(Kroch & Taylor 1997: 315)

In (126) the object DP has undergone stylistic fronting. It will be shown in chapter 7 in detail that stylistic fronting is possible only when there is a subject-gap. The examples in (127) and (128) might also be analysed as stylistic fronting provided that the pronominal subject is analysed as a clitic. Such an analysis is proposed by Platzack who found parallel cases in Old Swedish<sup>93</sup> (see chapter 7, section 7.4). If the examples above are analysed in accordance with Platzack, then the assumption that Northern pronouns have lost their clitic-like status is not possible.

For this reason, Kroch & Taylor suggest that the difference between Northern and Southern V2 is due to the difference between verb movement to I° and to C°. Thus, the V2 grammar found in the Prose Rule is of the CP-V2 type which is found in languages like German where we find categorical subject-verb inversion of full subject DPs and pronominal

93 Like in Old Swedish, personal pronouns were clitics in Old Norse in general. The example below illustrates this:

(i) *kallar-a-ðu* síðan / til kniá þinna.  
call not **you** then to knees-your.  
"You do not call then to your knees".  
(Eythórsson 1995: 227)

subjects also in contexts with clause-initial PP adjuncts or adverbs. As the Northern text investigated here exhibits this pattern, it must reflect a different grammar from Old English or Southern Middle English texts where topicalisation PP adjuncts and adverbs fails to trigger subject-verb inversion and results in V3 patterns. Further evidence for this assumption is that in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* there is categorical inversion after clause-initial "then" and "now" as shown in Table 5 above (the finite verb is always in second position). The occurrence of categorical inversion here is not of the Old English type, however, because we also find categorical subject-verb inversion in all the other contexts described above which implies that all the patterns are due to a CP-V2 grammar of the Scandinavian type without the observed Old English deviations of the IP-V2 type of grammar.

As discussed, all Modern Scandinavian languages exhibit the V2 phenomenon, i.e., the finite verb consistently occurs in second position in main clauses. Under the assumption that the consistency with respect to this pattern found in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* is due to Scandinavian influence, it also has to be assumed that the Scandinavian of former times also exhibited the V2 phenomena consistently. According to Eyþórsson (1995) this is what we find in (Early) Old Norse<sup>94</sup>. He shows that in the *Poetic Edda* the finite verb consistently occurs in second position after wh-elements (examples (129) and (131) and topicalised constituents (examples (132) and (133)):

- (129) Hvat **hygg**r þú brúði bendo/  
 What **thinks** thou bride point?  
 "What do you think that the woman has meant ...?"  
 (Eythórsson 1995: 248)
- (130) Hverso **snúnoðo** yðr konor yðrar?  
 How **turned-to** you women yours?  
 "How did you win the love of your women?"  
 (Eythórsson 1995: 248)
- (131) Hljóðs **bið** ec allar /helgar kindir.  
 Silence **ask** I all holy beings.  
 "I ask all holy beings for silence."  
 (Eythórsson 1995: 248)
- (132) Voll **lézk** ycr oc mundo gefa / víðrar Gnitaheiðar.  
 Field **said** you and would give wide Gnitaheiðar.  
 "He said that he would give you the field of the wide Gnitaheiðr."  
 (Eythórsson 1995: 248)

94 Old Norse (c. 550–1050) comprises written works of Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic (Haugen 1982).

- (133) Þrymr **sat** á haugi, / þursa dróttinn.  
 Thrymr **sat** on mound giants lord.  
 "Thrymr sat on the mound, the lord of the giants."  
 (Eythórsson 1995: 250)

As the language of the Scandinavian invaders must have exhibited the V2 phenomenon (it was a CP–V2 language with CP–recursion, see also below), the assumption that the syntactic operation was borrowed from them seems to be plausible. According to Kroch & Taylor, under this analysis the categorical subject–verb inversion with pronominal subjects can be accounted for even if the pronouns did not lose their clitic–like status because the verb would always move to C° over the position of clitics (the IP/CP boundary), and so always appear to the left of any subject. Thus, one single difference between the grammars of the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* and the Southern texts can account for both differences shown in Table 8.

Kroch & Taylor note that there is additional evidence that the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* exhibits a CP–V2 grammar. They found what they call "doubly–filled Comp" clauses which can be defined as embedded clauses introduced by a complementiser and preceded by a constituent (this constituent has been preposed to the immediate left of C°). This clause type can be found in the Modern Germanic languages as well as in Latin and modern dialects of Spanish. The clauses found in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* are given below:

- (134) Isal yu lere þe dute of god, **his wille** þat ge may do.  
 I shall you teach the duty of God **his will** that ye may do.  
 (CMBENRUL,2.20)
- (135) Ilkain sal take discipline at opir, als **hir mastiresse** þoz scho ware.  
 Each–one shall take discipline of the–other as **her mistress** though she were.  
 (CMBENRUL,10.325)
- (136) Lauerd, we prai þe for þi misericorde þat we mai sua yeme þis reul o mekenes,  
 Lord, we pray thee for thy mercy that we may so take this rule of meekness
- In the felazscap of þin angels** þat we may be.  
**In the fellowship of thine angels** that we may be.  
 (CMBENRUL,11.386)

According to Kroch & Taylor, all the cases found in the text are cases where the topicalisation is ungoverned, and hence not a CP–recursion environment. In fact, they are much more like cases which are found in Bavarian:

- (137) Ba. **Die Franca** dass Du kennst glaube ich nicht.  
**The Franca** that you know believe I not.  
 "I don't believe that you know Franca."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 316)
- (138) Ba. **Die Franca** dass geheiratet hat ist nicht wahrscheinlich.  
**The Franca** that married has is not likely.  
 "It is unlikely that Franca has married."  
 (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 316)

By following Fanselow's (1987) analysis of the Bavarian examples, Kroch & Taylor assume that in the examples from the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* the element in bold face has been preposed into the specifier position of the complementiser of its clause. They claim that the fact that topicalisation to Spec,CP occurs here in non-CP-recursion cases makes it not very likely that Spec,IP is a topic position here in the way that it is in Old English because the coexistence of two topic positions for one clause type is not expected. Therefore, the examples from this text are evidence that the Benet dialect is strictly CP-V2.

A question unanswered so far is how the type of V2 grammar originated in the North. It is well known that Northern Middle English texts exhibited much more reduced inflectional verb endings than Southern Middle English texts (and Old English texts). Thus, the Old English and southern ME texts show that in the present tense the endings for all three persons in the singular were *-e*, *-(e)s(t)* and *-(e)th* and *-(a)th* in all persons of the plural. In Northern Middle English texts in the present tense the endings was *-(e)s* for all persons and numbers except the first person singular which was *-e*. It has been claimed that the simplification of verbal inflectional endings in the North is due to Scandinavian influence which did not seem to be a plausible explanation because the system in Old Norse was even richer than the Old English system (Robinson, 1992). However, as there is evidence that Scandinavian did have influence on the English language it seems to be important to investigate the relationship between language contact and second language acquisition (see also chapter 3). It could be assumed here that the simplification of the verbal agreement endings is the result of imperfect second language acquisition of English by the Norse invaders. The fact that grammatical items of Norse origin like the third person plural pronouns appear in Northern Middle English texts is evidence that the second language learners with an imperfect command of English must have been a rather large fraction of the population in the North to pass on their mixed language to succeeding generations. It is well known that one such instantiation of imperfect learning is the imperfect acquisition of inflectional endings. In Northern Middle English texts there is evidence of confusion between two systems: The Old English paradigm with the

marked anterior fricative /θ/ and the Northern Middle English paradigm with the unmarked anterior fricative /s/. There are texts where scribes not only wrote /s/ for /θ/ but where they also hypercorrectly wrote /θ/ for /s/ in verbal endings. Therefore, this morphological change is likely to be due to imperfect learning in a contact situation. It will be shown below that this change might also be responsible for the fact that general embedded V2, as found in Old Norse, cannot be found in Northern Middle English.

The question is now how the Scandinavian CP–V2 grammar came into the Northern Middle English dialects. As noted above, in the districts where the invaders mainly settled there must have been intense contact between the two languages and thus the English natives were exposed to main clauses which categorically had the finite verb in second position. This pattern was a deviation from the Old English pattern where V2 and V3 orders could occur depending e.g. on the status of the subject. The crucial point here is that there was clear evidence that in the "new" grammar the finite verb moved higher than in the "old" grammar. The natives who first came into contact with the Scandinavians had evidence for two grammars, the Old English IP–V2 grammar and the Scandinavian CP–V2 grammar. As the influence of Scandinavian was very intense, the next generation of "native" speakers were exposed to data which clearly indicated that in main clauses the finite verb had to appear in second position and thus these speakers acquired a CP–V2 grammar. Southern speakers who were not influenced by Scandinavian in that way "kept" their Old English IP–V2 language. That is why in Northern Middle English texts we find clear evidence for a CP–V2 grammar whereas in Southern Middle English texts we find the Old English IP–V2 grammar.

### 6.5 V2 and cliticisation in the *Ormulum*

In section 6.4 it was shown that Northern Middle English texts can behave in different ways. There are texts like the works of Richard Rolle which show competition between V2 and non–V2 grammars but there are also texts like the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* which exhibit a consistent V2 grammar. It should be noted here, however, that the works of Richard Rolle were written earlier than the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* which is dated, as noted above, to the beginning of the fifteenth century. As the text was written in an isolated region the dialectal patterns of this region could well have been preserved longer than in other, less isolated, regions. In the following we will see how the *Ormulum* behaves to further "complete" the pattern because only if we investigate different Middle English texts written in different dialects can we get an overview of the Middle English situation.

In the *Ormulum*, pronominal subjects invert nearly as frequently as full subject DPs do. Thus, the most frequent patterns found are XP–Vfin–full subject DP/pronominal subject. This is illustrated with the examples below:

full object DP–Vfin–full subject DP/pronominal subject

- (139) Þiss **seggde** *Godess enngell* þær;  
This **said** *God's angel* there;  
(CMORM,I,25.309)
- (140) Þiss gife **gifeþþ** *Halig Gast* þa menn þatt wel himm cwemenn.  
This gift **gives** *Holy Gost* those men that well him serve.  
(CMORM,I,190.1565)
- (141) Þiss **sungenn** þegg, forrþi þatt tegg full wel þær unnderrstodenn...  
This **sang** *they* forthi that they full well there understood...  
(CMORM,I,136.1139)
- (142) Þatt **seggde** *he* ful iwiss.  
That **said** *he* fully knowing.  
(CMORM,I,21.282)

AdvP–Vfin–full subject DP/pronominal subject

- (143) Þuss **hafepþ** *ure Laferrd Crist* uss don godnessess seffne.  
Thus **haveth** *our Lord Christ* us done goodnesses seven.  
(CMORM,DED.L229.52)
- (144) Her **endenn** *twa Goddspelless* þuss.  
Here **end** *two Gospels* thus.  
(CMORM,I,120.1040)
- (145) get **wile** *icc* shæwenn guw forrwhi Goddspell iss Goddspell nemmedd.  
Yet **will** *I* show you why Gospel is Gospel named.  
(CMORM,PREF.L81.92)
- (146) Þuss **mihht** *tu* ledenn her þatt lif riht wel, wiþþ Godess hellpe...  
Thus **might** *you* lead here that life right well with God's help...  
(CMORM,I,217.1789)

There are only few cases where the pronominal subject does not invert with the finite verb as in the examples below:

- (147) All þiss þegg **unnderrstodenn** wel forr þatt itt Godd hemm uþe.  
All this *they* **understood** well for that it God them granted.  
(CMORM,I,118.1030)

- (148) Þuss þu **mihht** lakenn Drihhtin Godd wiþþ ox*e* i gode þæwess,...  
 Thus *you* **might** like Lord God with ox in good behaviour...  
 (CMORM,I,41.428)

Compared with the patterns found in the Richard Rolle texts, it becomes clear that the *Ormulum* does not behave in the same way, because in the former texts 1) full subject DPs do not invert with the finite verb as frequently as in the *Ormulum* and 2) pronominal subjects only invert with the finite verb about half of the time. Only in contexts where the non–subject topic is a PP adjunct do pronominal subjects behave as found in the Richard Rolle texts or in the "Ayenbite of Inwit" (see Table 2) , i.e., the pronominal subject frequently inverts with the finite verb:

- (149) Wiþþ swillc þu **presshesst** wel þe follc...  
 With such *you* **threshest** well the folk...  
 (CMORM,I,50.495)
- (150) Inntill þe land off gersalæm þegg **forenn** samenn baþe.  
 Until the land of Jerusalem *they* **went** together both.  
 (CMORM,I,113.976)

However, there is another striking difference between the behaviour of the Richard Rolle texts and the *Ormulum*. It was shown above that adverbs like "then" and "now" were losing their special status. Thus, in Table 4 we saw that full subject DPs as well as pronominal subjects inverted only half of the time in these contexts. What we find in the *Ormulum* is, however, that subjects nearly categorically invert whether it is a full DP or a pronoun. This finding is illustrated in the examples below:

Þa–Vfin–full subject DP/pronominal subject

- (151) Þa **magg** þatt trowwþe firþbrenn þe to winnenn Godess are.  
 Then **may** *that faith* encourage thee to win God's mercy.  
 (CMORM,I,44.458)
- (152) Þa **mihhte** wimmann berenn child þurrrh ful forrlegerrnesse.  
 Then **might** *woman* bear child through full adultery.  
 (CMORM,I,68.616)
- (153) Þa **lakesst** tu Drihhtin wiþþ shep gastlike i þine þæwess.  
 Then **likest** *you* Lord with sheep spiritually in your behaviour.  
 (CMORM,I,38.410)

- (154) Þa **presshesst** *tu þin corn wiþþ fleggl, i þatt tatt tu þeggm shæwesst.*  
Then **threshest** *you your corn with flail in that that you them showest.*  
(CMORM,I,50.494)

Nu–Vfin–full subject DP/pronominal subject

- (155) Nu **wepþþ** *Godess þeoww forr þa þatt wepenn her wiþþ sinne,...*  
Now **weepeth** *God's servant for those that weep here with sin,...*  
(CMORM,I,196.1611)
- (156) Nu **loke** *gure preost tatt he guw bliþelike spelle.*  
Now **look** *your priest that he You blithely spell.*  
(CMORM,I,30.348)
- (157) Nu **mihht** *tu sen þatt tatt wass riht þatt mannkinn for till helle.*  
Now **might** *you see that that was right that mankind went to hell.*  
(CMORM,INTR.L29.108)
- (158) Nu **habbe** *icc shæwedd guw summ del off þa Judisskenn lakess,...*  
Now **have** *I showed you some part of the Jewish sacrifices,...*  
(CMORM,I,36.394)

If these findings are compared with the findings in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* in Table 8 it becomes clear that the two texts behave alike in this respect. Thus, the patterns found in the *Ormulum* are very similar to the patterns found by Kroch & Taylor in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet*. The findings in the former text are shown in Table 9 again:

| preposed element | full subject DPs |                   |            | pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                  | number inverted  | number uninverted | % inverted | number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| DP complement    | 11               | 0                 | 100        | 12                  | 5                 | 71         |
| PP complement    | 1                | 1                 | 50         | 0                   | 0                 | 0          |
| Adj.complement   | 0                | 0                 | 0          | 0                   | 1                 | 0          |
| a/then           | 5                | 2                 | 71         | 33                  | 1                 | 97         |
| now              | 2                | 0                 | 100        | 12                  | 0                 | 100        |
| PP adjunct       | 10               | 1                 | 91         | 4                   | 8                 | 33         |
| any other adverb | 12               | 3                 | 80         | 10                  | 5                 | 67         |

Table 9: V2 in the *Ormulum*

In the *Ormulum* we also find nearly categorical inversion after the temporal adverbs "then" and "now" in clause-initial position. Again, as in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* this is not

surprising because we find V2 in nearly all contexts, i.e., we have a full-fledged CP–V2 system here, and thus it is only plausible that non–V2 patterns do not occur in this context.

So far we have dealt with the V2 phenomenon found in main clauses. In the following, V2 in embedded clauses will be discussed because the V2 pattern found in this type of clause could give us additional evidence for Scandinavian influence on the English language depending on the kind of embedded V2 we find (general embedded V2 or limited embedded V2). It could be assumed that if we found general embedded V2 here, which is the type of embedded V2 found in Old Norse, this would reflect Scandinavian influence whereas if we found limited embedded V2, which is found in Old English, this would show that it is a West Germanic pattern also found in Early Middle English.

As noted in section 6.3.1, we find cases of embedded V2 in Old English. Van Kemenade (1997) notes that in the Early Middle English text *The Sawles Warde* there is an example of embedded V2 after the bridge verb "say". The example is given below:

- (159) ... as ha soð seið þat þurh unweotennesse **ne mei** ha nawt sunegin.  
 ... as she truly says that *through ignorance* **not can** she not sin.  
 "... as she truly says that through ignorance she may not sin."  
 (van Kemenade 1997: 342)

In (153) the PP *þurh inweotennesse* "through ignorance" has been topicalised. According to Iatridou & Kroch (1992) the matrix verb "say" requires a V2 construction in the embedded clause, i.e., this is a CP–recursion environment here (see also Vikner, 1995). In *Vices and Virtues* we also find an example of embedded V2 under the bridge verb "say":

- (160) ... ðat ðe writt seið þat æure **bie** ðe mildce ouer ðe rihte dome.  
 ... that the writing says that *ever* **be** the merciful over the right judgement/law?  
 (CMVICES1,67.741)

Further, there are cases of embedded V2 in the contexts described above for Old English, i.e., constructions with impersonal verbs and impersonal passives embedded V2 is possible. The following example from *Vices and Virtues* is an example with an impersonal passive:

- (161) ... þat þurh an of his kenne **scolde** bien iblesced all mankenn.  
 ... that *through one of his summons* **should** be blessed all mankind.  
 (CMVICES1,115.1420)

In the *Ormulum*, we also find examples of embedded V2 although there are not many of them. First, there are cases where a V2 construction is embedded under a bridge verb like

"say". This is shown with the examples below:

- (162) Þatt seggde he forr þatt *tanne*  
That said he for that *then*

**Wass** cumenn i þiss middellærd  
**was** come in this world

Full mikell blisse & sellþe, ...  
fully much bliss and happiness ...  
(CMORM,I,132.1124)

- (163) Þatt seggde he ful iwiss forrþi  
That said he certainly forthi

Þatt *ta* **wass** cumenn time ...  
that *there* **was** come time ...  
(CMORM,I,21.282)

- (164) & te birrþ witenn þohh swa þehh  
and thee behoves—to know notwithstanding

& sikerrlike trowwenn,  
and to surely trust

Þatt *bape* **blennsepp** halig funnt,  
that *both* **ordain** holy font  
þe bodig & te sawle.  
the body and the soul.  
(CMORM,II,245.2510)

Moreover, there are also cases with impersonal constructions just as described for Old English above. Some of these examples are given below:

- (165) Forrþi þatt *tær* **wass** þurrh þa þreo  
Forthi that *there* **was** through those three

Þe Crisstenndom bigunnenn.  
the Christdom begun.  
(CMORM,I,235.1936)

- (166) Forr þatt itt shollde tacnenn  
For that it should signify

Þatt *her* **iss** twinne lufe sett  
that *here* **is** double love set

Bitwenenn menn onn eorþe;  
 between men on earth.  
 (CMORM,I,268.2189)

- (167) & ec I seggde littlær her  
 and also I said little–before here

Biforenn o þiss lare,  
 before on this teaching,

Þatt *bi þatt allterr* **stodenn** a  
 that *by that altar* **stood** always

Þatt ffolkess haligdomess.  
 that folk's sacred things.  
 (CMORM,I,57.528)

It should be noted here, however, that (165) could be analysed as having there–insertion. Moreover, in the examples (166) and (167) a locative adverbial has been fronted in the embedded clause. This could imply that locative inversion has taken place. It is a well–known fact that in Modern English locative adverbs can be preposed. Examples of locative inversion are given in (168), (169) is an example of there–insertion:

- (168) a. *In each hallway* has long stood a large poster of Lincoln.  
 (Emonds 1976: 99)  
 b. *Here* will stand the memorial to the war death.  
 (Emonds 1976: 99)
- (169) *There* jumped a horse over the fence.  
 (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990: 34)

According to Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), locative inversion and there–insertion adhere to an ergativity requirement, i.e., it is assumed that verbs which participate in this construction belong to the class of ergative intransitives (unergative verbs can also be ergativised by taking an internal small clause argument; for a discussion see Hoekstra & Mulder, 1990). However, even if we take these examples as being Locative Inversion rather than embedded V2, there are clear cases of embedded V2 in the *Ormulum* as shown above. Although the data is sparse, it seems as if the type of embedded V2 we find here is limited to certain contexts and resembles embedded V2 found in Old English whereas it seems to be different from general embedded V2 found in Old Norse or Modern Icelandic.

Eythórsson (1995) claims that in Old Norse (12th–14th century) the finite verb occurred in second position in main clauses as well as in embedded clauses, i.e., it belonged

to the languages of the general embedded V2 type (see Vikner 1995, ch. 4). Following Vikner (1995), I will assume that Old Norse and Modern Icelandic are languages which allow CP–recursion.

