



Verb and Object Order in the History of English

A Language-Internal Account

Chiara De Bastiani

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PREFACE

This book is a revised version of my Doctoral Dissertation, defended on March 13th, 2019 at the Ca'Foscari University of Venice within a Cotutelle Agreement between the Ca'Foscari University of Venice and the Bergische Universität Wuppertal.

In the following revised version, I will discuss a major syntactic change that took place in the transition between Old and Early Middle English, namely the reanalysis of the Verb-Object order as the base order, by considering both prosodic and information structural interface conditions; it will be shown that the language change witnessed in the Early Middle English period has its roots in the Old English period.

The completion of the dissertation would not have been possible without my supervisors Roland Hinterhölzl, Svetlana Petrova, Marina Buzzoni and Carsten Breul who inspired me in the choice of the rather intricate and controversial question treated in this book and offered me invaluable advice throughout my whole PhD career. Moreover, I would like to thank the two reviewers of a previous version of my dissertation for their careful and insightful comments.

My stay at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal, which was essential for the completion of the PhD, was made possible by the scholarships received from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) and the International Promovieren in Wuppertal (IPIW) group, to which my gratitude goes.

I would like to thank moreover Ans van Kemenade and Tara Struik for insightful discussions on the topic of this book on various occasions and especially during my brief stay in Nijmegen in the Spring of 2018. Many thanks also to the member of the Discourse Grammar/Sentence Grammar group and to many other scholars and researchers I have encountered during conferences and workshops for their inspiring remarks.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for their unconditional support, before, during and after the completion of the dissertation and the revisions presented in this book.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The reanalysis of VO as the basic word order in the history of English has been debated for over thirty years; there is no consensus in the literature on the underlying basic word order of Old English (henceforth OE) and different factors have been proposed to explain why and how the order SVO became the basic one.

In the extant documents from the OE period, a variety of different word orders can be observed, cf. Pintzuk (1999) among others. It is well known in the literature that OE was characterised by variation in the relative order of verb and object, as well as in the relative order of auxiliary and non-finite verb. Old English was subject to this variation for centuries, until Aux > V > O word order was reanalysed as the basic one around 1200 A.D, even though residual OV word orders with quantified and negated objects can be found until 1400.

The following examples illustrate the variation attested in the OE period:¹

Aux > O > V

(1)	þa	sume	dæge	rad	se	cyng	up	bi
	Then	some	day	rode	the	king	up	by
	þære	eæ,	7	gehawade		hwær	mon	
	the	river,	and	observed		where	one	
	mehte	þa	ea	forwyrca				
	might	the	river	obstruct				

“Then one day the king rode up by the river and examined where one might obstruct the river.”

(Chron.A, year-entry 875)

¹ If not indicated otherwise, all OE examples were extracted from the author from the York Corpus of Old English Prose (henceforth YCOE, Taylor et al. (2003)). The examples with a labelling starting with *ChronA* or *ChronE*, such as example (1) in this chapter, were extracted manually from the author from Bately’s (1986) edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS.A and Clark’s (1970) edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ms. E.

Aux > V > O

- (2) þe læs þe se hlyst & seo
 the less that the hearing and the
 gesihð **wurde** **bescyred** **þæra** **haligra** **geryna**
 sight became cut-off the holy mysteries

“The less that the sense of hearing and seeing are deprived of the holy mysteries.”

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:66.1.883)

O > V > Aux

- (3) & mec mine geferan bædon þæt
 and me my comrades asked that
 hie **swelcra** **merþo** **bescerede** **ne** **wæron.**
 they such glory cut off not were

“And my comrades asked me that they were not deprived of such glory.”

(coalex,Alex:33.5.420)

V > Aux > O

- (4) And æfter þam þe he **gefadod hæfde**
 And after that that he arranged had
 eall **his** **werod** swa his þeaw wæs,
 all his army so his custom was,
 þa ferde he to þam gefeohte
 then went he to the battle.

“And after that he had arranged all his army, as his custom was, he went to battle.”

(coeust,LS_8_[Eust]:305.323)

As one can notice from sentences (1) to (4), not only is there variation in the relative order of verb and object, but also on the relative order of finite and non-finite verb; moreover, Pintzuk (1999) signals in her work further word order patterns attested, such as the following example:

- (5) þe æfre on gefeohte **his** **handa** **wolde**
 who ever in battle his hands would
 afylan
 defile

“Who would ever defile his hands in battle?”

(ÆLS 25.858, Pintzuk 1999:68)

In this example, both the adjunct PP and the direct object precede the finite and non-finite verbs.

The aim of this book is to investigate the conditions driving the word order variation in OE and the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order in the Early Middle English period (henceforth EME). The research will be carried out within the framework proposed by Hinterhölzl (2014; 2015; 2017), illustrated in Chapter 2. To summarise the framework, a universal base word order is postulated, and the word order variation is driven by information structural (henceforth IS) and prosodic interface conditions. These conditions are thought of interacting in the OE period and to be subject to blurring during the EME period.

In the present work, a language internal account for the language change affecting the English language is proposed; as will be commented on in Chapter 9, however, the interface conditions and the account proposed in this work do not exclude that external factors, such as language contact, may have also driven the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order. However, it will be demonstrated that the inclusion of IS and prosodic factors offers a uniform account for the language change proposed; in other words, language internal interface conditions constitute the core of the language change mechanisms, whereas language external factors can be located at the periphery of the change.

Even though OE is investigated to determine how the postulated interface conditions interact, the bulk of the analysis concentrates on EME. Whereas most of the extant works in OE are written in the West Saxon, Anglian or Mercian dialect, for EME we can find a wider array of texts from different dialectal areas. The texts investigated for the EME period cover the South-East Midlands, the North-East Midlands, the Kentish and the West-Midlands areas; however, not only is dialectal provenance considered in the investigation, but also the transmission history of the texts. In fact, the EME sample selected presents both texts composed directly in the EME period and texts copied from older manuscripts. In the literature on syntactic variation in EME the transmission history of the texts is not usually taken into account, since more weight is given to the dialectal provenance of the texts and the different word orders found across different dialectal areas (cf. Pintzuk and Taylor 2011, Kroch and Taylor 2000, Trips 2002). However, it will be demonstrated in Chapter 5 that the transmission history of a text is indeed a factor which has to be considered when analysing different syntactic word orders.

The research is carried out by carefully analysing the direct, indirect and prepositional objects of verbs in sentences containing an inflected and a non-inflected verbal form. The presence of both an inflected and a non-inflected verbal form is necessary to determine with certainty the position of the object and to exclude possibly ambiguous structures (cf. Chapter 2).

Before presenting the structure of the present work, the debate on the syntactic structure of OE and the causes that led to the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order in EME will be briefly summarised here. For reasons of space, it will not be possible to discuss in detail the many intricacies posed by this debate, but the reader is referred to the literature quoted and to De Bastiani (2019) for a more detailed overview. In the following, only the main points will be illustrated.

As stated above, the debate is complex and has been carried out for almost thirty years; in a nutshell, the controversy on the syntactic nature of OE focuses on the headedness of the IP and VP phrases, with the proponents of the Double Base Account on the one hand (Pintzuk 1999, Kroch and Taylor 2000, Trips 2002, Fuß and Trips 2002), and the proponents of antisymmetric frameworks on the other (Roberts 1997, Roberts and Biberauer 2005). As regards the causes for the language change from an OV to a VO surface order, major proposals involve the language contact with the Scandinavian settlers in the Danelaw (Kroch and Taylor 1997, Trips 2002, Fuß and Trips 2002, Emonds and Faarlund 2014), but other scholars have proposed endogenous sources for the language change (Kiparsky 1995, 1996, Roberts 1997, Biberauer and Roberts 2005).

Recall the different word orders illustrated in (1)-(5) above; it must be noticed that this type of variation is found not only within the OE period, but also within the same texts. In order to explain the different word orders simultaneously found in OE, Pintzuk (1999) proposes an analysis within the framework of Grammar Competition proposed by Kroch (1989). Pintzuk reviews van Kemenade's (1987) account of Old English as an OV language, which made use of operations such as Verb (Projection) Raising and Extraposition to derive some of the word orders reported above, observing that there are certain elements, such as object pronouns and particles, which are not expected in post-verbal position under a head-final account. In fact, such elements are not usually extraposed or involved in verb projection raising in languages with an OV base structure. Moreover, she notices that van Kemenade's (1987) proposed asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses does not account for the steady increase of inflection medial orders in both main and subordinate clauses; van Kemenade had proposed, in fact, that verb seconding to INFL is obligatory in OE main clauses, whereas subordinate clauses contain a base-generated complementiser in INFL, which blocks movement of the verb to this position. Apparent inflection medial or verb second word orders in subordinate clauses are generated by Verb (Projection) Raising in her account. Pintzuk observes that, if apparent verb seconding or inflection medial orders in subordinate clauses are generated by optional verb

(projection) raising operations, their steady increase throughout the OE period is inexplicable. Pintzuk (1999) demonstrates in fact that inflection medial orders increase at the same rate both in main and subordinate clauses in the OE period, a fact which calls for a unified explanation, rather than for the actuation of optional verb raising operations in the subordinate clause, and an obligatory verb seconding rule in the main clauses.

At this point, we need to define what is intended with Inflection medial orders in the terminology of Pintzuk. After reviewing van Kemenade's analysis, Pintzuk tackles the question as to which underlying structure OE presents; given the word orders such as (3) above, she claims there is evidence for head-final IP and VP projections, which derive orders attested also in Modern German and Dutch. Building on research by Kroch (1989, in Pintzuk 1999) and Santorini (1989, in Pintzuk 1999) on grammar competition and word order variation in Yiddish, she proposes that the Old English language had a Double Base structure. She defines the grammar competition in terms of different grammars which vary in the headedness of the IP and VP projections; the different output grammars, resulting from the combination of head initial and head final IP and VP projections, are given in the following:

(6)

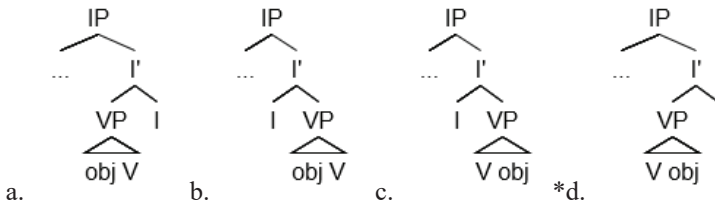


Figure 1-1: Pintzuk's grammars in competition

- a. Head-final IP + Head-final VP: S – O – V – V_{fin}
- b. Head-initial IP + head-final VP: S – V_{fin} – O – V
- c. Head- initial IP + head-initial VP: S – V_{fin} – V – O
- d. *Head-final IP + head-initial VP: S – V – O – V_{fin}

(Adapted from Pintzuk 1999: 47-48)

As can be seen from (6 a-d), combining head initial and head final VP and IP projections derive the word orders attested, with the exception of (6d), which is not only unattested in the OE records, but is extremely rare

in the languages of the world (cf. Fuß and Trips 2002).² As mentioned above, Pintzuk argues that there is evidence for a grammar with head final IP and VP projections. In order to test her hypothesis that there are also constructions involving head initial IP and head initial VP projections, Pintzuk examines the distribution of verbal particles, object pronouns and monosyllabic adverbs; these elements are light and are not generally involved in extraposition or verb projection raising processes, therefore their position after a finite verb would indicate an IP initial and a VP initial structure. She concludes that the distribution of these light elements provides evidence for an IP and VP-initial grammar. Pintzuk, moreover, estimates the statistic frequency of sentences exhibiting verb (projection) raising by collecting the number of examples such as (5) above, which cannot be derived by assuming head-initial IP and VP phrases, in her framework, nor by assuming left dislocation. She notices that the ratio of such examples is low and concludes that other types of Infl-Medial sentences must derive from a head initial IP.

After having defined the possible derivations for the different word orders attested, and the relative frequency of sentences exhibiting verb (projection) raising, Pintzuk examines the distribution of Infl-Final and Infl-Medial main and subordinate clauses in a set of selected prose texts, with a composition date ranging between ca. 880 and 1100. She demonstrates that, even though present already in the earlier texts, Infl-Medial orders increase steadily during the OE period. Pintzuk concludes that the steady increase of the Infl-Medial orders is to be ascribed to grammar competition, which yields the synchronic variation, and to the reanalysis of the head initial grammar as the basic one in the Early Middle English period.

Other researchers have worked within Pintzuk's framework of the Phrase Structures in competition, cf. Kroch and Taylor (2000), Pintzuk and Taylor (2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2015), and Trips (2002). A further refinement of Pintzuk's (1999) proposal was put forth by Fuß and Trips (2002); they tackle the question of the word order generated in (6d) above, for which the proponents of the Double Base Hypothesis argue its ungrammaticality may be due to some principles of UG (cf. Fuß and Trips 2002). They postulate that the parametric variation is to be ascribed to the presence or absence of the vP shell and to the possibility of overt vs covert V-to-v movement. They, moreover, adopt a modified version of Kayne's antisymmetric framework, by assuming that only functional heads are universally head initial, whereas lexical heads can still vary in their headedness. In their framework, only the

² Biberauer et al. (2014) demonstrate that the absence of this word order is to be ascribed to a universal principle, which they call Final Over Final Constraint (FOFC).

activation of a vP shell can generate a head initial VP, whereas an inflection final word order is determined by a grammar which lacks a vP shell. The reader is referred to Fuß and Trips (2002) and De Bastiani (2019) for a more in-depth discussion of this proposal.

Another proposal which calls for a uniform head-initial structure of functional categories was put forth by Kiparsky (1996). Kiparsky (1996) builds on the analysis by Pintzuk, claiming that the grammar competition in the Old English stage is to be described as the competition between a grammar without IP and a grammar with a fully developed I-projection. Kiparsky's criticism of Pintzuk's analysis of phrase structures in competition is the possibility of generating structure (6d) above, and the fact that the prediction that certain subordinate clauses can have an Infl-Medial structure leads to the prediction that Topicalization is possible in subordinate clauses, which was proven incorrect by van Kemenade (1987). Since he observes that the drift from OV to VO is a common drift across different language families, as opposed to the contrary process, which is extremely rare, Kiparsky proposes that the factor that pushed learners to opt for the VO order is a preference for uniform directionality on head-complement relations. This claim entails a basic assumption, namely that Spec-Head-Complement order is universal, and that apparent OV languages have extensive leftward movement processes (Kayne 1994).

As stated above, Kiparsky assumes a grammar without a grammaticalized IP projection, and a grammar with a grammaticalized IP projection; in the former grammar, the finite verb emerges fully inflected from the lexicon and is a complex category V/I; a bare declarative clause is at the same time an IP and a VP. In VIPs the verb remains in situ; this accounts for the presence of main clauses with verb final word order. Also CP is analysed as optional, so both IP and VIP can be main clauses or can be complements of CP. In this framework, the passage from OV to VO is characterised by the rise of I as a syntactical head out of VIP. The order in (6d) cannot be generated, since it would imply that the two grammars co-exist in the same sentence: a left branching VP cannot be nested in a right branching IP.

Pintzuk, however, has shown that both Infl Medial and Infl Final word orders are attested in main and embedded clauses from the start of the OE period. This entails, in Kiparsky's terminology, that for some sentences, the inflected verb is analysed as being part of a grammar with a grammaticalized IP phrase, whereas inflection final sentences are interpreted within a grammar with no IP projection. The problem of this analysis is, however, that these word orders occur in the same texts, as we pointed out above; if Infl-Medial order entails that IP is grammaticalized, it cannot be maintained that for the same speaker, this category is not analysed

as grammaticalized in other contexts, generating a sentence with inflection final structure. Another problem is connected to the grammaticalization of the category I, which van Gelderen (1993, in Kiparsky 1996) dates around 1380; if the order finite > non-finite verb is a result of the grammaticalization of I, then we would expect that the variation is resolved at a much later date than the standardly assumed one, namely 1200.

The latter two proposals reviewed involve some form of the LCA proposed by Kayne (1994), by assuming that at least functional projections must be head-initial. Roberts (1997) assumes that OE was uniformly head-initial and postulates leftward movement operations in order to derive the word orders attested. Roberts (1997), in fact, notices that languages such as Modern German and Dutch are traditionally analysed as representing a mixed typology: CP and DP are uniformly head-initial, whereas IP and VP are head-final. Roberts argues that there is empirical evidence to assume that IP and VP were head-initial in OE as well and proposes a framework in which standardly assumed head-final orders are derived by leftward movement operations. The trigger for the leftward movement operations is the checking of morphosyntactic features of the object; since OE has a rich case inflection, Roberts argues that the strong features need to be checked through movement. After Agr_{OP} loses its strong features, the Procrastinate Principle leads to the impossibility of leftward movement, in a similar fashion to the loss of V to I movement in the history of English.

To summarise, Roberts (1997) proposes an antisymmetric framework, in which leftward movement of objects, non-finite complements and small clauses to [Spec, Agr_{OP}] is triggered by checking of strong features. Verb movement to Agr_O^o is not always obligatory, and there are two possible landing sites for scrambled objects; finally, CPs, PPs and focused DPs in the sense of Kroch and Pintzuk (1989) are not subject to the leftward movement operations. Abstracting away for this partially unaccounted for optionality, this framework is liberal enough to derive the different word orders attested in the OE period and Roberts (1997), moreover, notes that his approach does not involve a greater degree of stipulation with respect to previous proposals. In fact, for the Double Base account, one has to stipulate that not only the language community, but also the individual speaker had access to multiple grammars, switching from one to the other without apparent trigger. For the analysis proposed by van Kemenade (1987), one has to stipulate that there was a large degree of freedom in the use of operations such as Extraposition or Verb (Projection) Raising, which occurred also with elements which are ruled out in other West Germanic languages.

Roberts' approach, however, still involves a great deal of optionality; in fact, he argues that objects, infinitival complements and small clauses can be fronted to the [Spec, Agr_{OP}]. In Aux > O > V sentences, only the object complement is fronted, whereas in O > V > Aux sentences, also the infinitival complement is fronted; his framework allows for the derivation of such sentences, but no trigger is proposed, in order for the speaker to decide between object fronting or the fronting of the infinitival complement. Moreover, it is not clear how the features in [Spec, Agr_{OP}] are strong enough to attract object complements, infinitival complements and small clauses, but fail to attract CPs and PPs. Finally, if case is the relevant feature, one must stipulate a condition according to which focused DPs, as described by Kroch and Pintzuk (1989), can remain in situ and nevertheless check case features.

A similar proposal to Roberts (1997) was put forth by Fischer et al. (2000); they raise similar criticism to Pintzuk's (1999) proposal and devise a derivation which takes into consideration leftward movement of the object to the [Spec, Agr_{OP}]. Movement of the object to this position is obligatory in order to check case features; what differentiates the surface word orders OV and VO depends on when the Spell-Out takes place. If Spell-Out takes place before object movement, then surface VO is obtained, whereas if Spell-Out takes place after object movement, then surface OV is obtained. The authors, moreover, notice that there are word orders in OE and ME which are signalled by a diagnostic adverbial intervening between the object and the verb and are clearly derived from leftward movement of the object. They argue that in these cases, the object is moved to a higher Agr_{OP}; what is crucial, however, is that they argue that since these data show unambiguous leftward movement, nothing prevents us from analysing surface OV as the result of leftward movement as well. The advantage of their approach allows to explain some empirical facts about ME; in fact, even though 1200 is commonly analysed as the point in which VO is grammaticalized, Fischer et al. notice that quantified and negated objects retain a preverbal position the longer (up to 1400 according to Fischer et al.). In their approach, negated and quantified objects are moved leftward in order to check their features, and they argue that these objects require overt checking. With such an analysis, one would not need to invoke a double base structure for these restricted late Middle English data. However, this approach does not provide a cue to regulate late or early Spell-Out, resulting in a certain degree of optionality, as the former approaches do.

Since the optionality proposed by Roberts (1997) and Fischer et al. (2000) does not provide a satisfactory trigger for the word order variation attested, Roberts and Biberauer (2005) build on Roberts' (1997)

antisymmetric account, by assuming that the trigger for the leftward movement operations is the satisfaction of EPP features, which can be satisfied by either moving only the category carrying the EPP features, or by pied-piping the maximal projection containing it. This framework is devoted more space in the argumentation, since the present work builds on Roberts and Biberauer's (2005) analysis of VAux sentences. The central notion of pied-piping is briefly summarised following the argumentation in Biberauer and Roberts (2005); when a Probe is associated with an uninterpretable EPP feature, the appropriate Agree relation is created by the movement of the Goal bearing the interpretable feature. Nothing prevents to move the larger category in which the Goal is contained; this analysis must in fact be assumed in order to account for standard cases of pied-piping such as the following:

- (7) A qui as- tu parlé ?
 To whom have you spoken ?
 "To whom have you spoken?"

- (8) wh_{PROBE} [PP wh_{GOAL}].
 (From Biberauer and Roberts 2005:7, examples (1) and (2)).

The evidence in Modern English shows, however, that some languages allow for the possibility of pied-piping the larger XP governing the Goal, or by moving the Goal alone:

- (9) a. To whom did you speak?
 b. Who did you speak to?
 (From Biberauer and Roberts 2005: 8, example (4 a-b)).

In Modern French, the stranding of the preposition results in an ungrammatical sentence:

- (10) *Qui as- tu parlé a ?
 Who have you spoken to ?
 "Who have you spoken to?"

(Adapted from Biberauer and Roberts 2005:7, example 3)

When one abstracts from the specific case of pied-piping or preposition stranding illustrated above, the following representation for pied-piping can be formulated:

- (11) $X_{\text{PROBE}} \dots [Y_P \dots Z_{\text{GOAL}}] \dots$
 (From Biberauer and Roberts 2005:8, example 5)

Languages differ as to whether only the Goal moves to the Probe, or whether it is fronted to the Probe within the larger XP governing it; the two possibilities are allowed by UG, according to Biberauer and Roberts (2005). Finally, there are languages which allow for both options, as examples (9 a-b) show for Modern English.

The generalisation in (12) can be equated to the TP and vP projections respectively:

- (12) $T_{\text{PROBE}} \dots [v_P \dots \text{element with D features}_{\text{GOAL}}]$

Hence in the framework by Biberauer and Roberts, T's EPP features are satisfied by either moving only the element with the D-features, or by fronting the vP governing it.

Richards and Biberauer (2004) constructed a typology of ways of satisfying T's EPP features, which is based on the two parameters of the source of the D feature, and the size of the category containing it. They individuate two sources for the D feature: verb morphology, in languages where this is sufficiently rich, or the DP contents of [Spec, vP]. As pointed out above, the size of the category containing or bearing the D feature can either correspond to the verb or the DP subject, hence to the Goal, or to vP, hence the maximal category containing the Goal. For the present work, it suffices to say that, under this approach, Old English is analysed as a spec-pied-piping language. The languages belonging to this type are characterised by having as source for the D features [Spec, vP], and for allowing the pied-piping of the maximal category containing the Goal. These languages are unique in the set since they allow for both movement operations; in a head-pied-piping language having verbal morphology as a Goal, such as German in Richards and Biberauer's typology, the finite verb must obligatorily move together with the larger category containing it, since the finite verb is a head. However, in spec-pied-piping languages, both movement operations are equally possible, since in both cases they involve an XP.

Furthermore, Roberts and Biberauer extend the analysis to the domain of verbal complementation; the formula in (13) extends to the following categories:

- (13) $V_{\text{PROBE}} \dots [v_P \dots \text{element with D features}_{\text{GOAL}}]$

The same movement operations illustrated above apply to check v 's EPP features. To sum up, Roberts and Biberauer (2005) argue that OE was a language that required either the pied-piping of the category containing the EPP features to the Probe, but also allowed the satisfaction of the EPP features by only moving the category bearing the Goal features. Finally, they propose that the language change witnessed in ME involves the loss of the pied-piping option, by requiring the satisfaction of the EPP features only by moving the relevant category.

In order to derive the $S > O > V > \text{Aux}$ order attested in OE, Biberauer and Roberts assume an underlying universal head-initial order of constituents and propose the following movement operations (the Auxiliary is presented as directly merged in T, for ease of exposition):

(14)

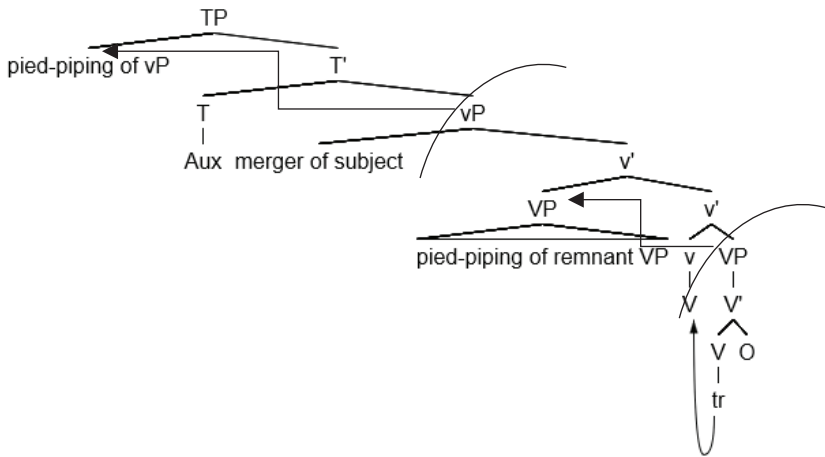


Figure 1-2: the derivation of $S > O > V > \text{Aux}$ order in Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) framework

The non-finite verb moves to v , and the remnant VP is fronted to the inner specifier of vP ; the subject is analysed as being directly merged in the topmost Specifier of vP . After that these movements have taken place, the vP is fronted to the Specifier of TP.

Crucially, under Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) analysis, the derivations of the different word orders attested differ minimally with respect to the instantiation of the pied-piping parameter. Let us observe, in fact, their derivation of the $S > \text{Aux} > O > V$ and $S > \text{Aux} > V > O$ orders respectively. For sentences presenting a modal verb, they assume a bi-clausal structure;

in fact, modal verbs are not fully grammaticalized in the OE and ME periods, but they are rather lexical verbs selecting a defective TP_{DEF} (non-phi-complete) complement, which is selected by V. This entails that the derivation proceeds for longer before material is sent to Spell-Out and rendered inaccessible for further syntactic operations (cf. their discussion of Chomsky 2001).

In the infinitival clause, T attracts *v*, which attracts V; after these movements are complete, the remnant VP is moved to the inner specifier of vP. The Subject generated in the topmost Specifier of vP is moved to the specifier of the matrix TP via the specifier of the matrix vP. The remnant vP is moved to the Specifier of the TP_{DEF}; these movement operations derive the superficial S > Aux > O > V order. In the following, the structure given by Biberauer and Roberts (2005:17) is reported:³

(15) [TP S T VR [TP [vP tS [vP tV O] V + v + T tvP]]

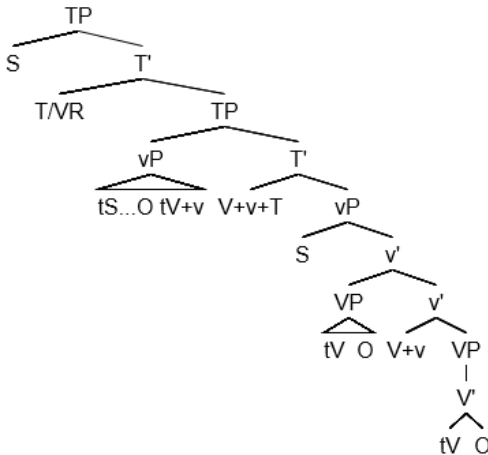


Figure 1-3: the derivation of S > Aux > O > V order in Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) framework

The following structure represents their derivation for S > Aux > V > O order:

³ The Label “VR” stands for “Verb Raising”. Notice that in their representation, the matrix vP is lacking.

(16) [TP S T VR [TP tS V+v+T[vP tS tv+V [VP tV O]]]]

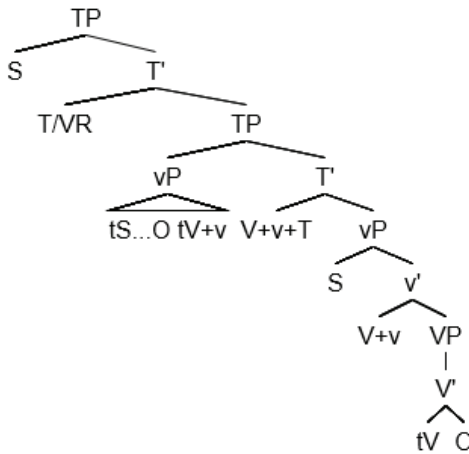


Figure 1-4: the derivation of S > Aux > V > O order in Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) framework

The order above is derived by Biberauer and Roberts with the same operations as for the S > Aux > O > V sentence, with the difference that there is no remnant movement of VP to the inner Specifier of the embedded vP.

Finally, for sentences with the order S > V > Aux > O, they propose that the Aux selects a smaller complement, namely vP. They motivate this by noticing that semi-modals in OE are optional restructuring verbs; moreover, they argue that in such structures, there is no remnant VP raising to the inner Specifier of vP. When the vP phase is completed, the object is sent to Spell-Out, and is unavailable for further syntactic operations. Since the non-finite verb precedes the auxiliary in these sentences, the sentence must involve the attraction of the remnant vP to the Specifier of the matrix TP. Biberauer and Roberts notice that leftward movement in Germanic is a “defocusing operation”, and that Kroch and Pintzuk (1989) report that in Beowulf focused constituents remain in situ, therefore they claim that in sentences such as the one represented above, v’s EPP feature is reanalysed as an optional feature, triggering defocusing movement.

With respect to Roberts' (1997) framework, Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) analysis provides a precise trigger for the movement operations they postulate. This trigger, namely the satisfaction of the EPP features, can be realised either by pied-piping of the whole category containing the Goal, or by moving the XP bearing the Goal features; the framework exploits

mechanisms which are allowed by UG and are attested cross-linguistically. Moreover, the analysis is not created *ad hoc* for the Old English language, but builds on previous research on Modern Germanic languages, which yields similar results for Swiss German and spoken Afrikaans (cf. discussion in Biberauer and Roberts). However, the analysis of $S > V > Aux > O$ clauses involves the postulation of a certain optionality when it comes to *v*'s EPP features. In fact, Biberauer and Roberts conclude that in such cases, *v*'s EPP features are optional, and movement could be triggered by a defocusing operation. As in Roberts (1997), this claim is based on Kroch and Pintzuk's (1989) study of post-verbal DPs in *Beowulf*, but no further evidence is provided for it. The approach, moreover, raises the question as to whether $S > O > V > Aux$ clauses can be analysed as minimally differing from the $S > V > Aux > O$ clauses in involving the defocusing of VP and its object in the first case and in focusing of the objects in the second case. Moreover, it is not clear whether the defocusing operation is linked to the information conveyed by the verb which has undergone leftward movement, or whether the leftward movement is needed in order for the stranded object to be interpreted as focused. Finally, if the stranding of the object involves a focus interpretation, it is reasonable to assume that this is the case also in the $S > Aux > V > O$ sentences, and that $S > Aux > O > V$ sentences differ from the former with respect to the information structural value of the object. These questions are not addressed in Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) account, but they will be addressed in the present work.

We can conclude that the antisymmetric accounts reviewed are theoretically more appealing, since they allow to derive the word order variation attested by assuming one uniform grammar. Provided that we can show that the variation between the different derivations is governed by different principles, we could do away with the optionality which underlies both the accounts within the framework of Grammar Competition and the ones assuming a universal base by individuating precise constraints which regulate the choice between the different derivations. I argue that these constraints have to be defined by information structural and weight factors, as recent literature on Earlier Germanic suggests; the IS and Prosodic Conditions are defined in the framework proposed by Hinterhölzl in a series of papers (2014;2015;2017) and illustrated in Chapter 2.

After having reviewed the main proposals regarding the underlying structure of OE and the processes leading to the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order, I will review the factors involved in the reanalysis proposed in the literature. For reasons of space, the main points will be touched upon, but the reader is referred to the works quoted for a full overview.

The main causes for the language change hypothesised in the literature are the loss of strong case morphology (Roberts 1997), the emergence of the I category (Kiparsky 1996), and the contact with the Scandinavian settlers in England (Kroch and Taylor 2000, Trips 2002, Fuß and Trips 2002, Emonds and Faarlund 2014).

Roberts (1997) identifies strong case morphology as the trigger for the leftward movement of objects of verb to a checking position. Once case morphology is lost, the strong features do not need to be checked in a dedicated [Spec, Agreement] projection. This would have led to the loss of the movement to [Spec, AgroP] for reasons of Economy. This approach raises a series of questions; in fact, if the loss of case morphology would have prompted the reanalysis of VO as the basic surface word order, one needs to explain why Dutch has retained OV word order, despite losing case morphology, and why Icelandic has developed VO word order, despite presenting rich case inflection. Moreover, Kiparsky (1996) notes that the erosion of the case declension had already started in the Old English period.

Kiparsky (1996) proposes that it was the rise of the I category which led to the grammaticalization of the VO word order, as summarised above. In his language change scenario, the rise of Infl-Medial word orders would have prompted the reanalysis of the underspecified VPs into head-initial VPs. It must be underlined that the grammaticalization of auxiliaries does not have to coincide to the grammaticalization of the syntactic projection hosting them. But if this were the case, it must be stressed that the two language changes, i.e. the grammaticalization of the VO word order and the grammaticalization of auxiliaries, do not coincide. In fact, the reanalysis of VO as the basis word order is dated around 1200 A.D., whereas van Gelderen dates the grammaticalization of auxiliaries around 1380. As far as modal verbs are concerned, these are grammaticalized much later, at the beginning of the Early Modern English period (cf. Roméro 2005).

A more influential proposal involves the language contact with the Scandinavian settlers in the Danelaw as the source for the language change; this proposal is defended by Kroch and Taylor (1997), Trips (2002), and Fuß and Trips (2002). It is assumed that the contact with the Scandinavian settlers, who allegedly spoke already a VO language, prompted the reanalysis of the VO word order in the Early Middle English period. The hypothesis is supported by empirical studies on different dialectal varieties of the Early Middle English period; in these studies it is reported that more innovative word orders, namely Infl-Medial and VO, spread from the North-East Midlands, which were densely settled by the Scandinavians, to the South and West of England. Moreover, Kroch and Taylor (1997) claim that

the Northern dialects present categorical V2, similar to the Scandinavian V2 pattern, unlike the Southern varieties.

The main problem with this hypothesis is that the language spoken by the Scandinavian settlers is not attested, and the fact that this language displayed surface Infl-Medial and VO word orders is a stipulation. In fact, there is evidence from Old Icelandic and Old Swedish showing that the same type of variation in surface word orders affected Old Scandinavian languages; the word order variation in Icelandic lasted for centuries, until VO was reanalysed as the basic word order during the 19th century. As far as Old Swedish is concerned, Delsing (2000) reports that variation in the relative order of object and verb is attested until the 16th century.⁴ Furthermore, under these approaches, it is generally assumed that the language contact between the Scandinavians and the English was extensive, and that the two populations fused. The scholars quoted in this paragraph, moreover, rely upon reports of mutual comprehension between the English and the Scandinavians (cf. Trips 2002:17). However, Bech and Walkden (2016) report that there is evidence against this view; in fact, if the two populations were as extensively fused as authors such as Trips, and Emonds and Faarlund put it, one would expect to find also a high amount of genetic fusion. This is not the case, since there is more Norman DNA as Viking DNA in the British population (cf. literature in Bech and Walkden 2016). This finding confirms the conclusions reached by traditional historians and archaeologists that the Vikings came in small numbers, plundered and kept to themselves. The ones who remained in England shifted to English. Furthermore, Townend (2002, in Bech and Walkden 2016) argues that the population was bilingual, but not the single individuals. Moreover, Pintzuk shows that Infl-Medial and VO orders are already attested in OE texts of the 9th century; most of the texts she uses for the analysis are in the West Saxon and in the Mercian dialects. These are the dialects of areas in which the Scandinavian influence was less strong.