Cases of general embedded V2 are illustrated with the examples below: (170) a. shows a main clause with the finite verb in second position, (170) b. shows an embedded clause with the finite verb in second position<sup>95</sup>:

- (170) a. byrði betri / **berr–at** maðr brauto at.  
burden better **carry–not** man way on.  
"A man does not carry a better burden better along the way."  
(Eythórsson 1995: 193)
- b. ...því allir menn / **urðo–t** iafnspakir.  
...because all men **became–not** equally–wise.  
"...because all men didn't become equally wise."  
(Eythórsson 1995: 194)

He further notes that in West Norse (Old Norwegian, Old Norse) and East Norse (Old Danish, Old Swedish, Old Gutnish) the finite verb occurs after the first constituent in both main and embedded clauses. Whereas Modern Icelandic is still a "symmetric V2 language", the Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages have given up general V2 in embedded clauses<sup>96</sup> (they allow V2 only with bridge verbs, see (41)).

It has generally been claimed that there is a relation between rich verbal inflection and  $V^{\circ}$ –to– $I^{\circ}$  ( $V^{\circ}$ –to– $T^{\circ}$ ) movement. Moreover, Vikner (1995) observed that there is also a connection between embedded V2 and  $V^{\circ}$ –to– $I^{\circ}$  movement because only languages which allow for this movement allow general embedded V2. There may be at least one further factor which determines whether embedded V2 occurs in a language or not, namely if that language is a V2 language (i.e. it exhibits V2 in main clauses). We can observe that all languages which show embedded V2 also show the V2 phenomenon in main clauses. This could be taken as a one–way prediction because the fact that a language has main clause V2 does not necessarily imply that it also has embedded V2, i.e., embedded V2 is not sufficient here. Table 10 below shows, however, that  $V^{\circ}$ –to– $I^{\circ}$  movement seems to be a factor which plays

95 Eythórsson also notes, however, that in Old North Germanic (ca. 150–450 A.D.) the verb in main clauses could also occur in verb–final position:

- (i) ...daga[s]tiz *runo* **faihido**.  
...dagastiz *rune* **painted**.  
"...(I)...dagastiz painted the rune."  
(Eythórsson 1995: 181)

96 see also chapter 6, section 6.5.

an important role here:

|                       | ON | Ic. | Da. | No. | Sw. | Fa. | Ge. | Yi. | OE | NME |
|-----------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| V-to-I mvt.           | X  | X   | -   | -   | -   | -   | X   | X   | X  | -   |
| general<br>embeded.V2 | X  | X   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | X   | -  | -   |
| main cl. V2           | X  | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X   | X  | X   |

Table 10: The connection between V<sup>o</sup>-to-I<sup>o</sup> mvt. and general embedded V2

If we ignore the "main clause V2" factor then it becomes clear that there are four possible combinations of properties concerning general embedded V2 and V<sup>o</sup>-to-I<sup>o</sup> movement: There are languages like Old Norse, Modern Icelandic and Yiddish which have both properties; there are languages like Faroese, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian (and Northern Middle English) which have neither property; and there are languages like Modern German or Old English which have V<sup>o</sup>-to-I<sup>o</sup> movement but no general embedded V2. However, there is no language known which has embedded V2 but no V<sup>o</sup>-to-I<sup>o</sup> movement.

Table 10 shows that Northern Middle English patterns like the Mainland Scandinavian languages. As noted above, in Northern Middle English there is evidence that the Old English rich verbal agreement system had been reduced although we still find V<sup>o</sup>-to-T<sup>o</sup> movement. However, if we have a closer look at the texts we see that there is evidence that V<sup>o</sup>-to-T<sup>o</sup> movement is not "robust" anymore because in clauses with only a main verb and a VP-adverb like *wel* "well" we see that sometimes the verb is to the left of the adverb (i.e. it has moved) but sometimes it appears to the right of the adverb (i.e. it has not moved):

- (171) ... þatt tu **forrgife** *wel* all folc all wrapp & lappe, ...  
 ... that you **forgive** *well* all folk all wrath and hateful, ...  
 (CMORM,I,188.1556)
- (172) ... all affterr þatt we **fillenn** *wel* þa tene bodewordess.  
 ... all after that we **fulfill** *well* the ten commandements.  
 (CMORM,I,151.1253)
- (173) ... giff þatt tu *wel* itt **follghesst**, ...  
 ... if that you *well* it **followest**, ...  
 (CMORM,I,171.1411)
- (174) & tatt wass hagherrlike don, forr þatt tegg *wel* itt **wisstenn** ...  
 and that was quietly don for that they *well* it **knew** ...  
 (CMORM,I,231.1908)

These examples show that Northern Middle English was on its way to lose  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $T^{\circ}$  movement, i.e., the trigger experience for the language acquirer was not robust anymore to clearly deduce  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $T^{\circ}$  movement. Therefore, it is no surprise that it exhibits only few cases of embedded V2 because only languages which clearly have verb movement also have general embedded V2. Vikner claims that this is exactly what happened in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and for what seems to be taking place in Faroese at the moment, given that Old Norse had both  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement and embedded V2. The loss of the rich verbal inflectional paradigm of verbs caused the loss of  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement. Vikner notes that the loss of  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement was only possible because most of the evidence the acquirer was exposed to was ambiguous, i.e., clauses could be interpreted in both ways, either as having  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement or as lacking  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement. Following the assumption that language acquirers "use" something like the "The Acquisitional Least Effort Strategy" (Roberts, 1993) Vikner claims that the language acquirer would prefer the derivation with the least effort, i.e., without  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement. Thus, after a stage where some speakers would use  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement and some would not, the grammar without  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement would gradually drive out the one with movement. If we accept Vikner's assumptions we may explain what happened in Northern Middle English: as the loss of the verbal agreement system was due to imperfect learning in Northern Middle English it is plausible to assume that this development took place earlier in English than in Old Norse (it was noted above that Old Norse had a richer agreement system than Old English). We could say then that in this respect English was more innovative than Old Norse and therefore it is no surprise that we do not find general embedded V2 in Northern Middle English although it could still be found in Old Norse at the same time.

## 6.6 Conclusion

In this section it was shown that there are V2 patterns in Old English which cannot be found in Middle English texts depending on the dialect in which these texts were written. There are two main differences between Old English and the Middle English texts: 1) in Old English full subject DPs behave differently from pronominal subjects; in clauses with initial non-subjects the finite verb categorically precedes a full subject DP whereas it follows a pronominal subject; 2) there is a tendency for topicalised adverbs and PPs to adjoin to CP which results in V3 orders of the type  $XP - XP - V_{fin}$  ( $AdvP/PP - DP - V_{fin}$ ). Another phenomenon is crucial here, namely that in Old English after topicalised adverbs like "then"

and "now" there is only subject–verb inversion if the subject is a full subject DP, i.e. subject–verb inversion and V2 only occur when the subject is not a pronoun but a full subject DP. In Middle English texts like the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* and the *Ormulum* these patterns are not found. In fact, in contexts with clause–initial non–subject topics the finite verb is nearly categorically found in second position regardless of the status of the subject. Moreover, in these texts we do not find a tendency for topicalised adverbs or PPs to adjoin to CP, i.e., we do not find V3 orders as regular as in Old English. Although we do find nearly categorically the V2 pattern in contexts with clause–initial "then" and "now" this cannot express a V2 grammar of the Old English type because the behaviour of full subject DPs and pronominal subjects in contexts with clause–initial non–subject topics are clear evidence against such a grammar. Therefore, all the patterns found in the *Prose Rule of St. Benet* and the *Ormulum* clearly support the assumption that these texts have a V2 grammar of the Scandinavian type, i.e. a CP–V2 grammar pattern found in Old Norse, the language of the invaders.

It was further shown that general embedded V2 could not be found in the *Ormulum* but only rare cases of limited embedded V2 which could be merely remains of the Old English grammar. On the assumption that the text exhibits a Scandinavian CP–V2 grammar which reflects the Old Norse CP–V2 grammar it could have been expected that it also exhibits general embedded V2 (CP–recursion contexts) just like Old Norse. It was shown, however, that V–to–T movement is a crucial condition for general embedded V2 to occur, and the observation that Northern Middle English was about to lose V–to–T movement due to imperfect second language learning of English by the Norse invaders could be a plausible explanation why general embedded V2 is not found here. Old Norse, on the other hand, still had V–to–T movement and therefore also general embedded V2. Thus, the non–occurrence of general embedded V2 in Northern Middle English texts like the *Ormulum* could further reflect the consequences the language contact situation with Scandinavian had on the English language.

## CHAPTER 7: STYLISTIC FRONTING

### 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will deal with a further Scandinavian characteristic, stylistic fronting, which is only found in Modern Icelandic and Faroese today. So far we have seen that in Early Middle English texts from Northern and Northeastern areas we find phenomena which are not found in Southern texts and which look like phenomena also found in Scandinavian. I will show here that texts like the *Ormulum* also exhibit stylistic fronting and that this further finding strongly suggests that English was heavily influenced by Scandinavian. In the following the properties of the phenomenon will be described.

Stylistic fronting is a fronting operation which has been widely discussed in the literature because its description and explanation poses a number of interesting questions. Maling (1990)<sup>97</sup> was the first to claim that there are two fronting processes in Modern Icelandic which should be distinguished: topicalisation which applies to XPs like object DPs, PPs etc., and stylistic fronting which applies to elements like past participles, adverbs, adjectives and verb particles. The two processes are illustrated here in the examples (1) to (2):

#### Topicalisation

- (1) **Mariú** hef ég aldrei hitt.  
**Maria** (acc.) have I never met.  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 115)
- (2) **Í gær** keypti Ólafur þessa bók.  
**Yesterday** bought Olaf (nom.) this book.  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 115)

#### Stylistic Fronting

- (3) **Fram** hefur komið að...  
**Out** has come that...  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 115)
- (4) Fundurinn, sem **fram** hafði farið í **Ósló**, var skemmtilegur.  
the-meeting that **on** had gone in Oslo was fun  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 115)

Whereas topicalisation can occur in Mainland Scandinavian, stylistic fronting is not found in the modern Mainland Scandinavian languages but only in Modern Icelandic and Faroese. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate this:

<sup>97</sup> Maling's article was first published in *Íslenskt Mál*, 1980, and later reprinted in Maling & Zaenen, 1990.

Topicalisation in Swedish:

- (5) **Maria** har jag aldrig träffat.  
**Maria** have I never met.  
 (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 116)
- (6) **Igår** köpte Olaf denna bok.  
**Yesterday** bought Olaf this book.  
 (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 116)

Non-occurrence of stylistic fronting in Swedish:

- (7) \* **Fram** har kommit att...  
**Out** has come that...  
 (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 116)
- (8) \* Mötet, som **rum** har ägt i Oslo, var trevligt.  
 the-meeting that **on** has gone in Oslo was fun.  
 (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 116)

Although the fronting operation is found only in Icelandic and Faroese today, it occurred very frequently in the older stages of the Scandinavian languages. The examples given below are from Old Norse, Old Swedish and Middle Danish:

- (9) ON. ... at **heriat** var í ríki hans.  
 ... that **harried** was in kingdom. his.  
 "... that was harried in his kingdom."  
 (Nygaard 1906: 377)
- (10) OS. En [ ... ] som **likir** war enom hofman.  
 One ... that **alike** was a courtier.  
 "One ... that resembled a courtier."  
 (Falk 1993: 178)
- (11) OS. Tha som **lypt** war j messone.  
 When **lifted** was in Mass-the.  
 "When one lifted [i.e. the Host] in the Mass"  
 (Falk 1993: 178)
- (12) MD. Then gudh ther **bodæ** skapeth himmel oc iordh oc stiærneær.  
 The God that **both** created heaven and earth and stars.  
 "The God that created both, heaven and earth and stars."  
 (Vikner 1995: 162)
- (13) MD. ... och haf oc alt thet ther **fødh** ær i iørderige.  
 ... and sea and all that which **born** is in earth-realm.  
 "... and sea and all that is born in the realm of earth."  
 (Vikner 1995: 162)

The examples show that especially participles fronted to the "empty subject position". Under the assumption that stylistic fronting was part of the grammar of the Scandinavian invaders we should find this fronting operation in Early Middle English texts if language contact was as intense as claimed in this thesis. In section 7.4 we will see that stylistic fronting indeed occurs in the *Ormulum* with elements like participles, adjective phrases, adverbs and negation words and that the fronting of participles is most frequent. It will also become clear that these cases unambiguously exhibit stylistic fronting and that this finding is strong support for the hypothesis that Scandinavian influence was so intense that it triggered syntactic change in the verb phrase<sup>98</sup>. Before we will come to this discussion, we will first discuss the properties of stylistic fronting, so that we are able to distinguish it from operations like e.g. topicalisation.

Maling argues that stylistic fronting, unlike topicalisation, only occurs in clauses which contain a subject gap (which occurs in subject extraction sentences, impersonal sentences, extraposition sentences), a crucial condition, which will be discussed in section 7.2.1. This is illustrated in example (14):

- (14) Honum mætti standa á sama, hvað **sagt** væri um hann.  
Him (dat.) might stand on same what said was about him.  
(Maling 1990: 77)

(14) contains a subject gap between the wh-operator *hvað* and the finite verb *væri*. The past participle *sagt* has been moved to a position in that same space. However, as Maling notes, this position can also remain empty as example (15) illustrates:

- (15) Honum mætti standa á sama, hvað væri **sagt** um hann.  
Him (dat.) might stand on same what was said about him.  
(Maling 1990: 77)

Therefore, stylistic fronting seems to be an optional operation<sup>99</sup> (see also 7.3.2.2 for an explanation of optionality here).

If the subject DP has not been extracted from the embedded clause, stylistic fronting is not possible:

- (16) \* Honum mætti standa á sama, hvað **sagt** hefði Hjördís um hann.  
Him (dat.) might stand on same what said has H. about him.  
(Maling 1990: 77)

<sup>98</sup> It is not clear *how* intense language contact has to be to cause syntactic change in a language.

Unfortunately, there is no clear way of calibrating intensity of contact to expectations as to what may be borrowed (see chapter 3 and Thomason & Kaufman, 1989).

<sup>99</sup> It should be noted that depending on the speaker's generation stylistic fronting is more than just optional: it was pointed out to me that speakers of older generations strongly prefer stylistic fronting in the contexts given above whereas this is not the case for speakers of younger generations.

The same contrast can be shown for impersonal constructions. stylistic fronting may occur, as Maling notes, in impersonal passive constructions, but not in personal active constructions with an overt subject DP. This is illustrated in the examples below:

- (17) Það fór að rigna, þegar **farið** var af stað.  
It began to rain when **gone** was from place.  
(Maling 1990: 78)
- (18) \* Það fór að rigna, þegar **farið** var barnið heim.  
It began to rain when **gone** was the-child home.  
(Maling 1990: 78)

There is another construction in Modern Icelandic which makes stylistic fronting possible, Indefinite-DP Postposing. In these constructions, an indefinite DP can postpose and the subject gap created by this process can, according to Maling, be filled by an element which undergoes stylistic fronting:

- (19) Þetta er bærinn þar sem margir frægir Íslendingar eru **fæddir**.  
This is the town where many famous Icelanders are **born**.  
(Maling 1990: 80)
- (20) Þetta er bærinn þar sem **fæddir** eru margir frægustu menn þjóðarinnar.  
This is the town where **born** are many most-famous men the-nation (gen.).  
(Maling 1990: 80)

The differences between topicalisation and stylistic fronting are summarised by Maling in the following way:

|                                                              |                                                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (21) Topicalisation                                          | Stylistic Fronting <sup>100</sup>                                    |
| Applies to NPs, PPs, etc.<br>some adverbs,                   | Applies to past participles, adjectives,<br>particles, etc.          |
| Emphasis or focus on fronted<br>constituents                 | Emphasis or focus on fronted<br>not constituents necessarily present |
| Uncommon in embedded clauses                                 | Common in embedded clauses                                           |
| Judgements vary on fronting in<br>relatives, questions, etc. | Accepted by all speakers                                             |
| Unbounded                                                    | Clause bounded                                                       |
| Subject gap not required                                     | Subject gap required                                                 |

The differences Maling observed have mainly been confirmed by other researchers, except for one property as Holmberg (1997) notes, namely the fact that DPs and PPs can undergo stylistic fronting too<sup>101</sup>:

- (22) Þeir sem hafa verið **í Ósló** segja að...  
Those that have been **in Oslo** say that...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)
- (23) Þeir sem **í Ósló** hafa verið segja að...  
Those that **in Oslo** have been say that...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)
- (24) Þeir sem verða að taka **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun**...  
Those that have to take **this difficult decision**...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)
- (25) Þeir sem **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun** verða að taka...  
Those that **this difficult decision** have to take...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)

And there is further evidence from Scandinavian: according to Platzack (1988) in Old Swedish full object DPs could also undergo stylistic fronting. This is illustrated with the example below:

<sup>100</sup>Stylistic fronting is sometimes also called Stylistic Inversion which is misleading because the latter term is primarily used for a construction found in French.

<sup>101</sup>I would like to point out here that the status of clauses with a stylistically fronted DP or PP is not so clear: according to my informants stylistic fronting of DPs is generally not acceptable whereas stylistic fronting of PPs is better but not fully grammatical (they gave these cases a question mark).

- (26) ...sum **almoghan** ofridha moot thessum ræt...  
 ...that **peasants–the** (object) molest against this law...  
 "...who is molesting the peasants against this law..."  
 (Platzack 1988: 225)

Therefore, it seems that many elements which can undergo topicalisation can also undergo stylistic fronting and that there must be other conditions which determine the use of topicalisation and stylistic fronting.

In the following section, the properties of stylistic fronting are discussed. In section 7.3 we will deal with a number of theories which try to account for the phenomenon. From this discussion it should become clear that there are mainly two types of theories, both of which have problems explaining some properties of stylistic fronting. In section 7.4 it will be shown that in the text the *Ormulum* there occurs a phenomenon which seems to have exactly the same properties as described for stylistic fronting here. The findings from the text will be described and discussed. Section 7.5 concludes.

## 7.2 Properties of Stylistic Fronting

### 7.2.1 The subject gap condition

As shown above, stylistic fronting can only occur in clauses which contain a subject gap. Maling (1990) pointed out that this condition is the most crucial difference between topicalisation and stylistic fronting:

- (27) "Stylistic Fronting in an embedded clause is possible only if there is a subject gap in that clause."  
 (Maling 1990: 76)

Subject gaps can be created 1) by extracting the subject (ex. (14) and (15)), 2) by using impersonal passive constructions or lexically impersonal predicates (ex. (17)) or 3) by postposing indefinite DPs (ex. (19) to (20)). To illustrate this condition again, the example with subject extraction is repeated here:

- (28) Honum mætti standa á sama, hvað **sagt** væri um hann.  
 Him (dat.) might stand on same what **said** was about him.  
 (Maling 1990: 77)

Here, the subject has been relativised and the past participle *sagt* "said" has moved to a position in that same space. As Platzack (1988) notes, stylistic fronting can also be found in

Old Swedish whenever there is a subject gap:

- (29) ...sum **almoghan ofridha** moot thessum ræt...  
 ...that **the-peasants** (object) molest against this law...  
 (Platzack 1988: 225)
- (30) ...aen **oskipt** ær thera mællum...  
 ...if **undivided** is them between...  
 (Platzack 1988: 225)
- (31) ...sum **æn** fölghia i thessum balke...  
 ...that **later** follow in this section...  
 (Platzack 1988: 225)

In (29) an object has been fronted<sup>102</sup>, in (30) a predicative complement has been fronted and in (31) an adverbial has been fronted.

In her paper, Maling only discussed stylistic fronting in embedded clauses. Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990) claim, however, that this fronting operation can also be found in main clauses (see also ex. (3)):

- (32) **Keypt** hafa þessa bók margir stúdentar.  
**Bought** have this book many students.  
 (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 27)

In (32) the indefinite DP has been postposed which creates a subject gap. Therefore, the fronting of the past participle *keypt* "bought" is possible. Just as in embedded clauses, the fronting of the past participle here is only possible if the main clause contains a subject gap. If there is no indefinite DP which can be postposed as in (33) or if an object DP instead of the subject DP has been relativised as in (34) then stylistic fronting is not possible:

- (33) \* **Keypt** hafa stúdentarnir þessa bók.  
**Bought** have students-the book-this.
- (34) \* Honum mætti standa á sama, hvað **sagt** hefði Hjördis um hann.  
 Him (dat.) might stand on same what **said** has H. about him.  
 (Maling 1990: 78)

### 7.2.2 The categories which undergo Stylistic Fronting

In her paper, Maling (1990) defined stylistic fronting (in embedded clauses) as fronting of 1) a past participle, 2) an adjective, 3) an adverbial (especially adverbs such as *ekki*), and 4)

<sup>102</sup> An observation which supports Holmberg's claim that object DPs and PPs can also undergo stylistic fronting.

verbal particles. Examples (35) to (39) illustrate the fronting of these categories:

- (35) Hún benti á ýmsa roskna trésmiði í bænum, sem **byrjað** höfðu með  
She pointed to various old carpenters in town that **begun** had with  
engum efnum.  
nothing.  
(Maling 1990: 74)
- (36) Engum datt í hug, að **vert** væri að reyna að kynnast honum.  
No one (dat.) fell to mind that **worth** was to try to get-to-know him.  
(Maling 1990: 75)
- (37) og nú eigum við að vita...hvort **ekki** finnst meira þýfi hjá piltinum.  
and now ought we to know...whether **not** finds more stolen-goods on the-boy.  
(Maling 1990: 75)
- (38) Þá gæti enginn sagt með vissu, að **svo** hefði verið.  
then could no-one say with certainty, that **so** had been.  
(Maling 1990: 75)
- (39) ...og Sveinn fór smátt og smátt að...muna eftir öllu, sem **fram** hafði farið.  
...and Svein began little and little to...remember after all that **on** had gone.  
(Maling 1990: 75)

Holmberg (1999) claims that the fronting of the object DP and PP (see examples (23) and (25)) demonstrated here is indeed stylistic fronting and not topicalisation because they can only be fronted if there is a subject gap. This is demonstrated with the following examples with a pronominal subject in the embedded clause and the resulting ungrammaticality of stylistic fronting:

- (40) \* Vinnan sem hann hefur í **Ósló** haft...  
The job that he has **in Oslo** had...
- (41) \* Þegar hann hafði **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun** tekið...  
When he has **this difficult decision** taken...

Barnes (1987) shows that in Faroese stylistic fronting of an object DP is possible (from the contrast between the examples it seems that it is obligatory)<sup>103</sup>:

103 Again, according to my Icelandic informants it is not so clear that the elements fronted in Faroese are really object DPs. They pointed out to me that *stuttligt* looks more like an adjective in predicative use just as the Icelandic examples below demonstrate (*-lig* is the affix for adjectives or adverbs):

- (i) Ic. a. Hann hélt að **gaman** yrði að sjá þau aftur.  
He thought that **fun** would-be to see them again.
- b. Hann hélt að það yrði gaman að sjá þau aftur.  
He thought that EXP would-be fun to see them again.

- (42) Fa. a. Hann helt, at **stuttligt** mátti verið at sæð tey aftur.  
He thought that **fun** must be to see them again.
- b. \*Hann helt, at mátti verið **stuttligt** at sæð tey aftur.  
He thought that must be **fun** to see them again.  
(Barnes 1987: 13)

Thus, the evidence from Old Swedish and Faroese support Holmberg's observation that XP can undergo stylistic fronting.

### 7.2.3 Maling's Accessibility Hierarchy

Maling (1990) observed that if an embedded clause contains more than one of the elements which can undergo stylistic fronting, the fronting operation seems to be governed by the accessibility hierarchy shown in (43):

- (43) *ekki* > predicate adjective > past participle  
verbal particle

She illustrates the validity of the hierarchy in an example like (44):

- (44) a. Þeir voru að tala um hvað **hægt** hefði verið...  
They were to talk about what **possible** had been...  
(Maling 1990:81)
- b. \*Þeir voru að tala um hvað **verið** hefði hægt...  
They were to talk about what **been** had possible...  
(Maling 1990:81)

In (44) a. the predicative adjective *hægt* "possible" undergoes stylistic fronting here because it is higher in the hierarchy than the past participle *verið* "been". In (46) b. the past participle *verið* "been" has undergone stylistic fronting which leads to ungrammaticality because it is lower down in the hierarchy. Example (45) shows that if a clause contains a negation then only the negation can undergo stylistic fronting:

- (45) a. Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem **ekki** hefur verið dæmdur.  
This is the—criminal that **not** had been convicted.
- b. Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem \***dæmdur** hefur ekki verið.
- c. Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem \***verið** hefur ekki dæmdur.  
(Maling 1990:82)

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Note that in the example in b. an expletive is needed.

If the verb is construed with a particle then either the verb or the particle can move:

- (46) a. Fundurinn sem **fram** hafði farið í Ósló var skemmtilegur.  
The–meeting that **on** had gone in Oslo was fun.
- b. Fundurinn sem **farið** hafði fram í Ósló var skemmtilegur.  
The–meeting that **gone** had on in Oslo was fun.  
(Maling 1990: 82)

Maling (1990) also notes that if a clause contains more than one past participle only the last one in the linear order can be fronted:

- (47) a. Verðbólgan varð verri en **búist** hafði verið við.  
Inflation became worse than **counted** had been on.
- b. Verðbólgan varð verri en **við** hafði verið búist.
- c. Verðbólgan varð verri en **\*verið** hafði búist við.  
(Maling 1990: 82)

#### 7.2.4 Stylistic Fronting is clause-bound

As pointed out by Maling (see section 1.1), another difference between topicalisation and stylistic fronting is that the former is not clause-bound whereas the latter is, which means that stylistic fronting cannot apply across CP-boundaries. This is illustrated by the examples (48) and (49) which show the fronting operation of infinitives:

- (48) Menn [sem **lesa** munu [e] þessar bækur]...  
People who **read** will these books...  
(Sigurðsson 1989: 57)
- (49) Menn [sem **lesa** þurfa (\*að) [e] þessar bækur]...  
People who **read** need (\*to) these books...  
(Sigurðsson 1989: 57)

In (48) and (49) stylistic fronting of the infinitive *lesa* "read" is possible because the subject of the clause has been relativised and therefore created a subject gap (according to Sigurðsson the infinitive marker *að* "to" in (48) obligatorily disappears when the infinitive is fronted). Sigurðsson shows with these examples that modals take VPs or IPs, but not CPs. Control infinitives, on the other hand, are taken to be CPs. It would be expected then that stylistic fronting cannot apply to their infinitives. According to Sigurðsson this is borne out in the following examples:

- (50) Menn [[sem [e] reyna að **lesa** þessar bækur]]...  
 People who try to **read** these books...  
 (Sigurðsson 1989: 68 )
- (51) \* Menn [[sem **lesa** reyna [e] þessar bækur]]...  
 People who **read** try to these books...  
 (Sigurðsson 1989: 68 )

### 7.2.5 The effects of Stylistic Fronting

According to Holmberg (1997) stylistic fronting does not have any foregrounding effects. This property distinguishes stylistic fronting from topicalisation which is associated with some kind of foregrounding effect. A topicalised element often shows contrastive focus as Holmberg demonstrates with the following examples:

- (52) **Þessa bók** vil ég ekki lesa.  
**This book** will I not read.  
 (Holmberg 1997: 86)
- (53) **Í Ósló** hef ég verið mörgum sinnum, en aldrei í Kaupmannahöfn.  
**In Oslo** have I been many times but never in Copenhagen.  
 (Holmberg 1997: 86)
- (54) **Ekki** get ég að talað rússnensku.  
**Not** can I PRT speak Russian.  
 (Holmberg 1997: 86)

In the examples (52) to (54) the topicalisation of the elements in question has an effect on the 'pragmatic interpretation' of the sentence according to Holmberg. Moreover he claims that the order which is created by stylistic fronting is as unmarked as the alternative order without stylistic fronting. In many cases sentences with stylistic fronting get a more formal or literary flavour:

the attribute 'stylistic' is appropriate since the movement is optional in a sense to be detailed below, subject only to stylistic variation. It is stylistic in a different sense than for example topicalisation or heavy NP shift, since unlike these operations, SF does not even seem to have any discourse semantic effects. (Holmberg 1999:2)

### 7.2.6 The complementary distribution of Stylistic Fronting and the expletive *það* in main clauses

According to Holmberg (1997) in main clauses in Modern Icelandic and Faroese either an element which has undergone stylistic fronting or the expletive *það* can be found in sentence-initial position. This is illustrated in the examples (55) and (56):

- (55) **Það** hefur komið fram að Norðmenn fiska í leyfisleysi á chilensku fiskivæði.  
 EXP has come forth that Norwegians fish illegally in the Chilean fishing zone.  
 (Holmberg 1997: 86)
- (56) **Fram** hefur komið að...  
**Forth** has come that...  
 (Holmberg 1997: 86)

The expletive and the element fronted by stylistic fronting are in complementary distribution as the examples (57) and (58) show:

- (57) \* **Fram** hefur **það** komið að...?  
**Forth** has EXP come that...?  
 (Holmberg 1997: 88)
- (58) \* **Það** hefur **fram** komið að...?  
 EXP has **forth** come that...?  
 (Holmberg 1997: 88)

The expletive and the fronted element have to be sentence-initial, they cannot follow a verb moved to C°:

- (59) Hefur (\***það**) komið fram að...?  
 Has (EXP) come forth that...?  
 (Holmberg 1997: 88)
- (60) \* Hefur **fram** komið að...?  
 Has **forth** come that...?  
 (Holmberg 1997: 89)

### 7.3 Theories of Stylistic Fronting

During the last years a number of theories have been developed which try to explain the nature of stylistic fronting. Maling (1990) was the first to argue that "...stylistic fronting has served to fill the subject gap..." (Maling 1990: 77; she did not define the position to which the elements move). Platzack (1987) and Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990) argue that stylistic

fronting moves elements to a specifier position (Spec, IP). Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) analyse it as movement into Spec,Agr1P via Spec,Agr2P (Spec,IP). On the other hand, Jónsson (1991), Platzack & Holmberg (1995), and Poole (1996) claim that stylistic fronting is head–adjunction to I°. Thus, there are mainly two positions which are taken: 1) stylistic fronting moves XPs to a specifier position or 2) it moves heads to an I°–adjoined position. The following will be a discussion of the two types of theories. In section 7.3.1 the first type of analysis is discussed with Platzack (1987) and Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990). Section 7.3.2 deals with the second type of analysis with the theories of Jónsson (1991), Platzack & Holmberg (1995), and Poole (1996). Section 7.3.3 introduces the latest approach to stylistic fronting: Holmberg (1997, 1999) claims that the fronting operation is triggered by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) and that it only affects the phonological matrix of the moved category. Section 7.3.4 concludes.

### **7.3.1 Stylistic Fronting is movement to a specifier position**

#### **(Platzack 1987 and Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson, 1990)**

On the assumption that the finite verb moves to C° in V2 languages, Platzack suggests that verb movement to C° is a consequence of Case Theory. Case is assigned at S–structure by the head of a phrase which is adjacent to the DP complement. In the V2–languages, the subject DP is adjacent to C°, which is the head of the clause. Therefore, C° must be phonetically realised to function as a Case assigner. This is fulfilled either by moving the finite verb to C° or by having a complementiser in this position.

Empty subjects have to be properly governed. (Platzack assumes that empty subjects have to be licensed by the Empty Category Principle). By assuming the structure explained above and Rizzi's (1982) idea that the verbal inflection of null–subject languages may be specified with a feature [+ pronoun], Platzack comes to the conclusion that in Icelandic and Faroese, C° is marked with exactly this feature, which is also a necessary condition for the occurrence of stylistic fronting. Platzack postulates that the [+ pronoun] feature on C° absorbs nominative case which would otherwise be assigned to the subject position. It follows that the empty subject position can be freely used to function as a landing site for elements which undergo stylistic fronting. In languages where C° is [– pronoun] (languages which cannot have a null–subject) nominative case is assigned to the wh–trace in subject–position. No element can move into this position then because the trace would be erased and this would lead to a violation of the Case Filter, as the head of the chain would be without case. Thus,

languages with C° marked [– pronoun] cannot have stylistic fronting, whereas languages with C° marked [+ pronoun] exhibit stylistic fronting. In this way, Platzack accounts for the difference between the Mainland Scandinavian languages and the Insular Scandinavian languages with respect to the fronting operation (and also the null–subject parameter).

Platzack also claims that stylistic fronting is different from topicalisation: the former operation moves an element to the empty subject position, the latter operation moves an element to an XP position higher than the subject position.

In their paper, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990) criticise Platzack's analysis because it cannot account for a number of facts which shall be discussed here.

Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson explain the V2 phenomenon differently. They assume that there is only a single verb–movement in Icelandic (V°–to–I°) as opposed to the standard assumption that the verb moves twice (from V° to I°, and from I° to C°). According to Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson the evidence for the correctness of their analysis is the occurrence of topicalisation in embedded clauses as well as the lack of V°–to–C° movement<sup>104</sup>. The subject is base–generated in Spec,VP, subjects and non–subjects can move to Spec,IP in embedded as well as in main clauses. Thus, in main clauses the finite verb moves only once from V°–to–I° to get inflected. As there is no CP–projection, no further verb movement is needed. In embedded clauses the verb also moves only once. The only difference is that embedded clauses have a CP–projection with the complementiser being in C°.

First, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson point out that stylistic fronting occurs in adverbial clauses as often as in complement clauses. They illustrate this with the following examples:

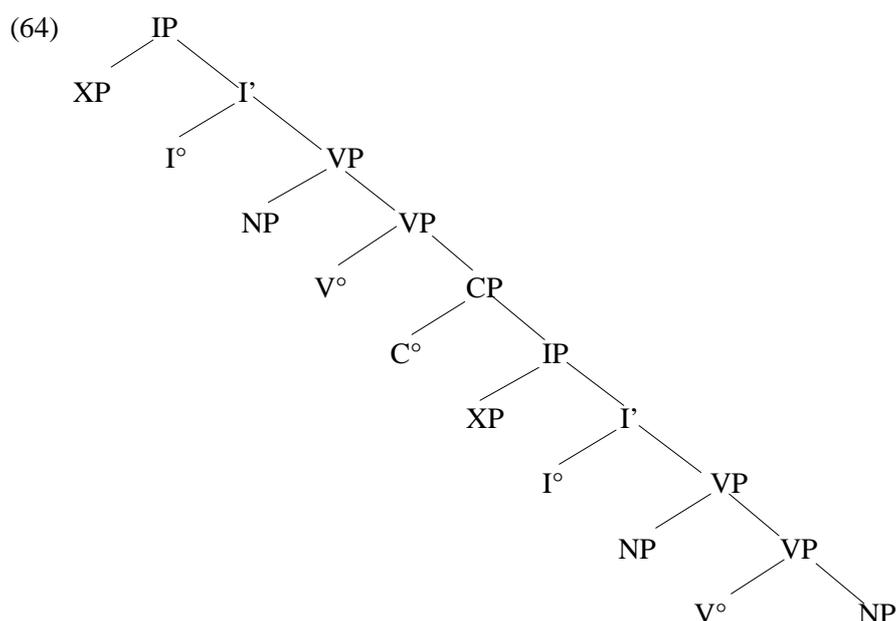
- (61) Ef **gengið** er eftir Laugaveginum...  
If **walked** is along the–Laugavegur.  
(Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 25)
- (62) Ég fer, nema **komið** verði til móts við óskir mínar.  
I leave, unless **come** gets to meeting with wishes mine.  
(Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 25)

As stylistic fronting appears to behave in the same manner in all types of embedded clauses, the same analyses should be applied. According to Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson this would mean that C° is marked [+ pronoun] in adverbial clauses too, although the features of adverbials are [+N, +V], which would mean then that a node which is not nominal is assigned [+ pronoun].

<sup>104</sup> see Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 7f.

Another problem for Platzack's analysis is that the that–trace filter is not valid in Icelandic. Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson point out that it is possible to extract subjects out of embedded clauses. The subject gaps which are created by this process make stylistic fronting possible then. This is illustrated in (63), the structure of which is given in (64):

- (63) Þessi maður held ég [að **tekið** hafi út peninga úr bakanum].  
 This man think I that **taken** has out money from bank–the.  
 (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 26)



Under Platzack's analysis the past participle *tekið* "taken" would have to move to the subject position (Spec,IP) which means that the trace of the extracted subject would be erased. Then, however, the extracted subject DP would have no way of getting its theta–role (according to Platzack the feature [+ pronoun] on C° absorbs Case but no theta–role) and the clause should be ill–formed. Under Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson's analysis such sentences do not cause problems: the subject DP moves directly from Spec,VP of the lower clause to Spec,IP of the higher clause not creating a trace in a position where the fronted element would have to move into. Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson also point out that problems arise with Platzack's analysis when an indefinite subject is postposed in an embedded clause. As shown in 7.1.1 stylistic fronting is possible in these constructions:

- (65) Ég hélt að **kysst** hefðu hana margir stúdentar.  
 I think that **kissed** had her many students.  
 (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 27)

Platzack assumes that stylistic fronting is possible here, because the subject position is coindexed with the postposed subject and therefore forms a chain with it. When stylistic fronting applies and the past participle *kysst* "kissed" moves to the empty subject position, the chain will be broken<sup>105</sup> (the trace in the subject position is erased by the past participle) and the sentence ought to be ungrammatical. Under Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson's analysis again, this problem will not arise, because the trace of the subject DP is in Spec,VP and not in Spec,IP.

Finally, another problem with respect to the differentiation between topicalisation and stylistic fronting is evoked under Platzack's analysis. According to Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson stylistic fronting can also occur in main clauses (see 7.1.1). For the reader's convenience the examples from above are given here again:

(66) **Keypt** hafa þessa bók margir stúdentar.  
**Bought** have this book many students.  
 (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 27)

(67) **Fram** hefur komið að...  
**Out** has come that...  
 (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 115)

As demonstrated before, fronting of past participles and verb particles can only occur if the clause contains a subject gap. The subject gap condition, however, is a criterion for stylistic fronting and not for topicalisation. Here, Platzack runs into problems because according to his analysis of V2, the structure of main clauses contains a CP, and the finite verb moves to C°. But C° is to the left of the subject position, which would mean that the past participle and the verb particle would have to move to the specifier of CP and not to the subject position, or the finite verb cannot have moved to C° in this case. Under Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson's analysis these problems do not arise because the finite verb moves to I° only, and the past participle as well as the verb particle will move to Spec,IP. In this way they can also explain why the subject gap condition is necessary for stylistic fronting although for them there is no difference between the landing sites of stylistic fronting and topicalisation. They conclude that "they are syntactically a unified process, even though they are certainly different functionally" (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 28).

Holmberg & Platzack (1995) argue, however, that there is evidence that these two processes cannot be the same syntactically. Whereas it is possible to extract out of clauses with stylistic fronting, this is not possible in clauses with topicalisation (see Holmberg &

<sup>105</sup> The same problem occurs in passive embedded clauses where a subject has been extracted.

Platzack, 1995, ch.4). Therefore, their analysis is also problematic in several respects which will be discussed below.

As shown above, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson's analysis is based on the assumption that the V2 phenomenon is movement of the finite verb to I° and not to C°. This is also assumed by Diesing (1988, 1990), Santorini (1988a,b, 1989), Heycock & Santorini (1992) and Iatridou & Kroch (1992) for Yiddish, by Pintzuk (1991) for Old English, and by Reinholtz (1989) for Danish. Vikner (1995) shows that such an analysis is problematic in several ways (see also Holmberg & Platzack, 1995 ch.4). First, Vikner shows that in Icelandic the subject must not follow the negation or the medial adverbial:

- (68) a. Hann veit að kannski las *Jón* **aldrei** bókina.  
He knows that maybe read *Jón* **never** book–the.
- b. \*Hann veit að kannski las **aldrei** *Jón* bókina.  
He knows that maybe read **never** *Jón* book–the.  
(Vikner 1995: 91)
- (69) a. Hann veit að kannski hefur *Jón* **ekki** lesið bókina.  
He knows that maybe has *Jón* **not** read book–the.
- b. \*Hann veit að kannski hefur **ekki** *Jón* lesið bókina.  
He knows that maybe has **not** *Jón* read book–the.  
(Vikner 1995: 91)

Example (68) a. and b. show that the subject *Jón* has to precede the adverbial **aldrei**. Example (69) a. and b. show that this is also true for the order subject–negation word. According to Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson the finite verb is in I° and the subject in Spec,VP. Vikner claims that the subject cannot be in Spec,VP in the examples above, because it has to precede a VP–adverbial whereas there are also examples with an expletive *það* and an indefinite subject DP which show that the subject can be taken to be in Spec,VP as it has to follow the adverbial:

- (70) Ég tel að það hafi **sjaldan** *margin stúdentar* lesið bókina.  
I think that there have **seldom** *many students* read book–the.

There is a clear contrast between (69) a. and b. and (70): the subjects in the former cases have to be in a higher position than the subject in the latter example.

Second, Vikner argues that the adverbial *örugglega* 'surely' has two different interpretations, which depend on its position in the sentence:

- (71) a. Jón mun **örugglega** hitta eplið.  
Jón will **surely** hit apple–the.
- b. Jón mun hitta eplið **örugglega**.  
Jón will hit apple–the **surely**.  
(Vikner 1995: 92)
- (72) a. Ég held að í gær hafi Jón **örugglega** hitt eplið.  
I believe that yesterday has Jón **surely** hit apple–the.
- b. Ég held að í gær hafi Jón hitt eplið **örugglega**.  
I believe that yesterday has Jón hit apple–the **örugglega**.  
(Vikner 1995: 92)

According to Vikner *örugglega* in (71) a. and in the embedded clause in (72) a. is a sentence–adverbial with the meaning ‘certainly/definitely/absolutely’. In (71) b. and (72) b., on the other hand, *örugglega* is a VP–adverbial with the meaning ‘in a sure manner’. The VP–adverbial has to be adjoined to VP or V–bar, because it follows the object (the b. examples). *Örugglega* as a sentence–adverbial has to be in a higher position, either adjoined to VP or to TP. This again shows that the subject then cannot be in Spec,VP but has to be in a higher position (Spec,IP).