Finally, there are some caveats with some of the texts examined to defend this hypothesis; Trips' (2002) study on OV and VO word order in Early Middle English is centred on one text, namely the metric poem of the *Ormulum*. This text is an original EME composition from the Northern East Midlands and occupies therefore a key position in the study of language

⁴ One of the reviewers, moreover, points out that also Old High German and Old Saxon were subject to a similar degree of variation, despite their having had little contact with the North Germanic languages. Word order variation is a feature of Earlier Germanic languages, as extensive literature shows (cf. Linde 2009 for Old Saxon, Petrova 2009, Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2010 and Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2018 for Old High German, among others).

change in the history of English (cf. also Chapter 5 for a more detailed description of this text). However, the text is written with a rigid metre of 15 syllables, to which the author conforms very precisely. Trips claims that Scandinavian features can be detected in this text; let us review her main points. Trips (2002) aims to determine whether Object Shift can be found in the *Ormulum*; if this were the case, then this must be derived from the contact with the Scandinavian settlers, in her view. However, as Trips (2002) herself notes, the evidence she finds is equivocal and not conclusive. Trips, moreover, discovers Stylistic Fronting in the text, as defined by Platzack (1988). She concludes that the author of the *Ormulum* resorted to Stylistic Fronting when failure to do so would result in a wrong accent pattern. In Chapter 5 we will see that the same can be stated for the mapping of constituents and pronouns in the text. The fact that this text exhibits Stylistic Fronting provides evidence for a possible Scandinavian influence in the text; however, I think that the evidence in this text must be treated with caution, since its metric composition may have led the author to use a marked word order in order to conform to his strict pattern firmly. Moreover, it must be noticed that $V > \text{Aux}$ orders are found also when a subject DP is expressed in the text (cf. Trips 2002); these are not cases of Stylistic Fronting, by definition. Given the fact that Trips (2002) adopts Pintzuk's framework, the relative clauses with a subject gap and $V > \text{Aux}$ order that she analyses as instances of Stylistic Fronting could be analysed in her framework as instances of residual inflection final grammar. Finally, as Svenonius (2005) notices, the discovery of Stylistic Fronting and the Norse V_2 , as characterised by Kroch and Taylor (1997), does not provide evidence to claim that the drift from OV to VO word order was triggered by the contact with the Scandinavian settlers. This text shows that some Scandinavian traits can be found at least in the author's grammar, but they do not directly bear on the question of the word order change investigated in this work.

A proposal which takes the role of the influence of the Scandinavian language to the extremes was put forth by Emonds and Faarlund (2014); they in fact propose that Old English simply died out, and that the language from which Modern English descends is "Anglicised Norse", a language which originated from the contact between the Scandinavian and the English inhabitants. They claim that this language had a Northern Germanic grammar with retention of some Old English vocabulary. The core of their argument relies on the comparison of syntactic properties of Modern English and Modern Scandinavian languages that cannot be derived from Old English, but from Anglicised Norse. This rather controversial view has received criticism in the literature, cf. van Kemenade (2016), Simms (2016),

Bech and Walkden (2016), whereas Lightfoot (2016) underlines that the work constitutes an important contribution on the debate on the word order variation in OE and the grammaticalization of the VO word order. It can be demonstrated that most of the properties they claim are directly derived from their Anglicised Norse ancestor, can be likewise derived from Old English (cf. Walkden and Bech 2016 and Buzzoni 2017, for the syntax of the Ormulum). Moreover, if Modern English descends from Anglicised Norse, one would need to explain why it has not developed a post-posed article and strict V2, as the Scandinavian languages; these properties are not satisfactorily accounted for by Emonds and Faarlund. I join the criticism by authors such as van Kemenade (2016) and Bech and Walkden (2016), by arguing that the contribution by Emonds and Faarlund does not resolve the question about the impact of the Scandinavian language, and that the classification of Modern English as a Northern Germanic language is ill-founded.

The debate summarised above constitutes the point of departure for the present work; one of the aims is to determine whether the different word orders attested in OE can be explained by the interplay of both IS and prosodic interface conditions. A second aim of the present work is to test whether the syntax of the EME texts selected constitute a uniform development from the OE period, and whether the blurring of the interface conditions postulated can be analysed as the factor responsible for the reanalysis of $S > Aux > V > O$ as the basic word order.

In Chapter 2 the theoretical framework and the methodology are presented; the framework employed is inspired by the antisymmetric accounts illustrated above but considers IS and prosody as the relevant interface conditions responsible for the Spell-Out of constituents. The interface conditions postulated stem from recent literature on Early Germanic which demonstrates how IS and weight of the constituents play a role in the surface structure of clauses (cf. Hinterhölzl, Petrova & Solf 2009; Linde 2009; Struik and van Kemenade 2018; Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2018, among others). In the second part of Chapter 2 the methodology and the samples are presented; except for the text of the Ormulum, the sample consists exclusively of prose texts.

In Chapter 3 an empirical survey on the grammaticalization of the definite determiner is presented; the prosodic condition presented in Chapter 2 predicts that an XP with both head and complement filled is spelled-out in post-verbal position. With the grammaticalization of the demonstrative into the definite determiner, a structural reanalysis takes place: the demonstrative located in [Spec, DP] is reanalysed as the head of the DP, turning the DP with a definite determiner into a phrase which is likely to be

spelled-out in post-verbal position. For this reason, it is crucial to determine when the definite determiner is reanalysed as the head of the DP in the history of English.

In Chapter 4 the OE sample is presented; the pilot sample investigated yields results which are very similar to a large-scale investigation conducted by Struik and van Kemenade (2018); it will be seen that pre-verbal constituents are subject to precise IS and prosodic constraints, whereas post-verbal constituents show a heterogeneous distribution. The results obtained with the pilot OE sample will constitute the basis for the study of the comprehensive EME sample.

In Chapter 5 the EME sample is investigated. It will be demonstrated that the prose texts belonging to the sample can be divided into two groups; in the first group, a more conservative syntax can be observed, whereas in the second group VO order constitutes the vast majority of cases. It will be seen that the conservative or less conservative character of the texts is not only linked to their dialectal provenance but also to their transmission history. Finally, an analysis of the poetic text of the *Ormulum* is presented; this text constitutes one of the few extant works produced in an area densely settled by the Scandinavian population. Given the paucity of texts for the period investigated, its inclusion in the sample allows to better understand whether the texts produced in an area influenced by the language of the Scandinavian settlers indeed presents a higher amount of VO orders. However, as pointed out above, this text was composed following a rigid metric scheme; it will be demonstrated that this rigid metric scheme shapes also the syntax of the work.

In Chapter 6 the syntax of object pronouns is investigated; being light elements which can be also cliticised, it is reasonable to treat them separately from the other types of arguments of verbs analysed in Chapters 4 and 5. It will be demonstrated that these elements are also governed by IS constraints, since they realise different types of topics which correlate with different projections. In the course of the EME period, these IS constraints are blurred and the post-verbal position is reanalysed as the Spell-Out site.

In Chapter 7 a summary of the data is presented, and the role of the grammaticalization of the definite determiner is looked at in more detail. The data reviewed in Chapter 7 lead to the syntactic analysis proposed in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 concludes the book.

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will illustrate the theoretical framework underlying this research; the theoretical framework presented here is elaborated by Hinterhölzl (2014; 2015; 2017) and builds on the previous debate on the underlying structure of OE, presented in Chapter 1. This theoretical framework aims to derive the different word orders attested by postulating a universal base word order; contrarily to the approach presented in Biberauer and Roberts (2005), however, the different attested word orders are derived by different Spell-Out options driven by IS and prosodic interface conditions operating at the LF and PF interface. Building on the literature on the role of IS on Early Germanic syntax, Hinterhölzl devises precise interface conditions which influence the Spell-Out of constituents so as to meet discourse and prosodic needs. In section 2.1, I present the general theoretical framework and the expected output of our interface conditions; in section 2.2, I will give the reasons for the postulation of a prosodic interface condition which defines heaviness in terms of metric structure, and in section 2.3 I will discuss the interaction between the interface conditions postulated and the grammaticalization of the definite determiner. In section 2.4, I will present the prospected language change scenario. Finally, in sections 2.5 and 2.6 I will present the methodology and the samples.

2.1 Interface conditions governing the Spell-Out of constituents

Building on the current debate on variation in OE word order, and from empirical findings about the influence of IS, Hinterhölzl (2014; 2015; 2017) proposes an anti-symmetric framework, in which IS and prosodic interface conditions govern the Spell-Out of constituents. The literature on the interaction between word order variation and IS is vast; cf. for instance the work by Schlachter (2004), Petrova (2009), Petrova and Solf (2009),

Hinterhölzl, Petrova and Solf (2009), Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2010; 2018) and Linde (2009) for Old High German and Old Saxon. As far as Old English is concerned, cf. the work by Bech (2001), van Kemenade and Los (2006; 2018), Cloutier (2009), van Kemenade (2009), Petrova and Speyer (2011), van Kemenade and Westergaard (2012), Elenbaas and van Kemenade (2014), Milicev (2016) and Struik and van Kemenade (2018). Moreover, also the weight of the constituents is analysed as a relevant factor in the OV/VO variation in Old Icelandic (cf. Hróarsdóttir 2000), whereas Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) argue that both information structure and weight yield statistically significant results in the mapping of direct objects of OE subordinate clauses. Please note that throughout this book I will refer to prosodic conditions; given the fact that the only evidence available comes from written texts, it is evident that prosodic intonation and contour cannot be tested. However, as will be discussed also below, the syntactic weight of constituents also has an impact on the prosodic structure of the sentence.

Recall that Roberts (1997) postulated that leftward licensing movement operations common to OV Modern Germanic languages, such as Modern German and Dutch, were operative also in OE, but he claims that these movement operations are optional, yielding the word order variation attested in the OE stage by assuming an antisymmetric universal base.

Hinterhölzl (*ibid.*) takes the movement operations postulated in Roberts (1997) to be obligatory; the leftward licensing movement operations proposed by Hinterhölzl are listed under (1 a-c):

- (1) a. Licensing movement of arguments into a Case Phrase;⁵
- b. Licensing movement of verb particles into the specifier of a low Aspect Phrase;
- c. Licensing movement of predicative elements into a Predicative Phrase;

(From Hinterhölzl 2015: 303, example 9)

After these licensing movements have taken place, Hinterhölzl (*ibid.*) proposes the following interface conditions governing the Spell-Out of either the higher or of the lower copy of movement:

⁵ This syntactic position is analogous to Roberts' (1997) Agr_{OP}.

- (2)
- a. G(ivenness)-Transparency: a given constituent must occupy a weak position in prosodic structure;
 - b. F(ocus)-Transparency: A constituent representing new information must occupy a strong position in prosodic structure;⁶
 - c. A syntactic phrase XP counts as heavy if both its head X and the complement of X contain lexical material. Heavy phrases must be mapped on a strong branch.

We will see below in section 2.2 that the post-verbal position is a strong position in this framework; to satisfy the G-transparency condition, a given object must move outside the V-domain, while a new constituent is spelled-out in its base position inside the VP, resulting in VO word order.

The condition under (2c) defines weight in terms of the metrical structure of a constituent; so, if a phrase is right branching, it is considered heavy in the framework (cf. section 2.2). Moreover, condition (2c) predicts that a heavy phrase is mapped on a strong branch, hence in post-verbal position. Throughout the work, I will refer to condition (2c) as the Prosodic Condition. These mapping conditions are postulated to interact in the OE period, giving rise to the variation attested; in (3), I present our sentence structure, and in (4) I present the expected outputs of the interface conditions:

⁶ As one reviewer pointed out, this interface condition only predicts the Spell-Out of objects conveying new information, whereas it does not predict the Spell-Out of contrastively focused material. We will see that contrastively focused non-pronominal objects tend to be spelled-out in post-verbal position, but contrastively focused object pronouns can be mapped in pre-verbal position as well.

(3)

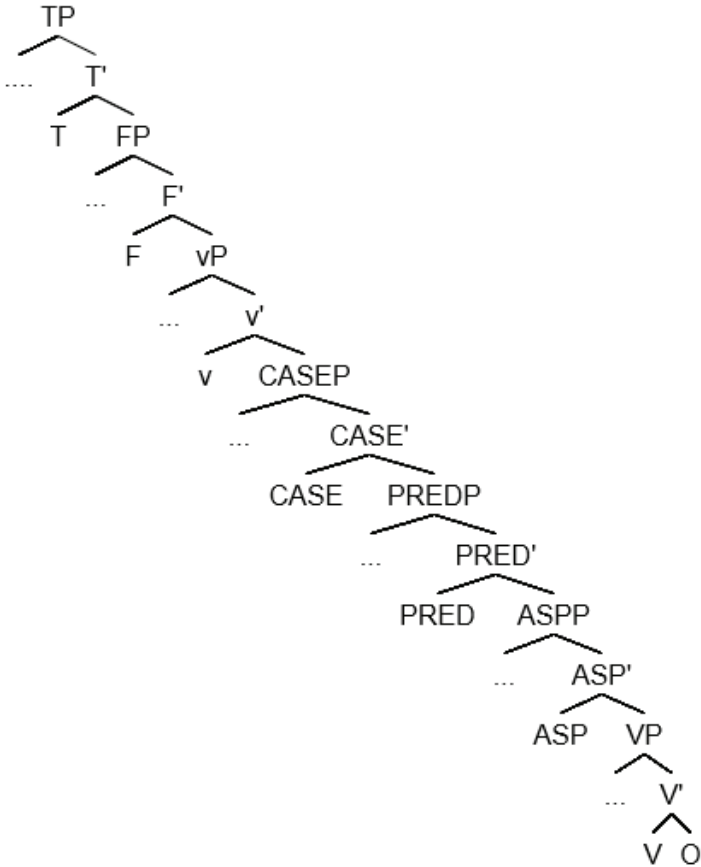


Figure 2-1: the prospected OE sentence structure

In accordance with Cinque (1999), it is postulated that adverbials are mapped in dedicated functional projections at the left of the vP. I represented them collectively under an FP projection. The different Spell-Out options of different types of objects are collected under (4):

- (4)
- a. $[_{VP}[_{CASEP} O [CASE]]][_ {PREDP} [PRED]][_ {ASPP} [ASP]][_ {VP} [V O_{Copy}]]]$
Licensing movement of the object to the [Spec, CASEP] position, with the copy in the base position.
 - b. $[_{VP}[_{CASEP} O_{given} [CASE]]][_ {PREDP} [PRED]][_ {ASPP} [ASP]][_ {VP} [V O_{given}]]]$
Spell-out of the higher copy due to the Givenness Transparency condition
 - c. $[_{VP}[_{CASEP} O_{new} [CASE]]][_ {PREDP} [PRED]][_ {ASPP} [ASP]][_ {VP} [V O_{new}]]]$
Spell-out of the lower copy due to the Focus Transparency condition.
 - d. $[_{VP}[_{CASEP} O_{heavy} [CASE]]][_ {PREDP} [PRED]][_ {ASPP} [ASP]][_ {VP} [V O_{heavy}]]]$
Spell-out of the lower copy due to the Prosodic Condition.

In (4a) we have the licensing movement of the object of the verb into the [Spec, CASEP] position; I did not represent the licensing movement of nominal parts of complex predicates and verbal particles, which works in the same way as the licensing of objects of verbs. In section 2.2, moreover, I will provide a default mapping condition for verbal particles and nominal parts of complex predicates.

In example (4b) we can see the deletion of the lower copy, after the licensing movement of an object representing given information has occurred; according to the Givenness Transparency condition, this object has to be spelled-out on a weak branch, which is translated as the pre-verbal position in the present framework.

In example (4c), on the other hand, we can observe the Spell-Out of the lower copy of a new object, after licensing movement has taken place. According to the Focus-Transparency condition, these objects must be mapped on a strong branch, hence the Spell-Out of the lower copy in the post-verbal domain.

In example (4d), we have the post-verbal mapping of a heavy phrase; in a similar way as to the new elements, it is predicted that these elements are mapped on a strong branch, namely in the post-verbal domain.

It has to be noticed that, whereas the Spell-Out of the higher copy and the deletion of the lower copy is uncontroversial, the Spell-Out of the lower copy needs further justification (cf. Hinterhölzl 2015). Hinterhölzl (ibid.) notes that the Spell-Out of the higher copy is based on the assumption that features are only checked on the remerged copy; it follows that it is the lower copy that is deleted at PF, since movement and checking occurs to delete uninterpretable features. Chomsky (1993, in Hinterhölzl 2015) proposes, however, that in a checking operation, a feature is checked and

deleted on every copy. Moreover, Hinterhölzl notes that the copy which is interpreted at PF needs not be the copy that is interpreted at LF; in fact, the reason behind the theory of copy is that a moved constituent is interpreted in its checking position at PF, but in its base position at LF. Hinterhölzl concludes that examples such as (4b) have the higher copy interpreted at PF, whereas the lower copy is interpreted at LF; on the other hand, examples such as (4c-d) should be interpreted as cases in which the lower copy is interpreted at PF and the higher copy is interpreted at LF.

Moreover, we have to notice that there is a possible conflict arising from the interface conditions postulated; in fact, a heavy element constituting given information has two possible Spell-Out sites. According to the G-Transparency condition, in fact, an element representing given information must be spelled-out on a weak branch; this is obtained by de-accenting the given element, since it is demonstrated in the literature that a given constituent rejects sentence and phrasal accent (Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006, in Hinterhölzl 2014). However, the given heavy element may be spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, given its prosodic weight. I will claim that this possible conflict may have resulted in the growing post-verbal mapping of DPs with a definite determiner (cf. sections 2.3 and 2.4). New elements, on the other hand, are predicted to receive extra-beat after that the focus exponent is determined (cf. Uhmans 1991) and are therefore predicted to be spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

Notice that I have not provided spell-out operations for the mapping of $V > \text{Aux}$ sentences; let us observe Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) proposal for $V > \text{Aux}$ sentences (cf. Figure 1-2 in Chapter 1):⁷

⁷ For the sake of exposition, I represent the auxiliary as merged directly in T. However, Biberauer and Roberts (2005) note that a bi-clausal structure is more appropriate to represent sentences with a complex verbal form in the OE stage.

(5)

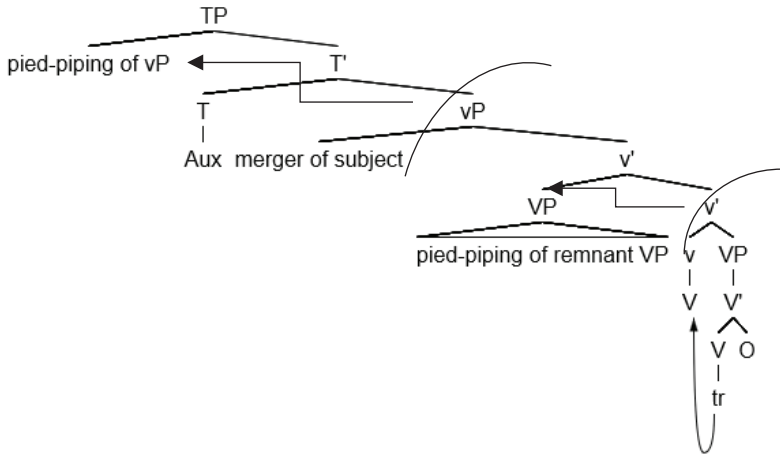


Figure 2-2: the derivation of S > O > V > Aux sentences in Biberauer and Roberts’ (2005) framework

In Biberauer and Roberts’ (2005) analysis, after the v-to-V movement has taken place, the whole remnant VP is pied-piped to the higher v’ node. The subject is assumed to merge directly in [Spec, vP]; after these movements have taken place, the whole vP is pied-piped to [Spec, TP]. These movement operations can derive a sentence like the following within an antisymmetric approach:

- (6) & þa he þis gecweden
 and when he this said
 hæfde [...].
 had [...].
 “And after he had said this, [...]”
 (coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BiHom_13]]:149.191.1832)

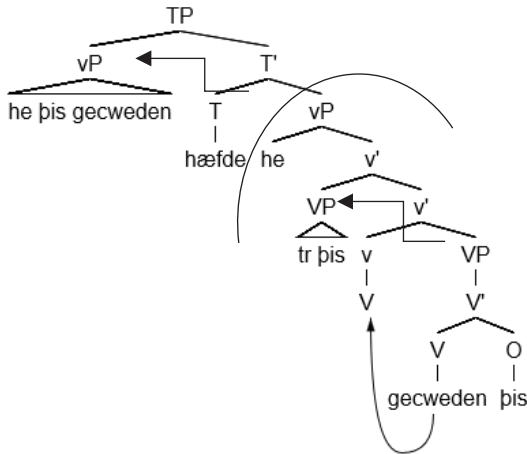


Figure 2-3: the derivation of sentence (6) according to Biberauer and Roberts’ (2005) framework

I adopt this analysis by combining it with our Spell-Out operations in the vP; in Chapters 4 and 8, I propose a different trigger for the pied-piping of the vP to the [Spec, TP].⁸ Let us sketch our proposal as follows:

⁸ I thank Ans van Kemenade and Tara Struik for illuminating conversations on this point.

(7)

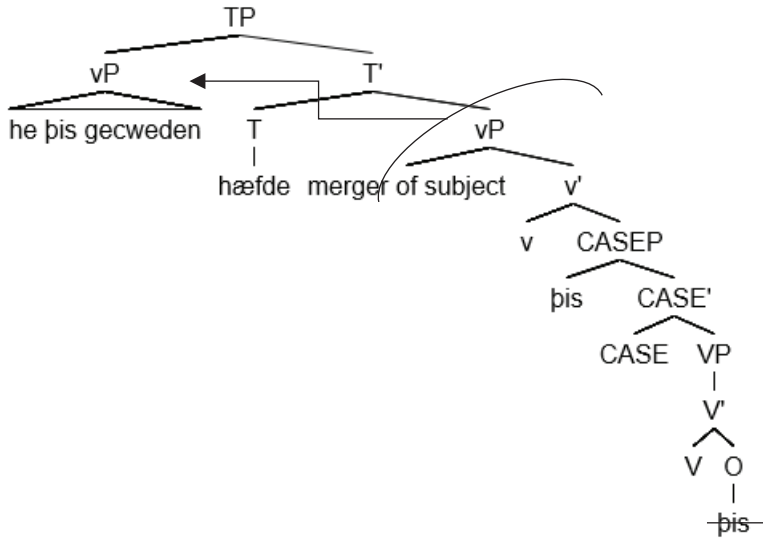


Figure 2-4: the derivation of sentence (6) according to the present framework

For the sake of exposition, I have not represented all our assumed projections, but only the ones of interest for the analysis of this sentence. Given the anaphoric status of the demonstrative object, this is spelled-out in the checking position, and accordingly, on a weak branch in the pre-verbal domain. Moreover, I assume together with Biberauer and Roberts (2005) that the subject is merged in [Spec, vP]. After the Spell-Out of the vP is complete, this phase is ready for further derivation and the vP is pied-piped to [Spec, TP].

2.2 Reasons for a metric definition of prosodic heaviness

In the previous section, I presented under (2c) our definition of prosodic heaviness and determined the prosodic interface condition driving the spell-out of heavy constituents in the post-verbal domain; the definition of prosodic heaviness is repeated here under (8):

- (8) A syntactic phrase XP counts as heavy if both its head X and the complement of X contain lexical material. Heavy phrases must be mapped on a strong branch.

I noticed that this definition is metric in nature, and I will provide the reasons why such a definition is desirable in order to define heaviness.

Firstly, let us recall that Behaghel (1909, 1932) already noticed that “more important” elements follow “less important” elements, and that “more extensive” elements follow the “less extensive elements”, a generalisation which is known as the “law of growing elements”, cf. the following passage:

„Je näher ein Satzglied dem Ende des Satzes steht, zumal wenn dieses zugleich Ende der Rede ist, desto leichter wird es behalten werden. Man wird also gerne das ans Ende rücken, was man seiner Wichtigkeit dem Gedächtnis des Hörers besonders einprägen möchte, oder dasjenige, was wegen seines größeren Umfangs an sich nicht so leicht vom Gedächtnis aufgenommen wird. [...] So bildet sich unbewußt (*sic!*) in den Sprachen ein eigenartiges rhythmisches Gefühl, die Neigung, vom kürzeren zum längeren Glied überzugehen; so entwickelt sich das, was ich [...] als das Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder bezeichnen möchte. (Behaghel 1909:138-139).”⁹

And cf. the following generalization (Hinterhölzl 2014:345, extension of abbreviations mine):

- (9) Pronouns and unmodified nouns precede the verb, while modified nouns, PPs and other heavy phrases tend to follow the verb in *Old Icelandic*, OE and *Old High German*.

The stylistic generalizations presented in the contributions by Behaghel are confirmed from quantitative and qualitative studies on older Germanic languages; Hinterhölzl, Petrova and Solf (2005), Petrova and Solf (2009) demonstrated that Old High German presents given pre-verbal constituents and new information focus in the post-verbal position. Hróarsdóttir (2009) concludes that it was both the impact of weight and information structure in Icelandic that led to the re-analysis of the VO word order as the basic one; Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) test both the significance of the weight

⁹ The more an element of the sentence stays towards the end of the sentence, especially when this is the end of the speech at the same time, the more it will be kept in mind. One will willingly move towards the end what one particularly wants to stamp into the mind of the Hearer, or what is not lightly recorded by memory because of its bigger extent. In this way, a peculiar rhythmical feeling arises in languages, which is the tendency to proceed from the shorter to the longer member. In this way arises what I would like to call the Law of Growing Elements (translation mine, CDB).

and IS conditions on the mapping of direct objects in OE subordinate clauses, concluding that both factors are significant.

It is therefore necessary to define weight, in order to be able to track its influence in the course of time in an objective and consistent way. The reason to determine a metric definition of heaviness arises by the so-called Head Final Filter (HFF) effects on the rightward modification of adjuncts in the I domain of Modern English, cf. the following examples:

- (10) a. John more often read the book than Peter.
 b. *John more often than Peter read the book.
 (adapted from Hinterhölzl 2017:15, examples 5a-b, originally from Haider 2000)

As we can notice from these examples, there is a restriction on the right branching of adjuncts in the I domain of English. Such a restriction is not present in Modern German:¹⁰

- (11) Hans hat öfter als der Peter das Buch gelesen.
 (Hinterhölzl 2017:15, example 5c)

Example (11) shows that an adjunct can be extended to the right in Modern German; such a restriction has a parallelism in the nominal domain:

- (12) a. *A proud of his mother man.
 b. Ein auf seine Mutter stolzer Mann.
 (adapted from Hinterhölzl 2014)

Summarising, when an adjunct precedes the modified VP or NP, it cannot be extended to the right in Modern English; this generalization has been captured with the Head Final Filter:

- (13) A pre-modifier must be adjacent to the modified head.
 (Williams 1982, in Hinterhölzl 2017:15)

The Head Final Filter is captured by Greenberg's Universal 21 (Greenberg 1963:70, in Sheehan and Biberauer 2013); Williams (1982) notices that there is a general constraint that bans modifying material after the head in prenominal modifiers. Moreover, he notices that this constraint is operative in English, a VO language, but not in German, an OV language.

¹⁰ One of the reviewers notices that this sentence is slightly marked, since the DP object should precede the adverbial in the unmarked word order.

Further restrictions to VO languages are listed by Haider (2000; 2013; 2015).

Given the fact that the HFF applies to the I domain of VO languages, but not to the I domain of OV languages, as noticed by Williams (1982), it is reasonable to assume that it is linked to the head complement parameter; however, Hinterhölzl notices that this would lead to the conclusion that the I domain of VO languages only admits head-final modifiers in an otherwise head-initial grammar.

Now the question arises as to which type of constraint the Head Final Filter is; it has to be noticed, in fact, that this constraint does not only operate on adjunction, but also on verbal clusters in German (cf. Hinterhölzl 2014). However, no HFF effects are found in subjects (14a), in DP or PP frames (14b), and in specifiers of functional elements in the C Domain (14c):

- (14) a. [Students [of linguistics]] read Chomsky a lot
 b. [On [Tuesday evening]] I will take Mary out for dinner
 c. [In [which city]] did John meet Mary?
 (Hinterhölzl 2014:352, examples 25a-c)

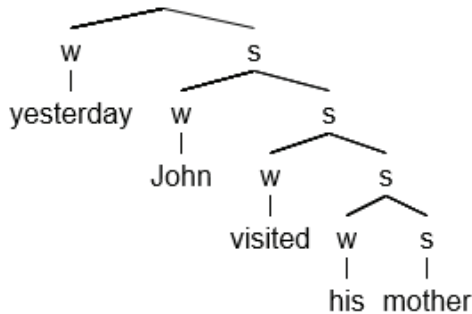
We can notice namely that these elements, which are mapped in Specifier position, can be further extended to the right without causing any HFF effects. This raises the question why such a constraint can only be operative in the case of modifiers, but not in the case of specifiers. Furthermore, when the adjunct in the I domain is epenthetic, HFF effects are not detected; cf. the following example:

- (15) a. *John more often than Peter visited Mary
 b. John, more often than Peter, visited Mary
 (Hinterhölzl 2014:353, examples 28a-b)

Hinterhölzl interprets this piece of evidence as a strong indication of the prosodic nature of the Head Final Filter. Now, given the fact that HFF effects are best treated as prosodic in nature, an interesting parallelism arises between HFF effects and foot-construction systems at the word level. Hinterhölzl notices in fact that in a weight sensitive system, a heavy syllable must occupy a dominant branch. At the word level, the dominant branch is defined as the recursive branch, whereas a heavy syllable is a syllable in which the right branch is itself branching; it is important to note that the onset is irrelevant for the assignment of weight to a syllable.

Henceforth it is now clear how the parallelism with the X-bar structure arises; in an antisymmetric tree, it is the right branch which is dominant:

(16)



(Hinterhölzl 2014:354, example 29)

Figure 2-5: the metric composition of a sentence according to Hinterhölzl (2014)

From this representation it can be noticed that the left-hand member of a binary construction has a metric value *weak*, whereas the metric value of the right-hand member is *strong*. Therefore, in an antisymmetric approach, the post-verbal domain is a dominant branch in prosodic composition, whereas the pre-verbal domain is a weak branch in prosodic composition.

Now recall from the discussion above that HFF effects are not detected in the C-domain; this observation is linked to the definition of a weight-sensitive domain. Hinterhölzl proposes to define weight-sensitivity as a phase-based phenomenon. He proposes that the C-Domain is not sensitive to weight effects, but is LF-transparent, since it allows for the mapping of pragmatically driven elements, which can be heavy; the I domain in Modern English, instead, is PF-transparent and subject to weight effects.

There is evidence, moreover, for the assumption that the I domain in both OE and Old High German was weight sensitive; recall in fact the generalization in (9) above, repeated here as (17):

- (17) Pronouns and unmodified nouns precede the verb, while modified nouns, PPs and other heavy phrases tend to follow the verb in *Old Icelandic*, OE and *Old High German*.

In order to account for this generalization, Hinterhölzl proposes the following default Spell-Out option for light elements, verbal particles and nominal parts of complex predicates:

- (18) Preference for the higher copy:
 A constituent is spelled out in its checking position rather than in its base position, unless interface conditions demand its spell out in the base position.
- (Hinterhölzl 2017:17, example 13)

Finally, in the relation-based approach¹¹ adopted in the framework proposed by Hinterhölzl, adjuncts and arguments of verbs form a prosodic constituent with the verb in a different way. In fact, whereas a verb and its argument form one prosodic constituent, adjuncts are predicted to form an independent prosodic constituent:

- (19) a. [(weil Hans) (im Zelt blieb)]
 since John in the tent remained
 “since John remained in the tent.”
 b. [(weil Hans) (im Zelt) (rauchte)]
 since John in the tent smoked
 “since John smoked in the tent.”
- (Hinterhölzl 2017:18, examples 14a-b)

In example (19a), the PP is an argument selected by the verb, whereas in sentence (19b), the PP is an adjunct modifying the event denoted by the verb; given the fact that adjuncts form a separate prosodic cluster with respect to the verb and its arguments, they will be separated from arguments of verbs in the investigation presented in this work. I will return to this distinction in section 2.5.

2.3 The impact of the grammaticalization of the definite determiner

Now that we have discussed our metrical definition of prosodic heaviness, it becomes clear why the grammaticalization of the definite determiner may have contributed to the reanalysis of the VO word order in the history of English.

¹¹ In a relation-based approach, it is assumed that prosodic composition starts with lexical heads, to which arguments and adjuncts are joined in the course of the derivation, allowing to apply metrical conditions on the output of this procedure. The prosodic constituents are built around the relations between the lexical heads and the elements added to the prosodic constituents; contrarily to the end-based approaches, in this type of approach it is assumed that prosody must have access to syntactic structure (cf. discussion in Hinterhölzl 2014, 2015 and 2017).

In fact, if the assumptions laid out in our theoretical framework are confirmed, we should find given and light pre-verbal constituents, and new and heavy post-verbal constituents in our OE sample. Moreover, we have identified a possible conflict arising from the satisfaction of both the Givenness as well as the Prosodic Condition, since heavy elements conveying given information can possibly have two Spell-Out sites.

This ambiguity is reinforced as soon as the demonstrative determiner is reanalysed as a functional element in the head of the DP projection; according to the definition of prosodic heaviness given in (2c), in fact, a constituent having both head and complement filled with lexical material is defined as heavy. Moreover, definite DPs typically refer to either already activated referents, or to referents which are identifiable and part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by the discourse participants; it follows that a DP with a definite determiner is likely to encode a given referent (cf. also section 2.5). If the Prosodic Mapping condition predicts correctly that right branching elements are spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, then the grammaticalization of the definite determiner may cause elements typically conveying already activated information to be progressively spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

The effect of the grammaticalization of the definite determiner is twofold;¹² on the one hand, it may have led to the disruption of the information structural interface conditions, while on the other hand it may have opened up a new mapping possibility for object pronouns.

Hinterhölzl (2017) argues that the second effect of the reanalysis of the definite determiner is reflected in Kroch and Taylor's (2000) sophisticated quantitative study on the scrambling of pronouns in a variety of EME texts; they show that there is a sharp divide in the quantity of scrambling of object pronouns in different EME dialectal areas. Notice that the texts they analyse present a predominantly underlying VO base. This sharp divide is left unaccounted in their work. Hinterhölzl (2017) argues that this divide is explained if one takes the more innovative texts (i.e. those texts presenting a higher number of post-verbal pronouns) as presenting a grammar in which mapping is driven by PF Spell-Out options.

Consider the following principle:

¹² Note, however, that Old High German presented the same mixed word orders as Old English; however, modern German grammaticalized into an OV language; in our terminology, German grammaticalized the Spell-Out of constituents in the checking position. This can be explained if we consider that the PF-transparent I domain in Old High German is reanalysed as an LF transparent domain, as the C domain, cf. Hinterhölzl (2015; 2017) for further discussion.

- (20) Economy of Spell-out: A syntactic constituent is spelled-out in the smallest domain in which its PF- conditions are satisfied. (Hinterhölzl 2017:30).

This principle would allow for the more economic option of spelling-out the object pronoun in the V domain, where also definite DPs are spelled-out due to their weight, and where the non-finite verb may serve as a phonologic host.