Vikner claims that there is another argument in favour of his analysis, namely that there are scope interactions between adverbials and quantified objects:

- (73) a. Ólafur sagði að þess vegna hafði Jón **oft** lesið margar bækur.  
Ólafur said that therefore has Jón **often** read many books.
- b. Ólafur sagði að þess vegna hafði Jón lesið margar bækur **oft**.  
Ólafur said that therefore has Jón read many books **often**.  
(Vikner 1995: 94)

The meanings of (73) a. and (73) b. are different: (73) a. means that *Jón* often reads many books (for some reason), whereas (73) b. means that there are many books which *Jón* often reads. The adverbial in (73) a. has larger scope than the one in (73) b. in sentence–final position. If the VP–adverbial is adjoined to VP or V–bar, the sentence–adverbial has to be higher, which means again that the subject has to be in an even higher position.

Third, Vikner points out that subject–verb agreement in Icelandic is also evidence for the assumption that topics cannot occur in Spec,IP. If subject–verb agreement reflects spec–X° agreement, it cannot arise inside VP or IP, because the agreeing head is neither the verb stem nor the tense ending, but the inflectional ending which is generated in I°. Vikner claims that if the topic were in Spec,IP the finite verb should agree with the topic, and not with the

subject. But if the topic was not in Spec,IP but in Spec,CP, the subject could be in Spec,IP, and the finite verb could agree with it. This is borne out as can be seen in example (74):

- (74) a. ... að [CP bókina [C° **hafa** [IP börnin lesið í gær ...]]]  
 ... that book–the have children–the read yesterday.
- b. \*... að [CP **bókina** [C° **hefur** [IP börnin lesið í gær ...]]]  
 ... that book–the has children–the read yesterday.  
 (Vikner 1995: 101)

Example (74) a. shows subject–verb agreement, example (74) b. shows topic–verb agreement and the sentence is ungrammatical (for further arguments against the 'topicalisation to IP–spec analysis, see Vikner 1995: ch. 4).

It was shown above that the V2 phenomenon cannot be readily explained by an analysis which moves the subject and the topic into Spec,IP. It was also shown that the assumption that the subject therefore is situated in Spec,VP cannot be correct. As Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson's analysis of stylistic fronting is based on these assumptions it has to be rejected. However, the subject gap condition seems to be very strong and therefore, the assumption that the subject position (Spec,IP) is directly involved in the fronting process appears to be plausible. Vikner observes that in Faroese stylistic fronting must be movement into (or through) Spec,IP, because it is obligatory if the subject is missing (passivised), or if the subject is postposed (indefinite subject DP postposing), whereas it is optional when the subject has been extracted (relativised). In Icelandic, stylistic fronting would be optional in all three cases. Examples (75) to (77) show stylistic fronting in Faroese:

- (75) a. Tað var eitt slíkt devils sinni, ið **á hann** kom.  
 It was a such devil's anger that on him came.
- b. Tað var eitt slíkt devils sinni, ið kom **á hann**.  
 It was a such devil's anger that came on him.  
 (Vikner 1995: 118)
- (76) a. Kjartan sat heima, meðan **farið** varð í kirkjuna.  
 Kjartan sat home while gone was to church–the.
- b. \*Kjartan sat heima, meðan varð **farið** í kirkjuna.  
 Kjartan sat home while was gone to church–the.  
 (Vikner 1995: 118)
- (77) a. Hann helt, at **stuttligt** mátti verið at sæð tey aftur.  
 He thought that fun must be to see them again.

- b. \*Hann helt, at mátti verið **stuttligt** at sæð tey aftur.  
 He thought that must be fun to see them again.  
 (Vikner 1995: 118)

Vikner claims that the fact that stylistic fronting is optional in (75) and obligatory in (76) and (77) could be due to the ECP. In (75) Spec,IP contains a trace of the empty operator in Spec,CP, and *ið* in  $C^\circ$  is a proper governor. In the examples (76) and (77) Spec,IP has no content, as Faroese does not have empty expletives, and neither *meðan* nor *at* are proper governors. Vikner concludes that these sentences are saved from violating the ECP through stylistic fronting (movement of the elements in question into or through Spec,IP).

The theories which define stylistic fronting as movement of an element to a specifier position presuppose that heads like past participles, adjectives, verb particles etc. move to a specifier position, although this is ruled out in standard versions of GB Theory and the Principle and Parameters Theory. Another problem is that the fronted element would have to move into Spec,IP, a position which is standardly taken to host the trace of the subject if it has been moved out of its position. For this reason there are a number of theories which take stylistic fronting to be head–adjunction to  $I^\circ$ . In the next section these theories will be discussed.

In this section theories which explain stylistic fronting as movement to a specifier position (mainly the subject position Spec,IP) were discussed. Platzack assumes that the fronted elements move to Spec,IP on the basis that V2 is movement of the finite verb to  $C^\circ$ . He also assumes that  $C^\circ$  contains the feature [+pronoun] which is problematic, however, for the analysis of stylistic fronting in adverbial clauses. He further has not explained stylistic fronting in main clauses. Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson also explain the fronting operation as movement to a specifier position, but they claim that the V2 phenomenon in Icelandic has to be explained as movement of the finite verb from  $V^\circ$ –to– $I^\circ$  only and therefore stylistic fronting takes place in Spec,VP. That their base assumption cannot be correct is shown by Vikner. He takes the V2 phenomenon as evidence for a CP–recursion structure and analyses stylistic fronting as a tool to avoid the violation of the ECP. This analysis, like the other analyses which define stylistic fronting as movement to a specifier position, cannot explain how heads like participles and adjectives can move to a specifier position without violating standard principles.

### 7.3.2 Stylistic Fronting is head–adjunction to I°

(Jónsson, 1991; Platzack & Holmberg, 1995)

Jónsson's study is a very detailed treatment of stylistic fronting. He takes the fronting operation to be head movement (see also Cardinaletti & Roberts, 1991). He claims that this assumption is supported by the fact that past participles and adjectives which are moved by stylistic fronting may leave behind material within their maximal projections. He demonstrates this with the following examples:

(78) Þetta er maður sem **leikið** hefur [<sub>VP</sub> t níttú leiki].  
This is a man who **played** has ninety games.  
(Jónsson 1991: 2)

(79) Þeir sem **ánægðir** eru [<sub>AP</sub> t með kaupidð] kvarta ekki.  
Those who **content** are with pay–the complain not.  
(Jónsson 1991: 2)

In (78) the past participle *leikið* "played" has been moved out of its VP leaving behind material within the VP. Example (79) shows the same kind of fronting out of an AP.

Jónsson argues that analyses which claim that stylistically fronted elements like participles – which are taken to be heads – move to a specifier position cannot be correct because head movement to a specifier is generally ruled out by Emond's Structure Preserving Hypothesis<sup>106</sup> (1976) together with basic assumptions of X-bar theory (Chomsky, 1986).

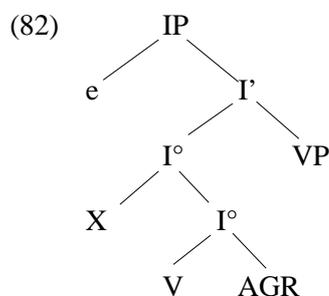
Jónsson gives examples which show that no element can intervene between a stylistically fronted element and the finite verb, whereas it is possible to insert parentheticals between the subject and the finite verb. This is illustrated in the examples (80) and (81):

(80) Ég hélt að **Jón** (eins og sannur skáti) **myndi** hjálpa gömlu konunni  
I thought that **Jón** (like a true scout) **would** help old lady–the  
að komast yfir götuna.  
to cross street–the.  
(Jónsson 1991: 3)

(81) Ég hélt að **byrjað** (\*eins og María hafði sagt) **yrði** að opna pakkana  
I thought that **started** (\*like Mary had said) **would–be** to open presents–the  
strax eftir kvöldmatinn.  
right after supper.  
(Jónsson 1991: 3)

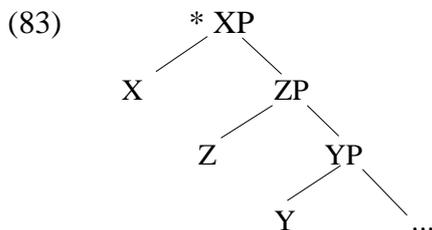
<sup>106</sup> See also the version of Structure Preservation in Chomsky (1986).

Jónsson observes that the clear contrast shown above suggests that an element which has undergone stylistic fronting is closer to the finite verb than the subject. Therefore, he proposes that the fronting operation is head–adjunction to  $I^\circ$ , which is illustrated below:



(from Jónsson 1991: 3)

Jónsson notes that at first sight it seems as if stylistic fronting obeyed the Head Movement Constraint of Travis (1984)<sup>107</sup>. It says that head movement takes place in a cyclic fashion, i.e., that every step during a movement process must be to the next c–commanding head (head movement cannot skip heads):



Jónsson points out, however, that stylistic fronting obviously violates the Head Movement Constraint as can be seen in example (84):

- (84) Þetta er versta bók sem **skrifuð** hefur verið t.  
 This is the worst book that **written** has been.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 5)

In (84) the past participle *skrifuð* "written" actually skips two preceding heads, namely the auxiliaries *hefur* "has" and *verið* "been". According to the Head Movement Constraint this should not be possible.

It can also be observed, that if a clause contains more than one head which is able to undergo stylistic fronting, blocking effects emerge:

<sup>107</sup> The Head Movement Constraint derives from the ECP (empty categories have to be properly governed) or Relativised Minimality (Rizzi, 1998).

- (85) Þetta er aðferð sem **ekki** hefur t verið reynd á mönnum.  
This is a method that **not** has been tried on people.  
(Jónsson 1991: 5)
- (86) \* Þetta er aðferð sem reynd hefur **ekki** verið t á mönnum.  
This is a method that tried has **not** been on people.  
(Jónsson 1991: 5)

Here the negation *ekki* "not" blocks stylistic fronting of another head. On the other hand, there are cases with two heads in a clause and both can move without evoking blocking effects:

- (87) Þetta eru leiðinlegustu kosningar sem **farið** hafa t fram.  
These are the most boring elections that **gone** have forth.  
(Jónsson 1991: 6)
- (88) Þetta eru leiðinlegustu kosningar sem **fram** hafa farið t.  
These are the most boring elections that **forth** have gone.  
(Jónsson 1991: 6)

Here either the past participle *farið* "gone" moves as in (87), or the verb particle *fram* "forth" as in (88). Jónsson tries to explain this phenomenon with a "somewhat relaxed version of Rizzi's (1990, 1998) Relativized Minimality"<sup>108</sup> as he calls it. He revises Rizzi's definition the following:

- (89) Relativized Minimality:

X a-governs Y if there is no Z such that  
(i) Z is a typical potential a-governor for Y,  
(ii) Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X,  
(iii) the position occupied by X is a possible landing site for Z.  
(Platzack 1991: 10)

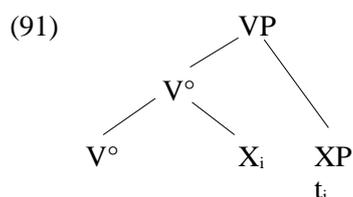
According to Jónsson the new requirement defined in (iii) says that there is a configuration where Z can be moved to a position which is occupied by X. What this means for an example like (82), where the negation blocks stylistic fronting of a participle, is that the participle is a head X, the negation a head Z, and the trace of the participle Y. The negation qualifies as Z because it c-commands the trace but does not c-command the participle. Moreover, it can move to the position which is occupied by the participle (X). Because it is the "right" intervener, the negation can block stylistic fronting of the participle. If there is no negation then there is no intervener and the participle can undergo stylistic fronting.

<sup>108</sup> Jónsson, J.G. "Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 48: 4.

According to what was said above, stylistic fronting of a head over another head is ruled out and therefore the sentence should be ungrammatical. There are cases, however, like (90) where a verb particle can undergo stylistic fronting although it moves over another head (the verb):

- (90) [ þegar **fram** fara t kosningar ] er alltaf mikið fjör.  
 ...when **forth** go elections is always a lot of action.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 11)

Jónsson points out that the reason why the verb particle can move over the verb which counts as an intervener is that it adjoins to the verb. The structure Jónsson assumes is illustrated in (91):



Following Roberts (1991), the verb will not count as a head because it is realised in two segments. Jónsson argues that if adjunction to the head is taken to be the correct analysis, then stylistic fronting of prepositions, verb particles and adjectives can be correctly described and explained, because the verb does not count as an intervening head<sup>109</sup>.

As pointed out in section 7.3.2, analyses which define stylistic fronting as movement of the fronted element into the subject position are problematic, because they assume that the fronted element has to move in a position from which the subject has moved out leaving a trace behind. Jónsson, on the other hand, takes stylistic fronting to be head–adjunction to I° and thus predicts that the subject position can be used in sentences with stylistic fronting. He notes, however, that cases like (92) seem to be problematic for his analysis at first sight:

- (92) \*Eg held að Jón **séð** hafi t þessa mynd.  
 I think that Jón **seen** has this film.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 18)

Example (92) contains an overt subject *Jón* and the participle *séð* "seen" has undergone stylistic fronting. According to Jónsson's analysis, the subject position is available in such

<sup>109</sup> Jónsson allows excorporation which implies that we then can take the HMC to apply standardly. He notes, however, that the availability of the adjunction seems to be restricted by adjacency conditions between the moved element and the verb and the semantic relationship between the two.

sentences, and therefore should not be ungrammatical. He argues that (92) is ungrammatical for different reasons: The element which has undergone stylistic fronting intervenes between the finite verb and the subject and therefore blocks Case–assignment (see also Platzack 1987, and Holmberg & Platzack 1995). Jónsson notes that the adjacency conditions for Case–assignment hold quite generally in Icelandic, and he demonstrates this with examples which show that verbs and their objects cannot be separated:

- (93) \*Jón **sá** í gær **Maríu**.  
 Jón **saw** yesterday **Maria**.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 18)

From what was said so far, it becomes clear that Jónsson assumes that in sentences where stylistic fronting has applied, the subject position cannot be filled with an overt subject which requires case. The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) from Chomsky (1982), however, requires every sentence to have a subject. Jónsson therefore argues that expletive *pro* occupies the subject position of clauses with stylistic fronting. This is illustrated below:

- (94) Ég fer heim þegar *pro* **búið** er t að mála.  
 I go home when **finished** is to paint.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 23)

In order to be able to assume this, Jónsson has to claim that *pro* here need not be Case–marked because it does not receive Case (the participle *búið* acts as an intervener and therefore blocks Case–assignment). For an example like (95)

- (95) a. Í morgun hefur (\*það) rignt.  
 This morning has it rained.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 22)
- b. Í morgun hefur *pro* rignt.  
 This morning has rained.  
 (Jónsson 1991: 23)

he assumes that *pro* has to fill the subject gap too, because expletive *það* is grammatical only in clause–initial position. Following Borer’s (1989) analysis of *PRO* and *pro*, Jónsson takes *pro* to be a category which is Case–marked in some positions but not in others. Thus, *pro* in subject positions of clauses with stylistic fronting and infinitives is not Case–marked, whereas *pro* in sentences with weather verbs is Case–marked. Holmberg & Platzack (1995) argue that an explanation based on nominative Case–assignment is insufficient. They argue that the

following examples support their assumption:

- (96) \*Ég hélt [að[ IP margir stúdentar [ I° **keypt** hefðu] þessa bók ]  
I thought that many students (N) bought had this book (A).  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 119)
- (97) \*Ég hélt [að [IP einhverjum [ I° **þótt** hefði] Ólafur leiðinlegur]  
I thought that someone (D) thought had Olaf (N) boring (N).  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 119)

Example (96) shows an embedded clause with stylistic fronting and an indefinite nominative subject which is non-adjacent to the finite verb. Example (97) shows an embedded clause with stylistic fronting and a dative subject as well as a nominative object. Although the subject is an oblique subject, the sentence is still ungrammatical. Therefore, Jonsson's assumption that the stylistically fronted element blocks Case-assignment cannot be correct.

Holmberg & Platzack note that according to Rizzi Spec,IP must be an A-position if it hosts the subject of a clause, and I° agrees with Spec,IP then. They point out that the phi-feature responsible for this agreement is invisible, it is neither part of Agr nor part of the verbal inflection of the finite verb. They suppose that the phi-feature behaves like a clitic, that is, it adjoins to I°. If this is the case, then adjunction to I° of another element (the element which undergoes stylistic fronting) is blocked. In a clause with indefinite subject DP-postposing stylistic fronting can take place. Holmberg & Platzack assume that in these cases the subject position is filled by *pro* as is illustrated in the example below:

- (98) Ég hélt [að [I° *pro*<sub>i</sub> [I° **keypt** hefðu]] þessa bók margir stúdentar<sub>i</sub>]  
I thought that **bought** had this book (A) many students (N).  
(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 119)

They suggest that the overt subject has been postposed leaving a trace in Spec,VP. *Pro* is licensed because it is governed by C° (*að*) which contains the finiteness feature [+F], and it gets an interpretation as a true expletive because it is coindexed with this head, which doesn't have phi-features. [+F] is licensed by nominative Agr in I°, which is head-governed by the feature [+F]. They further assume that the trace in Spec,VP is in a position where nominative Case is indirectly licensed whereas the overt nominative indefinite subject DP *margir stúdentar* "many students" forms an A' chain with this trace, and is therefore Case-licensed. In clauses where a subject DP has been relativised and stylistic fronting has taken place Holmberg & Platzack also assume there to be *pro* in the subject position (Spec,IP). This is illustrated in an example like (99):

- (99) Þessi maður<sub>i</sub> held ég [CP e<sub>i</sub> að [IP *pro* tekið hafi [VP e<sub>i</sub> út peninga úr  
 This man think I that taken has (3sg.) out money from  
 bankanum]]]  
 bank–the.  
 (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 120)

In a construction like (99) a *wh*-phrase must bind a variable, that is, an empty head of an A-chain which must be in an A-position. But as Holmberg & Platzack noted above, Spec,IP is not licensed as an A-position when stylistic fronting has applied, therefore it should not be possible here to have a *wh*-trace in Spec,IP. Holmberg & Platzack claim that *pro* fills the subject position and that the *wh*-trace is in Spec,VP. The finite verb *hafi* "has" agrees with the relativised nominative subject DP and also with the trace in Spec,VP. Thus, the EPP requirement that there should be a VP-external position coindexed with a theta-position within VP is fulfilled by Agr on the finite verb. Holmberg & Platzack conclude that the assumption that stylistic fronting is head-adjunction to I° with Agr is well founded and can explain the phenomenon best. An analysis of stylistic fronting as head-adjunction to I° is also problematic, for the following reasons:

Jónsson and Holmberg & Platzack cannot plausibly explain why clauses with stylistic fronting have to contain a subject gap. Jónsson argues that an overt subject in a clause where stylistic fronting has applied cannot get Case<sup>110</sup>. Holmberg (1999) notes, however, that there is no reason to assume that adjunction of a verb, verb particle, etc., would have that effect, because the head which adjoins to another head will have all of the host's features. But then it is not clear why heads like verbs, verb particles etc. should affect the Case-assignment properties of I°, as they do not themselves check Case. Holmberg & Platzack, on the other hand, claim that the subject gap which seems to be there in clauses with stylistic fronting is actually filled by *pro* which "saves" these kinds of constructions because it does not need Case. However, they cannot explain how a relativised subject DP as in an example like (102) above will get Case then, because *pro* occupies exactly the position (Spec,IP) where the subject normally gets Case.

Moreover, Jónsson and Holmberg & Platzack cannot explain why XPs like DPs and PPs can undergo stylistic fronting, because adjunction of an XP to a head is not allowed. The fact that XPs can undergo the fronting operation too was briefly discussed in 7.1. The

<sup>110</sup> Examples like (i) from Modern English also show that Jónsson's analysis cannot be correct:

- (i) John never will visit you again.

Here *never* intervenes between *will* and the subject DP *John* but the clause is still grammatical.

examples which illustrate this are repeated here:

- (100) Þeir sem hafa verið **í Ósló** segja að...  
Those that have been **in Oslo** say that...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)
- (101) Þeir sem **í Ósló** hafa verið segja að...  
Those that **in Oslo** have been say that...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)
- (102) Þeir sem verða að taka **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun...**  
Those that have to take **this difficult decision...**  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)
- (103) Þeir sem **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun** verða að taka...  
Those that **this difficult decision** have to take...  
(Holmberg 1997: 84)

As we have already seen, stylistic fronting of DPs and PPs requires a subject gap. Further, the fronting operation is optional in subject–extraction contexts and in impersonal sentences.

If stylistic fronting can be explained by the Head Movement Constraint and head–adjunction then heads like the negation *ekki* "not" should not be able to block the fronting of XPs (because it is taken to be another movement operation). This is not borne out, as example (104) shows:

- (104) a. Þeir sem hafa **ekki** búið **í Ósló**...  
Those that have **not** lived **in Oslo**...
- b. Þeir sem **ekki** hafa búið **í Ósló**...
- c. \*Þeir sem **í Ósló** hafa **ekki** búið...
- (Holmberg 1999: 14)

The example in (104) c. is ungrammatical because fronting of the PP *í Ósló* is blocked by the negation *ekki*. The only category which can undergo stylistic fronting here is the negation itself as shown in (104) b. According to Holmberg this shows that the fronting of the PP *í Ósló* "in Oslo" is indeed stylistic fronting, and it further shows that it cannot be head–adjunction to  $I^\circ$  because *í Ósló* is not a head but an XP (see (104) c.). Hence, Maling's Accessibility Hierarchy cannot be due to the Head Movement Constraint.

The arguments against an analysis of stylistic fronting as head–adjunction to  $I^\circ$  clearly demonstrate that this cannot be the right way to analyse the fronting operation and therefore has to be rejected, provided we are presented with a better alternative.

### 7.3.3 Stylistic Fronting checks the p–feature in I°

(Holmberg 1997,1999a,1999b)

As discussed above, there are two kinds of approaches to stylistic fronting: those analyses which were discussed in section 7.3.1 take the fronting operation to be movement to the subject position (Spec,IP), and the analyses discussed in 7.3.2 which take it to be head–adjunction to I°. In this respect Holmberg’s theory (1997,1999) is closer to the former type of analyses, because he also assumes that stylistic fronting is movement to Spec,IP. For him the trigger of stylistic fronting is a version of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). The EPP stipulates that every sentence has a subject (an A–position outside the predicate phrase). In languages which do not allow null–subjects the subject must be overt or there must be an expletive if the sentence lacks a thematic subject. This is illustrated in example (108):

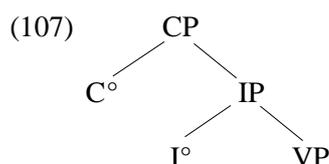
- (105) a. **An accident** has occurred.  
 b. **There** has occurred an accident.  
 c. \*Has occurred an accident.

Null–subject languages (for example Italian) on the other hand, have a null expletive which satisfies the EPP:

- (106) È successo un incidente.  
 has occurred an accident.  
 (Holmberg 1997: 95)

Holmberg’s extended version of the EPP says that the condition can be satisfied by other categories than the subject, in fact, it need not even be a nominal category (this will be seen below)<sup>111</sup>.

Holmberg’s analysis draws especially on the theories of Chomsky (1995), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995). Holmberg suggests the following structure for finite sentences in Scandinavian:



<sup>111</sup> see also Heycock, C. 1994.

Within the theory of Feature–movement (Chomsky, 1995) finite  $I^\circ$  is coupled with a nominal feature (or a set of features). This set is labelled [D] by Chomsky and is an uninterpretable feature. For this reason, it must be checked and deleted in the course of the syntactic derivation. It will attract a category with the feature [D] to its checking domain, that is, either  $I^\circ$  or Spec,IP. D–marked categories include DPs (including definite DPs), pronouns, pronominal clitics, and in some languages, verbal morphology. The assumption that rich verbal morphology is D–marked is elaborated in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998). They claim that [D] can be checked either by the features of a DP moved to Spec,IP (AgrSP) or merged with Spec,IP, or by a head with phi–features which is adjoined to  $I^\circ$ . In languages with rich agreement morphology on the verb, movement of the finite verb to  $I^\circ$  is sufficient to check [D]. Holmberg, however, notes that in many languages both the verb and the DP move in the unmarked case. He takes this to mean that the feature [D] in  $I^\circ$  attracts all available instantiations of D in its domain. If there is no subject available (in impersonal constructions) or if the subject lacks the D–feature (according to Chomsky, 1995, indefinite arguments are NPs, not DPs) then the feature [D] in  $I^\circ$  can be checked by the phi–features of the finite verb alone in these languages. On the other hand, languages which do not have rich agreement–morphology on the finite verb (no phi–features) have to move the D–feature of an argument DP to the checking domain of [D] or, if the subject is not available, merge a nominal expletive with Spec,IP. Many languages need only move the finite verb to  $I^\circ$  in order to check the [D]–feature (leaving the subject in Spec,VP if there is one), and that is why such impersonal sentences surface as verb–initial. In Icelandic, either the expletive *það* or the participle have to appear in this position to check the [D]–feature:

- (108) a. Ef **það** er gengið eftir Laugavegur.  
If EX is gone along Laugavegur.
- b. Ef **gengið** er eftir Laugavegur.  
If **gone** is along Laugavegur.
- c. \*Ef er gengið eftir Laugavegur.  
If is gone along Laugavegur.  
(Holmberg 1999: 10)

The examples show that either the expletive or stylistic fronting is needed here, the contrast between (108) a., b. and (108) c. shows that these clauses indeed must have one or the other. Holmberg notes that this phenomenon is due to another type of feature which he calls [P]–feature (phonological feature). This feature requires that Spec,IP be lexically filled in all

finite sentences, because it is an uninterpretable feature which has to be checked by a phonologically visible category merged or moved to Spec,IP. In null–subject languages both features ([D] and [P]) can be checked by the finite verb. In Icelandic, the expletive *það* checks [P]. Holmberg claims that exactly this feature also triggers overt movement of a definite subject.

It is a well–known fact that the Mainland Scandinavian languages differ from the Insular Scandinavian languages (Icelandic, Faroese) in a number of ways: The former languages lack subject–verb agreement morphology,  $V^{\circ}$ –to– $I^{\circ}$  movement, and stylistic fronting, phenomena which the latter languages exhibit. Holmberg assumes that the differences between the two language groups is due to the presence or absence of a D–marked agreement morpheme (the former group does not have it, the latter does).

The question is now how stylistic fronting can be explained under Holmberg’s theory. He argues that if neither the argument can move to Spec,IP nor an expletive is contained in the numeration then stylistic fronting is needed to check the P–feature on  $I^{\circ}$ . More precisely, this means that the closest available visible category to Spec,IP has to move to this position, because there is no other way to check its feature [P] (the finite verb cannot check it). This implies, however, that Holmberg has to assume that the phonological matrix of the categories which undergo stylistic fronting are dissociated from the other features of the category, and move to Spec,IP alone. This assumption is based on Chomsky’s notion of different kinds of features which are part of his theory of feature movement.

According to Chomsky there are three kinds of linguistic features: a) semantic features, b) formal features (syntactic features), and c) p–features. Holmberg claims that

syntactic categories enter syntactic derivations in the form of words, that is triples of formal, semantic and phonological features. Syntactic operations deal primarily with formal features. They cannot look into the phonological or semantic feature matrices of words, but they do see the presence or absence of semantic features or p–features in a syntactic category, and they can even operate on the p–feature matrix of a word or phrase (Holmberg: 1999, 16).

Following Chomsky he also assumes that movement affects features, and not syntactic categories (heads or phrases) which means that when the moved feature(s) pied–pipe(s) a complete head or phrase it will possibly include the p–features. Holmberg also presupposes the principle of movement as a Last Resort (an instantiation of the Economy Principle) which says that only those features should move which are necessary for a derivation to converge. Within the theory of feature movement this means, according to Chomsky, that movement

without p-features (covert movement) will in general be preferred over the counterpart with p-features (overt movement). Thus, there always has to be a real need for movement with p-features.

Now the question is why in some languages the overt subject DP has to move to Spec,IP whereas in other languages this is not required. In Icelandic, for example, it is not possible to move the feature [D] only without the feature [P], but in a language like Italian this is possible and leads to verb-initial sentences. According to Holmberg, the answer to this question is the EPP which requires there to be a visible category in Spec,IP (the p-feature in Holmberg's theory). He points out that while it is possible to move only the formal features, it should also be possible to move only the p-features without pied-piping formal or semantic features, and this is exactly what stylistic fronting does.

As seen above, in Icelandic the finite verb cannot be in initial position. Within Holmberg's theory this means that although the D-feature can be checked by the verb, the p-feature cannot be checked by it. Therefore, a visible category like a nominal subject or a thematic subject moves up to Spec,IP to check this feature. If, however, there is no subject available, then it is stylistic fronting which comes into play to check the p-features. More precisely, this means that a visible category (with p-features) close to Spec,IP moves up to this position and checks its p-feature. In this way, Holmberg can explain why it is not only heads that undergo stylistic fronting but also DPs and PPs (see examples (DP) and (PP) in 1), because all that is required of elements which undergo the fronting operation is that they have p-features, that they are c-commanded by, and close to Spec,IP. As Holmberg notes, for Icelandic where the D-feature is already checked by the finite verb Movement as a Last Resort requires movement of the p-features alone<sup>112</sup>:

If this postulated feature [P] can be checked and deleted by a p-feature matrix, and if the p-feature matrix can, in principle, be detached from the other features of a category in the syntax, then Last Resort dictates that only the p-feature matrix moves (Holmberg 1999: 17).

Holmberg's analysis of stylistic fronting also accounts for how an element which looks like a head can move to a specifier position: the element which moves is not a verb or an adjective or a DP or a PP, it is merely a p-feature matrix with more or less complex internal structure. According to Chomsky (1995: 270) features cannot be defined as heads or phrases

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<sup>112</sup> Holmberg notes, that if it is true that any visible category can move to check the p-features then Chomsky's assumption that movement satisfies any needs of the category moved (Greed) is wrong. In fact it seems as if stylistic fronting is an operation where the needs of the target only is satisfied.

and therefore he concludes that during feature movement it is always the target which projects.

Holmberg claims that stylistic fronting cannot be head–adjunction to  $I^\circ$  but has to be movement to Spec,IP (or adjunction to Spec,IP) because the p–feature matrix of a DP or PP has phrasal structure and can therefore not incorporate into heads. This presupposes then that heads also have to move into a specifier position and, according to Holmberg, there is no morphological motivation to ban such movement. Moreover, he notes, as long as the head does not project itself but permits the phrase to project, phrase structure theory does not ban substitution of the head into a specifier position (Spec,IP).

To sum up, there are, on the one hand, languages which allow null–subjects because they have rich verbal morphology. In these languages the D–feature and the p–feature in  $I^\circ$  can be checked by the finite verb alone. On the other hand, there are languages which do not allow null subjects. According to Holmberg, this is because the finite verb cannot check the D–feature and p–feature. Therefore, the subject has to move up to Spec,IP to check both features (two features are checked with one movement).

There are also languages like Icelandic, where the finite verb can check the D–feature in  $I^\circ$  because of its rich verbal morphology. But the verb cannot check the p–feature. Therefore, a nominal subject moves up to Spec,IP or a thematic subject merges in Spec,IP to check this feature. If there is no subject available, then stylistic fronting moves a visible category which is closest to Spec,IP up to the specifier position to check the p–feature.

The different ways to check the D–feature and the p–feature are illustrated below:

null–subject languages Type A: Italian, Greek

- rich verbal morphology (agreement features on the finite verb)
- D–feature and p–feature can be checked by the verb
- movement of a subject DP to Spec,IP not needed (but possible)

null–subject languages Type B: Icelandic, Faroese

- rich verbal morphology
- D–feature can be checked by the finite verb
- p–feature cannot be checked by the finite verb
- 3 possibilities to check the p–feature:
  - 1) a nominal subject, if available, moves up to Spec,IP
  - 2) a thematic subject is merged in Spec,IP if nominal subject is not available

3) if neither a nominal subject nor a thematic subject is available, then a visible category closest to Spec,IP is moved there to check the p–feature => stylistic fronting

non null–subject languages: Mainland Scandinavian languages

– no rich verbal morphology

– finite verb can neither check the D–feature nor the p–feature

– 2 possibilities to check the features:

1) a nominal subject moves up to Spec,IP and checks both the D–feature and the p–feature (because it is a visible category)

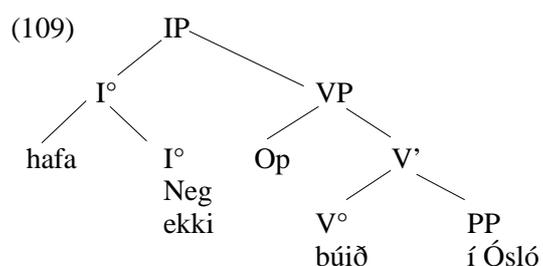
2) a thematic subject merges in Spec,IP, if a nominal subject is not available, and checks both the D–feature and the p–feature (because it is a visible category)

As discussed above, Holmberg can explain why stylistic fronting only occurs in sentences which contain a subject gap. Moreover, he can also explain the other characteristics of the fronting operation which were discussed in 7.2. Moreover, Holmberg's theory has the advantage of being able to account for the fact that heads as well as phrases can undergo stylistic fronting. For this, it is crucial that only p–features are affected; the feature [P] is checked by a p–feature matrix of an element which moves up to Spec,IP. This means that stylistic fronting does not see any other features of syntactic categories, it only checks for the presence or absence of p–features. Therefore, it does not make a distinction between the categories which move (whether it is a participle or an adverb or a PP etc.). The assumption that stylistic fronting takes place in the phonological component is rejected in Holmberg 1999a. There he assumes that the fronting operation takes place in Narrow Syntax (term from Chomsky, 1998) which will lead to problems, however, as will be shown below:

If it is assumed that stylistic fronting is movement to Spec,IP in Narrow Syntax, it would erase the trace which was created by moving the relativised subject or extracted wh–phrase adjunct through the same position and would thus lead to unexpected ungrammaticality. If stylistic fronting takes place in the phonological component, however, then this problem does not arise, because the trace of wh–movement would not be visible and could therefore not block stylistic fronting. However, it has to be admitted that the fronting operation is sometimes sensitive to non–phonological features. As Holmberg notes himself, the auxiliaries *hafa* "have" and *vera* "be" do not undergo stylistic fronting, which seems to imply that the fronting operation is sensitive to semantic features somehow. Moreover, stylistic fronting is obviously sensitive to syntactic structure, because a category c–

commanding another category can block movement of the c-commanded category lower down (see 7.2.3). Therefore, Holmberg (1999b) concludes that the phonological component contains a subcomponent with operations which are sensitive to syntactic hierarchy and to the presence or absence of semantic features. Holmberg notes that "...they [operations] would differ from the operations of Narrow Syntax in that they have no effect on LF: they affect only form, not content"<sup>113</sup>

Holmberg can also account for the Accessibility Hierarchy of elements which are able to undergo stylistic fronting. As mentioned above, if there is no nominal or thematic subject available then a visible element closest to Spec,IP (closeness is defined in terms of c-command) moves up to check the p-features. Holmberg illustrates this with the following example:



In accordance with the Minimal Link Condition, [P] in I° will attract the closest phonological matrix in its domain (its c-command domain). As discussed, the finite verb cannot check the p-feature and therefore, the p-feature matrix closest to [P], which is the negation here, has to check the feature. If there is no element closer to [P] than the verb and the PP, both can move up to check the p-feature because they are equally (they are sisters) close to [P]<sup>114</sup>:

- (110) a. Þeir sem **búið** hafa **í Ósló**.  
Those that **lived** have **in Oslo**.
- b. Þeir sem **í Ósló** hafa **búið**.  
Those that **in Oslo** have **lived**.  
(Holmberg 1999: 24)

As the element (head or phrase) which undergoes stylistic fronting is an expletive (it actually is in complementary distribution with an expletive pronoun), the absence of focus or foregrounding effects is predicted, according to Holmberg (see also 7.2.5).

<sup>113</sup> Holmberg, A. 1999b, 19.

<sup>114</sup> The same is true for a verb and a verb particle under the assumption that they are sisters.

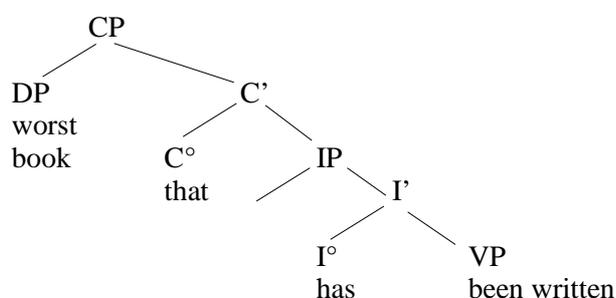
From what was said above, it also follows that the Mainland Scandinavian languages do not have stylistic fronting whereas the Insular Scandinavian languages (Icelandic, Faroese) do exhibit the fronting operation. According to Holmberg, the reason for this dichotomy is that the former languages do not have rich verbal morphology (no D–feature on the finite verb) whereas the latter have the D–feature on the finite verb which can check [D] in I°. Therefore, only the p–feature needs to be checked, either by a subject or, if a subject is not available, by an element which undergoes stylistic fronting. In the Mainland Scandinavian languages the only way to check the D–feature is by moving a subject DP to Spec,IP or by merging an expletive in that position. Stylistic fronting is not a possibility here<sup>115</sup>.

It is a well–known fact that stylistic fronting is an optional operation, that is, it can but need not apply in sentences which contain a subject gap. Holmberg (1999a) claims that this is because there is choice between merging an empty operator (an empty wh–phrase) or an overt subject DP in VP. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (111) a. *Þetta er versta bók sem hefur verið **skrifuð**.*  
This is the worst book that has been **written**.
- b. *Þetta er versta bók sem **skrifuð** hefur verið.*  
This is the worst book that **written** has been.  
(Jónsson 1991: 1)

Example (111) shows the optionality of stylistic fronting in relative clauses: in (111) a. the past participle has not undergone the fronting operation, in (111) b. it has undergone stylistic fronting. In order to be able to explain optionality here, Holmberg assumes two different structures of relative clauses which is illustrated below:

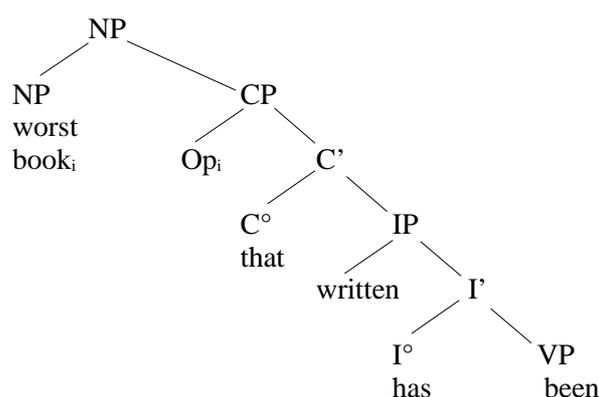
- (112) Promotion analysis: no stylistic fronting



115 The fact that Modern Icelandic and other languages that allow stylistic fronting are V2 languages must play a role too.

The non-occurrence of stylistic fronting is explained with the promotion analysis of relative clauses: The overt subject DP *þetta versta bók* "the worst book" is merged in Spec,VP and is attracted to Spec,IP to check both [D] and [P], whereas [D] is redundantly checked as it is checked by the finite verb anyway. Then the subject DP moves on to Spec,CP.

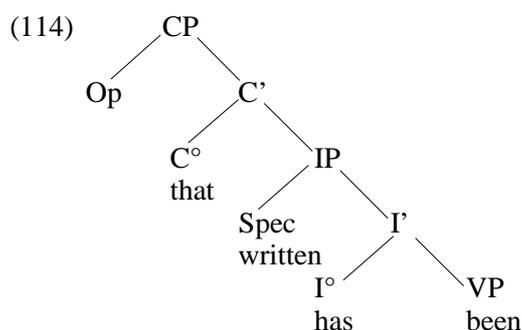
(113) Adjunction analysis: stylistic fronting



In cases like (113) where stylistic fronting occurs Holmberg claims that the *wh*-form can be merged in a covert form, *Op*, in Spec,VP. However, this is a non-visible element and can therefore not check the *p*-feature on *I*° (it redundantly checks [D]). That is why stylistic fronting comes into play: the closest visible element to Spec,IP, in this case the past participle *skrifuð* "written" moves to Spec,IP to check the *p*-feature. Holmberg assumes that it creates a specifier position but fills it with nothing but a *p*-feature matrix. This makes it possible for *Op* to move into that specifier position. When *Op* has to move further up to Spec,CP it can do so without excorporation (stylistic fronting creates an escape hatch for *Op*). The reason why this is possible is, that, according to Holmberg, the past participle cohabits with the formal feature matrix of the *wh*-phrase, that is *Op*. He notes that

Cohabitation of two feature matrices heading distinct chains in the same spec is presumably possible only so long as they are strictly complementary: one just formal features, the other just *p*-features. In this way SF makes possible successive-cyclic covert movement, which is otherwise impossible, due to the combined effect of the inability of covert Move to create a spec-position and the prohibition against excorporation (Holmberg 1999a: 34).

Cohabitation is illustrated in the structure below:



As shown above, Holmberg's Op-strategy<sup>116</sup> can account for the optionality of stylistic fronting in Modern Icelandic. However, his analysis is problematic in several ways:

First, in order to be able to explain optionality, Holmberg has to assume two different kinds of structures for relative clauses. Second, under the promotion analysis the relativised subject is moved up to Spec,CP through Spec,IP. On its way up, it checks both [D] and [P]. This implies that the phonological feature in Spec,IP is checked, although no overt element will appear in Spec,IP at PF. This poses a problem for Holmberg's analysis, because the trigger for stylistic fronting is a feature [P] that needs to be checked by a visible element. The question is also whether one would not expect long movement of p-features then:

(115) the man that [first<sub>t<sub>i</sub>]</sub> kissed [the woman]<sub>j</sub> that t<sub>j</sub> left t<sub>i</sub>

Third, the assumption that auxiliaries and VPs cannot undergo stylistic fronting seems to be a mere stipulation and not well-founded. On the other hand, there are also a number of phenomena which Holmberg can explain with his theory, for example the fact that in some languages Merge of an expletive seems to be an alternative to stylistic fronting (to fill Spec,IP with p-features). As was mentioned above, this is not possible in subject extraction clauses in Modern Icelandic, but is in other languages, for example French. Taraldsen (1999) notes that the *que-qui* alternation in French could be explained by the need to fill the subject position in subject relatives. He assumes that the form *qui* is the spell-out of *que* plus an expletive *i*, which is inserted obligatorily in subject extraction clauses:

<sup>116</sup> In Holmberg (1999b) the optionality of stylistic fronting is explained in a different way: again there are two possible ways to extract a subject, either the extracted subject moves via Spec,IP up to Spec,CP, in which case it will check the p-feature on I°, or the subject moves directly from Spec,VP (its base position) to Spec,CP skipping Spec,IP. In this case a visible element close to Spec,IP moves up to check the p-feature on I°.