In fact, the grammar of the more conservative texts seems to present a mixed system, in which DPs are spelled-out in post-verbal position, while pronouns are spelled-out in their checking position (cf. Kroch and Taylor 2000, Hinterhölzl 2017 and Chapters 4-7 below). Hinterhölzl argues that the mixed system we can find in the more conservative texts is reanalysed as a PF system, in which the Spell-Out of objects (both pronouns and DPs) is driven by prosodic constraints. This assumption will be tested in Chapters 4-7.

It is important to notice that the grammaticalization of the definite determiner is linked to the demise of a system of etymologically related deictic and anaphoric discourse markers, to which adverbs partitioning the clause into a topic and a focus domain belong (van Kemenade and Los 2006, van Kemenade 2009, van Kemenade and Los 2018). This system was characteristic in building the discourse configurationality of OE, and its disruption has led to a major loss in the cues governing an information structural organization of the clause. If the system also possessed weight sensitivity mapping rules, as postulated by the present account, it is natural that the subsequent development is constituted by a PF system.

2.4 Prospected language change scenario

Let us summarise in this section our prospected language change scenario; building on the literature on the OV/VO alternation in Early Germanic, and on the extensive literature on the role of Information structure and weight in driving the mapping of constituents in Old High German, Old English and Old Icelandic, Hinterhölzl (2014; 2015; 2017) proposes an antisymmetric framework in which interface conditions regulate the Spell-Out of constituents. This framework is adopted in the present work.

The OE period is predicted to present given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain, whereas we predict that new and heavy elements are spelled-out in the post-verbal position; a default mapping Spell-Out rule has

been defined, which predicts that light elements such as pronouns, verbal particles and complex predicates are spelled-out in their checking position.

Moreover, it is predicted that we can already identify a conflict in the Spell-Out of right branching elements conveying given information in OE; it is predicted that these are both mapped in pre- and post-verbal position, according to which interface condition is interpreted as relevant for their Spell-Out by the speakers.

In order to derive the progressive Spell-Out of objects in post-verbal position, it is predicted that the reanalysis of the demonstrative determiner into the definite determiner has led to the disruption of the information structural interface conditions, since DPs are right branching elements which typically encode either given or identifiable referents. This would lead to the progressive post-verbal Spell-Out of DPs, corroborated by the ambiguity arising from the potential conflict between the Givenness Transparency condition and the Prosodic Condition.

Therefore, an intermediate stage is predicted, which the analysis by Kroch and Taylor seems to confirm, in which light elements are still spelled-out in pre-verbal position, whereas DPs are spelled-out in post-verbal position. It is predicted, in fact, that different types of objects are progressively reanalysed as obligatorily spelled-out in post-verbal position, the process being prompted by the progressive post-verbal Spell-Out of DPs. Ultimately, the IS conditions are not transparent anymore, and only prosodically light elements are residually spelled-out in pre-verbal position.

This mixed system is simplified in terms of a PF-driven grammar, in which also pronouns are reanalysed as spelled-out in the smallest domain containing them, hence in the V domain.

2.5 Methodology

In this section, I will present the selected OE sample of main and subordinate clauses, as well as the texts included in the investigation on EME; the sample selected for the OE stage is not meant to be comprehensive, but serves as a basis for the IS and prosodic investigation of the selected EME texts, from which I extracted all the main and subordinate clauses with the features specified for my search.

In order to test whether the framework employed can correctly motivate the mapping of constituents in the OE period and can therefore provide an account for the language change, I decided to collect subordinate clauses with a complex verbal form, a subject and at least one object. A complex verbal form is needed in order to control for v-to-T movement, which would not allow us to correctly identify where the object is mapped in case of a

single verbal form. Also, conjunct verbs governed by the same auxiliary verb and their arguments have been included, since these too show variation in their word order. The sentences are further divided as to whether they present surface Aux > V or V > Aux order.

In previous investigations on Old English OV/VO variation (cf. Fuß and Trips 2002, Pintzuk and Taylor 2012a, 2012b and Struik and Van Kemenade 2018), only subordinate clauses have been investigated. In order to get a comprehensive picture of the phenomena governing the structuring of syntax and discourse in the language, however, I think it is necessary to include main clauses as well; Lightfoot (1991), in fact, had proposed that acquisition must be based on main clauses only. I think that the presence of a complex verbal form can allow us to trace the mapping of constituents equally in both clause types.

I extracted the sentences defined above from the York Corpus of Old English Prose (Taylor et al. 2003, henceforth YCOE) and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition (Kroch et al. 2000, henceforth PPCME2); the corpora are parsed syntactically with the Penn-Treebank format and are searchable via the Corpus Search2 program (Randall 2009) and I processed them with the Corpus Studio Suite (Komen, 2011).

I also consulted the editions of the texts on which the parse is based and the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary online (<http://bosworth.toller.com>), together with the Middle English Dictionary (<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>). As far as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is concerned, I moreover consulted the xml online edition by Jebson (<http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/>), whereas for the Early Middle English texts used, I consulted the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/browse.html>), and the online edition of the Katherine Group by Huber and Robertson (2016) (<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/huber-and-robertson-the-katherine-group>), together with the editions of the texts used in the PPCME2 corpus.

The consultation of the editions of the texts and of the dictionaries is fundamental in order to assign the information structural categories, as well as to determine the argument structure of verbs and to determine nominal parts of complex predicates (cf. below).

To each direct, indirect and PP object of verbs I found in the domain between the finite and the non-finite verb, and after the non-finite verb, I assigned both a weight value and an information structural value.

The weight value is assigned according to the definition of weight given in section 2.1, repeated here for convenience:

- (21) A syntactic phrase XP counts as heavy if both its head X and the complement of X contain lexical material.
(cf. Hinterhölzl 2014 and section 2.1)

According to this definition I labelled left branching and non-branching elements as light, whereas right branching elements are labelled as heavy.¹³ Moreover, also coordinated objects and objects with a relative clause or a PP post-modifier are labelled as heavy.

I analysed object pronouns separately, since being weak elements, they can present a different syntactic licensing (cf. Pintzuk 1999); it is then more appropriate to investigate their licensing separately, and I included in this investigation also those pronouns mapped before the finite verb. I will present the results on the mapping of pronouns in Chapter 6.

As far as the IS value is concerned, I decided to use a binary distinction into *given* and *new* elements. There is a vast literature on information structure, to which I cannot do full justice here; it has to be noted that it is generally argued that there are different layers of pragmatic encoding of constituents, as Petrova and Solf (2009) point out.¹⁴

In my investigation, I decided to adopt the labels *given* and *new* to analyse my referents, in order for my results to be comparable to the results of Struik and Van Kemenade (2018), and Pintzuk and Taylor (2011, 2012a, 2012b). In my annotation of the elements contained in the result sentences, I labelled as *given* all those elements which are active in discourse at the point they appear in the result sentence, as well as those referents which I assume are part of the encyclopaedic knowledge. An element is defined as *active* if it surfaces within the narrative passage preceding the result

¹³ Noun phrases preceded by a possessive adjective, a quantifier or a demonstrative are labelled as left-branching, since Giusti (2015) shows that among the system of determiners, only the definite article is a functional category, and hence a head. Possessive adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers are analysed as occupying a Specifier position, in accordance to the cross-linguistic analysis provided by Giusti (2015).

¹⁴ I am aware of the fact that the study of information structure is transmitted through a vast literature, as one reviewer pointed out to me; important contributions to the study of language change and information structure stem from the SFB Project 632 hosted at the Humboldt Universität in Berlin and at the Universität Potsdam. However, for reasons of comparability with previous data on Old English, I decided to use a framework in which the binary distinction between *given* and *new* is provided. I am aware of the fact that Focus Projection plays an important role, as Milicev (2016) demonstrates in her work, but as Petrova and Solf (2009) show, the distinction between *given* and *new* operates on a different level with respect to the bipartition into Focus and Topic.

sentence. These elements are shared by the speech participants, or – since we are dealing with written texts – they denote those referents which are already known to the reader and the author of the work. Since these elements can be argued to be part of the Common Ground shared by the speech participants, they are labelled as given.

In the following, an example of an active referent is given:

- (22) and gief we wise ben; we
 and if we wise are we
 mugen mid one worde **þese** **þrie**
 may with one word these three
 þing bidden [...]
 things ask

“And if we are wise, we may ask with one word these three things.”
 (CMTRINIT-MX1,27.361)

In this example, the three things, to which the DP refers to, are enumerated in the context preceding the sentence.¹⁵ For this reason, the DP is labelled as given.

The elements denoting encyclopaedic knowledge include elements referring to the text - external world, which is argued to be part of the Common Ground shared by speech participants (cf. Lambrecht 1994); moreover, we have text-specific elements which are labelled as part of encyclopaedic knowledge. Given the religious context in Early England, and the amount of religious texts we have, I labelled entities such as *God*, *Christ*, *the Devil*, *Holy Mary*, *the apostles* as given. In a religious text, written for a religious audience, those elements can be argued to be shared by both author and audience of the text.

Finally, also the reference to inalienable possession is considered given information (cf. Struik and Van Kemenade 2018), whereas bridging

¹⁵ The preceding context is given in the following:

Al hit is cleped bred; þat is mannes bileue; ac naðeles bred bitocneð þre bileues. On is þe mete. þe þe lichame brukeð and biliueð. Ðat oðer is godes word. þat is þe sowle fode. þe þridde is for mete þat ilch man agh mid him to leden. þan he sal of þesse liue faren. þat is cristes holie licame. þe giueð alle men eche lif. and blisse in heuene.

It is all called bread, that is man's food; but nevertheless bread denotes three kinds of food: the first is meat [...] which the body enjoys and lives by; the second is God's word, that is the soul's food; the third is the meat that each man ought to take with him when he shall depart this life, that is, Christ's holy body which giveth all men eternal life and bliss in heaven. (Morris 1868:26-27)

inferables in the sense of Birner (2006) are analysed in the specific context. Cf. the following example:

- (23) Martianus hæfde **his** **sunu** ær
 Martianus had his son before
 befæst to woruldlicre lare
 committed to worldly lore
 and to uðwitegunge [...].
 and to philosophy [...].

“Martianus had entrusted his son to the study of worldly lore and to philosophy.”

(coalive,ÆLS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:184.1049)

In (23), the referent *Martianus* is already active in the narration; this referent was introduced at the beginning of the narration, and he interacts with the other active referent, namely *Julian*. The fact that Martianus has a son is presented at this point in the narration; this piece of knowledge cannot be argued to be inferable,¹⁶ since the referent Martianus may have no children at all, or one daughter, or more than one child. The reference of *son* cannot be inferred from its possessor. Therefore, cases like this are treated according to their previous mention in the context, and are not automatically labelled as given, only because they are introduced by a possessive pronoun which is co-referent to a referent already mentioned in discourse.

With the label *new* I define all those referents which are introduced in the discourse at the point they surface in our results sentence; an example is given in the following:

- (24) & cydde him mid writ &
 and told him with writings and
 mid worde hu his bredre Peada
 with words how his brethren Peada
 and Wulfhere & se abbot Saxulf
 and Wulfhere and the abbot Saxulf

¹⁶ One could argue, however, that for the author of the work this fact may have been known, and that he presents it as being given, hence in the pre-verbal position. This would lead to the expression of a presupposition which is accommodated in the minds of the audience (cf. Lambrecht 1994). However, the application of such arguments on written texts may lead us to apply a circular method in our research, and I refrain from similar speculations when I assign the IS category; I will point at similar possible occurrences in the qualitative analysis of the different samples.

heafden	wroht	an	minstre.
had	built	a	minster

“and [he] told him with letters and with words, how his brethren Peada, and Wulfhere and Abbott Saxulf had built a minster.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:675.4.532)

The referent under examination is introduced at this point in the narration and is accordingly labelled as new.

If a referent has contrastive interpretation, it receives a further label, namely *contrastive*; in fact, both an activated referent, as well as a brand-new referent can be contrasted. Contrastivity involves the presence of alternatives which are available in the discourse (cf. Petrova and Speyer 2011).

Finally, quantified and negated constituents, nominal parts of complex predicates (cf. below), as well as nouns selected by predicates such as *be called*, *be named* were not classified for information structure, since they do not have referring potential on their own (cf. Petrova and Speyer 2011 and Struik and van Kemenade 2018).

Given the fact that I decided to include direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs, it is necessary to draw a line between those PPs which are part of the argument structure of the verb, and those PP which are not (adjuncts). The separation of adjuncts and arguments of verbs was conducted by consulting the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary and the Middle English dictionary, also in order to determine whether the verb requires two arguments. In case of verbs expressing movement to or from a location, a PP with a directional meaning is labelled as argument, whereas PPs with locative, temporal, instrumental or manner meaning, which modify the event denoted by the verb and its arguments, are labelled as adjuncts.

From the review of the data presented in Kroch and Taylor (2000), Hinterhölzl (2014) notices that some pre-verbal phrases presented form a complex predicate with the verb, cf. the following example:

(25) þeos ne schulen neuer **song** singen in
 These not shall never song sing in
 heouene
 heaven

“These shall never sing songs in heaven”

(CMHALL, 142, 222)

(Example 50 in Hinterhölzl 2014:369, taken from Kroch and Taylor 2000)

Recall that in our theoretical framework, there is a position at the left of the VP for the licensing of nominal parts of complex predicates; it is reasonable to treat nominal parts of complex predicates separately from arguments of verbs, since they lack referential status (cf. Petrova 2009). In order to determine the nature of the complex predicate, I consulted the dictionaries listed above, and coded the nominal part of the complex predicate accordingly.

The data, thus coded and obtained, are progressively filtered until only arguments of verbs are isolated and analysed according to their weight and IS value and their respective distribution in the pre- or post-verbal domain, in both main and subordinate clauses.

In the sample, coordinated objects, as well as objects with a PP or a relative clause as post-modifier are included in the investigation. These were generally excluded from the investigations by Taylor and Pintzuk, who claim that they are generally found in post-verbal position, due to their exceptional weight. In line with Struik and Van Kemenade (2018), who show that these elements can also appear in the pre-verbal position, I included these exceptionally heavy elements in the investigation.

The relevant configurations investigated are the following:

(26)

1. Aux > O > V
2. Aux > V > O
3. O > V > Aux
4. V > Aux > O

Finally, also objects below the inflected verb, but above a sentence adverbial are included in the investigation, together with the objects mapped right adjacently to the non-finite verb. Unlike the objects at the immediate left of the non-finite verb, objects above a high adverbial in the Old and Middle English *middle-field* are clearly moved leftwards. The investigation by Struik and Van Kemenade shows, however, that there is a uniform trigger for objects of verbs at the left of the non-finite verb, a piece of evidence which shows that these elements are moved leftwards due to information structural factors from a VO base.

2.6 The samples

For the Old English period, I collected an explorative sample of subordinate clauses, and a larger sample of main clauses. The sample of subordinate clauses consists of 175 sentences with a subject, at least one

object and a complex verbal form; the sample is designed to cover the whole Old English period. There are both translated and non-translated texts. The main dialect covered is the West Saxon dialect, but specimens of Anglian and Mercian can be found.

The total sample of main clauses amounts to 300 sentences; I decided to concentrate on a selection of texts which, with the exception of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, are not translated. The texts are written in the West Saxon dialect. Both samples are reported in the Appendix.

For the EME period I collected all main and subordinate clauses with a complex verbal form, a subject and at least one object for the texts covering the Kentish, East Midlands and West Midlands dialects.¹⁷ The texts are the Kentish Homilies, the Kentish Sermons, The Trinity Homilies, Vices and Virtues, the Peterborough Chronicle, the Lambeth Homilies, Holy Maidenhood, the Guardianship of the Soul and the Life and Passion of Saint Juliana. Moreover, I collected a sub-sample of sentences from the poem of the Ormulum. Whereas the OE sample was not meant to be exhaustive, the sample I collected for these text aims at giving a comprehensive account of the different dialectal areas. More detailed information about the EME sample is given in Chapter 5 and in the Appendix.

Note that in the PPCME2 classification of texts by dialect and period, the texts of the Trinity Homilies, Vices and Virtues, the Peterborough Chronicle and the Ormulum are all classified under the East Midlands dialect. However, Kroch and Taylor (2000) further specify their classification by assigning the label *South-East Midlands* to the texts of the Trinity Homilies and the text of Vices and Virtues; I will adopt this further specification, given the philological information in the edition of the texts. Moreover, the text of the Lambeth Homilies, and the texts of Holy Maidenhood, Saint Juliana and the Guardianship of the Soul (the latter three belonging to the Katherine Group) all come from the West Midlands area. I will treat the text of the Lambeth Homilies and the texts from the Katherine Group separately, given the fact that the Lambeth Homilies present material copied from older texts (cf. Sisam 1959).

Due to space reasons, I will not provide an in-depth review of the philological history of the texts chosen, but the reader is referred to the primary sources listed in the bibliography for a complete account of the history of these texts and to Chapter 5. What emerges from the survey of their transmission history, is that the variation found in the different texts cannot be ascribed exclusively to their regional origin, but other factors

¹⁷ The first text representing the Northern variety dates back to 1400 A.D. (PPCME2 Corpus information, texts arranged by date and dialect); given its date, this text is outside the scope of the present investigation.

must be included in the comparison of the texts. In fact, except for the Peterborough Chronicle, the Ormulum and the Katherine Group, the remaining texts present a stratified history. There are in fact manipulations and adaptations of older material (Vices and Virtues, the Trinity Homilies, the Lambeth Homilies), or translations (the Kentish Homilies and the Kentish Sermons). Moreover, we will see that the Lambeth Homilies and the Katherine Group, despite being localized in the same area, show a different ratio of scrambling of pronouns (cf. Kroch and Taylor 2000, and Chapter 6); the more conservative character of the Lambeth Homilies can be ascribed to its being an adaptation of older material. As far as the texts of the South East Midlands are concerned, it has to be noted that these too come from the East-Midlands area, which is the area most influenced by the Scandinavian settlers (cf. Trips 2002);¹⁸ however, we will see that there is a more conservative syntax in the texts of the South-East Midlands (cf. Kroch and Taylor 2000 and Chapters 5-7). A look at the philological history of the texts allows to draw a difference between the two North-East Midlands texts we have, and the two South-East Midlands texts; in fact, whereas the Peterborough Chronicle and the Ormulum are original compositions, the Trinity Homilies and Vices and Virtues are thought of being copies from older material, presenting archaisms. What I am claiming is that the mechanistic association of provenance and conservatism in the language does not automatically include or exclude the influence of language contact.¹⁹ I argue that it is natural that original compositions show a more progressive syntax with respect to adaptations of older material or of translations from other languages. This does not automatically exclude the impact of language contact, but the evidence must be also compared against the philological backdrop of the texts, and not only with respect to the regional origin.

¹⁸ The Danelaw extended comprised the North Eastern area of England above Kent, whereas Wessex is located in the South West. A Scandinavian settlement from the 10th century is reported in the area of the West Midlands, but the strongest Scandinavian influence is located in the North East of England (cf. Trips 2002 and Emonds and Faarlund 2014).

¹⁹ I thank an anonymous reviewer of the ICOME 10 (International Conference on Middle English) committee for this remark.

CHAPTER THREE

ON THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE DEFINITE DETERMINER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

In this chapter, I will discuss the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in the history of English; as was argued for in Chapter 2, the presence of a fully grammaticalized determiner may have contributed to the progressive Spell-Out of objects in the transition from Old to Early Middle English. In such a theoretical framework as proposed in Chapter 2, in fact, the interplay of information structure and prosody is relevant for the mapping of constituents; from the model it follows that a DP with a definite determiner is analysed as a right branching phrase, which is heavy. At the same time, a definite DP is likely to encode given information; the encoding of given information in the post-verbal domain may have led to the blurring of the information structural mapping conditions on the one hand, and to the progressive spell-out of all types of objects in the post-verbal position, on the other hand.

Given that in the framework it is assumed that the grammaticalization of the definite determiner had an important impact on the diachronic change at the core of this study, it is appropriate to ask ourselves whether OE already possessed a definite determiner, and how and to what extent the definite determiner was grammaticalized in the Early Middle English period.

This task is not trivial, since there is no consensus in the literature as to whether Old English already possessed a definite determiner. In 3.1, I will present the main views about the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in the history of English, and I will provide some empirical data in support of Breban (2012) in 3.2. In 3.3, I will summarise the findings.

3.1 The different approaches to the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in Old English

As was mentioned in the introduction, there is no consensus in the literature as to whether OE already possessed a definite determiner; the different proposals examined in this chapter give different periods and timings for the reanalysis of the Old English demonstratives *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* as the definite determiner *þe*. It is, however, undisputed that the Present Day English (henceforth PDE) definite determiner *the* originated from the OE demonstratives *se*, *sēo* and *þæt*, which in turn originated from the Proto-Germanic demonstratives **sa* (masculine), **sō* (feminine) and **þat* (neuter). In the following, when I refer to “determiner *se*”, I refer to the whole declension of the OE determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt*.

According to Philippi (1997) the grammaticalization of the definite determiner as the default reference marker is only complete at the end of the Middle High German and Middle English periods respectively.

The main trigger for the reanalysis of the demonstratives *se* and *ter* as the default reference markers is the demise of the genitive case inflectional endings, which was the default case for non-definite referential NPs, while accusative marked definite DPs, which were the only ones that were allowed to scramble out of the vP. With the levelling of the case endings, the distinction between accusative/definite and genitive/non-definite was lost and the determiner was reanalysed as the reference marker; moreover, during the OE period, the demonstrative *se* only had a textual anaphoric function (cf. below), according to Philippi (1997). As Allen (2016) points out, more recent literature has refused this hypothesis (cf. literature quoted in Allen 2016).

Van Kemenade (1987) in fact reports that the genitive case was an oblique case selected by certain verbs and prepositions and genitive objects selected by these verbs and prepositions could therefore be both [+ definite] or [- definite], as the following example shows:

- (1) Nu ic *byses* *Alexandres* her
Now I this.GEN Alexander.GEN here
gemyndgade, cwæð Orosius.
remind said Orosius

“now, said Orosius, I remember this Alexander.”

(Oros, 61,1), in Van Kemenade (1987)

In this example, the DP containing a demonstrative and a noun marked for genitive is selected by the verb *gemyndan*, and its reference is [+ definite].

Contrarily to what Philippi claims, this DP scrambles across the adverbial *her* which is at the left periphery of the vP shell. We can then conclude that it is not the presence/absence of the genitive case that regulates the possibility of scrambling, but it is the feature [\pm definite]. As far as Old High German is concerned, there is evidence for the complete grammaticalization of the definite determiner at the end of the Old High German period (cf. Demske 2001, Coniglio and Schlachter 2014, De Bastiani 2016).

An illustrative example is given below:

(2)	Uuaz	habo ih	nu	fone	dîen	luge
	What	have I	now	of	the	false
	briueun	ze sagenne	mit	dîen	sie	mih
	letters	to say	with	which	they	me
	zihent	uuelen	uuidere	guuunnen		
	accuse	want	again	obtain		
	umbe	den	cheiser	dia	rumiskun	
	about	the	emperor	the	roman	
	selb- uualtigi?					
	freedom	?				

Nam quod attinet de compositis falso literis dicere. quibus arguor sperasse romanam libertatem?

“What do I have to say about the false letters with which they accuse me of wanting back the freedom of the Romans from the emperor?”

(Notker’s translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, 11th Century, I, 25, 9-10)

This example shows that definite expressions and nouns denoting unique and abstract referents are preceded by the definite determiner by the end of the Old High German period. The examples in question are *dia rumiskun selb-uualtigi*, and *umbe den cheiser*, which denote an abstract and an identifiable entity respectively. Further examples of abstract entities preceded by a definite determiner in Notker are the following: *dia uuârhêit* (Notker, I,24,28/29), *taz úbel* (Notker, I ,26,18), *Tia sâlighêit* (Notker, III, 111,277), which denote abstract entities such as *truth*, *evil* and *bliss* respectively. In summary, both in OE and OHG there is counterevidence to Philippi’s (1997) arguments.

A different proposal comes from Crisma (2011), who dates the emergence of the definite determiner in OE back to the late 9th century.

In her paper, Crisma uses quantitative data taken from the YCOE. As a preliminary step, Crisma individuates two requirements that help identifying

the definite determiner; this necessity arises from the observation that there is no consensus in the literature about what constitutes a definite article.

According to authors such as Quirk & Wrenn (1957, in Crisma 2011) and Mitchell (1985), for instance, OE did not have a definite article, since there is no morphological distinction between the demonstrative and the article. These authors date the emergence of the definite article during the Middle English period, since there is a formal distinction between it and the demonstrative. Crisma rejects this claim observing that in German, a related language, there is no morphological distinction between the definite articles *der*, *die* and *das* and their demonstrative counterparts. It must be noticed, however, that the German definite articles *der*, *die* and *das*, and their demonstrative counterparts differ in their declension in the genitive singular case of all three genders, and in the dative and genitive plural.²⁰ It is the demonstrative which can be used pronominally, but not the definite determiner, as can be noticed in the following example:

- (3) A. Hast du **den** Studentinnen in
have you the.DAT-PL. students in
deinem Kurs geholfen?
Your course helped?
B. Nein. Aber deine Studentinnen,
No. but your Students,
denen habe ich
those.DAT-PL.have I helped.
geholfen.
helped
A. Have you helped the students in you course?
B. No. But your students, those I helped.

In this example, the determiner preceding the dative plural substantive *Studentinnen* is the definite determiner. In the answer to A's question, the demonstrative *denen* is used. Notice that the demonstrative is in the dative plural, since the dative case is required by the verb *helfen*, and the referent to which the demonstrative refers to is plural. The declension of definite article and demonstrative is clearly different in cases like this.

Crisma proceeds to define those properties that characterize the definite article; Crisma quotes Greenberg (1978), who stated that “the point at which

²⁰ Moreover, notice that German not only has the demonstrative determiners *der*, *die* and *das*, but also *dieser*, *diese*, *dieses*, pl. *diese* and *jener*, *jene*, *jenes*, pl. *jene* meaning respectively *this/these* and *that/those* (I thank Svetlana Petrova and Carsten Breul for insightful comments on this point).

a discourse deictic becomes a definite article is where it becomes compulsory and has spread to the point at which it means “identified” in general” (Greenberg 1978, §3.3, in Crisma 2011). Taking the compulsory nature of the definite article as a defining criterion, the author individuates two requirements that make the definite article a compulsory morpheme. These are under (4) and (5):

- (4) Requirement 1: [\pm definite] is a grammaticalized feature. A noun phrase can be interpreted as [+definite] only if overtly marked as such (lexically, morphologically, or syntactically).
- (5) Requirement 2: A DP can be an argument, an NP cannot.

Requirement 1 entails that languages that possess an article (modern Romance and Germanic languages for instance), have the unambiguous evaluation of the feature [\pm definite], i.e. a noun phrase must not be ambiguous for this value. It follows that a noun phrase unmarked for the feature [+definite] is immediately interpreted as [- definite]. Crisma observes that the (lexical, morphological or syntactical) strategies for marking a noun phrase as [+definite] vary cross-linguistically, but one generalization holds: languages that mark their NPs for the feature [\pm definite] have a minimal morpheme whose interpretive content is only [+definite]. For older Indoeuropean languages, which can have demonstratives but do not have a definite article, Requirement 1 does not apply: a nominal argument can be interpreted as definite even if there is no overt marking.

Requirement 2 entails that the category D is obligatorily spelled-out when a noun phrase is used in an argument function, but not when the same appears as a predicative or vocative, i.e. in a non-argument function. Crisma observes that the generalization that arguments always require a D to be present in the representation (while non-arguments can be simple NPs), is problematic, since its universal validity has been challenged by Chierchia (1998), who proposes that this requirement is subject to parametric variation. For the purposes of her study, Crisma notes that Requirement 2 is responsible for the compulsory use of the definite article in cases where definiteness is expressed by other means.

Crisma notices that Proper Nouns, being rigid designators, are intrinsically definite and can appear without an article.²¹ When a Proper Noun in argument position is preceded by an adjective, the insertion of the article becomes obligatory in some languages (such as Italian), while in

²¹ She assumes that Proper Nouns fill the D position via N-to-D movement, as proposed by Longobardi (1994).

languages like English, the insertion of the article is not obligatory. Let us observe the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------|------------|--------|
| (6) | <i>pro</i> | ho | incontrato | *(il) |
| | <i>pro</i> | have | met | *(the) |
| | vecchio | Gianni. | | |
| | old | John. | | |
| | “[I] met old John.” | | | |

- (7) I met old John.²²

(adapted from Crisma 2011:179)

Crisma argues that the spell-out of the article in cases like (6) is due to Requirement 2 and the article is expletive, since it does not add to the interpretation. Crisma does not comment on the fact that the insertion of the article in these contexts in English is not obligatory.

In order to test whether Requirement 2 applies in OE, she chooses a dataset composed by Proper Nouns preceded by an adjective; she argues that one must conclude that OE was subject to Requirement 2 if the determiner is spelled-out in these cases. From her quantitative study it emerges that 94.3% of the ProperNs preceded by an adjective in her corpus are preceded by the definite determiner. Since the determiner in these cases has to be interpreted as “expletive”, Crisma concludes that the OE determiner was subject to Requirement 2. Given the fact that this expletive use of the definite determiner is not attested in Present Day English, it must have disappeared at some point in the history of the English language (cf. Crisma 2011 and Allen 2016). An example is given in (8):

²² A definite determiner is possible in PDE, but the interpretation of the noun would not be the same as in Italian. In example (6), the noun phrase *il vecchio Gianni* defines a person who is familiar for the speech participants; the adjective *vecchio* does not define this person’s age but identifies the person as someone who the speech participants have known for a long time. The same interpretation is obtained in English with the NP *old John*. If a definite determiner is introduced in PDE, as in *the old John*, the meaning of the adjective would refer to the age of the person as opposed to a person with the same name, but a different age (*the old John, the young John*).

(8)	se	arwurða	Æquitius	ongann	ormætlice
	SE	venerable	Æquitius	began	immensely
	to	þancienne	þam	ælmhtigum	Gode
	to	thank	SE	almighty	God

“The venerable Equitius began to greatly thank Almighty God.”

(GD_1_[H]:4.38.3.390, in Crisma 2011:180, example 7).

Both the subject and the dative arguments, which consist of a Proper Noun preceded by an adjective, are preceded by the determiner. If we follow Crisma’s (2011) argument, the reference of the combination of adjective and Proper Noun is clearly identifiable, therefore the use of the determiner is to be analysed as expletive. However, in his taxonomy of demonstrative uses, Himmelmann (1996) defines the *recognitional use* of the demonstrative the instances when the intended referent is identified via specific shared knowledge, but not by encyclopaedic knowledge nor by situational or discourse contextual use; the intended referents are known to the speech participants through specialised knowledge. The referents involved in this construction are usually modified by relative clauses or other modifiers. The use of the determiner in the first of the two DPs in example (8) can be analysed as an instance of recognitional use; if it is true that this use characterises demonstratives, then this DP does not contain a definite determiner. The referent is, in fact, made specific via the knowledge shared by the author of the work and the readers, and the NP is modified by an attributive adjective. The quantitative data presented in Crisma, however, are not further analysed qualitatively.

In order to test if OE was also subject to Requirement 1, Crisma examines determinerless noun phrases. If these noun phrases can be interpreted as [- definite], then she can conclude that OE was also subject to Requirement 1. She chooses a sample of determinerless nouns occurring as subject or objects and checks whether these nouns are always interpreted as indefinite. From her investigation it turns out that about two thirds of her sample consist of plural or mass nouns with an existential or generic interpretation; these do not constitute a violation of Requirement 1, since they are marked as [- definite]. She argues, moreover, that the instances of determiner-less singular nouns in her sample do not constitute a violation to Requirement 1, since they denote [- definite] entities. Two examples are given in the following:

(9) Dumbe	hundas	ne	magon
dumb	dogs	NEG	be-able
beorcan.			
bark			

“Dumb dogs cannot bark.”

(CP:15.89.16.578, in Crisma 2011: 185, example 11b)

(10) &	wæg	mid	hine	twiege	handseax	geættred
and	carried	with	him	two-edged	dagger	poisoned

“And [he] carried with him a poisoned two-edged dagger.”

(Bede_2:8.122.11.1155, Crisma 2011:185, example 12a)

In these examples, the generic plural noun in (9), and the singular noun in (10) both have a [-definite] interpretation.

The analysis of other determiner-less singular nouns in her sample turns out to be not as straightforward as for the above mentioned cases; the most numerous group of potential violations to Requirement 1 consists in a class of nouns that “seem to behave as ProperNs, though they are not labelled as such in the YCOE” (Crisma 2011:186). The nouns she lists denote unique entities, such as *heaven* or *hell*, or terms used for the sacraments, such as *housel* and *ordination veil*. Among these nouns, moreover, also *Hælend* is found. She argues that nouns such as *hell* and *heaven* are not used with an article in PDE either; however, in OE, *heofon* did not only translate *heaven*, but also *sky*. With the latter meaning, an article is obligatorily spelled-out in PDE. As far as the terms denoting the sacraments are concerned, these constitute also cases of inherently identifiable reference, but in her dataset, they are not preceded by a determiner. As far as the term *Hælend* (*Saviour*) is concerned, Crisma notices that this is not always preceded by a determiner, even though its reference is clearly definite. It must be noticed that Crisma decides to use determinerless nouns beginning with *h-* for her sample aimed to test Requirement 1. The sample was so designed as to obtain a manageable number of examples. However, such a sample would exclude from the investigation those nouns such as *sun* and *moon* which denote uniquely identifiable referents. Crisma furthermore notes that the nouns in this class only appear with an article either when they are preceded by an adjective or when they are followed by a relative clause; in this sense, this stage of OE resembles Old High German (cf. Demske 2001, De Bastiani 2016), where the demonstrative is used progressively from anaphoric to cataphoric contexts (i.e. with nouns of which the identifiability is specified via textual reference) and to nouns whose reference is made identifiable and

specific through adjectival attributes or relative clauses, until it eventually marks inherently identifiable referents, such as unique or abstract nouns.

Other elements which do not have an overt determiner in her sample are kind-referring singular count nouns, such as in the following example:

- (11) Hwæl is alra fixa mæst
 whale is all-GEN.PL fish-GEN.PL greatest

“The whale is the greatest of all fish.”

(ÆLS_[Maccabees]:572.5204, in Crisma 2011:187, example 16)

Notice that in these cases, PDE requires an overt definite determiner. Crisma, however, relates the absence of an overt determiner to the absence of obligatory [+count] marking, since these bare nouns are the expected counterparts of kind-referring bare mass/plurals of PDE, in her view.

A few other instances of determinerless bare nouns for which PDE would require an overt determiner consist of nouns with superlative, ordinal and numeral adjectives, as well as with the word for *other*, which denote referents which have a unique position in an ordered set and are clearly definite.²³

Crisma, moreover, notices that there are other instances in which a definite nominal expression is not accompanied by the definite article. Some of these nouns are not preceded by the article also in PDE, it is the case of the nouns preceded by *such* (*swelce* in OE) or nouns inserted in a list of items; other tokens are marked as definite via a post-nominal genitive phrase. Since the noun is marked for the feature [+definite] via agreement with the genitive phrase, Crisma concludes that also these instances do not constitute violations to Requirement 1 (but they are not subject to Requirement 2, since, according to her interpretation, Requirement 2 is responsible for the spell-out of the article when definiteness is marked by other means). The remaining instances she finds are related to the absence of the obligatory marking for the feature [\pm count]; Crisma argues that OE nouns lacked the obligatory marking for the [\pm count] feature. In some cases, the absence of this obligatory marking can justify the absence of the definiteness marking; Crisma does not further discuss this point, observing that these possible violations to Requirement 1 constitute the 1.6 % of the total tokens (the *ProperNs-like* class is not included in this 1.6% however). Notice, however, that in the latter cases a definite determiner is spelled-out in PDE, as example (11) shows. Concluding her investigation, Crisma argues that OE was subject to both requirements, and therefore concludes that it already possessed a definite determiner.