- (116) Quelles filles crois-tu *qui/que*\* vont acheter ce livre-là?  
(Holmberg 1999a: 36)

Holmberg further notes, that in Danish there is a similar phenomenon: the expletive pronoun *der* occurs in subject relatives and in embedded subject question in a position which could be taken to be the subject position:

- (117) a. **Der** ligger en død mand i kælderen.  
EXP lies a dead man in the-cellar.
- b. Den man **der** ligger i kælderen er død.  
The man DER lies in the-cellar is dead.
- c. Ved du hvem **der** har stjålet min bog?  
Know you who DER has stolen my book?  
(Holmberg 1999a: 37)

Another language which shows this phenomenon is Vallader, a Romansh dialect. In this dialect the expletive pronoun *chid* can occur in subject extraction sentences. Holmberg illustrates this with the following example:

- (118) Qual giat crajast **chid** es gnü per prüm?  
which cat think-you **that-is** arrived first?  
(Holmberg 1999b: 18)

The form *chid* is a contracted form of the complementiser *ch(a)* and the expletive pronoun *i(d)*. This form is only used when there is a subject gap, that is only in subject extraction sentences and impersonal sentences. Holmberg assumes that the absence of the expletive in Icelandic in these cases is "a historical accident, or an effect of some relatively superficial parameter" (Holmberg 1999b: 18).

As shown above, Holmberg takes stylistic fronting to be movement of an element to Spec,IP in order to check [P] in I°. Therefore, it should be possible to insert an expletive pronoun in the same position. This is borne out as example (119) illustrates:

- (119) a. **Það** hefur verið tekin erfið ákvörðun.  
EXP has been taken difficult decision.
- b. **Tekin** hefur verið erfið ákvörðun.  
**Taken** has been difficult decision.  
(Holmberg 1997: 82)

It seems as if the expletive pronoun and the element moved by stylistic fronting are in complementary distribution. However, this holds only for impersonal constructions but not for clauses where a subject has been extracted:

- (120) a. Hver heldur lögreglan að **framið** hafi glæpinn?  
Who think police–the that **committed** has crime–the.
- b. \*Hver heldur lögreglan að **það** hafi framið glæpinn?  
Who think police–the that EXP has committed crime–the.  
(Holmberg 1999b: 10)

It seems as if the stylistically fronted element and the expletive pronoun are not in the same position. On the other hand, in main clauses it seems as if they were in the same position:

- (121) a. \*Hefur **það** komið fram að...?  
Has (EXP) come forth that...
- b. \*Hefur **fram** komið að...?  
Has **forth** come that...  
(Holmberg 1997: 88)

Both the stylistically fronted element *fram* "forth" and the expletive *það* have to be in sentence–initial position, that is, they cannot follow a verb moved to  $C^\circ$ .

To sum up, in this section we have seen that there are in general two ways to analyse stylistic fronting: 1) it is analysed as movement to a specifier position, 2) it is analysed as head–adjunction to  $I^\circ$ . These two types of analyses both take stylistic fronting to take place in the syntax. As we have just seen, however, it has also been assumed that the fronting operation takes place in the phonological component. In this way, Holmberg can account for a number of phenomena which cannot be explained by the other two types of analyses (see discussion above). Therefore, I take this analysis to be the one which can best describe the phenomenon of stylistic fronting.

As will be shown in the next section, stylistic fronting can be found in the *Ormulum*, a text written in a rigid metrical pattern. First, I will show that there is evidence in the text that putative stylistic fronting is indeed stylistic fronting. Second, I will also show that Orm "used" the fronting operation to keep his rigid metrical pattern.

## 7.4. Stylistic Fronting in Middle English texts

In this thesis, we have seen so far that there are Middle English texts which exhibit characteristic patterns of Scandinavian. In Chapter 5 we found that in all the Middle English texts investigated scrambling as well as fronting of pronominal objects was possible. Under the assumption that scrambling not only occurs in OV languages but also in Middle Norwegian which was VO as well as Modern Icelandic (chapter 5, Part II, section 5.8), this type of object movement could also reflect Scandinavian influence. Object shift, the other type of object movement discussed here, could not be found in the *Ormulum*. As object shift is only a late development in the history of the Scandinavian languages (i.e. it is not found in Old Norse), this is not surprising because this means that the language of the Scandinavian invaders did not include object shift. Therefore, the finding that there is no object shift in the *Ormulum* supports the assumption that Scandinavian had a strong influence on the syntax of the Northern dialects of English. In chapter 6 it was shown that texts from the North and Northeast differed from Southern texts with respect to the frequency of occurrence of V2 in clauses with subject clitics and it was claimed that this difference is also due to Scandinavian influence. In this section, this assumption will be further supported by findings from the *Ormulum* which show that stylistic fronting frequently occurs in the text. Thus, there is enough evidence in Northern Middle English texts to support the assumption that the word order change from OV to VO in the history of English is also due to Scandinavian influence.

### 7.4.1 Stylistic Fronting in the *Ormulum*

The examples from the *Ormulum* which show stylistic fronting all contain a subject gap.

There are cases 1) where the past participle is fronted:

- (122) ... and þatt hird þatt **todæledd** wass onn hirdess riht sextene ...  
 ... and that household that **divided** was in sixteen proper households ...  
 (CMORM,I, 17.255)
- (123) ... wiþþ all þatt lac þatt **offredd** wass biforenn Cristess come ...  
 ... with all that sacrifice that **offered** was before Christ's coming ...  
 (CMORM,I,55.525)
- (124) ... þatt oferrwerre þatt **timbredd** wass abufenn Godess arrke ...  
 ... that over-work that **built** was above God's ark ...  
 (CMORM,I,59.543)

2) where an adjective is fronted:

- (125) ... to bærnenn all þatt **ifell** iss ...  
 ... to burn all that **evil** is ...  
 (CMORM,I,58.538)
- (126) ... þatt wif þatt **usell** wass & wædle ...  
 ... that woman that **wretched** was and poor ...  
 (CMORM,I,268.2186)

3) where an adverb is fronted:

- (127) ... þatt Drihhtin gifeþþ halig witt þa menn þatt **wel** himm follghenn ...  
 ... that Lord gives holy wisdom those men that **well** him follow ...  
 (CMORM,I,95.832)
- (128) ... & ille an halig mann þatt **rihht** Drihhtiness lagness haldeþþ ...  
 ... and each one holy man that **rightly** Lord's laws holds ...  
 (CMORM,I,207.1697)
- (129) ... off hire sune Jesu Crist, þatt **newenn** cumenn shollde ...  
 ... off her son Jesus Christ who **newly** come should ...  
 (CMORM,I,75.672)

4) where the negation word "nohht" is fronted:

- (130) ... & bettre arrt tu þann ure preost, þatt **nohht** ne mihte trowwenn þatt word ...  
 ... and better are you than our priest who **not** NEG might believe that word ...  
 (CMORM,I,96.838)
- (131) ... & arrt an þing þatt **nohht** ne dæh, giff þatt tu Godd forrleosesst ...  
 ... and art a thing that **not** NEG is–worth, if that you God lose ...  
 (CMORM,I,173.1431)
- (132) ... þatt mann þatt **nohht** ne shall onn me wiþþ fulle trowwþe lefenn ...  
 ... that man who **not** NEG shall on me with full faith believe ...  
 (CMORM,II,261.2592)

In the *Ormulum* there are no cases of stylistic fronting of a verb particle as Maling described for Modern Icelandic. This could either be due to the fact that they occurred only 6 times in the relevant environment or it could be due to the status of verb particles at that time (in Early Middle English verb particles occur very rarely as opposed to Old English, an observation which has not been explained so far).

Table 1 shows the relation between occurrences and non–occurrences of stylistic fronting in the *Ormulum*:

| The Ormulum                           |           |           |            |           |            |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| stylistic fronting with a subject-gap | yes       | %         | no         | %         | Total      |
| of a past participle                  | 42        | 43        | 56         | 57        | 98         |
| of an adjective                       | 7         | 23        | 23         | 77        | 30         |
| of an adverb                          | 38        | 66        | 20         | 34        | 58         |
| of the negation "nohht"               | 7         | 70        | 3          | 30        | 10         |
| of a verb particle                    | 0         | 0         | 6          | 100       | 6          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                          | <b>94</b> | <b>47</b> | <b>108</b> | <b>53</b> | <b>202</b> |

Table 1: stylistic fronting with a subject gap in the *Ormulum*

Stylistic fronting occurs most frequently with past participles and adverbs. On the whole it occurs 48 % of the time, i.e., there are also cases in the same environment (clauses with subject gaps) where stylistic fronting does not occur (52 %). Therefore, stylistic fronting seems to be optional in the *Ormulum* but it is used very frequently as in Modern Icelandic. It should be noted that the occurrence of the pattern found in (131) and (132) could be an argument against stylistic fronting as head–adjunction (see the discussion of Jónsson, 1991 and Platzack & Holmberg, 1995 in section 7.3.2) since *ne* is already cliticised onto the finite verb provided that we assume that *nohht* could be a head too. However, as shown in chapter 5, Part II, it seems to be more likely that it is a sentence adverb with a non–head status.

The question now is whether there is evidence that the instances which are described as stylistic fronting are indeed stylistic fronting. It was shown above that there is a condition for the occurrence of stylistic fronting, namely that this construction only occurs when there is a subject gap. Therefore, if the frequency of potential stylistic fronting is higher in clauses with subject gaps than in clauses with full subject DPs then there is evidence that these cases are indeed stylistic fronting because a subject gap is required. Table 2 shows that this is really the case:

| The Ormulum                                   | before Vfin | %  | after Vfin | %   | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------|----|------------|-----|-------|
| sf–elements in clauses with a full subject DP |             |    |            |     |       |
| of a past participle                          | 5           | 4  | 114        | 96  | 121   |
| of an adjective                               | 1           | 3  | 28         | 97  | 29    |
| of an adverb                                  | 8           | 13 | 52         | 87  | 60    |
| of the negation "nohht"                       | 4           | 23 | 13         | 77  | 17    |
| of a verb particle                            | 0           | 0  | 7          | 100 | 7     |

Table 2: Stylistic–Fronting elements in clauses with a full subject DP

Table 2 shows that the frequency of fronted elements is quite low in clauses with a full subject DP. If the results in Table 2 are compared with the results in Table 1 it becomes clear that the fronting of elements occurs much more frequently in clauses with a subject gap (e.g. fronting of a past participle with subject gap occurs 43 %, but only 6 % with a full subject DP) and that there has to be a correlation between the fronting construction and subject gaps. The examples of clauses with full subject DPs and an adverb preceding the finite verb are cases which show that these elements can occur in different positions in the clause. With respect to the preverbal position of the element *nohht*, it was shown in chapter 5, Part I, that this element can occur either after the finite verb or immediately before the negation *ne* because of its status as a sentence adverb (the examples (115) and (117) from chapter 5, Part I are repeated here):

(133) Josæp, forr þatt he *nollde* **nohht** onn ane wise gilltenn, ...  
Joseph for that he *not-wollde* **nohht** on any wise be guilty, ...  
(CMORM,I,106.910)

(134) ... þatt Jesuss **nohht** ne *wollde* ben borenn nowwhar i þe land, ...  
... that Jesus **not** Neg *would* be born nowhere in the land, ...  
(CMORM,I,122.1053)

Thus, clauses with full subject DPs and *nohht* right in front of *ne* pattern exactly like example (134) and show that *nohht* could appear in this position as well as in the postverbal position shown in (133). For an explanation of the pattern with participles see section 7.4.

The findings shown in Table 1 and 2 are evidence, therefore, that the examples found in the *Ormulum* are cases of stylistic fronting.

As noted in section 7.1 Platzack (1988) claims that in Old Swedish stylistic fronting was also possible. This is illustrated with the examples below:

(135) ...sum **almoghan** ofridha moot thessum ræt...  
...that **peasants-the** (object) molest against this law...  
(Platzack 1988: 225)

(136) ...æn **oskipt** ær thera mællum...  
...if **undivided** is them between...  
(Platzack 1988: 225)

(137) ...sum **æn** fölghia i thessum balke...  
...that **later** follow in this section...  
(Platzack 1988: 225)

- (138) ...huar sum **ei** halder kunungx dom...  
 ...who that **not** keeps king's verdict...  
 (Platzack 1988: 225)

In example (135) the direct object DP *almoghan* "the peasants", in (136) the predicative adjective *oskipt* "undivided", in (137) the adverbial *æn* "later", and in (138) the negation *ei* "not" undergoes stylistic fronting. Petterson (1988) who investigated stylistic fronting in Old Swedish established the following accessibility hierarchy<sup>117</sup> (from Platzack 1988: 226):

- (139) Negation > Indirect Object > Adverbial (consisting of one word) >  
 Direct Object > Predicate Adjective

As can be seen, Petterson's hierarchy resembles Maling's hierarchy for Modern Icelandic. Petterson further observed that in 96 % of the cases where there is negation in a embedded clause with subject gap the negation undergoes stylistic fronting.

It is a well-known fact that Modern Swedish lost the possibility to move the finite verb to I°. As long as there was rich agreement morphology on the verb there was movement of the finite verb from V° to I° (Platzack, 1987). In Old Swedish there was V°-to-I° movement, but once the rich verbal morphology was lost the verb had to stay in V°. Platzack points out that in the time of change a clause like (140) was structurally ambiguous:

- (140) a. [huar [sum [IP ei<sub>i</sub> halder<sub>j</sub> [VP t<sub>i</sub> [VP t<sub>j</sub> kunungx dom]]]]]  
 b. [huar [sum [IP t<sub>k</sub> [VP ei [VP halder kunungx dom]]]]]  
 who that (not) keeps (not) king's verdict.  
 (Platzack 1987: 225)

Either the negation *ei* "not" has moved to the empty subject position and the verb has moved up to I° or the negation and the verb both stay in their base positions (the subject gap is not "filled"). If we have a look at the examples from the *Ormulum*, we see that the situation in Early Middle English is different. Example (130) is repeated here:

- (141) ...& better arrt tu þann ure preost, þatt **nohht** ne mihhte trowwenn þatt word...  
 ...and better are you than our priest who **not** NEG might believe that word...  
 (CMORM,I,96.838)

The relative clause with subject gap shows that the negation *nohht* "not" has been moved to the subject position. The clause is not structurally ambiguous (as opposed to example (138))

<sup>117</sup> The hierarchy is a bit misleading because because predicative adjectives are placed below direct or indirect objects although these elements never cooccur.

from Old Swedish) for the following reasons: First, as noted above, in Early Middle English sentence negation consisted of two elements: the sentence negation *ne* followed by the negation element *nohht* (see also chapter 5, Part I, section 5.4). The unmarked order of the elements was *ne*–finite verb–*nohht*. This is illustrated in example (142):

- (142) ...& better art tu þann ure preost, þatt **ne** mihhte **nohht** trowwenn þatt word...  
 ...and better are you than our priest who **NEG** might **not** believe that word...

Example (142) shows the unmarked order of the negation elements, i.e., that this would be a case of an embedded clause with subject extraction where stylistic fronting has not taken place. However, examples like (141) imply that *nohht* must have moved to a higher position because it has moved over the sentence negation *ne*. Second, example (141) contains both an auxiliary (*mihhte* "might") and a full verb (*trowwenn* "believe"). According to the assumption that in English auxiliary and modal verbs move to I° (or are base-generated in I°) whereas the full verb stays in V° an example like (141) shows that the full verb could not have moved to I°, because the auxiliary is exactly in this position. If this is the case, then the negation element *nohht* must have moved higher, which strengthens the assumption, that it has undergone stylistic fronting.

An example like (143) is also not structurally ambiguous, which could be assumed, because there is only a full verb in the clause as in the Old Swedish example above:

- (143) ...& art an þing þatt **nohht** ne dæh, giff þatt tu Godd forrleosesst...  
 ...and art a thing that **not** NEG is–worth, if that you God lose...  
 (CMORM,I,173.1431)

However, we do not get the orders *nohht*–verb/verb–*nohht*, because we always have the other negation element *ne* between *nohht* and the verb. This strongly suggests, as pointed out above, that *nohht* moves to a position higher than I°, because it moves over *ne*. *Ne* is a clitic as can be seen from the following examples: contraction with auxiliaries like *nihhte*, *nollde* etc.<sup>118</sup>

The assumption that the negation element *nohht* undergoes stylistic fronting is further supported by the findings which were shown in Table 1. Not only does the negation element *nohht* undergo the fronting operation but also elements like past participles, adjectives, and other adverbs (see examples (122) to (132)). It was also shown in Table 2 that there is a correlation between subject gaps and the fronting of the elements in question. Only a total of

<sup>118</sup> This could also be a point in favour of a Spec,IP analysis: *nohht* as a non–head can move over *ne*.

8 % of clauses with full subject DP show the elements which can undergo stylistic fronting in the *Ormulum* in a position where they proceed the finite verb. In 92 % of the cases they follow the finite verb. As about 50 % of all cases with subject gaps contain stylistically fronted elements, the 8 % from Table 2 cannot be derived in the same way (they very likely show Infl–final word order). Therefore, it has to be concluded that the *Ormulum* indeed exhibits the Scandinavian fronting operation.

And there is another fact that speaks in favour of stylistic fronting, namely that in the *Ormulum* there is also the type of stylistic fronting which Platzack (1988) found in Old Swedish. The type of stylistic fronting that is described by Platzack (1988) for Old Swedish is possible whenever the subject is a pronominal. Examples (144) to (147) show cases where 1) an object, 2) a predicative adjective, and 3) an adverbial is fronted:

(144) ...hwat *han* **them** swaradhe til thera spörninga.  
 ...what *he* **them** answered to their questions.  
 (Platzack 1988: 227)

(145) ...sua lenge *the* **saman** æru um disk ok duk.  
 ...so long (as) *they* **together** are at plate and cloth.  
 (Platzack 1988: 227)

(146) ...ath *the* **thær** matto finna salthkællor.  
 ...that *they* **there** might find salt–wells.  
 (Platzack 1988: 227)

(147) ...æn *han* **ey** sigher thigiandamæssu.  
 ...if *he* **not** says Silent Mass.  
 (Platzack 1988: 227)

In (144) the object pronoun *them* "them", in (145) the predicative adjective *saman* "together", in (146) the adverbial *thær* "there", and in (147) the negation *ey* "not" are fronted in clauses which all contain a pronominal subject (they are italicised). Platzack notes that in these cases, there also seems to be an accessibility hierarchy, with negation at the top followed by indirect objects and short adverbials. He also assumes that in order to make stylistic fronting possible, the pronominal subject cannot be in Spec,IP but has to be cliticised to C<sup>o</sup><sup>119</sup>. Hence, there are also cases with pronominal subjects which are structurally ambiguous:

<sup>119</sup> Platzack points out that Medieval Scandinavian allowed cliticisation to C<sup>o</sup> which he demonstrates with examples from Noreen (1904). According to Noreen the clitic pronoun which correspond to the Old Swedish pronominal subject *han* "he" has forms without the initial *h*, and the vowel is often changed to *e* or *æ*. When the host of the subject ends in a vowel, the clitic form is just *n*.