²³ These amount to 4 in her dataset.

When Crisma comments on the presence of the definite article when a Proper Noun is preceded by an adjective, she also mentions some cases in which a bare Proper Noun is preceded by a determiner. This use was quite consistent in OE texts: if a referent is introduced in discourse and is described then at some length, the Proper Noun denoting this referent is preceded by the determiner *se* (cf. below). Crisma argues that these instances do not present a definite determiner but rather an anaphoric demonstrative. I agree with her view, but Crisma does not comment further on this point and does not delineate a criterion that helps in differentiating between a demonstrative *se* and a definite article *se*. According to her interpretation of Requirement 2, in fact, the presence of a determiner before a noun that is intrinsically definite is not problematic; according to Requirement 1, definiteness in such a noun is expressed morphologically and the article could be interpreted as expletive in this case.

Crisma shows that in certain contexts, namely when a Proper Noun is preceded by an adjective, the definite determiner is spelled-out; however, there are some classes of bare nominals in her sample which require a definite determiner in PDE, but do not present it in OE. This raises the question as to whether the OE determiner was fully grammaticalized and obligatorily marked definiteness with every type of inherently identifiable referent.

Some support to Crisma’s view comes from an empirical study by Allen (2016), who performs a corpus study on body parts in subject and object position having a dative external possessor (henceforth DEPs); in these examples, the possessor is in the dative case and is not part of the phrase which contains the *possessum*. She claims that since possessives are definite, these DPs denote definite expressions. An example is given below:

- (12) þa heton þa consulas Hasterbale
 then ordered the consuls Hasterbal-DAT
 þæt heafod of aceorfan
 the head off cut

“then the consuls ordered that Hasterbal’s head be cut off”

(coorosiu,Or_4:10.105.34.2190, in Allen 2016:75, example 24)

The results of her study show that in OE prose texts, the use of the definite determiner in DEPs is “too much the rule to be considered optional in the prose” (Allen 2016: 76) when the *possessum* is the subject or the object of the sentence, as example (12) shows (but cf. her paper for exceptions to this rule). In (12), the *possessum* is the noun *head* and the possessor is the Proper Noun *Hasterbal*, which is marked for dative case.

Allen (2016) concludes that the OE determiners *se(o)* can have a dual nature in the Old English period, occupying either the head D or the [Spec; DP], since they were also clearly demonstratives. This analysis is supported by the empirical data on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle presented below.

Finally, let us illustrate a proposal about the grammaticalization of the definite determiner which takes into consideration the default reference marking function of the determiner and its textual features, as put forth by Breban (2012). Breban notices that it is in Middle English that the actual split between demonstrative and definite article took place, whereas in OE determiner *se* is better described as a “demonstrative with near-article function” (Traugott 1992, Breban 2012). Quoting work by Epstein (2011) on the syntax of *Beowulf*, Breban argues that definite nouns were not always preceded by a determiner in OE. Moreover, determiner *se* covered a different range of functions. The determiner *se* was in fact also used in textually salient contexts, i.e. when a referent was presented in the narration²⁴ or when it was anaphorically referred to. Moreover, the determiner *se* was used in expressions of time and place, in order to anchor the narration to a certain context.

Some examples are given in the following:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| (13) | Ða | se | ellengæst | earfoðlice | þrage |
| | then | SE | powerful-demon | hard | grievance |
| | geþolode, se | | þe | in | þystrum |
| | bore, | that-one | who | in | darkness |
| | bad | | | | |
| | abode | | | | |

“Then that powerful demon, a prowler through the dark, nursed a hard grievance”

(*Beowulf*, Klaeber 86-7, in Breban 2012: 277)

This function is described as “foreshadowing” in the work of Breban; Breban argues, quoting Epstein, that in these uses, determiner *se* marked a textually salient referent.

Another function of the determiner *se* is to pick up anaphorically a referent:

²⁴ This use is what corresponds to the cases of cataphoric reference described by Demske (2001) and De Bastiani (2016) for Old High German (see above).

(14)

[Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices 7 Westseaxna wiotan for unryhtum dēdum buton Hamtunscire, 7 he hæfde þa oþ he oflog þone aldormon þe him lengest wunode, 7 hiene þa Cynewulf on Andred adræfde 7 he þær wunade oþ þæt hiene an swan ofstang æt Pryfetesflodan; 7 he wrēc þone aldormon Cumbran.]

[In this year Cynewulf, with the West-Saxon council, deprived Sigebriht of his kingdom for unrighteous deeds, except for Hampshire, which he (=Sigebriht) kept until he slew the alderman who had remained the longest with him. Then Cynewulf drove him to the Weald, and he (=Sigebriht) lived there until a swineherd stabbed him at Prevet to revenge the alderman, Cumbra]

7	se Cynewulf	oft	miclum	gefeohtum
and	SE Cynewulf	often	great	battles
feahrt	uuþ		Bretwalum.	
fought	against		Welsh.	

“And Cynewulf often fought mighty battles against the Welsh.”

(AS Chron, Plummer 755, adapted from Breban 2012:278, example 7)

These uses of the determiner are defined as *deictic* by Breban (2012); the determiner points forward or backward to a certain referent, which is prominent in discourse.

According to Breban, at the beginning of the ME period the determiner *se* had been reanalysed as the default reference marker, while other means had been developed to mark textually salient referents. The determiner underwent a functional shift: it started to mark inherently definite referents and the textual function was progressively lost. She claims that the demonstrative and textual function was undertaken by *that*. Moreover, she argues that the result of the reanalysis is the creation of other complex determiners that have taken up the textual function. Such complex determiners are: *þe same*, *þe ilk same*, *þe same self* (< OE *se ilca/se self*). It has to be noted that along with the complex forms analysed in Breban’s (2012) study, whose development is complete in the 13th century, Old Germanic languages already displayed a complex determiner, which developed out of the combination of two deictic themes: **sa*, **so*, **þat* and the element **si*. This complex determiner developed into the Modern English and Modern German demonstratives *this* and *dieser* (cf. Buzzoni and Saibene 2006).

In order to summarise the previous debate, the OE data can be analysed through the concepts of Semantic and Pragmatic Definites as identified by Löbner (1985); the reference of Pragmatic Definites is made identifiable through their textual anaphoric and cataphoric use, whereas Semantic Definites are already identifiable through their semantic meaning. Semantic

Definites include nouns denoting abstract and unique entities, as well as complex nominal expressions involving a superlative (such as *the tallest boy*), or a genitive phrase (such as *the meaning of the definite determiner*).²⁵ According to Demske (2001), the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in OHG is complete when the determiner is used only to mark inherent identifiable elements, i.e. when the determiner unexceptionally precedes the Semantic Definites. A progressive expansion of the determiner from cases of Pragmatic Definiteness to the cases of Semantic Definiteness can be noticed in OHG (cf. De Bastiani 2016). As far as OE is concerned, it emerges from the previous discussion that, whereas the determiner is used in cases of Pragmatic Definiteness,²⁶ as the literature quoted in Breban seems to point, the use with unambiguous cases of Semantic Definiteness is not consistent. In fact, the exceptions listed in the work by Crisma (such as the elements behaving like Proper Nouns, nouns with superlative, ordinal and numeral adjectives, as well as nouns with the adjective *other*) are to be analysed as cases of Semantic Definites.

In the following, empirical evidence to Breban's (2012) claims is provided; Breban, in fact, does not provide additional data for OE, and bases her observations on former studies, whereas she provides empirical evidence for the use of the complex determiners in Middle English. I argue in accordance with Allen (2016) that determiner *se* in OE was an ambiguous category, and that a clear split between a marker of identifiability and a demonstrative form can be traced in Early Middle English. I argue that in anaphoric contexts the determiner has a demonstrative use, which points deictically to an element previously mentioned in the text; this function is eventually taken up by the complex demonstrative *this*, and by the distal demonstrative *that*. When the functional split is complete, the determiner *se* is reanalysed as a functional category, which does not add to the interpretation of the nouns as prominent in discourse.

²⁵ For more insightful discussion and for the examples, cf. Demske (2001).

²⁶ Notice, moreover, that the textual anaphoric use is listed by Himmelmann (1996) under the uses of demonstratives (even though this is labelled as *discourse deictic use* in his terminology). Even though Löbner argues that Pragmatic Definites are identifiable through their contextual use and therefore the determiner preceding them signals their identifiability (and is hence a definite determiner), I think that the determiners in the textual anaphoric uses should be rather interpreted as demonstratives. It will be seen, in fact, in section 3.2, that textual anaphoric uses with determiner *se* will be supplanted by a complex demonstrative once *se* is reanalysed as a functional category.

3.2 An empirical study on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

For this empirical study in support of Breban's (2012) claims, I collected the nominal expressions with the determiner *se/seo/þæt* manually from the Anglo Saxon Chronicle, Mss. A and E, as well as from the Continuations of Peterborough. Ms A. of the Chronicle dates back to the 9th and 10th centuries, whereas MS. E dates back to the 11th century. Finally, the Continuations of Peterborough date back to the EME period. According to Smith (1996), in the first and second continuation of the Chronicle, one can find case mismatches between noun and determiner, an attempt to restructure a system which had collapsed.

The Ms. A was examined up to year entry 914, whereas MS. E and the Continuations of Peterborough were examined from 1070 onwards. I investigated in which contexts the determiner appears and I determined which use the determiner has in these texts; we have very robust use of the determiner what Breban calls *textual deictic contexts*. Some examples, with the enlarged context, are given below:

- (15) [On his dagum sende Gregorius us fulluht 7 **Columba** mæssepreost com to Pihum.(...)]

[On his days Gregorius sent us baptism and Columba masspriest came to the Picts(...)]

þar	se	Columban	getimbrade	myenster,	7	he
there	SE	Columba	built	minster	and	he
þar	was	abbod	.xxxii.	wintra	7	þar
there	was	abbot	32	winters	and	there
forðferde	þa	he	was	lxxvii.		
died	when	he	was	77		
wintra.	Ða	stowe	habbað	gyt	his	
winters	SE	place	have	yet	his	
yrfnuman						
heirs						

“There this Columba built a minster and he was abbot there for 32 years and there he died when he was 77 years old. His heirs still have that place.”

(Chron. A, year entry 565)

In this example we can observe how the referents *Columba* and *minster* are anaphorically picked up by means of the determiner after they have been introduced in the discourse. In the next example, the cataphoric use of the determiner is illustrated:

- (16) Her Ceawlin 7 Cuþa fuhton
 Here Ceawlin and Cuþa fought
 wiþ Brettas, **in þam**
 against Britons in SE
stede þe mon nemneþ Feþanleag.
 place that one calls Fethanleag

“In this year Ceawlin and Cuþa fought against the Britons, in the place that is called Fethanleag.”

(Chron. A, year entry 584)

An example for the time setting function of the instrumental case of the *se* paradigm is given below:

- (17) Her Ecgbyrht Cantwara cyning
 Here Egbert Kentish people king
 forþferde; 7 **þy** gear
 died and SE year
 wæs senoð æt Heortforda
 was synod at Hertford
 [...].
 [...].

“In this year Egbert, king of the Kentish people, died, and in that year there was a synod at Hertford.

(Chron. A, year Entry 673)

In this example we can see that the instrumental case of the determiner, *þy*, is used to point anaphorically to the year in which a fact took place. The use of a determiner in reference to a point in time in a succession of events is one of the defining uses of the demonstrative, as illustrated in the taxonomy proposed by Himmelmann (1996). We will see below, that this function is progressively overtaken by the complex determiner *bis*.

As far as the cases of clear identifiable reference are concerned, there is no consistent use:

- (18) a. Her wæs **se** **mona** swelce
 here was SE moon such
 he wære mid blode
 he were with blood
 begoten.
 covered

“In this year, the moon looked as if it were covered with blood.”

(Chron. A, year entry 734)

- b. Her **mona** aþiastrode.
Here moon obscured.

“In this year, there was a lunar eclipse.”

(Chron.A, year entry 827).

In these two examples we can notice that we have two instances of the same referent, which is in subject position in both cases, and is preceded by the determiner only in one instance. The same inconsistent use of the determiner with an inherently identifiable referent can be noticed with the referent *sunne*:

- (19) a. 7 þy ilcan geara aþiastrode **sio**
and SE same year obscured SE
sunne ane tid dæges.
sun one hour day.

“And in the same year the sun obscured for an hour in a day.”

(Chron.A, year entry 879)

- b. Her **sunne** aþiastrode .xiiii. dagum ær
Here sun obscured 14 days before
kalendas Martii from ærmergenne
kalends March from early morning
oþ undern.
until third hour of the day

“In this year, there was a solar eclipse 14 days before the Kalends of March from the early morning to the third hour of the day.”

(Chron.A, year entry 538)

Let us now turn to the use of the complex determiner; the use of the complex determiner *bis* is restricted and non-consistent, we can find only three instances from the first year entry up to year entry 784. From year entry 851 the frequency of the complex determiner *bis* slightly increases (it occurs 13 times from year entry 851 to year entry 914), but the use of determiner *se* in textually salient contexts is still robust. The functional shift has not occurred yet.

Let us observe one example in which the complex determiner anaphorically points to the year entry:

- (20) Ond þa sona æfter þæm **on**
and then soon after that on
ðys gere for se here of

THIS	year	went	SE	army	of
Wirheale	in	on	Norðwealas	[...]	
Wirrhal	in	to	Northwales.	[...]	

“And then soon after that in this year the army went away from Wirrhal to Northwales”

(Chron.A, year entry 894)

Let us now turn to manuscript E of the Chronicle; I examined the year entries innovating from the A manuscript, including the two Continuations of Peterborough, which belong to the Early Middle English period.

In the first year entries belonging to the E manuscript it can be shown that the determiner *se* consistently precedes identifiable referents:

(21)	[...]	On	þære	fifan	nihte	on
	[...]	On	SE	fifth	night	on
	Maies	monðe	ætywde	se	mona	on
	May’s	month	appeared	SE	moon	in
	æfen	beorhte	scinende	[...]	Ealle	þa
	heaven	bright	shining	[...]	All	SE
	niht	wæs	seo	lyft	swiðe	clene.
	night	was	SE	air	very	clean
	7	þa	steorran	ofer	eall	þa
	and	SE	stars	over	all	SE
	heofon	swiðe	beorhte	scinende.	[...]	
	heaven	very	bright	shining	[...]	

“On the fifth night in the month of May appeared the moon shining brightly in the evening; All the night the air was very clear, and the stars over the whole heaven very brightly shining.”

(Chron.A, Year Entry 1110)

Moreover, the complex determiner *bis* is found in textually salient positions, where in the first year entries of Ms A we find the paradigm of *se*: the functional shift has occurred.

(22)	On	þisum	geare	se	cyng	Willelm
	On	THIS	year	SE	king	William
	heold	his	hired	to	Cristes	messan
	held	his	court	to	Christ-	mas
	on	Wæstmynstre	[...]		hit	on

in	Westminster	[...]	it	on	
þisum	sehthe	habben	sceoldan.		
THIS	reconciliation	have	should		
[...]	Be	þisre	sylfan	forewarde	gif
[...]	By	THIS	self	treaty	if
se	cyng	swulte	wære	se	
SE	king	died	were	SE	
eorl	yrfenuma	ealles	Englalandes.		
earl	heir	all	England.		
Ðas	forewarde	gesworan	xii.	þa	
THIS	treaty	swore	12	SE	
betste	of	þes	cynges	healfe.	
best	of	SE	king	half	
and	.xii.	of	þes	eorles.	
and	12	of	SE	earl	

“In this year the king William held his court in Westminster at Christmas (...) [And all those] (...) should have it back by this reconciliation; (...) By this same treaty, if the king died, the earl would be heir of all England. To this treaty swore twelve of the best on the king’s side and twelve on the earl’s, (...)”

(Chron.E, year entry1091)

As can be noticed from the example, it is the complex determiner which serves to the cataphoric and anaphoric mention of referents in this version of the Chronicle. In fact, the noun *reconciliation* is introduced cataphorically through the complex determiner *this*, which serves also the anaphoric reference of the same entity. Moreover, the deictic reference to the year is also introduced with the complex determiner, whereas in the OE part of the Chronicle analysed above this function is performed with the determiner *se* in the instrumental case.

The uninflected form *þe* appears alongside with the inflected paradigm in the First Continuation of the Chronicle. In some cases, there is no correspondence of case and gender in the use of the inflected form, as Clark (1970) reports. She claims, in fact, that the usages of the paradigm of *se* are instances of false archaisms, while the use of *þe* probably reflects the scribes’ spoken usage. This state of affairs was also described by Smith (1996).

- (23) **Des ilces geares** com fram
 THIS same year came from
 Jerusalem Hugo **of þe temple**
 Jerusalem Hugo of SE templars
 to **ðone** king on Normandig. 7
 to SE king on Normandy and
se kyng him underfeng
 SE king him received
 mid micel wurðscipe.
 with great honour.

“This same year came from Jerusalem Hugo of the Templars to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with great honour”

(Chron.E, year entry 1128)

In this example, we can see how the different paradigms could co-occur in the First Continuation; in fact, we can find the complex determiner which has substituted the instrumental case when pointing at the year entry, one instance of the uninflected determiner where dative case is expected, as well as the co-occurrence of the inflected accusative and nominative forms of the determiner *se*.

Finally, the non-inflected determiner and the identifiable nouns it precedes can be found written as a single word, these pieces of evidence signal that the non-inflected determiner was not accented and can be reliably identified as a functional element:

- (24) [...] 7 begæt thare priuilegies.
 [...] and obtained se privileges
 an of alle þe
 one of all SE
 landes of **pabbotrice.**
 lands of SE-abbacy.

“and obtained there privileges: one for all the lands of the abbacy”

(Chron.E, year entry 1137)

- (25) þa was Engleland suythe todeled
 Then was England very divided
 sume helden mid te king.
 some held with SE king

7	sume	mid	pemperice.
and	some	with	SE-empress

“Then was England very divided, some held with the king, and some with the empress.”

(Chron.E, year entry 1140)

3.3 Summary

Concluding this chapter, we have seen that Breban’s (2012) analysis is confirmed by the data in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, even though I included in the functional shift scenario the complex demonstrative *bis*, which has survived through the history of the English language, unlike the complex demonstratives which are listed in Breban’s (2012) work. We have seen, however, that instances of determiner and noun with identifiable reference can be found in the Chronicle, but their use is not consistent; to this class of elements must be added the deviations to Crisma’s (2011) sample, discussed above. Allen (2016) provides evidence for the almost obligatory use of the determiner with DEPs, and Crisma provides evidence for the obligatory use of the determiner when a Proper Noun is preceded by an adjective (but recall the deviations to her sample discussed above). This empirical evidence is in line with the reanalysis of the determiner into a definite determiner as proposed by Breban, which proceeds gradually from textual deictic contexts to contexts of clear identifiable reference.²⁷ We have seen that the textual use of the determiner *se* is strong in the Old English dataset we have examined, whereas it is progressively supplanted by the demonstrative *bis* until the determiner obligatorily precedes inherently identifiable referents. Moreover, the shift of *þæt* from the neuter singular determiner to distal demonstrative also takes place during the Early Middle English period (cf. Clark 1970). The data presented here support Breban’s (2012) claim, but also Allen’s (2016) proposal of the ambiguous nature of determiner *se* in the Old English period, which could both occupy the Specifier of the DP, or the D head. In fact, while we have clear textual deictic use, we also have some instances in which the determiner signals only definiteness. However, it is not until the EME period that a definite determiner can be found, which is formally and functionally distinct from the demonstrative, and which has become a functional category in the sense of Abney (1987).

²⁷ Or from the Pragmatic to the Semantic Definites, to put it in Löbner’s (1985) terms.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE OLD ENGLISH DATA²⁸

In order to test if the model proposed in Chapter 2 can motivate the mapping of constituents in OE, I collected a sample of subordinate clauses containing a complex verbal form, a subject and at least one object. As described in sections 2.5-6, even though the number of clauses selected is relatively small, it aims to cover the whole OE period. The coding of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs proceeded as described in section 2.5. Moreover, given the literature on the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in the English language, and my own empirical study of nominal expressions in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, I have decided to treat DPs with the determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* as left-branching. I have to admit that the structure of the DP in the Old English stage is ambiguous and that only the semantic nature of the element denoted by the determiner can help us determine whether the determiner we are analysing acts as a discourse deictic or as a marker of identifiability. I will return on this point in Chapter 7, where I will summarise the empirical findings. The analysis carried out confirms most of the predictions laid out by the model proposed by Hinterhölzl, but it will be also demonstrated that the constraints postulated are more effective when it comes to given and light objects in the pre-verbal domain. It will be also demonstrated that the results of this pilot sample are confirmed by a large-scale investigation by Struik and Van Kemenade (2018).

The results obtained for the subordinate clauses build the premises for the analysis of OE main clauses, which will show to be subject to the same mapping conditions as the subordinate clauses; the dataset of EME clauses, which represents different genres and dialect areas, will be compared to the results of OE clauses, and it will be seen in Chapter 5 that the instruments of analysis applied in this chapter yield coherent results in the EME period.

²⁸ The results presented in section 4.1 regard the same sample analysed for the following published article: De Bastiani, C. (2017). With respect to the data presented in the article, the analysis has been further refined and the tables are arranged differently.

Before moving to the analysis, it is appropriate to summarise the expectations laid out in the theoretical framework employed for this work:

- (1)
 - a. [_{VP}[CASEP O [CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V O_{Copy}]]
Licensing movement of the object to the [Spec, CASEP] position, with the copy in the base position.
 - b. [_{VP}[CASEP O_{given} [CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V Θ_{given}]]
Spell-out of the higher copy due to the Givenness Transparency condition
 - c. [_{VP}[CASEP Θ_{new} [CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V O_{new}]]
Spell-out of the lower copy due to the Focus Transparency condition.
 - d. [_{VP}[CASEP Θ_{heavy} —[CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V O_{heavy}]]
Spell-out of the lower copy due to the prosodic condition.

In (1), the Spell-Out conditions postulated in Chapter 2, example 4, are presented. According to the predictions laid out in the theoretical framework, it is expected that given constituents are spelled-out in the pre-verbal position, whereas new constituents are spelled-out in the post-verbal position. Moreover, it is predicted that heavy constituents are spelled-out in the base position; I argued in Chapter 2 that the prosodic condition and the G-Transparency condition can be conflicting in the case of a given but heavy constituent. In fact, the G-Transparency condition predicts that given constituents are mapped on a weak branch; this is possible when one considers that given elements are prosodically less prominent. However, a given but heavy constituent can be mapped on a strong branch, if it is the Prosodic Condition which is interpreted as relevant.

The configurations which are relevant for the present study are the following:

- (2) a. Aux²⁹ > O > V
 b. Aux > V > O
 c. O > V > Aux
 d. V > Aux > O

In Aux > V clauses, with pre-verbal position I identify the position between the auxiliary verb and the non-finite verb, whereas the post-verbal position refers to the position following the non-finite verb.

In V > Aux clauses I label an object pre-verbal when it is found in configuration c., whereas I label it post-verbal when it is found in configuration d. The label post-verbal in this case does not mean that the object immediately follows the non-finite verb, since the order *V > O > Aux is not attested in Old English and is ruled out by the Final Over Final Constraint. It is to be understood as an object following the V > Aux cluster.

Finally, in the data presented in this chapter object pronouns are not included, since they will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

In sections 4.1.1 – 4.1.4 I focus on our pilot sample of subordinate clauses, whereas in sections 4.2.1 – 4.2.4 I extend the analysis to the main clauses of selected OE texts.

4.1 Subordinate clauses: a pilot sample

In the first section of this chapter, I will analyse the quantitative distribution of elements in the pre-verbal and post-verbal position of sentences with the relative orders of finite and non-finite verb Aux > V and V > Aux. The results for the two types of sentences are kept apart, since V > Aux clauses exhibit different IS properties with respect to the Aux > V clauses, as will be seen in sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.4.

In each section, relevant examples that show how the mapping of constituents works in the sample are presented, followed by the quantitative distribution of constituents according to their Information structural value³⁰

²⁹ As was noticed in Chapter 1, auxiliary and modal verbs are not fully grammaticalized in the Old English period; for the sake of simplicity, I label “Auxiliary” the finite verb governing a non-finite verb in periphrastic verbal constructions. This has not to be understood that I consider the grammaticalization of auxiliary and modal verbs complete in OE. Moreover, I analyse also those objects which are scrambled across an adverbial and are spelled-out below the auxiliary verb, as stated in Chapter 2, section 2.5.

³⁰ The IS value is provided only for referential elements; quantified and negated objects, as well as predicative objects are not assigned an IS value, as is standardly

(IS) and to their weight. The tables are followed by an analytic section, where constituents deviating from our predictions are analysed in more detail.

4.1.1 Aux > V clauses: quantitative analysis

In this section, I examine the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of Aux > V subordinate clauses. Before presenting the quantitative distribution of elements, I present the examples which confirm our predictions. In example (3), a given constituent is mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas in example (4) a new constituent is mapped in post-verbal position. In examples (5) and (6) two given and heavy constituents are mapped in pre-verbal and in post-verbal position respectively; as predicted, the Givenness and the Prosodic conditions lead to two possible mapping sites.

(3)	þæt	þu	ealles	ne	beo	minra
	that	you	entirely	not	be	my
	boca	bedæled				
	book	deprived				

“that you are not deprived entirely of my books”

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigweardZ]:16.11)

In this example, the reference of *books* is active, the sentence preceding this example is in fact the following:

þa ða þu me bæde for Godes lufon georne þæt ic þe æt ham æt þinum huse gespræce, & þu ða swiðe mændest, þa þa ic mid þe wæs, þæt þu **mine gewrita** begitan ne mihtest.

‘since you asked me zealously for the love of God that I speak to you at your house, and you then exceedingly complained, as I were with you, that you could not obtain my writings.’

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigweardZ]:11.10)

assumed that these are inert when it comes to information structure (cf. Petrova and Speyer 2011, Taylor and Pintzuk 2011).

- (4) & cydde him mid writ &
 and told him with writings and
 mid worde hu his bredre Peada
 with words how his brethren Peada
 and Wulfhere & se abbot Saxulf
 and Wulfhere and the abbott Saxulf
 heafden wroht **an** **minstre.**
 Had built a minster

“and [he] told him with letters and with words, how his brethren Peada, and Wulfhere and Abbott Saxulf had built a minster.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:675.4.532)

- (5) Cwæp he þæt ic þær sy
 Said he that I there be
 eft oþre sipe **on** **rode**
 again another time on cross
 ahangen.
 hung

“And said that I should be hung on the cross again at another time.”

(coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BHom_15]]:191.356.2483)

In this example, the reference of *cross*, and the fact that Peter is hanged on the cross constitutes activated information. As expected, however, we can find a given and heavy constituent in post-verbal position, cf. (6):

- (6) We secgað nu to soþan þæt
 We say now to truth that
 ðæs mannes sawul is belocen **on**
 the man soul is enclosed on
 his **lichaman** ða hwile ðe he
 his body the while that he
 lybbende bið.
 living is

“We say to you in truth that the soul of man is enclosed in his body while he is living”

(coaelhom,ÆHom_11:481.1746)

The fact that the soul is contained in the body is part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed at the time, hence the label *given* to the PP argument.

Let us now turn to the quantitative distribution of constituents:

Table 4-1		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		101
Pre-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight ³¹		38
	Light	29; 76.3%
	Heavy	9; 23.7%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		29
	Given	28; 96.5%
	New	1; 3.5%
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		63
Heaviness parameter	Light	30; 47.6%
	Heavy	33; 52.4%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		49
IS parameter	Given	26; 53.1%
	New	23; 46.9%

As can be noticed from this table, the pre-verbal domain conforms clearly to the predictions laid out in the theoretical framework; the majority of elements found in this domain are light and constitute given information.³² The post-verbal domain, however, has a more heterogeneous distribution; in fact, there is an equal distribution of given, new, light and heavy elements. This is explained by combining the parameters for the post-verbal constituents analysed for their IS value:

³¹ This and the tables in chapters 4 and 5 are organised in the same way. The tables present the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs. These elements receive all a weight value; however, among direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs there are also quantified and negated elements; these do not receive an IS value. For this reason, the number of elements analysed for their weight, and the number of elements analysed for their IS value does not always coincide.

³² Among the set of pre-verbal elements, there is one constituent which is contrasted.

Table 4-2		
Given constituents		26
	Of which light and contrasted	6
	Of which light	6
	Of which heavy and contrasted	2
	Of which heavy	12
New constituents		23
	Of which light and contrasted	0
	Of which light	8
	Of which heavy and contrasted	2
	Of which heavy	13

As can be seen in Table 4-2, 21 out of 26 of the given and post-verbal constituents are either heavy or contrasted; this piece of evidence is in line with the theoretical framework postulated, since it can be argued that contrastive accent on a constituent renders it prosodically heavier than a constituent not marked for contrastivity. This reduces the number of deviations to our model to 6 constituents, which correspond to circa 12% of the total number of post-verbal constituents analysed for the IS value.

In the next table, light, heavy, given and new elements are arranged according to their distribution across the pre- and post-verbal domains:³³

³³ I thank Ann Taylor for suggesting me to divide the data as in table 4-3.

Table 4-3				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	59	29; 49.2%	30; 50.8%
	All heavy elements	42	9; 21.4%	33; 78.6%
IS value				
	All given elements	54	28; 51.8%	26; 48.2%
	All new elements	24	1; 4.2%	23; 95.8%

As can be noticed from this table, heavy and new elements have a restricted distribution in the pre-verbal domain, whereas given and light elements are distributed almost equally between the pre- and the post-verbal domain. On the one hand, we can motivate the mapping of light and given elements in the post-verbal domain by combining them with their weight and with contrast; on the other hand, it must be noticed that it is the pre-verbal domain which shows precise conditions for the Spell-Out of constituents. This means that the pre-verbal domain favours light and given objects, but the post-verbal domain does not present restrictions on the elements which are spelled-out there.

I mentioned above that Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) present significant data on a larger scale of investigation; they select subordinate clauses with a complex verbal form and a direct object from non-translated OE texts and they measure the impact of information structure and weight on the mapping of constituents. They divide their data according to the surface word order patterns attested, and successively divide the data according to the respective order of finite and non-finite verb ($V > \text{Aux}/\text{Aux} > V$). They discover that both the IS conditions and the weight of the constituents yield statistically significant results but conclude that it is IS which has more impact.³⁴ They also show that the distribution of objects in the post-verbal domain is more mixed in terms of IS, whereas the trigger for the pre-verbal objects is their given IS status. The pre-verbal objects in their sample of $\text{Aux} > V$ and $V > \text{Aux}$ clauses have a given IS status in 97.7% of cases. They conclude that this is expected within a head initial VP grammar,

³⁴ It has to be noted, however, that their definition of weight is different from the one employed in this work.

since it is the leftward movement that needs to be marked; they moreover conclude that the leftward movement of given objects does not have to be obligatory, since we can find post-verbal given elements.

Their findings for the divided sets of Aux > V and V > Aux clauses are statistically significant; this means that Taylor and Pintzuk's (2012b) claim that unambiguous IS effects can be found in V > Aux clauses only is not supported by van Kemenade and Struik's investigation. They conclude, in fact, that the variation works in the same direction for both word orders. Moreover, their investigation supports Elenbaas and van Kemenade's (2014) findings about the IS structure of pre-verbal objects in EME, which all denote given referents. Their findings, moreover, support the postulation of a universal base grammar, since it is the leftward movement of elements which presents a uniform trigger, thereby qualifying it as marked.

I will argue that weight, as defined in our framework, is the factor which yields the variation in the post-verbal data, and that, at length, this factor would lead to the disruption of the IS requirements we have identified, since right branching elements progressively start to be analysed in post-verbal position. As was argued for in Chapter 2, I identify the grammaticalization of the definite determiner as a key factor in our prospected language-change scenario.

4.1.2 Aux > V clauses: qualitative analysis

In this section, I will concentrate on those constituents which do not conform to the expectations laid out in the theoretical framework, namely new elements in the pre-verbal domain and given elements in the post-verbal domain.

In table 4-1, we saw that there is one element representing new information which is found in pre-verbal domain, the sentence under consideration is the following:

- (7) forðan þe him is getiþod
 because that him is vouchsafed
 þæt ic on his
 that I on his
 timan beo **mannum** geswutelod.
 time be men revealed

“Because it is vouchsafed to him that I am revealed to men in this time.”

(coalive,ÆLS_ [Swithun]:32.4238)

In example (7), we are reading about an abbot who had died and appears in a vision to a smith; he orders the smith to go to the monastery where he is buried and asks to dig out his coffin. The sentence is embedded in this

context. The reference of *mannum* is introduced at this point in the narration, therefore it is labelled as new; moreover, the sentence is embedded within direct discourse, and the information is new for the addressee.

Turning to the post-verbal domain, in table 4-2 it is reported that there are six given and light elements mapped in post-verbal position; these elements are not contrasted, and they are unexpected in the framework proposed. Some examples are given in the following:

- (8) Fordæm bið se sige micle
 Because is the victory much
 mara ðe man mid
 greater that man with
 gedylde gewind, forðæm sio gesceadwisnes
 patience conquers because the discretion
 donne hæfd ofercumen ðæt
 then has overcome the
 mod.
 spirit

“The victory which one wins with patience is much greater, because the discretion then has overcome the spirit.”

(cocuraC,CP_[Cotton]:33.218.19.42)

- (9) forþan Eustatius hæfde gecydd þam
 because Eustatius had said the
 cyng þet hit sceolde
 king that it should
 beon mare gylt þære burhwaru
 be more guilt the citizens
 þonne his.
 than his

“Because Eustatius had told the king that it was more the guilt of the citizens than his”.

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1048.35.2277)

- (10) Ða herdon þa munecas of Burh
 then heard the monks of Peterborough
 sægen þæt heora agene men
 say that their own men
 wolden hergon þone mynstre
 wanted plunder the minster.

“The heard the monks of Peterborough say that their own men wanted to plunder the minster.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1070.9.2575)

- (11) Pæt wæs forðan þet hi
 that was because that they
 herdon sæcgen þet se cyng
 heard say that the king
 heafde gifen **þæt** **abbotrice**
 had given the abbacy
 an Frençisce abbot.
 a French abbot

“that was because that they heard say that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbot.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1070.11.2576)

In the three examples from the Chronicle, the facts narrated are presented at this point in the passage; however, the post-verbal elements denote referents which are identifiable within the context under discussion. These three referents are both identifiable due to the fact that they are active at this point in the discourse, and because they denote referents which, in this part of the Chronicle, are part of the shared knowledge. In example (8) the reference of spirit constitutes a case of inalienable possession, which is analysed as given information. On the surface, we cannot tell whether the determiner is located in the Specifier of the DP phrase, or whether it is analysed as a D head, however. We can argue that, given the text in which these referents are found, which according to Clark (1970) exhibits a more “modern” grammar, we might be dealing with DPs with a realised D head governing a definite entity, at least for the examples from the MS.E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This would entail that the DPs under consideration are heavy.

The remaining two examples in this set are the following:

- (12) 7 þohton þæt hie sceoldon
 and thought that they should
 gewreca **hira** **teonun.**
 avenge their damage.

“and [they] thought that they should avenge the damage [that had been done to them].”

(cochronA-2c,ChronA_[Plummer]:921.43.1302)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|-------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| (13) | þæt | ic | mihte | geendian | mine | ylde |
| | that | I | might | end | my | age |
| | mid | swylcum. | | | | |
| | with | such | | | | |

“That I can end my life with such [men].”

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Maurice]:99.5739)

These given and light post-verbal elements are not contrasted, nevertheless they are mapped in post-verbal position.

The remaining post-verbal given and light elements in this sample are contrasted. An example is given in the following:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| (14) | [...] | þe | læs | þe | se |
| | [...] | the | less | that | the |
| | hlyst | & | seo | gesihð | |
| | hearing | and | the | sight | |
| | wurde | bescyred | þæra | haligra | geryna, |
| | were | cut-off | the | holy | mysteries, |
| | & | wurde | gefyled | mid | |
| | and | were | filled | with | |
| | besmitenysse | fracodlicra | wurda | & | wlatungca. |
| | defilement | fleshly | things | and | loathing |

“Therefore the sight and the sense of hearing are deprived of the holy mysteries and filled with the sight of shameful and loathing things.”

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:66.1.883)

Table 4-2 also shows that the remaining given elements in the post-verbal domain consist of heavy constituents, whereas the remaining light elements in the post-verbal domain report new information, as example (4), reported here as (15) shows. These do not deviate from our theoretical model, since both new and heavy elements are predicted to be spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|-----|------|----------|--------|
| (15) | & | cydde | him | mid | writ | & |
| | and | told | him | with | writings | and |
| | mid | worde | hu | his | bredre | Peada |
| | with | words | how | his | brethren | Peada |
| | and | Wulphere | & | se | abbot | Saxulf |
| | and | Wulphere | and | the | abbott | Saxulf |

heafden	wroht	an	minstre.
had	built	a	minster

“and [he] told him with letters and with words, how his brethren Peada, and Wulfhere and Abbott Saxulf had built a minster.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:675.4.532)

Concluding, in this section I argued that the postulation of information structural and prosodic interface conditions motivates the pre- and post-verbal spell-out of constituents in Old English. It must be noticed, however, that the comparison of the distribution of light, heavy, given and new elements highlights that it is the pre-verbal domain which restricts the Spell-Out of new and heavy objects. In the post-verbal domain, there is a more heterogeneous picture. We saw that, once the parameters are combined, it emerges that a light element in the post-verbal domain is either new, or contrasted; similarly, a given element is either heavy or contrasted. Given the fact that OV word order is marked for precise features, namely light weight and givenness, and that VO is more heterogeneous, it must not surprise that some light and given elements are also spelled-out in the post-verbal position, if the grammar is head-initial.

4.1.3 V > Aux subordinate clauses: quantitative analysis

In this section, I will analyse the properties of the elements mapped in the pre- and post-verbal domain of V > Aux clauses. In the following examples, a given constituent is mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas a new constituent is mapped in post-verbal position:

(16)	þa	ðære	nihte	þe	hie	þæt
	then	the	night	that	they	the
	fæsten	gefæst	hæfdon,	þa	wæs	Sanctus
	fast	fast	had	then	was	Saint
	Michael	þæm	biscope	on	gesihþe	æteowed.
	Michael	the	bishop	on	vision	appeared.

“Then in the night in which they had completed their fast, Saint Michael appeared in a vision to their bishop.”

(coblick,LS_25_[MichaelMor [BIHom_17]]:205.170.2632)

(17)	Ic	secge	þis	sceortlice,	for- ðan	þe
	I	say	this	shorly	because	that
	ic	gesett		hæbbe	of	þisum
	I	composed		have	of	these
	fewer	bocum	wel	fewertig	larspella	
	four	books	well	forty	sermons	
	on	Engliscum		gereorde.		
	in	English		language		

“I say this shortly, because of these four books I composed forty sermons in the English language.”

(colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_ [SigewardZ]:921.382)

Table 4-4		
V > Aux		
Total number of VP arguments		49
Pre-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		33
	Light	29; 87.8%
	Heavy	4; 12.2%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		30
	Given	30; 100%
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		16
Heaviness parameter	Light	3; 18.7%
	Heavy	13; 81.3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		9
IS parameter	Given	6; 66.7%
	New	3; 33.3%

Also V > Aux clauses confirm the expectations laid out in the theoretical framework, since all the pre-verbal elements constitute given information, and they consist of light constituents in the majority of cases; the post-verbal domain shows a higher presence of heavy elements, with respect to the post-verbal objects in the set of Aux > V clauses, but there are also given

constituents. As far as the given constituents are concerned, five out of six consist of heavy elements, whereas one has a given and light value. I will examine this constituent in the qualitative section.

Light, heavy, given and new constituents are distributed in the pre- and post-verbal domain as follows:

Table 4-5			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Arguments				
Weight value				
	All light elements	32	29; 90.6%	3; 9.4%
	All heavy elements	17	4; 23.5%	13; 76.5%
IS value				
	All given elements	36	30; 83.3%	6; 16.7%
	All New elements	3	0; 0%	3; 100%

With respect to table 4-3, it can be noticed that the proportion of given elements is higher in the pre-verbal domain of these sentences, as opposed to the distribution of given elements in the pre-verbal domain of Aux > V sentences. In fact, it was noticed above that given elements in Aux > V sentences are distributed almost equally in the pre- and post-verbal domain, whereas heavy and new elements have a more restricted access in the pre-verbal domain. In V > Aux clauses, on the contrary, given elements are almost exclusively spelled-out in pre-verbal position. I will deal with this aspect in the next section.

4.1.4 V > Aux clauses: qualitative analysis

We have seen in Section 4.1.3 above that we do not have pre-verbal new arguments in our sample of V > Aux clauses. Biberauer and Roberts (2005) tentatively suggest that in sentences with the order V > Aux > O, the trigger for the pied-piping of the vP is a defocusing operation. They base their account on a study by Kroch and Pitzuk (1989), where they report that post-verbal elements in these sentences are placed on metrically prominent position in the verse of Beowulf.

I investigated the V > Aux sentences in my sample to determine whether they are marked for other discourse features. I noticed, in fact, that most of the sentences of this sample are either temporal or adverbial clauses, which

summarise the events narrated in the previous passage, and act as background for the actions following.³⁵ Two examples are given below:

- (18) & mid þy þe hie þis
 and with this that they this
 gesprečen hæfdon, þa com þær se
 spoken had then came there the
 eadiga Iohannes
 blessed John.

“And as soon as they had said this, the blessed John came.”

(coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BiHom_13]]:143.93.1749)

- (19) Ða ðære nihte þe hie þæt
 then the night that they the
 fæsten gefæst hæfdon, þa wæs Sanctus
 fast fast had then was Saint
 Michael þæm bisceope on gesihþe æteowed.
 Michael the bishop on vision appeared.

“Then in the night in which they had completed their fast, Saint Michael appeared in a vision to their bishop.”

(coblick,LS_25_[MichaelMor [BiHom_17]]:205.170.2632)

Not only is the pre-verbal object given, but the whole sentence reports an event which was already introduced in discourse. In these sentences, it is the main clause following which brings forth the narration (cf. Milicev 2016 and De Bastiani 2017 for a thorough categorization of these sentences).

Among our sample of 56 V > Aux clauses, there are 50 which correspond to the analysis presented for sentences (18) and (19) above. In the remaining cases, we can find either a report of direct discourse, as in sentences (20 – 22), or a report of events happened before the reference time of the narration, as in example (23):

- (20) & mec mine geferan bædon þæt
 and me my comrades asked that
 hie **swelcra merþo** **bescerede** **ne** **wæron.**
 they such glory cut off not were.

“And my comrades asked me that they were not deprived of such glory.”

(coalex,Alex:33.5.420)

³⁵ Similar conclusions are drawn by Milicev (2016), who argues that V > Aux clauses in OE convey presupposed information. I thank Tara Struik for pointing my attention to this work.

- (21) þa widcwæð se arcebiscope. &
 then answered the archbishop and
 cwæð **þet** **se** **papa**
 said that the pope
hit **him** **forboden** **hæfde**
 it him forbidden had.

“then the archbishop answered and said that the Pope had forbidden it to him.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1048.8.2245)

- (22) þa weardð hit swa mycel
 then befell it so great
 æge fram þam here þet
 terror from the army that
 man ne mihte geþeonecan ne
 one not could think nor
 asmægian **hu** **man** **of**
 meditate how one of
earde **hi** **gebringon** **sceolde.**
 earth them bring shall

“Then such a great terror befell from the army, so that one could neither think nor meditate how one could remove them from the land.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1006.32.1706)

- (23) & him þær togeanes com
 and him there towards came
 Pallig mid þan scipan ðe
 Pallig with the ship that
 he gegaderian mihte **forþam** **þe**
 he gather might because that
he **asceacen** **wæs** **fram** **Ædelrede**
 he forsaken was from Ethelred
cyncge ofer **ealle** **ða** **getrywða.**
 king over all the pledges.

“and towards him came Pallig with the ships that he could gather, because he was betrayed from King Ethelred over all the pledges.”

(cochronA-5,ChronA_[Plummer]:1001.11.1430)

As far as example (23) is concerned, there is no direct mention in the previous context of the event reported. However, also these sentences express facts which have happened before the new event in the narration is

introduced, and which we can hypothesise that the authors, or the referents to which the direct speech is attributed, regarded as given information.

This finding then can explain why these sentences mostly contain given referents, which for the most part are mapped in the pre-verbal domain; if the sentence anchors the narration to events happened previously, then it is expected that it contains given information.

We saw in Table 4-5 above that we can find some material after the verbal cluster; this material consists mostly of heavy and given elements, or new elements. But we can find a light and given element, which is given below:

(24)	Se	Halga	Gast	sodlice,	syððan
	The	Holy	Ghost	truly,	since
	he	asend	wæs	his	halgum
	he	sent	was	his	holy
	apostolum. [...]				
	apostles				

“Truly the Holy Ghost, when he was sent to his holy apostles [...].”

(coaelhom,ÆHom_7:81.1100)

In the context in which this sentence is embedded, the fact that the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles is already given information. The reference of the apostles is also active, since they are mentioned within the preceding passage, but the sentence preceding the one I am examining deals with the words of Christ when he was on Earth. After that, the passage revolves on the Holy Ghost again, and on the facts happened after that the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles. I argue that the given constituent in this case is narrowly focused, in order to shift the attention of the reader on a certain point in time, when the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles.

The evidence presented by these sentences, albeit small, points at the tentative conclusion by Biberauer and Roberts (2005); in the majority of cases, the sentences serve as background for the main action. In other cases, the post-verbal element is new, or narrowly focused. I derive these sentences following Biberauer and Roberts (2005) and postulating a defocusing trigger for verb movement.

In the next section, I analyse the distribution of constituents in main clauses.

4.2 Main Clauses

In this second part of the chapter, I will examine the distribution of constituents in an enlarged sample of main clauses. According to my explorative search of a sample of subordinate clauses coming from different OE texts, information structure and weight are responsible for the mapping of constituents. Moreover, according to a statistical analysis on a wider sample of clauses from non-translated texts, Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) demonstrated that the clear trigger for OV word order in subordinate clauses is the givenness of the object.

Starting from these premises, I will expand my scope of investigation by taking into account a wider sample of main clauses, which I will investigate according to the information structure and heaviness properties of the direct, indirect and PP arguments of verbs, as illustrated in Chapter 2. The set of main clauses was extracted by selecting sentences with a complex verbal form, a subject and at least one object, as described in Chapter 2, section 2.6. The elements that I have not treated in this quantitative part are object pronouns, which will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 6 and compared against the results for the Early Middle English texts. The configurations relevant for the investigation are the same ones investigated in the sample of subordinate clauses and illustrated in example 2 above.

4.2.1 Aux > V clauses: quantitative analysis

Before illustrating the quantitative distribution of direct, indirect and PP arguments of verbs, let us observe an example of a given pre-verbal element, and of a new post-verbal element from our dataset of main clauses:

(25) & Drihten is soþlice þisse bære
 and Lord is truly this bier
 fultumiende.
 helping

“And the Lord is truly helping this bier.”

(coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor [BlHom_13]]:149.210.1852)

In the context preceding this example, it is narrated that Holy Mary had died and that the apostles had put her on a bier. The object *bier* is therefore active in discourse as the demonstrative *this* moreover signals.

- (26) Eugenia hæfde ær þan asteald
 Eugenia had before than founded
myneceña **mynster** mid mycelre
 nun minster with great
 gehealdsumnysse.
 observance.

“Eugenia had founded before that a minster for nuns, with great observance.”

(coalive,ÆLS_ [Eugenia]:310.378)

In the context in which this sentence is embedded, there is no mention of the monastery built by Eugenia; moreover, the whole preceding discourse revolves around her father, so this sentence opens up a new narrative passage, and the element introduced in post-verbal position is new.

Furthermore, the following sentence presents a given and heavy post-verbal object:

- (27) We habbað eow oft gesæd
 we had you often said
eowerne **geleafan** **be** **þære**
 your beliefs by the
halgan **ðrynnysse.**
 holy Trinity

“We have often told you your creed about the Holy Trinity.”

(coalive,ÆLS_ [Christmas]:84.68)

In the following table, the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domains of the set of main clauses is presented:

Table 4-6		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		215
Pre-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		81
	Light	58; 71.6%
	Heavy	23; 28.4%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		77
	Given	64; 83.2%
	New	13; 16.8%
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		134
	Light	59; 44.1%
	Heavy	75; 55.9%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		120
	Given	55; 48.8%
	New	65; 54.2%

As can be seen from this table, circa 80% of the pre-verbal elements constitute given information, whereas circa 70% of them consist of light constituents. Before moving to the analysis of the constituents deviating from the theoretical framework employed in this work, let us observe how the light, heavy, given and new constituents are distributed across the pre- and the post-verbal domain:

Table 4-7				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	117	58; 49.6%	59; 50.4%
	All heavy elements	98	23; 23.5%	75; 76.5%
IS value				

	All given elements	119	64; 53.8%	55; 46.2%
	All new elements	78	13; 16.6%	65; 83.3%

In Table 4-7 one can see similar results with respect to the sample of subordinate clauses; whereas light and given elements are distributed almost equally between the pre- and the post-verbal domain, new and heavy elements show a stronger tendency to be spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

Moreover, in Table 4-6 we saw that the post-verbal domain has a more heterogeneous distribution; by combining the IS and the weight value of the constituents mapped in post-verbal position, one obtains the following figures:³⁶

Table 4-8		
Given constituents		55
	Of which light and contrasted	12
	Of which light	15
	Of which heavy and contrasted	3
	Of which heavy	25
New constituents		65
	Of which light and contrasted	8
	Of which light	19
	Of which heavy and contrasted	4
	Of which heavy	34

When the parameters are combined, it becomes clear how the proportion of light and given elements which are not contrasted reduces to 15, which amounts to circa 12% of all the elements in the post-verbal domain. In the next section, the deviations to our model will be investigated more closely.

³⁶ Among the pre-verbal elements, there is also one contrasted constituent. However, the remaining contrasted constituents are found in the post-verbal domain.

4.2.2 Aux > V clauses: qualitative analysis

In this section, I will analyse our data from a qualitative point of view; in the following, I will investigate the constituents that constitute a deviation to our model. As Table 4-6 above shows, we can find 13 arguments representing new information in the pre-verbal domain. I have analysed the contexts in which they occur, and the results are presented in this section.

Two NPs which denote referents introduced at that point in the narration are found in a possessive construction, in which the possessive adjective has a given antecedent; recall that these cases do not constitute inalienable possession but are bridging inferables. In fact, we cannot infer whether the possessor has a son, or a daughter (as in these examples), and therefore these constituents were labelled as new. However, notice that in (28), the PossP is scrambled across a temporal adverbial; this piece of evidence is puzzling, since scrambling in the Germanic languages correlates with givenness (Hinterhölzl 2004). In order to make sure that the referents under examination were indeed not mentioned before, I examined the whole chapters in which they are found, to determine whether their reference was introduced at some point in the wider previous context. This is not borne out, and the referents are indeed introduced at this point in the narration; however, the fact that in example (28) the PossP is scrambled across a sentence adverbial is suspicious. I argue that, despite the fact that for the narration these referents are new, these are given for the authors who wrote the text, as the scrambling in (28) suggests. In example (29), the referent to which the noun *daughter* is anchored is King Oswio; the fact that he had a daughter was probably more accessible to readers of the time, than to us.

- (28) Martianus hæfde **his** **sunu** ær
 Martianus had his son before
 befæst to woruldlicre lare
 committed to worldly lore
 and to uðwitegunge [...].
 and to philosophy [...].

“Martianus had entrusted his son to the study of worldly lore and to philosophy.”

(coaelive,ÆLS [Julian_and_Basilissa]:184.1049)

- (29) Hæfde he **his** **dohtor** him to
 Had he his daughter him to
 wife beweddad
 wife wed

“He had entrusted his daughter to him as wife.”

(cobede,Bede_3:5.168.4.1620)

The following case has an ambiguous interpretation, if we follow the edition by Skeat (1966):

(30)	He	hæfde	æ ne	licdrowere	belocen
	he	had	a	leper	shut
	on	anum	clyfan.		
	in	a	cave		

“He had shut a leper in a cave.”

(coalive,ÆLS_[Basil]:480.795)

The referent under examination is introduced in the narration at this point; the fact that it is indefinite is underlined by the use of the numeral. We can also exclude a specific interpretation of the referent, since it has not been mentioned in the previous context. The interpretation of this sentence given by Skeat, however, may point at a structural ambiguity of the sentence; in the YCOE, the participle *belocen* is inserted in the IP-MAT node together with the finite verb *hæfde*. The sentence is therefore interpreted as presenting a periphrastic verbal form expressing perfect tense; Skeat, however, translates the sentence as follows:

(31) “He had a leper shut up in a cave”

(Skeat 1966: 79)

According to Skeat’s translation, this sentence does not present a periphrastic verbal form. If Skeat’s interpretation is correct, then, we are dealing with a different type of construction.

Further ambiguity is given by the combination of the referent under consideration and the verb; recall that nominal parts of complex predicates were excluded from the investigation, since it is demonstrated in the literature that they are inert for information structure, and that they are subject to different syntactic constraints. I determined whether a constituent is the nominal part of a complex predicate by consulting the Bosworth Toller Anglo Saxon Dictionary and the Middle English Dictionary. The referents in the following sentences look suspiciously as nominal parts of complex predicates, even though there is no clear indication in the Bosworth Toller dictionary:

(32)	Fordferendum	þam	cuningum	Ædelbyrhto	&
	departed	the	kings	Ethelberth	and
	Sæbyrhto,	heora	æfterfyligendas		
	Saeberth	their	successors		

wæron **deofolgyld**e folgiende.
 were devils following

“After the death of King Ethelberth and Selberth, their successors were following idols.”

(cobede,BedeHead:2.12.3.42)

(33) Ða ongunnon sona openlice **deofolgildum**
 then began soon openly idols
 þeowian, [...].
 serve

“Then they soon began to serve idols openly.”

(cobede,Bede_2:5.112.3.1051)

Whereas I have not found any examples similar to sentence (32), the combination in sentence (33) is also attested in other parts of Bede’s Ecclesiastical history of the English People and in the Homilies of Ælfric:

Miller (1959: 124): **deofolgeldum ne þeowode**
 Pope (1967: 251): and ealle oðre þeoda **þeowdon**
deofolgyldum.

Another suspect complex predicate is the following:

(34) Ða ðære nihte þe hie þæt
 then the night that they the
 fæsten gefæst hæfdon, þa wæs Sanctus
 fast fast had then was Saint
 Michael þæm bisceope **on** **gesihþe** æteowed.
 Michael the bishop on vision appeared.

“Then in the night in which they had completed their fast, Saint Michael appeared in a vision to their bishop.”

(coblick,LS_25_[MichaelMor [BIHom_17]]:205.170.2632)

Concerning the last example, cf. the following example from the same homily:

(35) Ða on ða ilcan tid
 then on the same time
 wæs se eadiga engel
 was the blessed angel

Michahel	ætiewed	þæm	hera	bisceope	on
Michael	appeared	the	their	bishop	in

gesihþe.
vision

“Then on the same time the blessed angel Michael appeared in a vision to their bishop.”

(coblick,LS_25_[MichaelMor [BIHom_17]]:201.95.2580)

This example shows the same combination of referents; the predicate *on gesihþe ateowian* is not found as a complex predicate in the Bosworth Toller dictionary, but it is probable that the combination has to be analysed as a complex predicate construction.

Leaving aside the cases enumerated above, the remaining 7 cases (circa 9 % of the total number of new referential elements in the pre-verbal domain) represent new information:

(36)	&	Botulf	ongon	mynster	timbran	æt
	and	Botulf	began	minster	build	at

Icanho.
Icanho

“And Botulf began to build a minster at Icanho.”

(cochronA-1,ChronA_[Plummer]:654.1.334)

This element is introduced at this point in the narration; moreover, in lack of a determiner, the referent is interpreted as non-definite.

Let us now turn to the analysis of the light and given elements in the post-verbal domain. In table 4-8 above, it is reported that 12 of these elements are contrasted. An example is given in the following:

(37)	We	habbað	anfealdlice	gesæd	eow	nu
	we	have	simply	said	you	now
	þis	godspell,	and	we	willað	
	this	gospel	and	we	will	
	geopnianeow	þæt	andgyt	nu.		
	open	you	the	meaning	now	

“We have simply told you now this gospel, and we will open you the meaning now.”

(coaelhom,ÆHom_3:46.433)

As far as the remaining 15 given and light post-verbal elements in the set are concerned, which amount to circa 12% of all the elements in the post-

verbal domain, I investigated whether other factors can be held responsible for their post-verbal mapping.

In 8 cases the light and given post-verbal element is followed by the heavy second argument of the verb:

(38)	Pa	began	se	preost	swa
	then	began	the	priest	so
	swa	he	God	lufode	
	so	he	God	loved	
	his	gebedu	singan	and	swyðe
	his	prayers	sing	and	much
	fæstan,	and	dægēs	and	nihtes
	fast	and	days	and	nights
	his	Drihten	herian,	and	betwux
	his	Lord	serve,	and	between
	ðam	secgan	ðone	sodan	geleafan
	that	say	the	true	beliefs
	þam	arwurþan	Albane.		
	the	venerable	Albane.		

“Then the priest began, so much as he loved God, to sing his prayers, and fast a lot, and obey God days and nights, and, among these activities, to say the true beliefs to the venerable Albane.

(coalive,ÆLS_ [Alban]:23.4016)

We can argue that in cases like (38), the whole ditransitive construction is interpreted as a heavy complex unit, which is consequently spelled-out in the post-verbal domain. However, recall that the light and given elements in the post-verbal domain constitute circa 12% of all the elements found in post-verbal position. We saw above that the remaining elements are either heavy, or new, or contrasted; I argued that a contrasted element receives extra prominence, therefore, it is not surprising that contrasted elements are spelled-out in post-verbal position. On the other hand, if the grammar was uniformly VO, it is not surprising that we find elements which are not marked for any IS or weight feature but are simply spelled-out in the base position.

4.2.3 V > Aux clauses: quantitative and qualitative analysis

Among our set of main clauses, there are only 6 which present the features specified and the relative order of finite and non-finite verb V >

Aux. The quantitative distribution of constituents in these sentences is given in the following table:

Table 4-9		
V > Aux		
Total number of VP arguments		6
Pre-verbal elements		5
Arguments analysed for their weight		5
	Light	3; 60%
	Heavy	2; 40%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		5
	Given	5; 100%
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		1
Heaviness parameter	Light	-
	Heavy	1; 100%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		1
IS parameter	Given	-
	New	1; 100%

Except for one sentence, the whole content of these clauses represents given information, an example is given below:

- (39) & eall þeos mennisce gebyrd Sancte
 and all this human race Saint
 Iohanne bedyrned is
 John concealed is
 “And all this human race is obscured by Saint John.”
 (coblick,LS_12_[NatJnBapt[BiHom_14]]:167.128.2130)

The enlarged context for this sentence is the following:

[...] & hit cup ist þæt betwux wifa gebyrdum ne wearþ mara mon geworden þonne Iohannes se fulwihtere [...] selfa se wæs butan menniscan fæder fra[m] unwemre fæmnan acenned. Sanctus Iohannes þonne gæþ beforan

eallum oþrum witgan, & ealra oþera heahfædera mægen ge oferstigeþ on þæm apostolican gewælde, & he on his mægenes weorþunga oferswiþ ealra oþerra Godes martira wuldor; & eallum Godes halgum he is sigefæstra & gecorenra. (Morris, 1967:167)

“And it is made known that among those born of women there shall not be a greater man than John the Baptist [excepting only Christ himself], who was without a human father, conceived by immaculate virgin. St. John then will take precedence of all other prophets, and he surpasses the power of all other patriarchs in the apostolical government, and he surpasses in the exaltedness of his power the glory of all God’s other martyrs; and among all God’s Saints he is more victorious and bellowed. And all this natural race (or birth)³⁷ is put out of view by St. John.” (Morris, 1967: 166).

In the context preceding the sentence under examination, in fact, the referent *Saint John* is active, given also the fact that the homily revolves around him. Moreover, the quantified DP also anaphorically points back at the different types of people enumerated in the previous lines; finally, the concept that Saint John is more important than those people, and that he goes before them, is repeated several times. The V > Aux clause, then, contains entirely given information.

In one sentence, however, the meaning expressed by the verb is not explicitly mentioned in the previous context:

- (40) ond þær gen æghwylce geara
 and there again every year
 æteawed bið monig wundor untrumra
 appeared are many wonders sick
 hælo þara ðe ða stowe
 heal those that the place
 mid geleafan secað.
 with beliefs seek.

“And each year there appear many wonders of healing of infirmity to those who seek the place with belief.”

(cobede,Bede_2:13.144.3.1386)

In this sentence, it is at this point of the narration that it is explained that wonders appear in the place under consideration; notice that the new subject of the passive verb, as well as the indirect new object with a relative clause as a post-modifier are found in post-verbal position. This sentence comes from Bede’s ecclesiastical History of the English People, which is a

³⁷ This addition is due to Morris (1967).

translated text. The influence of the Latin translation cannot be excluded for this example.

4.2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the results of a preliminary sample of OE main and subordinate clauses; as was stated in the introduction, this preliminary sample serves as basis for the investigation on EME. The results from the sample of subordinate and main clauses show that the trigger for the OV word order in Aux > V clauses is the givenness of the object and its syntactic weight. The composition of the post-verbal domain is more heterogeneous, one can find in fact both given and new objects, as well as both light and heavy objects. Once the parameters are combined, it emerges how the interface conditions postulated interact in the sample; in fact, given objects in the post-verbal domain are either heavy, or contrasted. This finding is in line with the conflict between the Givenness Transparency and the Prosodic Condition postulated in the framework; in Chapter 2, in fact, I argued that given but heavy objects can have two possible Spell-Out sites, depending on which interface condition is interpreted as relevant. Similarly, a light element is either new, or contrasted. It must be noticed, however, that there is a small percentage of light and given elements which are not contrasted. It was noticed that post-verbal light and given elements can be followed by the second argument of the verb. I argued that in these cases, the whole construction is analysed as heavy, and spelled-out accordingly in the post-verbal domain.

One can notice a stronger restriction on new and heavy objects, when the relative distribution of light, heavy, given and new objects in the pre- and post-verbal domain is analysed. In fact, the data point at the fact that it is the pre-verbal domain which has a restriction on the type of objects which are spelled-out there, and not the other way around. Considering that in the transition from Old English to Early Middle English the *þ/s* system described by van Kemenade and Los (2006; 2018) undergoes a sharp demise, and that the definite determiner is fully grammaticalized at the beginning of the EME period, I will adopt a looser form of the interface conditions postulated in Chapter 2. In fact, I expect that the pre-verbal domain in Early Middle English continues to host given and light elements, but at the same time I expect their distribution in the pre-verbal domain to decrease progressively. This follows if the information structural interface conditions are not transparent anymore, and if all types of constituents, with the exception of pronouns, start to be mapped in the post-verbal position, prompted by the progressive mapping of post-verbal DPs in the post-verbal

position. Heavy and new elements are expected to exhibit a constant preference for the post-verbal domain. An intermediate stage is predicted, where only object pronouns are mapped in pre-verbal position, until also object pronouns are spelled-out in the base position.

Finally, among the sample of subordinate and main clauses selected for the pilot study I found 56 subordinate and 6 main clauses exhibiting V > Aux word order. Following the tentative suggestion in Biberauer and Roberts (2005) that vP movement in these clauses is triggered by defocusing, I investigated the whole information structural content of the sentences; it emerges that most of the subordinate clauses actually consist of entirely given information, whereas the new information of the passage under consideration is provided by the main clause following, or by the post-verbal constituent. In 6 cases, however, the analysis was not as straightforward, but the sentences refer to events happened before the events narrated in the context under examination or referred to information which was given for the referent uttering the sentence in the narrative context. Among the main clauses, 5 out of 6 convey entirely given information. The data are small, but they confirm Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) tentative conclusion that vP movement in these sentences is triggered by defocusing of the VP.

CHAPTER FIVE

ON THE MAPPING OF CONSTITUENTS IN THE EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS

In this chapter the analysis of the EME sample is presented; as was stated in Chapter 2, all the main and subordinate clauses containing a subject, an object and a complex verbal form were extracted from the PPCME2 files of the Kentish Homilies (henceforth KH), the Kentish Sermons (henceforth KS), the South East Midlands texts of the Trinity Homilies and Vices and Virtues (henceforth under the collective label South East Midlands, henceforth SEM, cf. below), the Lambeth Homilies (henceforth LH), the Peterborough Chronicle (henceforth PC) and The Life and Passion of Saint Juliana, Holy Maidenhood and the Guardianship of the Soul (under the collective label of the Katherine Group, henceforth KG, cf. below); finally, a sample of sentences was also extracted from the poetic text of the Ormulum, which will be analysed in a separate section. The sentences extracted present predominantly Aux > V order, but when V > Aux order with the given features is found, the sentences are analysed in a separate section.

The predictions laid out in Chapter 4 are repeated here. The data collected from the OE sample and the investigation by Struik and van Kemenade (2018) show that the pre-verbal domain hosts predominantly given objects; however, given objects are not exclusively spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain. In fact, they are also found in the post-verbal domain, which presents a heterogeneous distribution. Therefore, it is expected that the condition leading given objects to be spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain becomes increasingly less transparent in the transition from OE to ME. It must also be noticed that light non-pronominal elements are also predominantly spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain, which also hosts light pronouns (cf. Chapter 6 for an in-depth investigation on object pronouns).

Following these observations, it was argued in Chapter 4 that we expect an intermediate stage, in which the condition relevant to the Spell-Out in the pre-verbal domain is the prosodic one, since we expect definite DPs to be increasingly spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, due to their weight.

This intermediate stage predates the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order, in which both light and heavy objects, including pronouns, are spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

The analysis is carried out as for the OE sample; the direct, indirect and prepositional objects of verbs are assigned an IS value and a weight value according to the methodology described in Chapter 2. Given the grammaticalization scenario provided in Chapter 3, DPs with a definite determiner are analysed as heavy.

From the analysis of the data, it becomes apparent that the texts can be divided into two groups: the first group, comprising the KH, the SEM texts and the LH, presents a distribution which is similar to the pilot sample of OE clauses illustrated in Chapter 4; the second group comprises the PC, the KG and the KS. The texts in the second group present an innovative syntax, since it will be seen that most verbal arguments – including object pronouns (cf. Chapter 6) – are predominantly spelled-out in the post-verbal domain. The *Ormulum* is analysed separately, since it is a poetic text and it will be demonstrated that the metric composition of the verses has an impact on the surface word order found in the sentences under investigation (cf. below and Section 5.5). Given that the two groups delineated here are not only similar in their distribution of constituents, but present a similar transmission history, in Section 5.1 information of the whole EME sample is provided. Section 5.2 presents the analysis of the first group of texts, whereas Section 5.3 deals with the second group of texts. Section 5.4 illustrates *V > Aux* clauses, whereas Section 5.5 presents the mapping of constituents in the *Ormulum* and Section 5.6 concludes the chapter.

5.1 The sample

In Chapter 2 the EME sample was presented briefly; in the Appendix the reader can find a table presenting the texts according to their dialectal provenance and their date of composition. In the following, the transmission history of the texts selected is presented; in fact, some of the texts were directly composed in the EME period, whereas others are manipulations of probably older material or translations.

The texts representing the Kentish dialect are the Kentish Homilies and the Kentish Sermons; the KH consist of two homilies, one of which defined as the “earliest ME document” (cf. Clarke in the PPCME2 information); their composition is dated between 1108-1122 (or 1108-1114, cf. Förster in PPCME2 text information). In the PPCME2 file of this text, it is remarked that the *Sermo in festis Sancte Marie Uirginis* is a translation from a Latin Sermon by the Bishop of Rochester, whereas the second homily is a

translation of an excerpt from the *Elucidarius* of Honorius of Autun. Whereas most of the other texts in the collection are copies of Ælfric's *Sermones catholici*, these two texts are direct translations into Middle English. More specifically, Förster claims that the two Homilies, or excerpts, under discussion were composed almost certainly in the first three decades of the 12th century. As far as the nature of the translation is concerned, Förster claims that the *Sermo in festis Sancte Marie Uirginis* represents a literal translation, which is however not always free from errors and not always certain, but he does not expand further this comment. A similar statement is made for the two fragments of the *Elucidarium*, which he defines as a literal OE translation. However, Förster stresses the importance of the whole manuscript and of these two texts in particular, as one of the first testimonies of the language spoken in England at the beginning of the 12th century, together with the Peterborough Chronicle.

Despite the fact that it is a translation, the text was included in the sample, given its historical and linguistic value stressed by Förster. Moreover, the date of composition is similar to the one of the Peterborough Chronicle, which renders the text interesting for the comparison. Finally, the text is located in a Southern area (cf. also Allen 2016), probably in the Midlands, which renders it also comparable to the Trinity Homilies and Vices and Virtues.

The KS were composed later. The manuscript is dated around 1275, but they are thought of having been composed before 1250 A.D; they were translated from the French; Hall (1972) writes that the influence from the source text is remarkable and has bearings also on the EME syntax. As far as it was possible, the influence of the French version was controlled for. According to Hall, moreover, the scribe was from the South-East Midlands area, and some South-East Midlands forms can be found in the text. The problem related to the comparison with the French source is that Hall only provides one entire French Sermon which can be compared with the Middle English translation. For the remaining sermons, Hall provides some verses as footnote, which however do not cover all the verses in the translation. From a narrow scrutiny of the translation, it can be noticed that the Middle English text follows the word order in the French source, but there are also Middle English additions to the verses. Moreover, there are some word orders which deviate from the French source,³⁸ cf. for instance:

³⁸ For the source, cf. Hall (1972) and the PPCME2 website, philological information, texts by date, Kentish Sermons, French and English versions of the Kentish Homilies.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----|--------|-----------|------------|
| (1) | F: | et | si | li | distrent |
| | | and | so | him | said |
| | E: | and | seiden | to | him |
| | | and | said | to | him |

“and [they] told him”

(PPCME2, Kentish Sermons aligned, v. 10)

As we can notice from these examples, the relative order of object pronoun and verb is opposite in the French and Early Middle English translation respectively; furthermore, in the EME translation we find a PP governing an object pronoun instead of an indirect object pronoun as in the French original.