(is in C<sup>o</sup>)<sup>120</sup>, then there is no reason why *nohht* should not move to Spec,IP. Then the cases above are clear cases of stylistic fronting. Moreover, this assumption is supported by the fact that there are also cases where other elements like participles, APs and adverbials are fronted:

Stylistic fronting of a participle:

- (154) ... anan till þatt itt **cumenn** wass till Cristess dæþ o rode...  
 ... anon until that it **come** was to Christ's death on the cross...  
 (CMORM,INTR.L1.96)
- (155) ... & giff þatt tu **forrlangedd** arrt to cumenn upp till Crite...  
 ... and if that you **longed-for** are to come up to Christ...  
 (CMORM,I,42.436)
- (156) ... all affterr þatt itt **cwiddedd** wass þurrh Gabriæl hehengell...  
 ... all after that it **told** was through the Archangel Gabrie...l  
 (CMORM,I,147.1208)

Stylistic fronting of an adjective phrase:

- (157) ... þurrh whatt tu mihht nu sen þatt tegg **rihhtwise & gode** wærenn...  
 ... through what you might now see that they **righteous and good** were...  
 (CMORM,I,12.219)
- (158) ... & wisste þatt gho **clene** wass off alle menn onn eorþe...  
 ... and know that she **clean** was of all men on earth...  
 (CMORM,I,100.863)
- (159) ... & her þu mihht nu sen þatt tegg **full cweme** wærenn baþe...  
 ... and here you might now see that they **fully pleasing** were both...  
 (CMORM,I,11.213)

Stylistic fronting of an adverbial:

- (160) ... þatt gho **wel** mihhte berenn child wiþþutenn weress mæne...  
 ... that she **well** might give-birth-to a child without husband's company...  
 (CMORM,I,78.690)
- (161) ... butt iff he **laghelike** be uppo mi name fullhtnedd...  
 ... but if he **lawfully** be upon my name baptised...  
 (CMORM,II,244.2502)

<sup>120</sup> The evidence in the *Ormulum* that pronominal subjects are clitics because they can appear in contracted forms:

- (i) Himm bidde icc þatt **het** write riht, ...  
 Him pray I that **he it** write riht, ...  
 (CMORM,DED.L.83.26)

- (162) ... giff þatt tegg **rihht** itt follgenn...  
 ... if that they **rightly** it follow...  
 (CMORM,I,64.579)

Again, there were no cases where a verb particle had undergone stylistic fronting (there were 11 unfronted verb particles in the crucial environment). Thus, Falk's assumption does not find support here, i.e., in the *Ormulum* there is evidence that stylistic fronting in clauses with subject pronominals is possible. Table 3 shows the occurrence of stylistic fronting in clauses with a pronominal subject:

| The Ormulum                                  |           |           |            |           |            |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| stylistic fronting with a pronominal subject | yes       | %         | no         | %         | Total      |
| of a past participle                         | 17        | 15        | 98         | 85        | 115        |
| of an adjective                              | 7         | 11        | 57         | 15        | 64         |
| of an adverb                                 | 44        | 28        | 114        | 29        | 158        |
| of the negation "nohht"                      | 25        | 60        | 17         | 4         | 42         |
| of a verb particle                           | 0         | 0         | 11         | 3         | 11         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                 | <b>92</b> | <b>24</b> | <b>267</b> | <b>76</b> | <b>359</b> |

Table : Stylistic fronting with a pronominal subject in the *Ormulum*

Stylistic fronting in embedded clauses with a pronominal subject occurs 24 % of the time, it does not occur 76 % of the time in the same environment. If the results are compared with the results obtained from embedded clauses with subject gaps, it can be shown that stylistic fronting occurs there more frequently than in the environment where there is a subject pronoun. Still this finding further supports the hypothesis that in the *Ormulum* a Scandinavian characteristic occurs, stylistic fronting, and even more so as we find two types of this construction. Thus, in the *Ormulum* a further Scandinavian characteristic was found which supports the assumption that the influence of Scandinavian on English must have been strong so strong as to change the syntax of the English language.

#### 7.4.2 The theory: Stylistic Fronting as a prosodic phenomenon due to metrical reasons

In section 7.3 the most prominent theories of stylistic fronting were discussed. It became clear that there are theories which try to account for this phenomenon by claiming that it is an operation taking place in syntax. There are other theories, however, which claim that stylistic fronting takes place in the phonological component and it was shown that they seem to explain best the properties of the fronting operation.

In this section, I would like to claim that when stylistic fronting occurs in poetry as in the *Ormulum*, it is used for metrical reasons, i.e., for Orm it was a possibility to conform to the regular metrical pattern of his text. From the examples shown below it will become clear that stylistic fronting saves the iambic rhythm in many cases. In order to give an insight in the metre of the *Ormulum* I will discuss first the study of Minkova (1996) before I will go on to explain the role stylistic fronting plays in the metrical pattern of this text.

#### 7.4.2.1 The metre of the *Ormulum*

Minkova (1996) discusses the metre of the *Ormulum*. She claims that in Orm's lines there are positions which can only be filled by certain elements and are thus rather fixed. The assumption here is that the elements which undergo stylistic fronting also occupy a special position in the metric pattern. In this section we will mainly follow Minkova's analysis.

The reasons for investigating metre in a text like the *Ormulum* are that the text can be dated and located quite precisely, that it adheres very systematically and rigidly to one metrical form and that its almost uniformly Germanic vocabulary precludes the possibility that there is prosodic influence from Anglo-Norman or French.

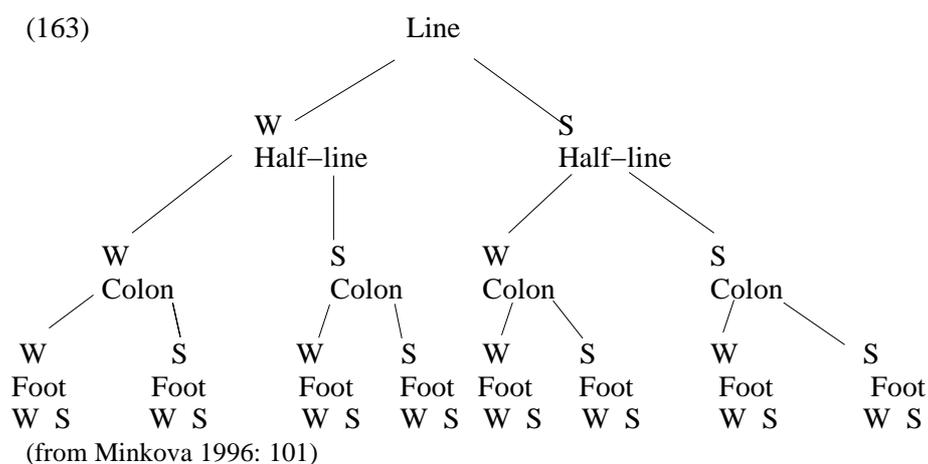
Studies on the metre in the *Ormulum* (Kaluza 1911, Hall 1920, Mossé 1952, Stanley, 1988) have always claimed that Orm's verse is extremely regular, i.e, every line has fifteen syllables exactly counted out and ends in x x. There is a caesura after the eighth syllable, and the rhythm is iambic. Minkova claims that the explanations for these phenomena have been vague in the literature. To account for the metrical pattern in the *Ormulum* in a more scientific way she therefore investigates Orm's accentual-syllabic verse in the framework of generative metrics.

##### 7.4.2.1.1 The basic pattern

According to Minkova the *Ormulum* contains invariably seven strong beats<sup>121</sup> distributed 4 : 3 across the line. Moreover, each strong metrical position is flanked by weaks. The basic template for this pattern is shown in (163):

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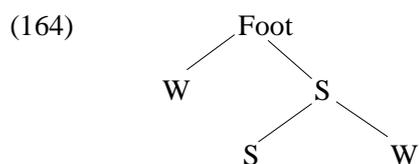
121 This term defines the metrically prominent position in verse. It is also referred to as arsis or ictus (see Minkova 1996: 97).



Minkova notes that the pattern is not completely symmetrical which is evident in the tree: the first W in the line is dominated by weak nodes all the way up to the top. The last S (the fourteenth syllable) is dominated by S's all the way up to the top. She claims that by means of tree representations like the one above one can show that line edges play a special role in accentual–syllabic verse. In the following the properties of the right edge and the left edge will be discussed.

#### 7.4.2.1.2 The right edge

According to Minkova in the *Ormulum* there is, in addition to the fourteen syllables, a fifteenth syllable which is prosodically weak and ends the line after the last strong position. From (163) above, it becomes clear that this syllable falls outside the domain of the last metrical foot, and therefore it could be treated as "extrametrical". Minkova notes that this extrametrical syllable can be represented as belonging inside the last strong position, where it occupies a metrical subposition. She points out that this is a case of so called beat–splitting. The extraordinary position of the fifteenth syllable explains why this syllable cannot demonstrate prosodic prominence at all. That is why we always find a completely unstressed vowel in this position (Orm always uses a final < -e >). The position of the fifteenth syllable is shown in (164):



(Utlesedd fra) þe deofell (CMORM,I,25.306)

Minkova notes that the fifteenth syllable is the most rigid position in the pattern, which can also be seen by the fact that in the *Ormulum* this position cannot be filled by a lexical monosyllable, nor can lowest S be filled by a syntactic compound. Therefore, sequences like *to king*, *to man*, *off hell* or *off death* never occur on the right edge unless a final weak syllable, most frequently an *-e* is added. This is shown in the examples below:

- (165) ...till þatt Herode wass hemm sett  
...until this Herodes was them set

Hæþene mann **to kinge**...  
heathen man **to king**...  
(CMORM,I,7.182)

- (166) ...& off þatt mannkinn þurrh hiss **dæp**  
...and of that mankind through his **death**

Wass lesedd ut **off helle**,  
was freed out **of hell**,

& off þatt he wisslike ras  
and of that he happily rose

þe þridde dægg **off dæpe**.  
the third day **of death**.  
(CMORM,DED.L171.39)

- (167) Full mikell fresst biforenn þatt  
Full much before that

þatt crist comm her **to manne**...  
that Christ came here **to man**...  
(CMORM,I,6.180)

Minkova points out that the representation in (163) also shows that the strength of the fourteenth syllable has no parallel in the pattern: it is the only position which is capped by four S's.

Further, the beat-splitting analysis of Minkova can explain the observation made by Lehnert (1953), namely, that Orm's language allows free variation of forms with and without final *-e*. As the fifteenth syllable must be a weak syllable, a word with final *-e* has to occur in this position, even when the *-e* is not etymological:

- (168) ...þatt hirdess wokenn o þatt nahht  
...that hirds woke on that night

þatt Crist wass borenn **onne**...  
that Christ was boren **on**...  
(CMORM,I,129.1104)

- (169) ...Inn all þatt alde lagheboc  
...In all that olde book

þatt he wass læredd **onne**...  
that he was taught **on**...  
(CMORM,II,249.2532)

- (170) ...þiss gode mann, þiss gode prest,  
...this good man, this good priest,

þatt we nu mæalenn **offe**...  
that we now tell **of**...  
(CMORM,I,13.227)

- (171) Acc fra þatt Kaldewisshe land,  
But from that country,

þatt tegg þa comenn **offe**,  
that they there came **of**,

Wass mikell wegge till þatt land  
was much till that country  
þatt Crist wass borenn **inne**.  
that Christ was born **in**.  
(CMORM,I,119.1036)

As shown above, the right edge of the line can only be filled by a restricted set of elements, namely those elements which do not bear stress at all (absolute zero).

### 7.4.2.1.3 The left edge

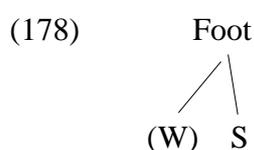
According to Minkova, the initial position in a line in Orm's verse is predominantly filled by a clearly defined set of prosodically weak items like conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions, auxiliaries, pronouns and negative elements. Most of the elements which appear in this position are monosyllabic. The examples below illustrate this:

- (172) **Acc** þu shalt findenn þatt min word,  
**But** thou shall find that my word
- Eggwhær þær itt iss ekedd,...  
 Everywhere there it is called...  
 (CMORM,DED.L23.14)
- (173) **Forr** whase mot to læwedd folc  
**For** whose may to lerned folk
- Larspell off Goddspell tellenn...  
 homilies of gospel tell...  
 (CMORM,DED.L53.16)
- (174) **Nu**, broþerr Wallterr, broþterr min  
**Now** brother Walter, brother mine
- Affterr þe flæshess kinde...  
 after the flesh's art...  
 (CMORM,DED.1.3)
- (175) **Icc** hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh  
**I** have turned until English
- Goddspelles hallghe lare...  
 gospel's holy teachings...  
 (CMORM,DED.1.4)
- (176) **Annd** giff mann wile witenn whi  
**And** if man will know why
- Icc hafe don þiss dede...  
 I have done this deed...  
 (CMORM,DED.L113.30)
- (177) **Off** all þiss god uss brinngeþþ word  
**Of** all this God us bringeth word
- annd errnde annd god tþennde  
 and errand and good tidings
- Goddspell,  
 gospel  
 (CMORM,DED.L171.40)

Minkova notes that the initial–line position is also filled quite regularly with a certain set of elements, namely

in the unproblematic case the anacrusis to the first foot is filled by a word prosodically subordinate to the following constituent. Anacrusis can thus be characterised as a position which must be occupied by a prosodic unit which is maximally a member of a clitic group...but not by the host of a clitic group. (Minkova 1996: 104)

Following Hayes (1989) she defines the clitic group as a single content word together with all the contiguous grammatical words which appear in the same syntactic constituent. The structure of the left edge is illustrated in (178):



In (178) the leftmost metrical position (the first syllable in the line) may be filled by a unit whose prosodic value is that of a clitic or a unit below a clitic, i.e., a light prefix like *ge-* in participles like *gehaten* or *on-* in words like *ongoen*, or *a-* in words like *amang*.

Minkova notes that the non-obligatoriness of the clitic element within the linguistic prosodic hierarchy might be the reason why the first foot at the left edge is more flexible than the element at the right edge. Thus, the first syllable cannot be called extrametrical (like the fifteenth syllable), although both positions are subject to a clearly defined prosodic constraint. Minkova claims that the left edge is freer than the right edge, because the left-edge clitic matching allows freedom and conformity with the stress pattern.

According to Minkova the non-occurrence of the clitic is shown in (179):

- (179) **Her** endenn twa Goddspelles þuss...  
**Here** end two gospels thus...  
 (CMORM,I,5.173)

She claims that *her* "Here" can be treated as an adverb which might or might not be cliticised to the next word. Thus, the line should probably be scanned *hér éndenn* and not *her éndenn*, which would be a headless line with a trochee for the second foot. Also, however quite rarely, monosyllabic verbs can appear in the first position:

- (180) **Drannc** dæþess drinnch o rodetreo  
**Drank** death's drink on the cross

Forr ure woghe dedess.  
 for our woeful deeds.  
 (CMORM,I,45.467)

Further, Minkova notes that also trochaic disyllables may occur at the left edge (compounds as well as non-compounds), which is illustrated below:

- (181) **Loke** he well þatt het write swa ...  
**Look** he well that he it write so ...  
 (CMORM,DED.L83.27)

- (182) **Godspell** onn Ennglissh nemmedd iss  
**Gospel** on English named is

God word, annd god tiþennde ...  
 Good word and good happenings ...  
 (CMORM,DED.L171.39)

She notes that disyllabic compounds do not pose a problem for the iambic structure of the right foot (for a discussion see Minkova 1996: 107). As concerns the occurrence of non-compounds in initial-line position she suggests that either

Orm ignored the prosodic rules of his language and followed the metrical form slavishly, or Orm 'discovered' the flexibility of the left edge and took advantage of it in a manner very similar to the famous trochaic inversions of later poetry (Minkova 1996: 108)

#### 7.4.2.1.4 The fifth foot

It is a well-known fact that the metrical properties of the first position in the first half-line in accentual-syllabic verse and the metrical properties of the first position in the second half-line after the caesura are similar. Minkova observes that the first and the fifth positions in Orm's lines share the characteristic matching of a prosodic clitic to the weak metrical slot. This is illustrated in the examples below:

- (183) **Annd** off þatt mannkinn þurrh hiss dæþ  
**And** of that mankind through his daeth

**Wass** lesedd ut off helle...  
**was** redeemed out of hell...  
 (CMORM,DED.L171.39)

- (184) **Off** hu soþ Godd **wass** wurþenn mann  
**Off** how surely God was wor man

**Forr** all mankinne nede...  
**for** all mankind's need...  
 (CMORM,DED.L171.39)

There are also few examples where the fifth foot, unlike the first foot, shows trochaic substitution (the matching of *iss* to a metrical ictus is licensed by the preceding syllable):

- (185) **Jesusess** name nemnedd **iss**  
**Jesus's** name named **is**

**Hælennde** onn Enngliss spæche...  
**the healing** on English speech...  
 (CMORM,I,104.897)

In the example in (189) both the first and the fifth foot are trochaic (see what was said above about exceptions):

- (186) **Herrdenn** þatt word & gedenn forþ  
**Heard** that word and forth

**Affterwarrrd** ur Laferrd.  
**afterwards** our Lord.  
 (Minkova 1996: 109)

#### 7.4.2.1.5 The fourth foot

According to Minkova in the fourth foot of the first half-line there is reliable and unambiguous matching between metric and prosodic prominence. She notes that in about 90 % of the time the fourth-foot ictus is filled by a monosyllable.

- (187) Her habbe icc shæwedd þrinne **lac**  
 xx            xx            xx            xx  
 Forr þrinne kinne leode,  
 xx            xx            xx x  
 (CMORM,I,37.403)

- (188) Forr gho ne seggde itt nanig
- mann**
- ,

xx        xx        xx        xx

Ne Godess enngell nowwþerr;

xx        xx        xx        x

Forr þatt itt shollde wurrþenn **wel**

xx        xx        xx        xx

Forrholenn wiþþ þe defell,

xx    xx        xx    x

þatt godess sune shollde **ben**

xx        xx        xx        xx

Her borenn o þatt wise.

xx        xx        xx        x

(CMORM,I,83.739)

- (189) Get tanne naffde seggd rihht nohht

xx        xx        xx        xx

Till hire off swillke þinge.

xx        xx        xx        x

(CMORM,I,97.842)

As Minkova observes, there are also a few disyllabic and trisyllabic words which appear in the fourth foot, which are not problematic, because they fit into the regular pattern. This is illustrated below:

- (190) annd icc Orrmin full
- innwardlig**

xx        xx        xx        xx

Wiþþ muþ annd ec wiþþ herrte

xx        xx        xx        x

(CMORM,DED.L315.62)

- (191) All þuss iss þatt hallghe
- Goddspell**
- ,

xx        xx        xx        xx

þatt iss o fowwre bokess,

xx        xx        xx        x

(CMORM,PREF.L51.86)

- (192) þiss drædunng iss þatt
- rodetreo**

xx        xx        xx        xx

þatt Crist himm sellf spacc offe,

xx        xx        xx        x

(CMORM,I,194.1589)

(193) Amang þatt folc þatt cann **innsihht**

xx      xx      xx      xx

Off manig þing þurh steornness,

xx      xx      xx      x

(CMORM,I,118.1026)

Therefore, she claims that the fourth position becomes a safe test of matching and mismatching, just like the special status of the rhyme position in rhymed verse for phonological identification.

#### 7.4.2.2 The relation between Stylistic Fronting and metre in the *Ormulum*

As shown in 7.4.2.1, in the *Ormulum* there are positions which need to be filled by the same type of syllables. Thus, the right edge of the line is the most inviolable position because it is extrametrical, whereas the fourteenth position is the strongest position. The left edge is freer than the right edge, and according to Minkova, the fifth foot behaves in a similar way to the first position in the line. The fourth foot is almost always filled with monosyllables, only few disyllabic or trisyllabic items occur here. The question is now, whether stylistic fronting has an effect on the metrical pattern of the text.

The following assumptions underlie the following discussion: I claim that the fronting operation was part of Orm's grammar due to intense Scandinavian influence on his language. As has become clear from the discussion above about the metrics in the text, Orm uses a metrical pattern which is strictly iambic. What is crucial is that inflectional endings of verbs and nouns must not occur in the ictus of a foot, i.e., they must not be stressed because prosodic rules of language do not allow this (Minkova 1996: 114). I will show that Orm "uses" stylistic fronting in cases which otherwise would have evoked a clash between metrical and prosodic rules. Of course, he could have made other changes in the line to be able to stick to metre but as stylistic fronting was part of his grammar he could use this construction for stylistic reasons instead of making some artificial changes. Support for these assumptions will be given below.

As noted above, according to Minkova there is reliable and unambiguous matching between metric and prosodic prominence in the fourth foot of the first half-line. She notes that the fourth foot ictus is almost always filled by a monosyllable. This is illustrated again by example (187), repeated here as (194):

(194) Her habbe icc shæwedd þrinne **lac**

xx            xx            xx            xx

Forr þrinne kinne leode,

xx            xx            xx x

(CMORM,I,37.403)

The matching between metric and prosodic prominence in the fourth foot of the first half–line can also be shown for cases where stylistic fronting has applied. The first syllable of past participles which have undergone the fronting operation appears most of the time in the ictus of the third foot. Thus, the monosyllabic auxiliary appears in the ictus of the fourth foot (the examples (123) and (124) are repeated here):

(195) ... wipþ all þatt lac þatt **offredd wass**

xx            xx            xx            xx

biforenn Cristess come...

xx xx            xx            x

(CMORM,I,55.525)

(196) ...þatt oferrwerre þatt **timbredd wass**

xx    xx            xx            xx

abufenn Godess arrke...

xx xx            xx            x

(CMORM,I,59.543)

As shown in (195) and (196), the monosyllabic auxiliary verb *wass* occurs in the ictus of the fourth foot and thus adheres to the pattern described by Minkova above.

However, there seem to be other rules with respect to the occurrence of stylistic fronting: the fronting operation occurs in the *Ormulum* in relative clauses where a subject has been extracted. The relative complementiser *þatt* "that" is normally not stressed because it is a function word. This implies in a strict iambic metre that the following syllable would have to bear stress. If the following element is a one–syllable word, the word after that would have to begin with an unstressed syllable. If we look again at example (185), we see that in the relative clause without stylistic fronting we would have the situation where the auxiliary *wass* bears stress and is followed by the participle *timbredd* "built", the first syllable of which would then have to be unstressed. However, this would also imply that the inflectional ending of *timbredd* would bear stress, but this is ruled out by prosodic rules of language. Therefore, stylistic fronting is forced in subject gap relatives with a one–syllable auxiliary followed by a

two-syllable verb where the second syllable is an inflection. Of all the 42 cases of stylistic fronting with a participle, 38 (90 %) exhibited a one-syllable auxiliary and a two-syllable verb. Moreover, 20 of these cases (48 %) occurred in the first half-line with the one-syllable auxiliary in the ictus of the fourth foot. This is further support of Minkova's observation that in the fourth foot there is unambiguous matching between metric and prosodic prominence.