In other cases, the EME translation presents the same word order as the source text (the texts are presented side by side for a better comparison):

(2)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| F: ‘sire, sauvez nos / | E: ‘Lord, sauve <i>us</i> / |
| Lord save us | Lord save <i>us</i> |
| 51 ke nus ne perisons ”/ | 51 <i>þet we ne perissi</i> / |
| that we not perish | that we not perish |
| 52 et que il nus | 52 and <i>þet he us</i> |
| andthat he us | and that he us |
| delivre de tuz malz/ | delivri of alle evils/ |
| deliver from all evils | deliver from all evils |
| 53 et qu’ il nus | 53 and <i>þet ha yef us</i> / |
| and that he us | and that he give us |
| doinst tot bien et | 54 <i>swiche werkes to done</i> |
| give all good and | such works to do |
| nus dont/ | in <i>þise wordle,</i> |
| us give | in this world |
| 54 tels ovres a faere | |
| such works to do | |
| en cest siècle/ | |
| in this World | |

“ ‘Lord, save us, so that we do not perish.’ And that he delivers us from all evils, and that he gives us such good works to do in this world.”

(PPCME2, Kentish Sermons aligned, vv. 50-54)

As one can observe from these verses, the order in the verses 50 and 52 is the same, but verse 53 diverges again. Given the fact that the text is part

of the Kentish area, it was included in the investigation since it is interesting for the comparison with the text of the KH.

The texts of the South East Midlands dialect are the treatise *Vices and Virtues* and the collection of homilies referred to as *Trinity Homilies*. The text of the *Trinity Homilies* is dated around 1225 and shares five sermons with the *Lambeth Homilies*;³⁹ Hall identifies the South East Midlands on the borders with Kent as composition area for this text. Morris (1969) edited both the *Lambeth* as well as the *Trinity Homilies*; he observes that the *Lambeth* manuscript is probably older than the *Trinity* manuscript, moreover, a part from the five shared sermons, the *Trinity Homilies* do not seem to be copies of older material from Ælfric, but rather translations of Latin Homilies, even though some of them have the appearance of original compositions. Morris moreover adds that he has little doubt that they were written before 1200 A.D., ascribing their apparently more modern peculiarities to the dialect of the scribe. The manuscript represents, however, a transcription, modernisation and adaptation of probably older material, which was written in the Southern or West-Saxon dialect.

According to Hall, the text of *Vices and Virtues* was composed in the northern border of the South-East Midlands area, probably from a copy from the Middle or Western South. This version was copied later with little alteration; therefore, Hall (1972) claims that the language of *Vices and Virtues* is older than the one spoken at the time the copy was made. Hall, however, adds that occasional OE forms are to be ascribed to the familiarity of the scribe with the OE language, rather than to an OE original.

The text of the *Lambeth Homilies* represents a collection of homilies modernising OE material. Even though this work is classified in the PPCME2 under the West Midlands dialect, it will be treated separately from the KG, giving the philological considerations reported in Hall (1972) and Sisam (1959). Hall, in fact, classifies the grammar of the work as Southern, whereas Sisam argues that the language is stratified and is the result of various manipulations of composite material. Hall, moreover, identifies Mercian forms shared also by the texts of the Katherine Group; Kroch and Taylor (2000) report that these homilies have been localized to the same West Midlands area as the KG. According to Morris, this text enables the scholar to trace the various changes that took place during the latter half of the 12th century; moreover, the text presents innovations with respect to the older original from which it was copied, among which the definite article (Morris 1969). These Homilies are divided into two groups, the larger of

³⁹ In our results, however, there are no sentences overlapping between the *Trinity Homilies* and the *Lambeth Homilies*.

which (MX1, cf. Table 3 in the Appendix) consists of adaptations of older material from the 11th century.

The Peterborough Chronicle was copied and composed in the monastery of Peterborough (North- East Midlands), around 1150. The EME part of texts starts with the so-called Continuations of Peterborough, starting from year entry 1121. According to Clark (1970), the syntax of this work displays all the changes which would then characterise ME. The style is different from the homiletic compositions, since the work focuses on the facts happening around the monastery of Peterborough, with space for the comments of the compiler.

The texts of Holy Maidenhood, the Guardianship of the Soul and the text of Saint Juliana come from the so-called Katherine Group, a collection of texts whose central theme is that of virginity. The texts are dated between 1200-1225; the language used in this group of texts was defined by D'Ardenne (1961) as a "living local speech, with a relatively unbroken spoken tradition from Old English"; it was the language of the English gentry, impoverished by the Norman Conquest. The style of the KG can be defined as rhythmic prose, descending from the work of Ælfric (in style, but not as a copy of it). Whereas D'Ardenne strongly stresses the independency of these texts from both the Norman and Scandinavian influence, suggesting that the literary language wanted to mark the independency from the invading settlers, whose influence was less strong in the West than in the East of England, Huber and Robertson (2016) note that the works were produced in an area of Scandinavian settlement in the Welsh Marshes. However, they too stress that the work represents the linguistic transition between Anglo-Saxon and later stages of Middle English, marking a literary borderland. D'Ardenne (1961) moreover adds that the literary idiom in this work is more connected to the South, rather to the East or to the North, as far as its later developments are concerned.

Huber and Robertson (2016) finally point out that the literary language used is not to be considered a standard unitary language, but rather the product of different West Midlands dialects, which are themselves the product of a very composite language community, where influences of five languages can be found: English, French, Scandinavian, Welsh and Latin.

The text of the Ormulum is an incomplete poem written by Orm, a monk who probably lived in the 12th century; the area in which the text was written is the North-East Midlands. The poem is an alternation of extremely regular verses of 15 syllables, divided into two semi-verses of eight and seven syllables respectively. Minkova (1996, in Trips 2002) reports that the verses have a regular alternation of weak and strong syllables; the alternation of weak and strong beats is the following: x̄x̄x̄x̄x̄x̄ || x̄x̄x̄x̄x̄ (cf. also Hall

1972), where \acute{x} indicates an accented syllable. As we can see, the octasyllabic semi-verse ends with a strong beat, whereas the fifteenth syllable (the last syllable in the heptasyllabic semi-verse) is metrically weak. From the text of the *Ormulum*, a representative sample of main and subordinate clauses was selected.⁴⁰

The survey on the transmission history, dialect and linguistic features about these texts let us wonder whether characteristics other than the mere dialectal provenance of the texts have to be taken into account when examining their syntax. It will be shown in this chapter, in fact, that the texts which are manipulations or translations of older materials present a more conservative syntax with respect to the texts which were directly composed in the EME period.

5.2 Texts presenting a conservative syntax

In this section, the texts presenting a conservative distribution of constituents are analysed; with the label *conservative* it is meant that the distribution of constituents in these texts is similar to the distribution of constituents in the OE sample presented in Chapter 4. As commented upon in Section 5.1, these texts represent manipulations of older materials in various forms and sometimes present an archaic vocabulary.

In the following, the quantitative distribution of constituents in the main and subordinate clauses of these texts is presented, followed by the analysis of the data. Some of these texts also present $V > \text{Aux}$ clauses; these will be examined in Section 5.4.

5.2.1 Distribution of constituents in $\text{Aux} > V$ clauses

The following tables present the quantitative data from the $\text{Aux} > V$ clauses of the texts in the first group; main clauses are presented first, followed by the subordinate clauses. A brief commentary follows the tables from each text separately.

⁴⁰ The sample was extracted by choosing one every three sentences from the result files containing all sentences with the features specified for the search, namely a finite and non-finite verbal form, a subject and at least one object.

Table 5-1: KH		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Aux > V			
Total number of VP arguments		16	10
Pre-verbal elements		5	6
Arguments analysed for their weight		5	6
	Light	4; 80%	5; 83.3%
	Heavy	1; 20%	1; 16.7%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		3	5
	Given	3; 100%	4; 80%
	New	-	1; 20%
Post-verbal elements		11	
Arguments analysed for their weight		11	4
Heaviness parameter	Light	5; 45.4%	1; 33.3%
	Heavy	6; 54.6%	3; 66.7%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		9	3
IS parameter	Given	6; 66.7%	3; 100%
	New	3; 33.3%	-

As is evident from this table, the KH present a limited amount of data relevant to our investigation; this comes as no surprise, since the text only comprises two homilies (cf. Section 5.1). However, even with little data, this text presents a distribution which is very similar to the OE sample: the pre-verbal domain almost exclusively hosts given and light elements, whereas the post-verbal domain shows a mixed composition.⁴¹

⁴¹ Notice, however, that the post-verbal domain of the subordinate clauses of the Kentish Homilies hosts mostly heavy elements.

Table 5-2: SEM		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Aux > V			
Total number of VP arguments		205	143
Pre-verbal elements		45	60
Arguments analysed for their weight		45	60
	Light	37; 82.3%	43; 71.7%
	Heavy	8; 17.7%	17; 28.3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		29	49
	Given	24; 82.7%	45 ⁴² ; 91.8%
	New	5; 17.3%	4; 8.2%
Post-verbal elements			83
Arguments analysed for their weight		160	83
	Light	71; 44.4%	31; 37.4%
	Heavy	89; 55.6%	52; 62.6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		133	71
	Given	68; 51.2%	40; 56.3%
	New	65; 48.8%	31; 43.7%

The extensive sample of the SEM texts confirms the picture delineated from the OE sample and the KH: whereas the post-verbal domain shows a heterogeneous distribution, the pre-verbal domain presents a majority of given elements, most of which are light.

⁴² It must be noticed that among the given and pre-verbal elements, 5 are contrasted. These all come from the text of *Vices and Virtues*.

Table 5-3: LH		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Arguments		134	104
Pre-verbal elements		27	30
Arguments analysed for their weight		27	30
	Light	18; 66.7%	20; 66.7%
	Heavy	9; 33.3%	10; 33.3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		25	26
	Given	17; 68%	25; 96.2%
	New	8; 32%	1; 3.8%
Post-verbal elements		107	74
Arguments analysed for their weight		107	74
	Light	46; 42.9%	38; 51.4%
	Heavy	61; 57.1%	36; 48.6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		92	68
	Given	54; 58.7%	39; 57.4%
	New	38; 41.3%	29; 42.6%

Whereas the subordinate clauses pattern with the texts presented in Tables 5-1;2, in the main clauses of the LH only 68% of the pre-verbal elements are given. The distribution of given elements in the main clauses of the LH sample diverges both from the OE sample as well as from the ME texts illustrated above. However, it will be shown below that this distribution is due to one specific homily contained in the text.

From the data presented above, one can notice that the texts under investigation present a distribution of constituents which is similar to the one found for the OE texts; however, some differences can be noticed, when one observes the relative distribution of given, new, light and heavy objects across the pre- and post-verbal domains.

For comparison, Tables 4-7 and 4-3 from Chapter 4 are presented in the following:

Table 4-7 OE main clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	117	58; 49.6%	59; 50.4%
	All heavy elements	98	23; 23.5%	75; 76.5%
IS value				
	All given elements	119	64; 53.8%	55; 46.2%
	All new elements	78	13; 16.6%	65; 83.3%

Table 4-3 OE subordinate clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	59	29; 49.2%	30; 50.8%
	All heavy elements	42	9; 21.4%	33; 78.6%
IS value				
	All given elements	54	28; 51.8%	26; 48.2%
	All new elements	24	1; 4.2%	23; 95.8%

As observed in Chapter 4, heavy and new elements are rarely found in the pre-verbal domain, whereas light and given objects are distributed almost equally across the domains.

The following table presents the distribution of given, new, light and heavy constituents across the pre- and post-verbal domains of the main clauses in the texts under investigation in this section:

Table 5-4: main clauses of the sample		KS		SEM texts		LH	
Arguments		Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	4; 44.4%	5; 55.6%	37; 34.3%	71; 65.7%	18; 28.2%	46; 71.8%
	All heavy elements	1; 14.3%	6; 85.7%	8; 8.3%	89; 91.7%	9; 12.8%	61; 87.2%
IS value							
	All given elements	3; 33.3%	6; 66.7%	24; 26.1%	68; 73.9%	17; 23.9%	54; 76.1%
	All new elements	0%	3; 100%	5; 7.2%	65; 92.8%	8; 17.4%	38; 82.6%

The following table presents the results obtained for the subordinate clauses:

Table 5-5: Subordinate clauses of the sample		KS		SEM texts		LH	
Arguments		Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	5; 71.4%	1; 28.6%	43; 58.1%	31; 41.9%	20; 34.5%	38; 65.5%
	All heavy elements	1; 25%	3; 75%	17; 24.6%	52; 75.4%	10; 21.8%	36; 78.2%
IS value							
	All given elements	4; 57.2%	3; 42.8%	45; 52.9%	40; 47.1%	25; 39.1%	39; 60.9%
	All new elements	1; 100%	0; 0%	4; 11.4%	31; 88.6%	1; 3.3%	29; 96.7%

We can notice, in fact, that, whereas heavy and new elements continue to show a restricted distribution in the pre-verbal domain, the amount of pre-verbal light and given constituents is lower with respect to the OE sample (except for the KH). Moreover, there is an asymmetry between main and

subordinate clauses, with subordinate clauses presenting a higher amount of given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain with respect to the main clauses.

In the following, given and light pre-verbal elements, as well as heavy and new post-verbal constituents are exemplified.

5.2.2 Qualitative analysis of Aux > V clauses

We will start with the distribution of given and light pre-verbal elements in the main clauses:

- (3) Ne sculen namare þa Judees **hire**
 Not shall no more the Jews her
Sune swingan ne cwellen.
 son flog nor kill.

“And the Jews shall neither flog nor kill her son anymore.”

(CMKENTHO-M1,138.127)

The referent of the left branching possessive phrase is Christ, referred to as *Mary’s son*. This referent is part of the encyclopaedic knowledge of the audience of the text and is moreover active in the context in which the sentence is embedded.

- (4) and gief we wise ben; we
 and if we wise are we
 mugen mid one worde þese þrie
 may with one word these three
þing bidden [...] **þing**
 things ask

“And if we are wise, we may ask with one word these three things.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,27.361)

In this example, the three things to which the DP refers to are enumerated in the context preceding the sentence, which is given below:

Al hit is cleped bred; þat is mannes bileue; ac naðeles bred bitocneð þre bileues. On is þe mete. þe þe lichame brukeð and bilieuð. Ðat oðer is godes word. þat is þe sowle fode. þe þridde is for mete þat ilch man agh mid him to leden. þan he sal of þesse liue faren. þat is cristes holie licame. þe giueð alle men eche lif. and blisse in heuene.

It is all called bread, that is man’s food; but nevertheless bread denotes three kinds of food: the first is meat [...] which the body enjoys and lives by; the second is God’s word, that is the soul’s food; the third is the meat that each

man ought to take with him when he shall depart this life, that is, Christ's holy body which giveth all men eternal life and bliss in heaven.

(Morris 1868:26-27)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------|-----------|----------|-----|--------|
| (5) | [...] | on | eower | iþulde | ge | habbed |
| | [...] | on | your | patience | you | have |
| | eower | saulen | ihaldene. | | | |
| | your | souls | held | | | |

“In your patience you have preserved your souls.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,105.975)

In example (5), we can see a light and given pre-verbal entity which constitutes inalienable possession. Examples (6-8) show the distribution of new constituents in the post-verbal domain of the main clauses:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--------------|------------|-------|------------|
| (6) | [...] | he | mahte | iseon | ane |
| | [...] | he | might | see | a |
| | berninde | glede | þet | hine | al |
| | burning | ember | that | him | all |
| | for-bernað | | þurut | to | cole. |
| | burns | | throughout | to | coal |

“He might see a burning ember, which burns him all to coal.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,27.314)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------|--------|-----------|----------|
| (7) | & | for | þære | fægere | wifmanna |
| | and | for | the | beautiful | women |
| | lufen | heo | sculen | drigen | |
| | love | they | shall | suffer | |
| | brynstanes | stænc | on | helle | |
| | sulphurous | stench | in | hell | |

“Anf for the love of the beautiful women they shall suffer sulphurous stench in hell.”

(CMKENTHO-M1,143.253)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| (8) | and | elizabeth | þi | spuse | shal | hauen |
| | and | Elizabeth | your | bride | shall | have |
| | a | cnauechild | | | | |
| | a | male-child | | | | |

“And your bride Elizabeth shall have a boy.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,135.1808)

The last example is embedded within the direct discourse between the Archangel and Zacharias; at this point in the narration, the angel announces

to Zacharias that his wife is going to have a male child. The constituent is accordingly analysed as new.

Finally, examples of a given pre-verbal element and of a new post-verbal element from the subordinate clauses are presented in the following:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|----------|------------|--------------|---------|-------|
| (9) | Ortrowe | of | agene | mihte | letted | þe |
| | Distrust | of | own | power | hinders | the |
| | mannes | shrifte. | þe | þinched | þat | he |
| | man's | shrift | that | thinks | that | he |
| | ne | mihte | his | sinne | forlete | [...] |
| | not | might | his | sins | leave | |

“The distrust of one’s own power hinders one’s shrift, who thinks that he is not able to leave his sins.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,73.1017)

In this example, the homily revolves around the importance of confessing one’s sins; the reference of sins is active at this point in the homily, cf. the context in which the sentence under examination is embedded:

“Drede letted þe mannes shrifte. þe ne dar his sinnes seien þe prest. leste hit uttere come þat hie tweien witen. and swiche men blameð þe prophete on þe sealm boc þer he seið.”

“Fear hindereth the man’s shrift who dare not tell the priest his sins, lest what they two know should come out; and the prophet blameth such a man in the psalter book where he says: [...]”

(Morris 1868: 71-72)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------|--------|------------|--------------|------------|
| (10) | hit | itimode | efter | noes | flode | þet |
| | it | happened | after | Noah’s | flood | that |
| | eontas | walden | areran | ane | buruh | and |
| | giants | wanted | erect | a | city | and |
| | anne | stepel | swa | hehne; | þet | his |
| | a | tower | so | high | that | his |
| | Rof | astige | up | to | heofene. | |
| | roof | ascend | up | to | heaven | |

“It happened after Noah’s flood, that giants wanted to erect a city, and a tower so high, that its roof ascended up to heaven.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,93.814)

Whereas the distribution of constituents largely confirms the expectations laid out in Chapter 4, it must be noticed that elements deviating from our

predictions can be found– albeit in a low percentage. These include heavy and/or new elements in the pre-verbal domain. In the following, the unexpected new and/or heavy elements in the pre-verbal domain are discussed.

In general, the examples presenting a new element in the pre-verbal domain can be linked to religious beliefs, which can be supposed of being more accessible for the authors and the audience of the texts under consideration.

- (11) bute we turnen to gode
 unless we turn to God
 anradliche he wile **his** **swerd**
 firmly he will his sword
 dragen; þat is his wrake.
 draw that is his vengeance

“Unless we turn to God firmly, he will draw his word, which is his vengeance.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,61.837)

In the context in which this sentence is embedded, there is no previous mention to God’s vengeance or to God’s sword, which is introduced at this point in the narration and is labelled as new information accordingly. In fact, the element *sword* cannot be inferred from the possessor *God*, since it does not constitute a case of inalienable possession. However, this is a quotation from the Bible (Ezechiel, 21); it can be argued that the image of the sword of God, even though it does not constitute inalienable possession, is part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by the authors and the audience of this text.

- (12) and þere for seide þe
 and there- fore said the
 heouenliche larþew. Ne sculen
 heavenly teacher Not shall
 ge nawiht **gimstones** leggen swinen
 you not gemstones lay swine
 to mete.
 to meat

“And therefore the heavenly teacher said: ‘You shall not lay gemstones to swine for meat.’”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,135.1365)

In this example, we find a quotation from the Gospel of Matthew, 7:6. The order of the Middle English sentence goes against the Latin quotation:

“Vnde diuina scriptura. **Nolite spargere Margaritas ante porcos.**”

(Morris 1969:135)

The reference of the direct object *gemstones* is introduced at this point, but it can be argued to be part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by the audience of the homilies.

As can be evinced from these examples, the constituents in question were labelled as new, since there is no direct mention in the preceding context; however, it can be argued that they were more accessible for the author of a homiletic text, as is the case with the texts belonging to the group under discussion. The remaining deviating heavy elements in the pre-verbal domain are given, as in (13) where the heavy (since definite) DP refers to an entity belonging to our encyclopaedic knowledge (but cf. below for other exceptions):

(13)	Hier	ðe	lærð	godd	ðat	tu
	Hier	you	teaches	God	that	you
	scule	ðe	woreld	forlaten	ðine	
	shall	the	world	leave	your	
	aġenes	þankes	[...]			
	own	will	[...]			

“Here God teaches you that you shall leave the world on your own will.”
(CMVICES1-M1,111.1320)

The Lambeth Homilies deserve a closer inspection, since in Table 5-3 above it emerges that in the main clauses, circa 68% of the pre-verbal constituents are given; this distribution is in contrast with the OE sample and the remaining texts in this group, as well as with the framework introduced in Chapter 2.

It has to be noticed that the text of the LH is distributed across two periods, MX1 and M1 (cf. Table 3 in the Appendix and the PPCME2 text information); after dividing the findings between the two periods, it emerges that the constituents deviating from the framework are all found in the MX1 part of the text and particularly in a single homily (*Dominica V Quadragesimæ*) which deals with the duties a good king has to perform, one example is given below:

- (14) for he scal wissian mid wisdom
 for he shall direct with wisdom
 his folke and **unriht** aleggen and
 his people and injustice condemn and
pene **ileaue** areren.
 the belief exalt

“For he shall direct his people with wisdom, and condemn injustice, and exalt the belief.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,115.1110)

The reference of *injustice* or *faith* is not mentioned explicitly in the preceding context but are nevertheless mapped in pre-verbal position. It turns out that the remaining deviating constituents in the LH belong to this very passage in the MX1 part of the LH.

Summarising, the quantitative and qualitative scrutiny of the texts under examination in this section shows that there is a continuity with respect to the OE period: the pre-verbal domain hosts predominantly given and light objects. If a heavy element is pre-verbal, it has however given IS value. From the scrutiny of the pre-verbal constituents deviating from the theoretical model proposed, it emerges that the denote entities linked to religious beliefs, which can be argued to be more accessible to the author and prospected audience of the texts under consideration. Finally, the text of the LH presents the highest amount of deviation from the model in this set of texts, but the deviation is to be attributed to a single homily in the MX1 part of the text. Abstracting away from this particular case, we can conclude that the pre-verbal domain of these texts is consistent with the framework postulated. Recall, moreover, that in the SEM and in the LH main clauses, the distribution of light and given elements across the pre- and post-verbal domain shows a strong drift towards the post-verbal domain. This is in line with the prospected language change scenario, since it is predicted that the presence of given elements in the post-verbal domain, which can already be detected in the OE period, would blur the G-Transparency condition in favour of the Prosodic and the Preference for the Higher Copy conditions, leading to the pre-verbal Spell-Out of light elements and to the post-verbal Spell-Out of DPs, until VO is eventually reanalysed as the basic word order.

As illustrated in Chapter 4, the post-verbal domain presents a heterogeneous distribution; the fact that it is the pre-verbal domain which hosts a very specific type of elements, namely given and/or light, whereas the post-verbal domain does not show a marked preference, led to the conclusion that it is the G-Transparency condition which regulates Spell-

Out in OE, whereas the F-Transparency condition does not seem to influence Spell-Out. However, it is worth looking at the interaction of the IS and the prosodic parameters in the post-verbal domain.

It emerges in fact that there might be other conditions at play to drive the post-verbal spell-out of given and/or light constituents. In the following, only the data from the SEM and the LH are treated, since the sample of the KH has too little data to draw any conclusive evidence.

Table 5-6: interaction of the parameters in the SEM texts		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Given constituents		68	40
	Of which light and contrasted	4	4
	Of which light	27	8
	Of which heavy and contrasted	6	7
	Of which heavy	31	21
New constituents		65	31
	Of which light and contrasted	3	1
	Of which light	23	12
	Of which heavy and contrasted	5	2
	Of which heavy	34	16

Table 5-7: interaction of the parameters in the LH		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Given constituents		54	39
	Of which light and contrasted	9	1
	Of which light	18	19
	Of which heavy and contrasted	6	2
	Of which heavy	21	17
New constituents		38	29
	Of which light and contrasted	3	2
	Of which light	12	13
	Of which heavy and contrasted	0	1
	Of which heavy	23	13

These figures show that, when the parameters are combined, the number of light and post-verbal elements is partially justified by the fact that they either represent new information (60 cases overall), whereas in further 18 cases they represent given information, but they are contrasted. As far as the given and post-verbal elements are concerned, in 90 cases they are heavy and in further 21 cases heavy and contrasted, and in the remaining cases they are light but contrasted. This reduces the number of light and given non-contrastive elements in the post-verbal domain to 72 out of 201 post-verbal constituents in the main and subordinate clauses of the SEM and LH texts (35.8%).

It can be noticed that different factors are at play in the post-verbal domain. One is prosodic weight: we saw in Tables 5-1;3 above, that heavy elements have a restricted distribution in the post-verbal domain; this may have facilitated the post-verbal Spell-Out of given and heavy elements. The other is of information structural nature: contrastive focus accent, in fact, renders a phonologic word more prominent in the intonational phrase, regardless of its IS value. This would also prompt the post-verbal Spell-Out of given constituents. However, the amount of 35.8% of given and light elements, which do not present marked features, such as contrastive focus, is an indication of the progressive Spell-Out of light and given non-pronominal constituents in the post-verbal domain.

5.3 The innovative group

In this section, the results from the more innovative group are presented; the section is organized as the preceding one, with the quantitative data presented first, and the discussion of the examples in the second part. In this group of texts, it will be seen that there is a higher amount of post-verbal elements, and in Chapter 6 it will be shown that object pronouns are found in a higher number in post-verbal position, in contrast to the distribution in the more conservative group.

5.3.1 Quantitative distribution of constituents in the Aux > V clauses

Table 5-8: KS		Main clauses	Subordinate
Aux > V			
Total number of VP arguments		10	14
Pre-verbal elements		1	0
Arguments analysed for their weight		1	0
	Light	1; 100%	-
	Heavy	0; 0%	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value		1	
	Given	1; 100%	-
	New	0; 0%	-
Post-verbal elements			14
Arguments analysed for their weight		9	14
	Light	1; 11.2%	4; 28.5%%
	Heavy	8; 88.8%	10; 71.5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		9	14
	Given	8; 88.8%	13; 92.8%
	New	1; 11.2%	1; 7.2%

In the Kentish Sermons all types of objects are mapped in post-verbal position, with the exception of object pronouns. The IS and the Prosodic Conditions do not seem to play a role as regards non-pronominal objects; therefore, we can conclude that the post-verbal Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects is the default option in this text. This piece of evidence is compatible with our framework, since a residual stage is predicted, where only object pronouns are mapped in pre-verbal position, due to their syntactic and intrinsic information structural properties.

Table 5-9: PC		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Arguments		8	41
Pre-verbal elements		0	1
Arguments analysed for their weight			1
	Light	-	1
	Heavy	-	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value			1
	Given	-	1
	New	-	-
Post-verbal elements		8	40
Arguments analysed for their weight		8	40
	Light	2; 25%	14; 35%
	Heavy	6; 75%	26; 65%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		5	35
	Given	3; 60%	24; 68.6%
	New	2; 40%	11; 31.4%

The constituents mapped in the post-verbal domain of the subordinate clauses in the text of the Peterborough Chronicle have a diverse composition, even though the majority of them are heavy elements. Moreover, the only argument spelled-out in pre-verbal position is light and constitutes given information. Furthermore, in the main clauses, the

arguments of verbs are all mapped in post-verbal position; in other words, the only objects of verbs which are residually mapped in pre-verbal position consist predominantly of object pronouns and light and given elements (cf. also Chapter 6).

Table 5-10: KG		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Arguments		66	31
Pre-verbal elements		13	11
Arguments analysed for their weight			11
	Light	9; 69.2%	8; 66.7%
	Heavy	4; 30.8%	3; 33.3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		7	10
	Given	7; 100%	10; 100%
	New	-	-
Post-verbal elements		53	20
Arguments analysed for their weight		53	20
	Light	22; 41.5%	10; 50%
	Heavy	31; 58.5%	10; 50%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		49	18
	Given	27; 55.1%	10; 55.5%
	New	22; 44.9%	8; 44.5%

With respect to the two texts illustrated above, the Katherine Group displays a higher amount of pre-verbal elements, however, it will be seen in Chapter 6 that this text displays the highest amount of post-verbal pronouns. The pre-verbal elements are predominantly light and given and I will show below that the remaining pre-verbal elements are probably due to stylistic effects.

In the following, the distribution of light, heavy, given and new elements across the pre- and post-verbal domain is given:

Table 5-11: Main clauses of the sample		KS		PC		KG	
Arguments		Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	1; 50%	1; 50%	0; 0%	2; 100%	9; 29.1%	22; 70.9%
	All heavy elements	0;0%	8; 100%	0; 0%	6; 100%	4; 11.4%	31; 88.6%
IS value							
	All given elements	1; 11.2%	8; 88.8%	0; 0%	3; 100%	7; 27.5%	27; 72.5%
	All new elements	0; 0%	1; 100%	0; 0%	2; 100%	0; 0%	22; 100%

As mentioned above, the Katherine Group displays the highest amount of pre-verbal elements in this set; one can observe, however, that the post-verbal elements constitute 70-80% of the total number of constituents. The subordinate clauses of the latter group of texts display, however, a higher amount of pre-verbal elements:

Table 5-12: Subordinate clauses of the sample		KS		PC		KG	
Arguments		Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	0; 0%	4; 100%	1; 6.7%	14; 93.3%	8; 44.4%	10; 55.5%
	All heavy elements	0; 0%	10; 100%	0; 0%	26; 100%	3; 23.1%	10; 76.9%
IS value							
	All given elements	0; 0%	13; 100%	1; 4%	24; 96%	10; 50%	10; 50%
	All new Elements	0; 0%	1; 100%	0; 0%	11; 100%	0; 0%	8; 100%

5.3.2 Qualitative analysis of constituents in the Aux > V clauses

Turning to the qualitative analysis of the constituents, we saw in Table 5-8 that the Kentish Sermons almost exclusively present post-verbal elements; the only pre-verbal element is exemplified in the following:

- (15) for Man mai **longe** **liues**
 for one may long life
 wene
 anticipate

“For one may think he lives a long life.”

(CMKENTSE-M2,222.218)

In the context preceding this sentence, the different ages of human people are discussed, and the old age is mentioned; the concept of *long life* is active at this point in the narration. This example, however, is a quotation from the short poem named *Death's Wither Clench*, cf.:

Man mei **longe him liues** wene
 Ac ofte him liyet þe wreinch
 “One may think he lives a long life, but often him belies the
 wrench.”
 (Maidstone A.13, “Man mei longe”)⁴³

The sentence in the Kentish Sermons continues in fact as follows:

[...] and ofte him legheþ se wrench.
 “[...]and often him belies the wrench.”

(Hall 1972: 222)

We have to be cautious, then, when handling the constituent in this example, since the pre-verbal Spell-Out of this constituent may have nothing to do with the interface conditions we have postulated but is rather influenced by the position of the corresponding constituent in the poem quoted.

The only pre-verbal element in the Peterborough Chronicle is the following:

⁴³ See Gorst (2013).

(16)	[...]	&	aðes	swor	on
	[...]	and	oaths	swore	on
	halidom	þet,	gif	he	moste
	sacred relic	that	if	he	must
	Engleland	secen,	þet	he	scolde
	England	seek	that	he	shall
	begeton	hem	done	mynstre	of
	give	them	the	minster	of
	Burch,	[...].			
	Peterborough		[...].		

“And he swore oaths on a sacred relic, that, if he could seek England, he shall give them the minster of Peterborough.”

(CMPETERB-M1,53.363)

As can be seen from the example, the direct object is light, since it is composed of a bare noun, and constitutes given information; not only is the denotation of *England* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle part of the encyclopaedic knowledge of the audience, but it is also given for the addressee of the utterance in the indirect discourse context. Moreover, we know from the context that the abbot who utters this sentence had been abbot in Peterborough, therefore, the reference of England is activated. The remaining constituents in this text are mapped in the post-verbal position.

Given that the Kentish Sermons and the Peterborough Chronicle show a consistent post-verbal mapping of non-pronominal elements, we can conclude that post-verbal Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects (cf. Chapter 6) is the unmarked case. Let us examine the Katherine Group more closely, where a higher amount of pre-verbal elements can be found.

The texts of the Katherine Group display the highest amount of pre-verbal constituents with respect to the texts examined in this sub-section. Whereas the pre-verbal elements are mostly light and given, there are some marked constructions:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|----------|------|-----------|------------|
| (17) | ne | nulle | ich | leuen | ower |
| | ne | not-want | I | believe | your |
| | read | [...] | ne | þe | mix |
| | advice | [...] | nor | the | filthy |
| | maumez | þe | beoð | þes | feondes |
| | idols | that | are | the | fiend's |
| | fetles; | heien | ne | herien. | |
| | vessels | praise | nor | glorify | |

“Neither will I believe your advice [...], nor will I praise or glorify the filthy idols that are the vessels of the fiend.”

(CMJULIA-M1,101.98)

In this example we find a very complex pre-verbal element followed by a relative clause as post-modifier. Notice, however, that the coordinated verbs alliterate; similar structures with alliterating verbs at the end of the clause are also (CMJULIA-M1,114.312) and (CMHALI-M1,148.277). These sentences present a marked pattern, and the pre-verbal mapping of the constituents in these cases is probably not due to information structure, but to stylistic effects.

Let us now turn to the analysis of light and given elements in the post-verbal domain in the Katherine Group; we have seen that the post-verbal domain has a heterogeneous distribution of constituents, as opposed to the pre-verbal domain. Moreover, recall that in these texts, as opposed to the texts of the South-East Midlands, the Kentish texts and the Lambeth Homilies, pronouns are distributed mostly in post-verbal position (cf. Chapter 6). Given the fact that pronouns are mostly post-verbal, and that sentences with pre-verbal constituents have a marked structure, it can be concluded that the post-verbal Spell-Out of all types of constituents is the unmarked option in this text.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| (18) | Ne | mei | na | worldliche | Un-hap |
| | no | may | no | wordly | misfortune |
| | bireauin | ham | hare | weole | |
| | deprive | them | their | joy | |

“Nor may any wordly misfortune deprive them of their joy.”

(CMHALI-M1,149.294)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------------|-------|-----|-------|--------|
| (19) | ah | lutle | hwile | ich | mahte | þolie |
| | But | little | while | I | might | endure |
| | þe | leome | | | | |
| | the | light | | | | |

“But I could endure the light only for a little while.”

(CMSAWLES-M1,179.206)

(20)	[...]	þu	wult	leote	liht-liche
	[...]	you	will	take	lightly
	&	a-beoren	blideliche	þe	derf
	and	bear	blithely	the	difficulty
	þt	tu	drehest	onont.	ti
	that	you	endure	on	your
	fleschliche	wil;	[...]		
	fleshly	will			

“You would lightly take and blithely bear the difficulty that you are enduring concerning the will of your flesh.”

(CMHALI-M1,140.173)

(21)	þes	gunge	mon	eleusius.	[...]	hefde
	this	young	man	Eleusius	[...]	had
	iunne	feolahschipe		to		
	given	friendship		to		
	affrican.					
	Africanus					

“This young Eleusius had given friendship to Africanus.”

(CMJULIA-M1,96.11)

The sentences above exemplify a given and light constituent, a given and heavy constituent, a complex given constituent, and a new constituent in post-verbal position respectively.

As can be seen from table 5-13 below, light and given post-verbal constituents are not contrasted; moreover, only in 2 cases is the light given argument spelled-out in the post-verbal domain with the second argument of the verb, as in example (18) above.