As noted above, there are other cases where stylistic fronting occurs in other positions of the long line. In (197) it occurs in the second half-line:

- (197) Þatt blod tatt þurrh þe bisscopp wass  
 xx        xx        xx        xx
- Þær o þa þingess strenkedd,  
 xx    xx    xx        x  
 Þatt blod tacede Cristess blod  
 xx        xx    xx        xx
- Þatt **gotenn wass** o rode.  
 xx        xx        xx    x  
 (CMORM,I,59.542)

As in (196), the relative complementiser *þatt* does not bear stress and thus has to be followed by a stressed syllable. If there was no stylistic fronting the auxiliary *wass* would bear stress as the sixth syllable in the line with the result that the second syllable of the following participle *gotenn* "shed" would be in the ictus of the sixth foot. As shown above, this is ruled out. However, with stylistic fronting, which is possible here because we have a relative clause with a subject gap, the rigid iambic metre is saved because then the inflectional ending of the participle is unstressed.

Stylistic fronting also occurs with a modal, an auxiliary and a participle. This is illustrated in (198):

- (198) Forrþi þatt tu ne wolldesst nohht  
 xx    xx    xx        xx
- Nu trowwenn mine wordess,  
 xx        xx    xx        x
- Þatt **filledd shulenn ben** þurrh Godd  
 xx    xx        xx        xx
- Att heore rihhte time.  
 xx    xx    xx    x  
 (CMORM,I,4.160)

If the clause with stylistic fronting is compared with the same clause where the fronting operation does not occur as in (199) we see the following contrast:

(199) Þatt **shulenn ben filled** þurh Godd  
 xx    xx    xx    xx

Att heore rihhte time.  
 xx    xx    xx    x  
 (CMORM,I,4.160)

In (199) the first syllable of the modal *shulenn* "shall" is in the ictus of the first foot and the monosyllabic auxiliary *ben* "be" in the ictus of the second foot. This implies, however, that the second syllable of the two-syllable participle *filled* "filled", which would be its inflectional ending, is in the ictus of the third foot. Since this is ruled out by prosodic rules of language, Orm uses stylistic fronting here which results in the fronting of the participle, the inflectional ending of which occurs then in the unstressed part of the second foot.

So far we have discussed monosyllabic auxiliaries with two-syllabic participles. However, there are also cases where three-syllabic participles occur in constructions with stylistic fronting:

(200) Forr all þatt lac wass sett þurh Godd,  
 xx    xx    xx    xx

Forr þatt itt sholde tacnenn,  
 xx    xx    xx    x

Hu Cristess þeoww birrþ lakenn Crist  
 xx    xx    xx    xx

Gastlike<sup>122</sup> i gode þæwess,  
 xx    xx    xx    x

Wiþþ all þatt tatt **bitacnedd wass**  
 xx    xx    xx    xx

Þurh alle þeggre lakess.  
 xx    xx    xx    x  
 (CMORM,I,32.356)

What is crucial here is that the second syllable of the participle *bitacnedd* "signify" bears stress, i.e., it is in the ictus of the third foot. The following syllable, the inflectional ending, is

<sup>122</sup> To rigidly stick to the iambic metre, a hiat has to be assumed here.

unstressed and the monosyllabic auxiliary *wass* is in the ictus of the fourth foot of the first half line. If the iambic metre is strictly followed here, then the relative complementiser *þatt* has to bear stress; however, it would also be possible to have an anapaest here. Again, if there was no stylistic fronting, the inflectional ending of the participle would have to bear stress, therefore the fronting operation is needed here. The same applies to the example in (201):

(201) Þatt lede þatt **primmseggnedd iss**

xx    xx    xx            xx

& iss get all unfullhtnedd,

xx    xx            xx            x

(CMORM,II,234.2473)

From what we have seen so far, there seem to be at least two requirements that need to be fulfilled in order to keep the regular accentual–syllabic verse: 1) whenever there is a relative clause with a monosyllabic auxiliary followed by a two–syllable participle, stylistic fronting is forced because inflectional endings of past participles must not occur in the ictus of a foot; 2) the fourth foot ictus of the first half–line always has to be filled by a monosyllable. These two requirements might be related, namely when the participle would occur in the ictus of the fourth foot in the first half–line in a clause without stylistic fronting. In these cases, the participle is fronted and the monosyllabic auxiliary occurs in exactly this position (see the examples above). Example (195) shows that the two requirements are related, (202) is an example where they are not:

(202) ...all þatt tatt **borenn iss off flæsh**

xx            xx            xx            xx

Iss flæsh & flæshess kinde...

xx            xx            xx            x

(CMORM,II,226.2419)

(203) Acc giff þatt he þatt **fullhtnedd iss**

xx            xx            xx            xx

Her lifeþþ forþ onn erþe...

xx            xx            xx            x

(CMORM,II,245.2511)

As shown above, Orm uses stylistic fronting to be able to stick to his rigid metrical pattern. Although it seems that in poetry language is sometimes used quite freely to adhere to a metrical pattern, the constructions chosen by the author have to be grammatical. This is also

the case here: Orm is able to use stylistic fronting for metrical purposes only because it is a valid construction in his grammar. We have seen above, that there is clear evidence that the construction is stylistic fronting because it only always appears in clauses where a subject has been extracted, i.e., clauses which contain a subject gap. Thus, if stylistic fronting is part of a grammar, it can be used for prosodic (and stylistic) reasons. And there is more evidence for this assumption: as shown above, stylistic fronting can occur in all kinds of positions in Orm's long lines as long as at least two requirements are fulfilled. There are some examples where the use of stylistic fronting in order to stick to the metrical pattern becomes even more clear. Such an example is given below:

- (204) ...& all þatt **streonedd wass** þurrh himm  
 xx xx xx xx
- Wass streonedd** to þatt illke...  
 xx xx xx x  
 (CMORM,INTR.L29.105)

In (204) in the first half-line stylistic fronting can occur because it is a relative clause where the subject has been extracted. In fact, stylistic fronting is forced here for reasons discussed above. In the second half-line we find exactly the same construction but here the order monosyllabic auxiliary followed by a two-syllabic participle matches the metre. Therefore, stylistic fronting is not forced in this case.

In section 7.4.1 it was shown that in the *Ormulum*, stylistic fronting not only occurs with participles, but also with other elements like adjectives. The metre of a long line with stylistic fronting of an adjective is given below:

- (205) To bærnenn all þatt **ifell iss**  
 xx xx xx xx
- Awegg inn hise þeowwess.  
 xx xx xx x  
 (CMORM,I,58.538)

The adjective *ifell* "evil" bears stress on the first syllable according to the accent rules of Germanic (words of Germanic origin have primary stress on the first syllable). As the adjective is two-syllabic and the auxiliary *iss* monosyllabic, this example falls under the pattern discussed above with participles. stylistic fronting is forced here because otherwise the adjective would have to be in the ictus of the fourth foot which would violate the Germanic

stress rule ("evil" is not a word of Romance origin).

In the *Ormulum*, there were not only cases of stylistic fronting with participles and adjectives but also with adverbs and the negation word *nohht* "not". Some of these examples with their metrical pattern are given below:

- (206) ...þatt Drihhtin gifeþþ halig witt  
 xx            xx            xx    xx
- þa menn þatt **wel** himm follghenn...  
 xx        xx        xx            x  
 (CMORM,I,95.832)
- (207) ...þatt mann þatt **nohht** ne shall onn me  
 xx            xx            xx        xx
- wiþþ fulle trowwþe lefenn...  
 xx        xx        xx        x  
 (CMORM,II,261.2592)

In (206) and (207), the ictus of the fourth foot in the first half-line is filled with a monosyllable (*witt*, *me*) which shows that the first requirement is fulfilled. In (206) stylistic fronting of the adverb *wel* occurs in the second half-line. If the adverb was not fronted it would be in the final position of the half-line (the right edge which consists of the fifteenth syllable). But as Minkova notes, this position is an extrametrical position and thus must always be prosodically weak, i.e. the fifteenth syllable cannot demonstrate prosodic prominence at all. However, this requirement would be violated if the adverb *wel* occupied this position. Therefore, Orm uses stylistic fronting here and thus is able to "place" a completely unstressed vowel in this position, the schwa of the second syllable of *follghenn*. In (207) the negative element *nohht* is fronted and fills the ictus of the second foot in the first half-line. It seems that whenever *nohht* undergoes stylistic fronting the negation *ne* gets into a position which bears no stress. This is a plausible assumption because these elements frequently occur at the left edge, a position which can be filled only by a clearly defined set of (monosyllabic) prosodically weak items.

Support for this assumption can also be found in (Early) Modern Icelandic narrative poetry with a rigid trochaic metre. In the *Vísur Vatnsenda-Rósu* by Rósa Guðmundsdóttir we find the following example of stylistic fronting:

(208) ...allt sem **prýða**

xx        xx

**má** einn mann...

xx        x

...all that **make–mighty may** a man...

"...all that may make a man mighty..."

Here the infinitive *prýða* "make mighty" has been fronted over the modal *má* "may". As shown above, stylistic fronting is forced because the monosyllabic stressed auxiliary requires to be followed by an unstressed syllable. However, the infinitive bears its stress on the second syllable which, in an order without stylistic fronting, results in a clash between metre and prosody. Stylistic fronting, on the other hand, saves the rigid metrical form.

To sum up, I have shown in this section that 1) the author of the *Ormulum* used a rigid iambic metre in his text; 2) stylistic fronting does occur in the text and it can only do so because it is part of the author's grammar; 3) in relative clauses with an unstressed relative complementiser followed by a monosyllabic auxiliary followed by a two-syllable participle (adjective) stylistic fronting is forced in order to be able to stick to the rigid metrical pattern without violating prosodic rules of Orm's language; 4) in (Early) Modern Icelandic there are poems with rigid metrical patterns which support this assumption. It should be noted again that stylistic fronting can be used to save the metre in the *Ormulum* only because it is part of Orm's grammar. It is plausible to assume that stylistic fronting occurs in the *Ormulum* because the English language in the region Orm lived was heavily influenced by Scandinavian in the times the Danes and Norwegians invaded Great Britain.

## 7.5. Conclusion

In this chapter we have dealt with a further Scandinavian syntactic phenomenon, stylistic fronting. First, in sections 7.1 and 7.2 the properties of the fronting operation were discussed. It became clear that there are some characteristics of stylistic fronting which pose problems for an analysis. In section 7.3 a number of the most prominent analyses of stylistic fronting were discussed with the aim to show how these analyses try to account for the properties of stylistic fronting. It was shown that there are two types of theories: one which analyses stylistic fronting as movement to a specifier position, and the other which claims that the fronting operation is head–adjunction to a head (I°). It became clear that both types of theories have their problems with analysing the phenomenon but that Holmberg's (1999)

latest analysis of stylistic fronting as PF–operation can account best for the characteristics of the fronting operation. Section 7.4 showed that stylistic fronting also occurs in the Early Middle English text the *Ormulum* with the properties described in section 7.1 and 7.2. It was further shown that the author of the text was aware of the fact that he could use stylistic fronting for metrical purposes. He could only do so, however, because it was part of his grammar. In this way he manages to stick to his rigid metrical pattern without violating prosodic rules of his language. The fact that another Scandinavian phenomenon could be found in this text also supports the hypothesis that the English language was influenced by Scandinavian more heavily than previously thought. Thus, the findings discussed here support the assumption that the word order change from OV to VO in the history of English is due to language contact, i.e., Scandinavian influence on the English language was so strong that it caused the word order change in the verb phrase.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has dealt with the question of what triggered the word order change from OV to VO in the history of English. It was assumed here that this change could take place because it was caused by the language contact situation with Scandinavian between the eighth and eleventh century. It is a well-known fact that Old English, belonging to the West Germanic languages, exhibited mainly OV base word order and that Old Norse, belonging to North Germanic, exhibited VO base word order. There is evidence already in Late Old English but even more so in Early Middle English that there are OV and VO base word orders in competition, the latter one of which gradually wins out over the former one. It was shown here that by comparing different texts from that time there is variation with respect to the frequency of OV and VO orders, an observation that is expected in transitional stages like Early Middle English.

It was assumed here that the change from OV to VO is due to the external factor language contact. It was further shown that there is evidence in many Early Middle English texts that the change happened earlier in those regions which were settled by Scandinavians at the time of the big Scandinavian invasions (within the Danelaw) than in regions like the South and Kent where the contact situation was not given. The goal of this thesis was to support this assumption by findings from the texts, especially one North Eastern text, the *Ormulum*, which showed that Scandinavian influence was so strong that it even affected a number of syntactic operations.

It was shown that language contact can play a crucial role in syntactic change. By looking at the history of English and the development of the English language it became clear that the contact situation with the Scandinavian invaders could well have been a situation where the influence of the invaders' language was strong enough to trigger syntactic change, i.e., the word order change from OV to VO in the English language. Following this line of reasoning it is also plausible to assume then that if the Scandinavian influence was strong enough to trigger word order change it should also be strong enough to leave further traces in the syntax of English at that time, i.e., other typically Scandinavian syntactic operations should be found in the texts investigated too. Thus, the most characteristic syntactic operations in the Scandinavian languages like object shift, the V2 phenomenon (including general vs. limited embedded V2) and stylistic fronting were discussed before Early Middle English texts were investigated to see if they can be found there too. Indeed, I found evidence for a Scandinavian V2 pattern as opposed to the Old English V2 pattern, i.e., two different grammars where the V2 grammar found in Northern texts exhibited consistent V2 in all

contexts and the V2 grammar found in Southern texts showed Old English characteristics like V2 in certain contexts as well as V3 order. Moreover, if a Scandinavian type of V2 grammar was found, traces of object shift should also be found. However, I did not find the Scandinavian type of object shift which at first sight seemed to weaken the language contact assumption but by having a closer look at the history of Old Norse it became clear that object shift is a later development which means that in the language of the Scandinavian invaders object shift was not available and that this fact does not weaken but rather strengthen my assumptions. Hence, the interpretation of the lack of object shift in Early Middle English is that the invaders' grammar did not include object shift and therefore it cannot be found in the English language.

Another type of object movement which clearly occurs in the texts is scrambling and pronominal object fronting but as this operation also found in Old English and in Old Norse this finding does not weaken the language contact assumption either. A further finding which clearly supported my assumption is that I frequently found stylistic fronting in the *Ormulum*. As this Scandinavian pattern frequently occurred in Old Norse and still does today in Modern Icelandic I take this to be strong support for the assumption that language contact with the Scandinavians at the time of the invasions in England had a strong influence on English. Thus, all the empirical findings with respect to the Scandinavian characteristics like V2 order, object shift and stylistic fronting in the *Ormulum* and other Early Middle English texts, as well as the comparison with these findings and the situation in Old Norse and other early stages of Scandinavian strongly support the hypothesis that Scandinavian influence was so strong then that not only syntactic operations like stylistic fronting were borrowed but also that the change from OV to VO word order was triggered by contact with Scandinavians.

The findings in my dissertation make clear that language contact is a stronger force than expected. It has always been assumed that a language can be influenced by another language on the word level, i.e., in contact situations foreign words come into a language and are integrated into that language. This is a frequent process between languages in contact (e.g. Modern German borrows many words from American English today). However, this instantiation of borrowing does not affect the deep levels of language and it has been claimed that an external factor like language contact is not able to have an effect on deeper levels like syntax. If syntactic change was observed it was generally claimed that it is due to internal factors, i.e., languages change because of a "natural need" to change the system. However, there are clear cases where language contact has an influence on the deep levels of a language, the most prominent examples are from bilingual contexts and imperfect language

acquisition of adults. Thus, it is only plausible to assume that when there is evidence that a contact situation was given at a certain point of time in the history of a language to attribute changes which took place at the same time to this special situation. Especially Kroch & Taylor (1994, 1997) and Kroch (1989, 2000) have claimed that syntactic changes in the history of English are due to contact situations. I adopted this assumption here and I have shown that the contact situation between Scandinavian and English brought about a number of syntactic changes, especially the word order change from OV to VO. Thus, my dissertation supports the assumption that language contact in general is indeed able to affect the syntax of a language.

The investigation of Early Middle English texts has shown that they are a precious source to learn about the development of the English language. The fact that there are a plethora of texts written in a number of different dialects in that period of time helps us to "locate" changes and therefore sometimes makes clear why language change happened in one region but not in the other. Every linguist who works in the field of diachronic syntax knows what a daunting task it sometimes is to go through texts looking for syntactic structures. The availability of a (tagged and) parsed corpus simplifies the work with data in such a way that searches for certain kinds of structures can be clearly defined and applied to a number of texts. The more texts are investigated in this way the more precise the picture will be that we get from the dialectal situation at that time, i.e., the differences in the grammars between speakers of different regions. If we then also take the sociolinguistic factors into consideration we are likely to get a good understanding of the linguistic situation as well as the possible factors that might have caused changes in the language. Therefore, working with the PPCME2 as I did here in my dissertation is a new way to get insights into linguistic situations from a diachronic perspective. Unfortunately, corpora like the PPCME2 are still a rarity. It would be very helpful to have such corpora e.g. for Old Norse too because then we would be able to get new insights into the status of the Scandinavian language at that time, i.e., we would learn new facts about the predecessor of the Modern Scandinavian languages and we would better understand the way languages like Modern Danish or Norwegian developed (e.g. that some Scandinavian languages still have general embedded V2 whereas other Scandinavian languages lost it). In this way, empirical findings from the diachronic stages of languages, e.g. English and Scandinavian, could shed new light on the interactions between them. Thus, creating annotated corpora like the PPCME2 is necessary to obtain comprehensive facts about languages in a synchronic and diachronic perspective.

## APPENDIX I

## The Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2 (PPCME2)

## Texts investigated in the thesis

The texts which were used for investigation are listed below (the references are from the manual of the PPCME2).

- Ancrene Riwe** Part I: *Ancrene Riwe*, Introduction and Part I. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 31. Ed. R.W. Ackerman and R. Dahood. Binghamton, NY. 1984.  
Part II: *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe*. Early English Text Society, O.S. 267. Ed. E.J. Dobson. London. 1972.
- Prose Rule of St. Benet** *The Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet*. In *The Benedictine Rule. Three Middle–English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet and Two Contemporary Rituals for the Ordination of Nuns*. Early English Text Society, O.S. 120. Ed. E. A. Kock. London. 1902.
- Hali Meiðhad** In *The Katherine Group*. Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, CCXV. Ed. S.T.R.O. D'Ardenne. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres". 1977. pp. 127–165.
- Katherine** In *The Katherine Group*. Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, CCXV. Ed. S.T.R.O. D'Ardenne. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres". 1977.
- Kentish Sermons** In Hall, J. (ed.). *Selections from Early Middle English 1130–1250*, (Oxford, 1920), 214–222.
- Lambeth Homilies** In *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. First Series. Early English Text Society, O.S. 29, 34. Ed. R. Morris. New York. 1969 (1868). pp. 3–11 (I), 25–41 (III), 41–47 (IV), 73–77 (VII), 79–85 (VIII), 139–145 (XIV), 145–149 (XV).
- The Ormulum** Holt, R. *The Ormulum, Vols. I–II with the Notes and Glossary of R.M. White*, (Oxford 1878). Dedication, Preface, Introduction, Vol. I, 1–289, Vol. II, 224–271.
- The Peterborough Chronicle** Clark, C. (ed.) *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070–1154*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970), 41–60.
- Richard Rolle** Allen, H. E. (ed.). *English Writings of Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole*, (Oxford, 1931), pp. 61–119; Perry, George (ed.). *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, EETSOS 20, (London 1866, 1921).
- Sawles Warde** In *The Katherine Group*. Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, CCXV. Ed. S.T.R.O. D'Ardenne. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres". 1977. pp. 165–183.
- Trinity Homilies** In *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*. Second Series. Early English Text Society, O.S. 53. Ed. R. Morris. London. 1873, 25–31, 67–75, 117–121, 131–141.
- Vices and Virtues** Part I. Early English Text Society, O.S. 89. Ed. F. Holthausen. London, 1888. pp. 3–23, 63–81, 107–127.
- The Book of Vices and Virtues** A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi Lorens D'Orléans. Early English Text Society, 217. Ed. W.N. Francis. London, 1942. pp. 97–116.

## APPENDIX II

## Names of text files in the PPCME2

|                |                                             |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------|
| CMANCRIW.M1    | <i>Ancrene Riwe</i>                         |
| CMBENRUL.M3    | <i>Prose Rule of St. Benet</i>              |
| CMHALI.M1      | <i>Hali Meiðhad (Katherine Group)</i>       |
| CMKATHE.M1     | <i>St. Katherine (Katherine Group)</i>      |
| CMKENTSE.M2    | <i>Kentish Sermons</i>                      |
| CMLAMBX1.MX1   | <i>Lambeth Homilies<br/>(Early version)</i> |
| CMLAMB1.M1     | <i>Lambeth Homilies<br/>(Late Version)</i>  |
| CMORM.PO.M1    | <i>The Ormulum</i>                          |
| CMPIETER.M1    | <i>The Peterborough Chronicle</i>           |
| CMROLLEP.M24   | <i>Richard Rolle's Epistles</i>             |
| CMROLLTR.M24   | <i>Richard Rolle's Prose Treatises</i>      |
| CMSAWLES.M1    | <i>Sawles Warde (Katherine Group)</i>       |
| CMVICES1.M1    | <i>Vices and Virtues</i>                    |
| CMVICES.M4.M34 | <i>The Book of Vices and Virtues</i>        |

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