Given that in these texts we find a higher number of objects, let us examine the interaction of the IS and weight parameters in the post-verbal domain:

Table 5-13: the interaction of the parameters in the KG		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Given constituents		27	10
	Of which light and contrasted	0	0
	Of which light	8	6
	Of which heavy and contrasted	6	0
	Of which heavy	13	4
New constituents		22	8
	Of which light and contrasted	2	1
	Of which light	9	2
	Of which heavy and contrasted	1	2
	Of which heavy	10	3

As can be seen, we find in these texts a relative high amount of given and/or light post-verbal elements which are not contrasted (34% in the main clauses and 44% in the subordinate clauses). This distribution is similar to the texts of the more conservative group (cf. Tables 5-6;7 above); however, it will be shown in Chapter 6 that also the majority of object pronouns is spelled-out in the post-verbal domain in these texts, in contrast to the more conservative group, where post-verbal object pronouns amount to 10% circa.

5.4 V > Aux clauses

The few V > Aux clauses found in the sample are analysed in the following; given the sparse numbers, the sentences are analysed from a qualitative point of view. Unsurprisingly, these are found in the texts of the conservative group.

In the KH, we can find one sentence presenting the features we have selected - namely one subject, one object and a complex verbal form – with the relative order of auxiliary and verb V > Aux.

The sentence is the following:

(22)	Ða	þa	se	ængel	hire
	then	when	the	angel	her
	cydde,	þt	heo	cænnen	scholde
	said	that	she	generate	should
	Godes	Sune,	heo	andswerede	
	God's	son	she	answered	
	&	acsode,	“Hwu	sceal	
	and	asked	How	shall	
	þiss	gewurden	. [...]	'.	
	this	become			

“As the angel told her, that she should generate God’s son, she answered and asked: ‘How shall this be?’”

(CMKENTHO-M1,135.31)

This sentence is found in the *Sermo in Festis Sancte Marie Virginis*; in the homily, the whole discourse revolves around Holy Mary. That she generates Christ, God’s Son, is part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by a Christian community. The author introduces as indirect discourse the revelation of the angel, namely that Mary would generate God’s Son; this fact is mentioned directly at this point in the narration, but the fact that Mary is the mother of Christ is repeated in the previous section and, moreover, it is a piece of encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by the audience of such a text. The VP and the direct object are analysed as conveying given information. As we can notice from the example, however, the direct object is realised in post-verbal position. As was already argued for the OE language, assuming a head final VP and IP, and further extraposition operations cannot account for examples like this, since the direct object has a light syntactic weight. I analyse the object as narrowly focused; focus is a dimension which operates on an independent level with respect to the IS status of an object as given or new. The subsequent passage, in fact, revolves around the comparison between Mary, who generates the son of God, and other women, who generate a son through carnal intercourse.

The narration proceeds, in fact, as follows:

“Hwu sceal þiss gewurden, for ic ne cann naht of weres gemane?” Gyf ænige mædene, þe hæfde gemynt were to underfone, wære gesæd *þæt*⁴⁴ heo scolde sune geberen, ne þuhte hit hire sellic, ne heo axigen nolde, “Hwu sceal hit gewurden, *þæt* ic sune gebide?”.

⁴⁴ The abbreviation found in the edition of the text was expanded by the author of the present work.

How shall this be, since I know no man? If any maiden, who had meant to receive a man, were told that she should bear a son, she would not think it wondrous, nor would she ask, "How shall it be, that I have a son?"

(Warner 1917: 135)

As can be noticed from the following context, we can analyse the post-verbal occurrence of the direct object in this sentence as narrowly focused and contrasted with the notion of *son* generated through carnal intercourse.

Turning to the main clauses of the SEM texts, we find two V > Aux clauses. These are presented in the following:

(23) and þre loc offrede weren ure
 and three gifts offered were our
 drihten.
 Lord

"And three gifts were offered to our Lord."

(CMTRINIT-MX1,49.655)

In the context of this example, the sermon opens with the description of the Jewish practices held when a woman gives birth, which include the offering of a gift to God. The text then continues by explaining that Mary herself observed these laws and presented one gift to God; our example follows this sentence. In this example, the reference of *Jesus Christ* is activated, but in this case is contrasted with the recipient of the previous gifts, who is the God of the Jews. The reference of the verb is interesting in this context, since it is highly activated, and it has been repeated also within the same line:

"þis was þe lage bi holde dagen. and þes **loc offrede** ure lafdi seinte marie and þre **loc offrede weren** ure drihten."

This was the law [observed] in olden times, and this gift offered our Lady Saint Mary. And three gifts were offered to our Lord.

(Morris 1868: 48-49)

This example is consistent with our analysis of Old English V > Aux clauses as presenting entirely given information.

(24)	Ne	dieuel	ne	mann	none
	neither	devil	nor	man	no
	mihte ne	none	strengþe	habben	ne
	power nor	no	strength	have	not
	muġen	ouer	odren		
	may	over	others		

“Neither the devil, nor man, may have any strength or power over the others.”

(CMVICES1-M1,107.1278)

Contrarily to the previous example, the meaning conveyed by the verb is not given in this example; moreover, there is a negated pre-verbal object, which is not analysed for information structure. Note, however, that very similar sentences are found at page 27 of the edition of the text; these sentences constitute a minimal pair with respect to this one, because they present Aux > V word order:

(25)	a.	Ac	ne	mai	non
		But	not	may	no
		senne	ne	non	dieuel
		sin	nor	no	devil
		habben	strengþe	aġean	ðessere
		have	strength	against	this
		gode	ileauē.		
		good	faith		

“but no sin, nor any devil, can have strength against this good faith.”

(CMVICES1-M1,27.301)

b.	“	Ðo	ġaten	of	helle	ne
		The	gates	of	hell	not
		muġen	hauen	none	strengþe	
		may	have	no	strength	
		aġean	ðessere	ileauē.”		
		against	this	faith		

“The gates of hell cannot have any strength against this faith.”

(CMVICES1-M1,27.301)

It can be hypothesised that the meaning of the verb in this type of sentences is given, since it is formulaic expression which is repeated in the text. However, on the basis of two sole examples, no definite conclusion can be drawn.

In the set of subordinate clauses, we find eight sentences presenting V > Aux word order; the post-verbal elements are all heavy.

Recall that in Chapter 4, section 4.1.4, I argued that the subordinate clauses in the OE sample report entirely given information in most of the cases, whereas the new information of the passage lies either in the main clause following the subordinate clause, or in the post-verbal element. In the following, I examine the properties of these sentences, by taking into account whether the meaning conveyed by the verb and the object is already active in discourse.

As far as the sentences with a pre-verbal constituent are concerned, two represent given information:

- (26) Ðus behet Crist [...] þat he
 thus promised Christ [...] that he
 and his fader hine scolden
 and his father him should
 luuigen **and** **mid** **him** **wuniende**
 love and with him abiding
 bien.
 be

“Thus Christ promised that he and his father shall love him and be abiding with him.”

(CMVICES1-M1,37.428)

The meaning conveyed by the verb is given, since it was said in the preceding lines that Christ would take his abode with all those who love him.

- (27) and swo he forfarð, **for ðan** **ðe**
 and so he died because that
 his **priestes** **lare** **ne** **his** **ræd**
 this Priest’s lore nor his advice
 lesten **ne** **folgin** **ne** **wile.**
 listen nor follow not wanted

“And so he died, because he did not want to listen, nor follow the lore of his priest, nor his advice.”

(CMVICES1-M1,45.508)

In this sentence, both the meaning expressed by the verb, as well as the referents contained in the sentence, constitute given information.

In the following sentence, the pre-verbal element constitutes given information, whereas the meaning of the verb expresses a new action. However, the sentence serves as a pre-condition for the matrix clause.

(28)	Gif	du	dese	godes	giue
	if	you	this	God's	gift
	biġeten	miht,	þanne	scalt	
	get	might,	then	shall	
	tu	hauen	nexce	herte	
	you	have	soft	heart	
	and	gode	[...]		
	and	good	[...]		

“if you are able to obtain this gift of God, you will have a soft and good heart.”

(CMVICES1-M1,63.696)

In the following sentence, however, neither the object, nor the verb are mentioned explicitly in the previous context:

(29)	and	ic	wile	lihten	ġeuer
	and	I	will	lighten	your
	berdene,	ġif	ġe	mine	
	burden	if	you	my	
	rad	hlesten	willed.		
	advice	listen	want		

“and I will lighten your burden, if you want to listen to my advice.”

(CMVICES1-M1,71.800)

The chapter in which the sentence is embedded, however, revolves around the gift of advice, which God has given to men. The sentence under consideration is part of direct speech, where God says that he is going to lighten our burden, if we want to listen to him. The reference of *advice* is not directly inferable from the reference of *God*; in the text under consideration and given the fact that the chapter deals with the gift of advice, however, the referent under discussion can be argued to be interpreted by the author as given. The verb is not mentioned before, but the sentence expresses a pre-condition for the action expressed in the main clause.

(30)	bledsed	be	þi	name	on	us.
	blessed	be	your	name	on	us
	swo	þat	we	[...]	ouer	alle
	so	that	we	[...]	over	all
	þing	þe	luuien.	and	Swo	
	things	you	love	and	so	
	ernien	þat	we	habben	moten	
	earn	that	we	have	can	
	of	þine	holie	name	þe	
	of	your	holy	name	the	
	tocne	imene.				
	sign	in common				

“Blessed be your name on us, so that we love you above all things, and so earn [it] that we can have the sign of your holy name in common.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,27.335)

In this sentence, the meaning conveyed by the verb is not given, but it rather constitutes a further wish expressed by the author. The post-verbal DP, which has a PP pre-modifier, represents given information.

(31)	and	wel	am	becnawe	ðat	ic
	and	well	am	acknowledged	that	I
	gewerǵed		habbe	aider	ǵe	
	cursed		have	either	both	
	hodede, ǵe		leawede	sibbe	and	
	clerics	both	laymen	family	and	
	framde, [...]					
	strangers					

“and I am fully aware that I have cursed both clerics and laymen, family and strangers [...].”

(CMVICES1-M1,13.132)

The meaning conveyed by the verb in this sentence is highly activated, since it constitutes the denotation of the sin which is being discussed. The complex and heavy constituent following, however, constitutes new information, since it refers to the addressee of the cursing and has generic reference.

- (32) [...] and þat ġie widhealden ġew
 [...] and that you abstain yourselves
 fram galnesse, [...] and **ðat**
 from lechery [...] and that
ġie healden cunnen ġewer fatt
 you hold can your vessel
of ġewer likame mid michele
 of your body with great
wurscipe and mid michele clannesse [...]
 worship and with great purity [...]

“and that you abstain from lechery, and that you can hold the vessel of your body with great worship and purity.”

(CMVICES1-M1,135.1654)

The meaning conveyed by the verb is not explicitly given, but it is inferable, since the talk is about maintaining the purity in the body. The heavy direct object is mapped in post-verbal position and has inferable reference, even though it was not mentioned explicitly.

Finally, there is only one sentence with V > Aux word order in the LH; this comes from the MX1 version and is presented in the following:

- (33) Þe seofede sunne is icweden.
 the seventh sin is called
 Iactancia.þet is idelġelp
 Iactancia that is idleboasting
 on englisc. þenne mon
 in English then one
 bið lof-ġeorn and mid
 is greedy of praise and with
 fikenunge feard and deð
 deceit acts and does
 ġelpe mare þenne for godes luue
 vainglory more than for God’s love
ġif he awiht delan wule.
 if he aught distribute will

“The seventh sin is called *Iactancia*, that is idle boasting, in English. When one is greedy of praise and acts deceitfully and more for vainglory, than for the love of God, if he wants to distribute something.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,103.954)

In this passage, the sin of *idle boasting* is presented; the author argues that the person who performs this sin, does good deeds in order to be praised, and not in order to praise God. At this point, the predicate *distribute something* is introduced; the denotation of the VP is introduced at this point, therefore, the sentence is different from the V > Aux clauses analysed for the OE sample (cf. Chapter 6), where the information contained is entirely given. The indefinite quantifier is likewise pre-verbal but is inert as far as the IS value is concerned.

Summarising, the properties of these sentences do not emerge as clearly as in the subordinate clauses of the OE sample; it is true that in the most cases, the meaning of the verb is activated, and that two of these sentences repeat entirely given information. In further two cases, the subordinate clause serves as a pre-condition for the action conveyed by the main clause, and in this respect it is similar to the backgrounding function of the OE subordinate clauses. In two other cases, finally, the attention is concentrated on the post-verbal object. However, the evidence is not as clear as in the OE sample.

5.5 The Ormulum

As mentioned in Section 5.1 above, this text is going to be analysed separately from the other texts in the EME sample; in fact, the Ormulum is a poetic text which presents a regular alternation of octasyllabic and heptasyllabic semi-verses defined by a rigid metric alternation of weak and strong syllables. From a methodological point of view, the choice of a poetic text in the framework of a syntactic investigation needs some justification. In fact, poetic texts are not usually considered a reliable source for a syntactic investigation, since metric requirements may shape the surface word order found in the text.

The Ormulum, however, plays a central role in Trips' (2002) investigation on OV/VO variation in EME in particular within the perspective of Scandinavian influence in the language change at issue. In her investigation, Trips concludes that the evidence in the Ormulum points at a clear influence of language contact on the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order in English. Given that the aim of this book is to demonstrate that the internal mechanisms that shaped the OE sentence led to the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order, this text cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, it would not be advisable to treat this text on a par with the prose texts analysed above without taking into consideration the role of metric structure in its syntax.

The aim of this section is therefore twofold: on the one hand, the distribution of constituents will be examined according to the methodology

applied to the OE and EME texts in the sample, on the other hand, the metric composition will be investigated carefully in order to determine whether this text can provide a valid empirical source for the investigation of EME syntax.

5.5.1 Quantitative distribution

In this section, I will look at the quantitative distribution of arguments of verbs and object pronouns, with the same instruments of analysis as for the other Early Middle English texts. In the following, the quantitative distribution of all arguments of verbs found in the pre-verbal and the post-verbal domain is given, with the exclusion of object pronouns, which will be treated separately. The tables only report the quantitative data for the Aux > V clauses, since the number of V > Aux clauses elicited is small; the latter type of clauses will be analysed from a qualitative point of view.

As we can see from the table, the distribution is not dissimilar from the other Early Middle English texts:

Table 5-14		Main clauses	Subordinate clauses
Arguments		69	55
Pre-verbal elements		14	13
Arguments analysed for their weight		14	13
	Light	10; 71.4%	8; 61.5%
	Heavy	4; 28.6%	5; 38.5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		13	13
	Given	11; 84.6%	10; 76.9%
	New	2; 15.4%	3; 23.1%
Post-verbal elements		55	42
Arguments analysed for their weight		55	42
	Light	30; 54.5%	18; 42.8%
	Heavy	25; 45.5%	24; 57.2%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		44	34
	Given	33; 75%	27; 79.4%
	New	11; 25%	7; 20.6%

The distribution of constituents is very similar to the other texts we have examined; if one examines the results for the Peterborough Chronicle, another text composed in the North-East Midlands, one can notice that we can only find pronouns and light elements in the pre-verbal domain, whereas in this text we can also find heavy pre-verbal arguments.

Let us observe the distribution of given, new, light and heavy elements across the pre- and post-verbal domains:

All VP arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Heaviness parameter				
	All light elements	40	10; 25%	30; 75%
	All heavy elements	29	4; 13.8%	25; 96.2%
IS parameter				
	All Given elements	44	11; 25%	33; 75%
	All new elements	13	2; 15.4%	11; 84.6%

All VP arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Heaviness parameter				
	All light elements	26	8; 30.7%	18; 69.3%
	All heavy elements	29	5; 17.2%	24; 82.8%
IS parameter				
	All given elements	37	10; 27.1%	27; 72.9%
	All new elements	10	3; 30%	7; 70%

Similarly to the other Middle English texts, we have a higher number of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain, whereas the number of new and heavy elements is lower in the pre-verbal domain. If we compare the proportion of elements in the pre-verbal domain of this text with the proportion of elements in the pre-verbal domain of the texts of the Katherine Group, for instance, we notice that in the Katherine Group the amount of pre-verbal elements is circa 10% points lower. Again, in the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, there are hardly any pre-verbal elements.

Finally, let us observe the distribution of object pronouns; recall that in Sections 5.2-3 I hinted at the fact that the more conservative group of texts presents hardly any post-verbal pronouns, whereas in the more innovative group, post-verbal pronouns are found in a higher amount. The distribution of pronouns will be investigated carefully in Chapter 6; for this text, however, an exception is made since we are presenting the distribution of pronominal objects here:

5-17: Main clauses	
The distribution of object pronouns	
Total number	55
Pre-Aux position	15; 27.2%
Pre-V position	11; 20%
Post-V position	29; 52.8%

5-18: Subordinate clauses	
The distribution of object pronouns	
Total number	44
Pre-Aux position	22; 50%
Pre-V position	12; 27.3%
Post-V position	10; 22.7%

As far as the main clauses are concerned, the distribution of object pronouns is in line with the findings I obtained for the text of the Peterborough Chronicle and the Katherine Group.

The distribution of object pronouns in the subordinate clauses is different from the distribution of object pronouns in the prose texts; however, given the random sampling of the results, this may be due to chance. In the qualitative section, we will see that there are clear metric properties characterising pre- and post-verbal pronouns. The data given in Trips (2002) about the position of object pronouns cannot be compared to ours, because they were extracted from sentences with a simple verbal form.

5.5.2 Qualitative analysis

For the qualitative analysis of this text, I aim to identify whether the mapping of constituents is also influenced by the metrical structure of the verse; in fact, even though the quantitative section shows that the distribution of constituents is similar to the findings for the other prose texts examined in this chapter, it is appropriate to ask ourselves whether reasons other than the prosodic and the information structural mapping conditions

postulated in the framework can have influenced its word order. Therefore, I manipulated the verses, in order to see whether a different word order would have been compatible with the metric structure of the verse. In the following, the actual examples from the text are presented; in the box under the example, the line under examination is divided in weak and strong syllables, following the meter individuated for this text by Minkova (1996 in Trips 2002). In the second line of the box, signalled through a “*”, I inverted the order of constituents, and observed whether the weak and strong syllabic alternation would have been maintained even if the order of constituents is reversed.

The discussion starts with the main clauses, followed by the V > Aux and the subordinate clauses.

In the following, I present two sentences having a pre-verbal new constituent:⁴⁵

- (34) & nu þe shall Elysabæp || Þin
 and now you shall Elizabeth your
 wif **an** **sune** childenn;
 wife a sone generate

“And your wife Elizabeth shall generate you a child”

(CMORM-M1,I,2.141)

Þin	wif	an	su	ne	chil	denn
*Þin	wif	chil	denn	an	su	ne
W	S	W	S	W	S	W

In the first line of the box, the order of the verse is reported; as we can see, the first syllable of the verb *childen* falls on a strong beat; this is in line with the natural accent of the verb, as reported in the Middle English Dictionary (*childen*). As we can see from our manipulated verse, if we reverse the order of verb and object, the first syllable of the verb would fall on a weak beat, whereas the second syllable would fall on a strong beat. This is not compatible with the natural accentuation of Germanic verbs.

⁴⁵ The translation of the Ormulum extracts is done by the author. The examples with the indication *CMORM* come from the PPCME2 query, whereas the examples containing the indication of the page in Holt’s edition were searched manually by the author, consulting also the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse electronic edition of the Ormulum.

(35)	&	tær	uppo	þatt	oferrwerre
	and	there	up	that	superstructure
		Þeġġ	haffdenn	licness	metedd
		They	had	image	sculpted
		Off	Cherubyn.		
		of	Cherub		

“And there, upon that super-structure, they had sculpted an image of a cherub”.

(CMORM-M1,I,34.374)

In this example, when we reverse the order of constituents, the alternation of strong and weak beats does not interfere with the natural accent of the words.

Þeġġ	haff	denn	licc	ness	me	ted
* Þeġġ	haff	denn	me	ted	licc	ness
W	S	W	S	W	S	W

However, there might be another reason why the verb falls at the end of the verse; let us observe the passage:

Affterr þatt itt ma33 wel inoh
 Ben se33d o Latin spæche.
 & tær uppo þatt oferrwerre
Þe33 haffdenn liccness metedd
 Off Cherubyn, & haffdenn itt
O twe33enn stokess metedd.

“After that it may well enough be said in Latin, and there upon that superstructure they had sculpted an image of a Cherub, and they had made it on two places.”

(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 34, vv. 1044-1049)

As we can see from the passage reported above, the two highlighted verses present assonance in the objects preceding the verbs and end with the same verb; the verses under examination have seven syllables. Recall that the metre of the Ormulum is composed by the alternation of a verse with eight and a verse with seven syllables; in the heptasyllabic verse, we have a falling intonation on the last syllable, whereas we have a rising intonation on the last syllable of the octasyllabic verse. This means that it is the word preceding the last two syllables which has more prominence in the heptasyllabic verse. We can see that in this case, the two words preceding

the falling intonation rhyme; if we manipulate the last verse, we would end up with an unnatural accentuation of the verb:

O	tweʒ	ʒenn	sto	kess	me	tedd
*me	tedd	o	tweʒ	ʒenn	sto	kess
W	S	W	S	W	S	W

As we can see, whereas the accentuation of the object would not change, the verb would end with a strong beat on the coda, which is not compatible with the natural accent of Germanic verbs. I conclude that the reasons of assonance with the verse following may have led to the word order observed in example (35).

Let us observe some examples of post-verbal objects which I labelled as given:

- (36) Þuss þu miht lakenn **Drihtin**
 Thus you might worship Lord
Godd || Wiþþ oxe
 God with oxen
 i gode þæwess
 in good habits

“Thus you can worship God our Lord, with oxen in good habits.”

(CMORM-M1,I,41.428)

Þuss	þu	miht	la	kenn	Drih	htin	Godd
*Þuss	þu	miht	Drih	htin	Godd	la	kenn
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

Inverting the order of object and verb in this example would result in a strong beat on the last syllable of the verb *lakenn*, which is not compatible with the natural verb accent.

For the following example of a given and post-verbal element, let us observe the whole accentuation pattern of the sentence, which is distributed on three semi-verses:

- (37) Forr tekenn þatt tatt ehhte magg
 for take that that eight may
 || Full openlike tacnenn ||
 full openly represent
 Þatt **illke** **dere** **Sunenndaġġ.**
 That same dear Sunday

“For understand that that eight may full openly represent the same dear Sunday”

(CMORM-M1,I,157.1289)

Forr	te	kenn	þatt	tatt	eh	hte	magg
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Full	o	penn	li	ke	tac	nenn	-
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-
Þatt	ill	ke	de	re	Su	nenn	daġġ
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

It can be observed that the finite verb and the last syllable of the word *Sunendaz3* rhyme and are placed in the same rising position at the end of an octasyllabic verse.

- (38) Her habbe icc shæwedd nu till
 Here have I showed now to
 ġuw || **Þa** **seoffne** **bedess**
 you the seven prayers
alle || Þatt wærenn, alls icc
 all that were as I
 hafe seġġd, || Þurh tale
 have said through number
 off seoffne tacnedd.
 of seven represented

“Here I showed you the seven prayers, which were represented by the number of seven, as I told you.”

(CMORM-M1,I,189.1559)

Her	hab	be ic	shæ	wedd	nu	till	ġuw
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Þa	seof	fne	be	dess	al	le	-
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

A manipulation of the word order would not be compatible with the natural accentuation of the words:

*Her	hab	be_ic	Þa	seof	fne	be	dess
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
(al	le)						
Extra	Extra						
*shæ	wedd	nu	till	ǵuw			-
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

Moreover, we can find assonance in the verses following:

Her habbe icc shæwedd nu till 3uw
 Þa *seoffne* bedess *alle*
 Þatt wærenn, alls icc hafe se33d,
 Þurh *tale* off *seoffne* tacedd.

“Here I showed you the seven prayers, which were represented by the number of seven, as I told you.”

(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 189, vv 5474-5479)

The elements highlighted present assonance and are distributed in a chiasmus structure.

So far, I have looked at those examples which deviate from our model, proceeding in the same way as for the prose texts; I showed that the manipulation of the word orders would result in an unnatural accentuation of the words, and would contrast with the metric structure of the verse. However, not only are the deviations to our model subject to the metric structure of the verse, but also word orders with a new post-verbal element, and a light pre-verbal element:

- (39) Ne shall he næfre drinnkenn
 not shall he never drink
 drinnch || Þatt drunnkenesse
 drink that drunkenness
 follǵheþþ.
 follows

“And he shall never drink anything which causes drunkenness.”

(CMORM-M1,I,25.308)

Ne	shall	he	næ	fre	drinn	kenn	drinnch
*Ne	shall	he	næ	fre	drinnch	drinn	kenn
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

Inverting the order of object and verb in example (39) would result in an unnatural accent pattern on the verb.

Let us observe the accentuation of the following verses, which contain a sentence with a light and given pre-verbal element:

- (40) & tu mihht ec **gastlike** **laf**
 and your might also spiritual loaf
 || Onn oþerr wise garrkenn,
 on other manner prepare

“And you can prepare your spiritual bread in another manner.”
 (CMORM-M1,I,49.493)

&	tu	mihht	ec	gast	li	ke	laf
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Onn	o	þerr	wi	se	garr	kenn	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

Now let us try to invert the order of the constituents; in the first table, we have the order Subject > auxiliary > verb > object > adjunct:

*&	tu	mihht	ec	garr	kenn	gast	li	ke	laf
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S		
*Onn	o	þerr	wi	se					
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-		

By manipulating the sentence in this way, we would obtain extra syllables in the octasyllabic verse.

In the following, we have obtained the order Subject > auxiliary > adjunct > verb > object:

*&	tu	mihht	ec	Onn	o	þerr	wi
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
se							
Extra							
*ǵarr	kenn	gast	li	ke	laf		
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

In this case, we would obtain an extra syllable in the first verse, and a syllable less in the second verse.

Summarising what we have seen so far, I argue that the rigid structure of this poetic work ought to be considered in the mapping of the constituents; in fact, we obtain different metric effects if we try to invert the order of object and verb, independently of the weight and IS value of the objects.

Let us now turn our attention to object pronouns; in Table 5-17 above, we saw that pronouns are distributed in half of the cases in the post-verbal domain of the main clauses, whereas the remaining 50% of the cases is divided almost equally between the pre-verbal and the pre-Aux position. I will explore the mapping of pronouns from a structural and information structural perspective, as we will see for the remaining prose texts in Chapter 6, as well as from a metric perspective. In Chapter 6 below it will be shown that also the distribution of object pronouns is subject to IS constraints; anticipating briefly the main points of Chapter 6, it can be said that pronouns found before the inflected verb are coreferential with the topic of the passage, whereas pre-verbal pronouns denote given but non topical referents. There are no marked features for post-verbal pronouns, even though contrast can be detected sometimes.

Concerning the pre - Aux pronouns, they are co-referential with the topic of the passage in 12 out of 15 cases also in the text of the Ormulum:

(41)	&	himm	wass	ec	þatt
	and	him	was	also	that
	name	sett		Forr	
	name	set		for	
	mikell	þing	to	tacnenn;	
	great	thing	to	represent	

“And that name was assigned to him, which represents a great thing.”

(CMORM-M1,I,22.290)

Let us observe the context in which the sentence is embedded:

þatt he þa shollde streonenn child,
 & hu he shollde itt nemmnenn,
 [...]
 3e t ær itt wære streonedd.
 & *himm* wass ec þatt name sett

Forr mikell þing to tacnenn;

“That he should generate a child and how he should call it, [...] Yet before it was generated, and to him that name was assigned, which represents a great thing [...]”

(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 22, vv. 729-736)

As we can see, the whole passage revolves around the child (John the Baptist); the object pronoun *him* is co-referential with the topic of the passage.

In the following example, the object pronoun preceding the auxiliary is not co-referential with the topic of the passage:

(42)	&	icc	itt	hafe	forþedd	te,
	and	I	it	have	carried out	you
		Acc	all	þurh	Cristess	
		But	all	through	Christ’s	
		hellpe;				
		help				

“And I fulfilled [your wish] for you, but only through the help of Christ.”

(CMORM-M1,DED.L23.8)

However, there is a contrast between the personal pronoun *icc* and the personal object pronoun *te*. Let us observe the metric structure:

&	icc	itt	ha	fe	for	bedd	te
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

As we can notice from the metric structure, the two contrastive elements are placed on the first and on the last strong syllable of the verse respectively; in order for the first element to fall on a strong syllable, an unaccented conjunction was introduced at the beginning of the sentence. The pronoun under examination, however, is neither contrastive nor co-referential with the topic, and it is placed on a weak metric syllable; we can manipulate the verse and see whether a different word order could have maintained the same prominence features on the two contrastive pronouns, without placing the non-accented pronoun on a strong syllable:

*&	icc	ha	fe itt	for	bedd	te
W	S	W	S	W	S	W

By moving the pronoun *itt* in the pre-verbal domain, we would obtain syneresis with the last syllable of the verb *have*; the verse would turn into an heptasyllabic metre and the accentuation of the verb *forbedd* would also be affected, resulting in a strong beat on the normally unaccented prefix.

Turning now to pre-verbal pronouns, I investigated whether they are placed on accented positions in the metrical structure. Moreover, I looked whether they are co-referential with the topic of the sentence.

In one case, the pre-verbal pronoun is co-referential with the topic of the sentence:

- (43) Acc i þe Kalldeowisshe land
 But in the Chaldean land
 || Mann maġġ **itt**
 one may it
 summwhær findenn.
 somewhere find

“But you can find it somewhere in Chaldea.”

(CMORM-M1,I,224.1860)

The discourse revolves around the three gifts the Three Kings bring to Jesus child; in this passage, the talk is about myrrh and the object pronoun is co-referential with it.

In the remaining cases, the object pronouns do not have marked features; in seven cases, the object pronoun falls on a weak accented syllable, as the following example shows:

- (44) & tatt tegg ummbeshærenn swa
 and that they circumsised so
 || þe shapp off
 the shape of
 cnapechilldre, || þatt wass **hemm**
 Baby boy that was them
 swa þurrh Drihtin sett,
 so through Lord set
- “And that they circumsised the boy. That was set for them [to do] from the Lord.”

(CMORM-M1,I,146.1204)

þatt	wass	<i>hemm</i>	swa	þurrh	Drihh	tin	sett
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

In the remaining examples, the object pronoun falls on a strong beat:

- (45) All þiss wass **uss** bitacnedd
 All this was us assigned
 wel || þurrh þatt
 well through that
 Judissken chesstre,
 Jewish city

“All this is explained to us through that Jewish city.”

(CMORM-M1,I,94.827)

All	þiss	wass	<i>uss</i>	bi	tac	nedd	wel
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

In three of these cases, the pronoun refers to the audience of the text; after a topic is discussed, the audience is addressed, and the attention shifts to the audience, as is exemplified by (45) above.

In the remaining example, we have contrastive interpretation:

- (46) Þa Crist shall **himm** wiþþ all
 than Christ shall him with all
 rihht dom ||
 right judgement
 Till hellepine demenn.
 to Hell torment condemn

“Then Christ shall condemn him to the torment of Hell with right judgement.”

(CMORM-M1,I,253.2058)

Herode king le[—]t sekenn Crist,
 & se33de, þatt he wollde
 Lefenn onn himm & lutenn himm
 & lakenn himm wiþþ maddmess,
 & þohhte þohh to cwellenn himm,
 3iff þatt he mihhte himm findenn;
 & forrþi nass he rihht nohht wurrþ
 To findenn Crist tatt time,
 Acc he shall findenn Crist inoh
 O Domess daz3ess time,
 Þa Crist shall himm wiþþ all rihht dom
 Till hellepine demenn.

“King Eroses let look for Christ and said that he wanted to believe in him, and pray to him, and offer him treasures, but he thought to kill him, if he could find him. And since it rightly did not happen that he found Christ that time, he shall find (enough) Christ at Doomsday. Then it will be Christ who condemns him to the torment of hell with right judgement”

(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 253, vv. 7308-7319)

In these lines, the talk revolves around Eroses, who asks the Three Kings to tell him where Christ is, so that he can go and adore him; the author then comments that the real reason behind this request is in truth Eroses’ plan to kill Christ. The passage then proceeds by stating that at doom, it will be Christ who shall find him and judge him; for this reason, we have a contrastive interpretation. Moreover, both *Christ* and the object pronoun are placed on a strong syllable.

If we manipulate the verse, we would not get a different accentuation, let us observe in the following:

*Þa	Crist	shall	de	menn	<i>himm</i>	wiþþ	all
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
*rihht	dom	till	hel	le	pi	ne	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

We would have the object pronoun on a strong beat, and the natural intonation of the verb would not be violated; the quantifier would seat on a rising syllable, but it is found on a strong beat also in the original verse. By doing so, however, the assonance effect of the following two verses would be lost:

To findenn Crist tatt time,
 Acc he shall findenn Crist *inoh*
 O Domess daz3ess time,
 Þa Crist shall himm wiþþ all rihht *dom*
 Till hellepine demenn.

“he shall find Christ (enough) at Doomsday. Then it will be Christ who condemns him to the torment of hell with right judgement”

(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 253, vv. 7315-7319)

Let us now observe the following passage, which is part of the dedication of the work:⁴⁶

(47)

Forr þatt I wollde bliþeliġ
 Þatt all Ennglisshe lede
 Wiþþ ære shollde listenn **itt**,
 Wiþþ herrte shollde **itt** trowwenn,
 Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn **itt**
 Wiþþ dede shollde **itt** follġhenn,

For that I want blithely
 that all English people
 with ear should listen it
 with heart should it suffer
 with tongue should spell it
 with deed should it follow

“Because I want that all English people blithely listen to it (the Gospel) with their ears, and with their hearts they should suffer it, and with their tongues they should announce it, and with their deeds they should follow it.”

(CMORM-M1,DED.L113.33)

As we can see from this passage, the pronouns and the non-finite verbs in the lines we have introduced are arranged in a chiasmus structure; the object pronouns all refer to the same referent, and there is no contrastive interpretation.

Let us observe the subdivision of weak and strong syllables on two verses:

Wiþþ	æ	re	sholl	de	liss	tenn	itt
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Wiþþ	herr	te	sholl	de itt	trow	wenn	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

⁴⁶ In order to allow the reader to follow the chiasmus, the gloss is provided at the right of the sentence, and not below it.

As we can see, the non-finite verbs present a natural accent on the root syllable; if we invert the order of the pronouns in the verses, we would obtain the following:

*Wipþ	æ	re	sholl	de itt	liss	tenn	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
*Wipþ	herr	te	sholl	de	trow	wenn	itt
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

Since it is not possible to have syneresis of the last syllable of the modal verb *shollde* and the first syllable of the verb *trowwen*, as is the case in the actual example between the last syllable of the modal and the object pronoun, the heptasyllabic verse would turn into an octasyllabic verse; in the octasyllabic verse, on the contrary, if we invert the order of pronoun and verb, we would obtain syneresis between the last syllable of the auxiliary and the pronoun, but this would turn the octasyllabic verse into a heptasyllabic verse. In other words, inverting the order of object pronoun and verb in these verses would result in the inversion of heptasyllabic and octasyllabic semi-verses respectively.

In our dataset of post-verbal pronouns, we can find three examples in which we have a similar structure as the one introduced above, cf. below:

- (48) Forr wel he mihhte **lokenn** *himm*, ||
 for well he might look him
 Giff þatt he wollde *himm* **lokenn** ||
 if that he wanted him look

“And He may have well looked at thim, if he wanted to look at him.”

(CMORM-M1,INTR.L1.97)

In one case we have a post-verbal pronoun due to assonance effect:

- (49) & tærfore hafe icc turndedd **itt** ||
 and thereforehave I turned it
 Inntill Ennglisshe spæche, ||
 into English speech
 Forrþatt I wollde blipeliġ ||
 For that I wanted blithely

“And therefore, I turned it into English, because I wanted blithely [that all people should listen to it]”

(CMORM-M1,DED.L285.57)

In the remaining cases, manipulating the order verb – object pronoun would result in a strong beat on the final syllable of the verb.

Before moving to the subordinate clauses, let us observe some clauses presenting V > Aux word order. In our sub-sample, we have five such sentences; since there is no subject gap, but an expressed subject, we are not in front of cases of stylistic fronting as discussed by Trips (2002). In all five sentences, if the order of the non-finite verb and the auxiliary is reversed, the non-finite verb would receive a strong beat on the final syllable, which is not compatible with the natural word accent of the verb.

Let us observe and example:

- (50) & ec þe werelld **tacnenn**
 and also the world represent
 maġġ || Mannkinn all
 may mankind all
 þess te bettre
 this the better

“And also the world may represent mankind all the better.”

(CMORM-M1,II,259.2579)

Let us first see the alternation of weak and strong beats on the actual verse:

&	ec	þe	we	relld	tac	nenn	maġġ
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

This is an octasyllabic verse, which ends with a strong beat. Let us now manipulate the verse and invert the order of auxiliary and verb:

*&	ec	þe	we	relld	maġġ	tac	nenn
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

As we can see from this example, inverting the order would result in a strong beat on the final syllable of the verb, contrary to the natural word accent on the root syllable. Similar results were found by Trips as far as her cases of Stylistic Fronting of a non-finite verb are concerned; she argues that Stylistic Fronting is employed when failure to do so would result in a wrong accent pattern. According to the analysis presented here, inversion and fronting operations are employed generally by Orm in order to preserve the rigid metric structure of the verse; for this reason, the text should be treated with caution, as far as its syntactic analysis is concerned.

The distribution of constituents in the subordinate clauses is also influenced by metric constraints; in the following, some examples are given.

We have seen in Table 5-14 above that there are three elements in the pre-verbal position which convey new information; I identified metric constraints for their mapping:

- (51) Forr kaggerrlegg̃c shall don þatt
 For wantonness shall do that
 ġho || Shall **dafftelegg̃c**
 she shall modesty
 forrwerppenn.
 abandon

“For wantonness shall make her abandon modesty.”

(CMORM-M1,I,74.664)

Let us observe the two verses again:

Forr *kaggerrlegg̃c* shall don þatt ġho ||
 Shall *dafftelegg̃c* forrwerppenn.

We can notice that there are two words presenting assonance in the two verses and one of them is the constituent under examination, which is found in the second verse.

Let us observe the verse with its metric sub-division and with our manipulation in the word order:

Shall	daff	te	legg̃c	forr	werr	penn
*Shall	forr	werr	penn	daff	te	legg̃c
W	S	W	S	W	S	W

As we can see, not only would the inversion of the word order result in a different accentuation of the verb, but also of the word presenting assonance, which would change its weak and strong beats sub-division.

An example of a post-verbal given element is given in the following:

- (52) Þurh þatt icc hafe hemm
 Through that I have them
 wrohht **tiss** **boc** ||
 written this book
 To þegg̃re sawle nede
 to their Soul’s need

“Through which I have written for them this book, for the need of their souls.”

(CMORM-M1,DED.L143.38)

Þurh	þatt	icc	ha	fe_ hemm	wrohht	tiss	boc
*Þurh	þatt	icc	ha	fe_ hemm	tiss	boc	wrohht
*Þurh	þatt	icc	ha	fe	wrohht	hemm	tiss
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
boc							
Extra							

By looking at the sub-division of the verse, and at the two manipulated verses, we can see that moving the object in the pre-verbal position would result in accentuating the demonstrative pronoun and de-accentuating the object, whereas moving both the pronouns and the object in the post-verbal position would add an extra syllable to the verse, since syneresis of the post-verbal pronoun and the preceding element would not be possible anymore.

I also looked at the distribution of object pronouns; the pronouns found before the inflected verb are 22. Of these, 14 are co-referential with the topic of the sentence; in three of the remaining cases, the perspective shifts to the audience of the text, as commented above for the main clauses. In these cases, the pronoun is found on a strong syllable, as the following example shows:

- (53) Wel birrþ uss likenn þær
 Well is compelled us like there
 whatt **uss** || þatt
 what us that
 name maġġ bitacnenn;
 name may represent

“And it is compelling for us to like what that name represents for us.”

(CMORM-M1,I,61.558)

The syllable division in the verse is given in the following:

Wel	birrþ	uss	li-	kenn	þær	whatt	uss
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
Þatt	na-	me	maǵǵ	bi-	tac-	nenn	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	

Concerning the pronouns in the pre- and post-verbal position, we can draw the same conclusions drawn for the pre-verbal and post-verbal pronouns in the main clauses. The manipulation of the word order results in the majority of the cases in a different accentuation pattern:

- (54) & Godess enngell seǵǵde himm to
 and God's angel said him to
 || Forr þatt he wollde
 For that he wanted
 himm frofrenn;
 him comfort

“And God’s angel said [that] to him, because he wanted to comfort him.”

(CMORM-M1,I,2.139)

Forr	þatt	he	woll	de himm	fro	frenn	
*Forr	þatt	he	woll	de	fro	frenn	himm
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	Extra

In this example, for instance, the inversion of object and verb results in lack of syneresis, which would lead to an extra syllable on the verse.

Finally, in the sample of subordinate clauses, I found four sentences presenting V > Aux word order; of these, there is only one in which the inversion of the verb and the auxiliary would result in a different accentuation pattern on the verb, whereas two other cases we have a possible chiasmus structure; let us observe one example:

(55)	&	ec	icc	seġġde	þatt	itt
	and	also	I	said	that	it
	wass		þær	henngedd	i	
	was		there	hung	in	
	þatt	hirne,		Forr	þatt	itt
	that	recess		for	that	it
	hidenn	sholde	þær		All	þatt
	hide	should	there		all	that
	tær	wass	wiþþinnenn			
	there	was	within			

“And I also said that it was hung there in that recess, because it should hide all that there was within.”

(CMORM-M1,I,56.527)

Let us observe the passage again:

| & ec icc seġġde þatt itt wass ||
 þær henngedd i þatt hirne, ||
 Forr þatt itt hidenn sholde þær ||
 All þatt tær wass wiþþinnenn ||

(CMORM-M1,I,56.527)

As we can see, the chiasmus regards in these cases the phonemes with which the words begin.

In the remaining case, I have not detected particular metric features.

Concluding this section, I showed that the quantitative distribution of constituents in the text is very similar to the distribution of constituents individuated in the prose texts; it has nevertheless to be noted that there is a higher percentage of heavy and new pre-verbal elements with respect to the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, which was composed earlier in the East Midlands area.

Moreover, I looked qualitatively into the metric properties of the text, and I showed that the mapping of constituents is constrained in the majority of cases by the rigid metre of the verse.

I tried to manipulate the word orders, in fact, and I concluded that a different word order would lead to a different accentuation pattern on the words, or on extra syllables. We have moreover seen that we can find assonance, rhyme and chiasmus structures - albeit not used regularly -, which are also part of the constraints driving the word orders found in the text, in both main and subordinate clauses.

Very striking is the distribution of object pronouns in the pre-verbal and in the post-verbal domain, since I showed that we can find precise chiasmus

structures, in which the inversion of the verb and the object pronoun would result in either extra syllables in the verse, or on a strong beat on the last syllables of a verb. Nevertheless, the positioning of pronouns on weak and strong syllabic beats is an indicator of their weak or strong status for the contrastive or shifting topic reading.

Finally, I conclude that this text, despite its being composed in a crucial area and directly in the Early Middle English period, is not suitable for a syntactic investigation, since there are clear indications that the word orders are not only driven by syntactic constraints, but also by the rigid metric organization of the verse. An indication of the importance of adhering to the metric structure is found namely at the beginning of the text:

Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc
 Amang Goddspellless wordess,
 All þurh me sellfenn, manig word
De rime swa to fillenn;

“I have set here in this book, among the words of the Gospel, all through myself, many words, in order to fill the rhyme.”

(Ormulum, Holt: 1865, vv. 41-44)

The concept of *rhyme* as quoted here has to be rather interpreted in the broader sense of the metrical structure. Concluding, we not only have individuated metric properties driving the order of constituents in this text, we also have an indication of the author himself.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to the investigation of the EME sample; after introducing the texts with their provenance and their transmission history, the quantitative and qualitative distribution of direct, indirect and prepositional objects in these texts were presented. The texts can be divided into a more conservative and more innovative group, whereby the term “conservative” refers to a distribution similar to the OE sample. In the first group we have seen that – as in OE – the G-Transparency condition and the prosodic condition regulate the pre-verbal Spell-Out of given and light arguments; however, there is a higher amount of post-verbal elements with respect to the OE sample – even though some differences across the texts can be found. Furthermore, main clauses present a higher amount of post-verbal elements with respect to the subordinate clauses. This can be linked to the fact that subordinate clauses are argued to be more conservative than main clauses (Cf. Lightfoot 1982; Lehmann 1990).

The second group of texts presents mostly post-verbal elements; in this group, what is still spelled-out in pre-verbal position are object pronouns (cf. Chapter 6). A distinction must be made within this second group of texts; in the KG in fact, pre-verbal non-pronominal elements can be found; however, this text presents a high amount of post-verbal pronouns (cf. below Chapter 6).

In both group of texts it can be observed that non-pronominal objects are distributed in the majority of cases in post-verbal position, albeit with different ratios; this signals probably that the IS constraints are blurred in favor of the prosodic condition, since the residual pre-verbal elements are either light, or given (so prosodically not marked), or pronominal.

This becomes evident in the Peterborough Chronicle and in the Kentish Sermons, where the only pre-verbal elements are object pronouns; it is reasonable to argue that the growing post-verbal Spell-Out of constituents has prompted the post-verbal Spell-Out of object pronouns. This will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Finally, we have analyzed the distribution of constituents in the Ormulum and concluded that its metric composition has certainly had a great impact on the surface word order; for this reason, this text is not included in the analysis on the distribution of pronouns in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX

ON THE MAPPING OF PRONOUNS IN OLD ENGLISH AND EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH⁴⁷

In this chapter, I will examine the distribution of personal object pronouns in the OE and EME texts selected for this empirical study (cf. Chapter 2). The study on the mapping of object pronouns is of particular interest for this work, since object pronouns refer to referents already activated in the discourse, and constitute light prosodic elements, which are cliticised to a phonologic host.

Recall that in our theoretical framework it is predicted that light and given elements retain the pre-verbal position longer, even if the post-verbal Spell-Out of other types of constituents may have been already reanalysed as the default option (cf. Chapter 2). The complete demise of the information structural and prosodic interface conditions would lead to the Spell-Out of object pronouns in the post-verbal domain.

In Chapters 4 and 5 we saw that the G-Transparency condition and the prosodic condition introduced in Chapter 2 account for the Spell-Out of non-pronominal arguments of verbs in pre-verbal position, whereas the post-verbal domain hosts both given and new, as well as light and heavy arguments. In Chapter 5 it was shown that the EME texts differ in their distribution of arguments. In particular, the texts of the Peterborough Chronicle and the Kentish Sermons present virtually only post-verbal non-pronominal arguments, whereas the other texts still present pre-verbal non-pronominal elements, albeit in a reduced amount with respect to the OE sample. We can hypothesise, at least for the texts in the more innovative group, that the G-Transparency condition was not the decisive condition for the pre-verbal Spell-Out of constituents, but rather that it was the prosodic condition which led to the Spell-Out of light elements in the pre-verbal

⁴⁷ A consistent part of this work was presented together with Roland Hinterhölzl during the “Colloque Information Structure and Language change”, which took place from the 2nd to the 4th of April in Caen, France. I thank Roland Hinterhölzl, Ans van Kemenade and the audience for precious comments on previous versions of this work. All errors are mine.

domain. The data illustrated for OE and EME are completed in this chapter with the study of the properties leading to the mapping of personal pronouns.

As far as OE is concerned, Pintzuk (1999) reports that object pronouns can surface in a position before the inflected verb, as well as before the non-finite verb; she argues that, unlike subject pronouns, object pronouns are optional syntactic clitics, which can cliticise to the left or right edge of the IP, or remain in their VP internal position, in her framework. Van Kemenade (2009), moreover, proposes that object pronouns, which are found before the inflected verb and a discourse partitioner in subclauses, cliticise to the head of a Σ P projection.

Kroch and Taylor (2000) show that the different Early Middle English texts examined in their corpus exhibit different ratios of pronoun scrambling, even when the amount of underlying VO structure as analysed in their framework is the same between the texts. A notable example is the difference in object scrambling between the texts of the Katherine Group and the Lambeth Homilies, which according to them exhibit a similar ratio of underlying VO structure, but in the text of the Lambeth Homilies the ratio of pronoun scrambling is higher. As the analysis in Chapter 5 has shown, these two groups of texts display a similar distribution of non-pronominal arguments and what differentiates them is the distribution of pronouns, as will become evident in the following.

According to Hinterhölzl (2017), object pronouns can be analysed according to the distinction between simple and special clitics in the sense of Zwicky (1977); special clitics are licensed by a specific syntactic head, whereas simple clitics do not undergo head movement, but nevertheless need a phonologic host with which they form a prosodic constituent. The optionality individuated by Pintzuk can be restated in these terms; pronouns in the left edge of IP are licensed by I° and are therefore special clitics. The same can be applied to clitics licensed by the Σ P. Object pronouns in pre-verbal position can be analysed as simple clitics, which need a phonologic host in order to form a prosodic constituent but are not licensed by a special head.⁴⁸ Hinterhölzl proposes that the post-verbal mapping of pronouns is triggered by the reanalysis of special clitics into simple clitics on the one hand, and by an economy condition which requires them to be spelled out in the smallest domain containing their host. He argues that in the texts of the Katherine Group, the Spell-Out of referential objects is driven by PF

⁴⁸ It can be argued that contrastively focused pronouns are strong pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1994); whether the division into special and simple clitics can be linked to the distinction into clitic and weak pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1994) is left for future research.

transparency, and that object pronouns in these texts, which as Kroch and Taylor show are predominantly post-verbal, are reanalysed as simple clitics, which are spelled-out in the smallest domain containing their host, namely in the VP. He argues that in the grammar of the South-East Midlands the system is mixed, since referential objects are mapped predominantly in post-verbal position, but object pronouns are spelled-out in pre-verbal position.

Given the language change scenario and Hinterhölzl's (2017) considerations, it is appropriate to ask ourselves what are the factors that drive the mapping of object pronouns on the one hand, and whether there is consistent variation between the texts examined, as the work by Kroch and Taylor (2000) suggests.

As for direct, indirect and PP arguments of verbs, a uniform account about the mapping of object pronouns in the three positions delineated will be proposed; in fact, we will see that the different mappings can be accounted for by assuming prosodic and information structural factors, which thus yield a unitary account for the development from OE to EME.

Given the fact that object pronouns surface frequently before the inflected verb, I will not limit my sample to the pre-verbal and post-verbal object pronouns only, as I have done with non-pronominal objects of verbs.

I hypothesise that the position at the left of the inflected verb hosts topic object pronouns, as the analysis by van Kemenade (2009) suggests. Here, I refer to topicalization as a discourse phenomenon, not as a syntactic phenomenon which involves XP movement to the Specifier of a TopicPhrase (cf. also van Kemenade 2009). Moreover, I assume that the position at the left of the non-inflected verb is the unmarked one, where the object pronoun is spelled out in its checking position, as consistent with the framework postulated by Hinterhölzl. Moreover, I hypothesise that the post-verbal position is driven by contrastive focus on the post-verbal pronoun, which would lead to an extra stress on the pronoun and prompt its Spell-Out in post-verbal position, according to the prosodic interface condition. The following analysis aims to test these predictions.

The IS mapping is conducted by analysing the context in which the result sentences are embedded; I tested whether the IS distinctions of pronouns as the topic of the sentence (in a broad sense of aboutness topic, or as contrastive topic, as defined by Krifka 2007), as simple given elements, without topic prominence, and as contrastively focused correlate with the licensing conditions governing their spell-out. It is undisputed that pronouns constitute anaphoric elements, which refer back to entities already introduced in the Universe of Discourse and are to be analysed as constituting *given* information; however, they could be contrasted, and -

even though they cannot constitute brand new information *per se* - they can be topicalized. Our account predicts that these IS distinctions are encoded through different syntactic realizations.

In the following, I will first analyse the quantitative and the qualitative distribution of object pronouns in the Old English sample; in section 6.2 I will analyse their distribution in the different Early Middle English texts. Section 6.3 concludes the chapter.

6.1 The distribution of object pronouns in the Old English sample

6.1.1 Quantitative Analysis

In the following table, we can observe the distribution of object pronouns in our sample of matrix and subordinate clauses examined in Chapter 4.⁴⁹ As we can see, post-verbal object pronouns were already an option, even though their ratio is lower than the ratio of object pronouns in the pre-Aux or the pre-V position.

Moreover, in sentences in which the relative order of the auxiliary and the verb is $V > Aux$ we only have one mapping option for the pronouns, namely before the non- inflected verb and the auxiliary. In the qualitative section, I will look at the information structural value of the clause in general.

⁴⁹ Each sentence has one pronoun; if a sentence has two pronouns, it is counted twice.

Table 6-1	
Main clauses	105
Aux > V clauses	101
pre-Aux pron	40; 39.6%
pre-V pron	50; 49.5%
post-V pron	11; 10.9%
V > Aux clauses	4
pre-V pron	4; 100%
post-V pron	-
Subordinate clauses	41
Aux > V clauses	21
pre-Aux pron	12; 57.1%
pre-V pron	7; 33.4%
post-V pron	2; 9.5% ⁵⁰
V > Aux clauses	20
pre-V pron	20; 100%
post-V pron	-

Even though our sample is limited with respect to the sample we have collected for the Early Middle English texts, the percentage points are arranged in a similar way also in the more conservative EME texts (cf. Section 6.2 below).

As we can see from the table, object pronouns are mostly concentrated in the pre-verbal domain and before the auxiliary verb, a fact which is in line with our theoretical framework, provided that the post-verbal mapping of object pronouns is motivated by information structural and prosodic interface conditions.

6.1.2 Aux > V clauses: information structural analysis

Even though pronouns intrinsically denote already activated referents, it is not excluded that they can be contrasted, or that they are topicalized. If IS interface conditions govern the Spell-Out of non-pronominal arguments, it is appropriate to determine whether other IS interface conditions govern also the Spell-Out of pronominal objects. In fact, as already noted in the introduction, it has been shown in the literature that object pronouns can

⁵⁰ The results from our restricted sample are in line with the data reported by Fischer et al. (2000) regarding the amount of object pronouns after the non-fronted verb; they report, in fact, that these are very infrequent and appear after 950. Our amount of 10% of post-verbal object pronouns may be due to the size of the sample.

surface before the inflected verb, can be scrambled above a sentence adverbial, and can be found in pre-verbal position. Fischer et al. (2000) report that a small number of pronouns can be found in post-verbal position already in OE, whereas Kroch and Taylor (2000) show that some EME texts have a higher amount of post-verbal pronouns with respect to other texts. The aim of this chapter is therefore to investigate whether the different mapping positions of pronouns are linked to different IS constraints, and to determine whether the post-verbal Spell-Out of pronouns can be linked to the general demise of the IS interface conditions witnessed in the transition between OE and EME.

The investigation starts from the pre-Aux pronouns; of the 40 pronouns in the left periphery of the Aux > V sentences, 39 are co-referential with the topic of the passage; the one which was not labelled as topic has contrastive focus reading; in the following, an example for topic is provided:

- (1) Her Egbriht cing forðferde, 7 **hyne**
 Here Egbert king died, and him
 hæfde ær Offa Mircna cing
 had previously Offa Mercians' king
 7 Brihtric Wessexena cing aflymed
 and Bertric West-Saxons'king banished
 .iii. gear of Angelcynnes lande on
 3 years from Angles' land on
 Francland ær he cing wære.
 France before he king was.

“In this year king Egbert died, and Offa king of the Mercians and Bertric king of the West Saxons had banished him for three years from England to France, before he became king.”

(cochronC,ChronC_ [Rositzke]:836.1.517)

In example (1) King Egbert constitutes the Aboutness Topic of the passage; after he is introduced, in fact, its reference is resumed by the object pronoun *hyne* which marks topic continuity for this referent. The new information conveyed by the clause is presented after the finite verb; this partition into a Topic and a Focus domain is typical of OE, as Los and van Kemenade (2006) show.

The contrastively focused pronoun in the left periphery is the following:

(2)	and	us	he	wæs	geswutelod;	na
	and	us	he	was	manifested	not
	eallum	folce,	ac	we	ðe	æton
	all	people	but	we	that	ate
	mid	him				
	with	him				

“And to us he was manifested, not to all the people, but to us, who ate with him.”

(coaelhom,ÆHom_9:158.1371)

The object pronouns *us* has a contrastive interpretation, since there is a clear conraposition between the disciples, to whom the pronouns refer, and all the people. Van Kemenade (2009) notices that pronoun clusters before the auxiliary verb are always found in a fixed order: the subject precedes the accusative pronoun, and the accusative pronoun precedes the dative pronoun. Given the fact the contrastive object pronoun in this sentence precedes the nominative subject pronoun, I conclude that in cases like this, the contrastive pronoun is not a clitic, but a strong pronoun.⁵¹

Also in the subordinate clauses, all the pronouns in the left periphery are analysed as topics.

The assumption that the position in the left periphery is a derived position, is supported by the examples in which the pronoun has been extracted from a PP or a QP and moved higher up in the clause (there are four such examples in our records for the main clauses)⁵²:

(3)	and	vii	ærendracan	he	him
	and	seven	messengers	he	him
	hæfde	to	asend		
	had	to	sent		

“And he had sent to him seven messengers.”

(cochronC,ChronC_[Rositzke]:905.1.8.1033)

⁵¹ This is the only sentence in the sample which presents object pronouns > subject pronoun word order. In the subordinate clauses, we find one sentence in which the object pronoun is separated from the auxiliary verb by a PP adjunct.

⁵² This is the analysis given by the parsing in the YCOE corpus and in Pintzuk (1999).

- (4) Ða he **hig** hæfde **ealle**
 when he them had all
 amyrrede [...]
 led astray. [...]

“And after that he had led them all astray, [...]”
 (cowsgosp,Lk_ [WSCp]:15.14.4898)

So far, our postulations are met: pronouns in the left periphery signal topic continuity, and the sentences conveying them can be analysed as Topic > Focus structures; let us now turn to the analysis of the pronouns found in pre-verbal position.

Since we have predicted that the pre-verbal mapping of pronouns is default, we would expect that the pronouns in this position only refer to entities which are already activated, but which are neither contrasted nor constitute the topic of the passage. In the majority of the examples we have for the main clauses, this postulation is met:

- (5) & on Sancte Martinesmæssedæg and on
 Saint Martin’s Mass-day
 heo weard **him** mid
 she was him with
 mycelan weorðscipe forgifen on
 great dignity given on
 Westmynstre.
 Westminster.

“And on Saint Martin’s day she was given him with great dignity at Westminster.”

(cochronE,ChronE_ [Plummer]:1100.50.3344)

In the sentence preceding this passage, the princess (to whom the feminine subject pronoun refers) is introduced and becomes the topic of the subsequent passage, consisting of sentences in which new information is added about this referent. The pronoun *him* refers to an activated referent, which, unlike the object pronouns found in the left periphery, is not the topic of the passage, but is part of the comment being predicated about the topic. However, there are also eighteen pronouns which can be analysed as topics, seven of which are also contrastive,⁵³ and which are not moved to the left periphery of the sentence.

⁵³ Contrastive topics are different from contrastively focused elements, since they contrast two topical elements without affecting the focus domain of the clause (cf. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007 and De Bastiani and Hinterhölzl 2020). For further

Summarising, so far we have seen that pronouns in the left periphery clearly correlate with a topic reading; the pre-verbal position is the unmarked position in the majority of cases, even though the topic reading is not excluded.

As already noticed by Pintzuk (1999), there is a scrambling position for object pronouns above vP, but below TP:⁵⁴

- (6) he ongan **him** **symble** andswarian
 he began him continually answer
 mid gecide
 with strife

“He began to answer him continually in a litigious way.”

(cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:9.64.31.727)

The pronoun *him*, even though it does not denote the aboutness topic, refers to a referent which is highly active in the context. The active referent is separated from the adverbial which modifies the VP. These sentences are compatible with an interpretation in which the VP is focal, whereas the pronoun is part of the background of the sentence. These are opposed to other sentences in which the pronoun is mapped after an adverbial at the left edge of vP:

- (7) þa began se dema eft hi
 then began the judge again them
 herigan.
 interrogate

“Then the judge began to interrogate them again.”

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Forty_Soldiers]:55.2504)

In this example, forty Christian soldiers are summoned before a heathen judge, who begins to interrogate them for the second time. The reference of the soldiers is highly active, since moreover they constitute the main protagonists of the hagiographic text; however, the action described constitutes a new passage in the narration. For this reason, I analyse this

details on Contrastive Topic pronouns in OE and EME, cf. De Bastiani and Hinterhölzl (2020).

⁵⁴ There are 6 such examples for the matrix Aux > V clauses. We have no examples for the subordinate clauses, but this may be due to the size of the sample. Among the V > Aux sentences, there are four subordinate ones which display the order pron > adv > V and one matrix clause displaying the order adv > pron > V.

example as including the pronoun in the focus domain of the clause.⁵⁵ Concluding, let us summarise the different positions individuated in the literature and analysed in this chapter:

(8) Pron > aux > pron > adv > pron > V > pron

Among these, the position at the immediate left of the verb is analysed as the unmarked one, whereas the position in the left periphery and at the left of an adverbial are derived by information structural requirements; let us now turn to the pronouns in post-verbal position.

The hypothesis underlying the research is that contrastive focus accent would prompt the post-verbal mapping of pronouns; these are in fact light elements, which are not expected in post-verbal position within the framework delineated in this work. However, the post-verbal pronouns in the sample do not present a contrastive interpretation. Only in the following example can the pronoun be interpreted as emphasised, thanks to the presence of the reinforcer *sylfe*:⁵⁶

(9)	And	sona	swa	þæt	wæs	þæt	hi
	And	soon	so	that	was	that	they
	swa	gedon	hæfdon,	þa	hæfdon	hy	
	so	done	had	then	had	they	
	forworhte		hy	sylfe.			
	ruined		them	selves.			

“And as soon that they had done so, they had ruined themselves”

(cowulf,WHom_6:48.273)

The referents of the pronoun *hy sylfe* are Adam and Eve; in the passage under consideration it is explained how their own actions brought about their banishment from the Garden of Eden by following the snake’s temptation. Whereas no contrast is detectable in this sentence, the presence of the reinforcer may point at narrow focus interpretation; we can paraphrase the sentence as “they ruined themselves with their own hands”.

Whereas contrast is not the condition that leads to the post-verbal mapping of pronouns, one can individuate a common feature to the post-verbal pronouns found in the OE sample. In fact, 10 out of 11 post-verbal

⁵⁵ It must be noticed, however, that the sentences presenting the order pron > adv > V and adv > pron > V do not always present a clear-cut information structural distinction.

⁵⁶ Mitchell (1985) in fact writes that the reflexive reading was obtained without *sylfe* in OE; this element was rather used as a reinforcer.

pronouns in the main clauses, and the two post-verbal pronouns in the sample of subordinate clauses are either followed by a second argument of the verb, or by an adjunct.

An example is given in the following:

- (10) Þa ongunnon þa winnendan wyrhtan
 then began the won workers
 ardlice biddan **heom** **metes**.
 immediately ask them food

“Then the recruited workers immediately started to ask them for food.”

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_3_[C]:37.251.18.3566)

In this example the indirect object pronoun is followed by the direct object which constitutes new information. It can be hypothesised that the object pronoun cliticises onto the prosodic more prominent second argument of the verb.

It is reasonable to investigate, then, whether two arguments of the same verb, among which one is an object pronoun, need per force to be mapped as one single unit in the post-verbal domain. Let us then look at the argument composition of the verbs presenting an object pronoun in the pre-verbal domain.

Among the 50 pre-verbal pronouns, there are 7 for which the verb requires two objects; of these seven, 2 present the second object in the form of a pronoun likewise, which is mapped before the auxiliary:

- (11) ic **hyt** hæbbe eow gesæd.
 I it had you said.

“I have said it to you”.

(coaelhom,ÆHom_19:259.2812)

In the remaining cases, only in 2 sentences are both arguments mapped in the pre-verbal domain; an example is given in the following:

- (12) Hæfde he **his** **dohtor** **him** **to**
 Had he his daughter him to
 wife beweddad
 wife wed

“He had given his daughter to him as wife.”

(cobede,Bede_3:5.168.4.1620)

In example (12), which is taken from Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English People, the three objects are all mapped in pre-verbal position.

In the remaining cases, the second argument of the verb is a complement clause, or a complex object, which is mapped in the post-verbal domain. Among the sample of subordinate clauses, only one sentence presents another argument other than the object pronoun in pre-verbal position. Finally, among the 40 object pronouns in the left periphery of main clauses, there are 4 which are governed by a verb requiring two objects. The second object can be mapped in the left periphery likewise, as example (3), repeated here as (13) shows, in the pre-verbal domain, as example (11) above shows, or in post-verbal position.

(13)	and	vii	ærendracan	he	him
	and	seven	messengers	he	him
	hæfde	to	asend		
	had	to	sent		

“And he had sent to him seven messengers.”

(cochronC,ChronC_[Rositzke]:905.1.8.1033)

When looking at the structural properties of the post-verbal pronouns, one might conclude that the requirement leading them to be mapped in post-verbal position is the presence of a second argument of the verb; however, as we have seen, this is a property shared not exclusively by the post-verbal pronouns, since a small number of pre-verbal and pre-Aux pronouns are also governed by verbs requiring a second argument. The only difference between the pre-Aux and pre-verbal pronouns and the post-verbal pronouns lies in the fact that, whereas for the post-verbal pronouns the presence of a second argument corresponds to almost all the cases, for the pre-verbal and the pre-Aux position this is a marginal option. Pintzuk (1999) analyses object pronouns as optional clitics and shows that object pronouns can cliticise onto a preposition governing them; given the fact that a second argument of the verb is an element prosodically more prominent than the object pronoun, it can be hypothesised that object pronouns could also cliticise onto a second more prominent argument of the verb, but the process was not obligatory.

In the following section, V > Aux clauses are treated.

6.1.3 V > Aux clauses

As can be seen from Table 6-1, we can find 4 main clauses and 20 subordinate clauses with the order V > Aux in the sample; in all of them the

pronoun is mapped before the non-inflected verb. I investigated whether these sentences contain entirely given information, as suggested by the sample of 56 subordinate clauses with a non-pronominal object, examined in chapter 6. This is met for 17 out of the 20 subordinate clauses, cf. the following example:

(14)	&	ic	hit	wille	þæt	hit
	and	I	it	want	that	it
	on	ælle	wise	beo	swaswa	
	in	all	manner	be	so-so	
	ge	hit	sprecon	hauen.		
	you	it	spoken	have		

“And I want it to be exactly as you have spoken it.”
 (cochronE-INTERPOLATION,ChronE_[Plummer]:675.16.537)

The expanded context for this sentence is the following:

Ic haue geheord seo kyninges Æðelredes geornunge 7 þes ærcebiscopes
 Theodorus 7 þes biscopes Saxulfes 7 þes abbotes Cuthbaldes, 7 ic hit wille
 þet hit on ælle wise beo swa swa ge hit sprecon hauen.

“I have heard the lamentations of King Æthelred and of the archbishop
 Theodorus and of the Bishop Saxulf and of the abbot Cuthbald, and I want
 everything to be exactly as you have requested it.”

(Chron. E, year entry 675)

As can be seen from the example, the subordinate clause refers to a state of affairs which is active for all the speech participants.

As far as the main Aux > V clauses are concerned, the content of the sentence constitutes given information in 2 out of 4 sentences; one sentence, instead, conveys new information. The remaining sentence was copied by error in the homily in which it is found, and therefore it is not possible to retrieve its information structural composition.

6.1.4 Interim conclusion

From the scrutiny of the OE sample it emerges that the pre-Aux and the pre-verbal positions are governed by IS constraints: the pre-Aux position correlates with topic reading, whereas the pre-verbal position hosts unmarked given elements, even though the contrastive and topic readings are not excluded. The post-verbal position does not correlate with contrastive focus marking, as hypothesised above, but presents one

structural feature: the object pronoun is not the only element found in the post-verbal domain. It was hypothesised that the pronoun can optionally cliticise to the more prominent second argument of the verb and that the whole unit is spelled-out in post-verbal position.

Starting from these premises, let us analyse the distribution of object pronouns in the EME sample.

6.2 Early Middle English

In this section, I examine the distribution of object pronouns in the different texts selected for the Early Middle English period; since the texts selected come from different dialectal areas, cover different types of genres, and are composed in different periods, it is appropriate to treat them separately. A quantitative overview for each of them is given in the following tables; the texts are grouped as proposed in Chapter 5. The clauses presenting V > Aux order in the sample are 14 and they are all subordinate; since the pronouns in these sentences are invariably found before the non-inflected verb, their quantitative distribution is not given. They will be analysed separately in section 6.2.2.

The analysis starts from the conservative sub-sample:

	Kentish Homilies	SEM texts	Lambeth Homilies
Number of clauses	14	220	117
Main clauses	9	97	73
Pre-Aux pron	8; 88.8%	50; 51.5%	35; 48 %
Pre-V pron	1; 11.2%	24; 24.7%	29; 39.7%
Post-V pron	0; 0%	23; 23.8%	9; 12.3%
Subordinate clauses	5	123	44
Pre-Aux pron	3; 60%	65; 52.8%	21; 47.7%
Pre-V pron	2; 40%	42; 34.1%	20; 45.5%
Post-V pron	0; 0%	16; 13.1%	3; 6.8%

As already hinted at in Chapter 5, in this group of texts one can hardly find any post-verbal object pronouns; in fact, they amount to circa 10% in the LH, while the KH do not present any at all. The SEM texts have the highest amount of post-verbal pronouns in the set, ranging from ca. 23% in the main clauses to ca. 13% in the subordinate clauses. In the next group of texts, the distribution is different:

Table 6-3: the distribution of object pronouns in the innovative sub-sample			
	Kentish Sermons	Peterborough Chronicle	Katherine Group
Number of clauses	11	12	86
Main clauses	3	3	54
Pre-Aux pron	2; 66.7%	2; 66.7%	7; 12.9%
Pre-V pron	0; 0%	1; 33.3%	9; 16.7%
Post-V pron	1; 33.3%	0	38; 70.4%
Subordinate clauses	8	9	32
Pre-Aux pron	6; 75%	1; 11.1%	9; 28.1%
Pre-V pron	1; 12.5%	3; 33.3%	9; 28.1%
Post-V pron	1; 12.5%	5; 55.6%	14; 43.8%

Only the Kentish Sermons represent an exception in this group, since most object pronouns are found in pre-verbal or in pre-Aux position.

In the following section, their distribution is analysed according to the methods employed for the OE sample.

6.2.1 Aux > V clauses: Information structural analysis

We have seen that the left periphery in the OE period hosts (contrastive) topics, whereas I analysed the pre-verbal position as the unmarked one; the post-verbal mapping of pronouns is probably driven by prosodic conditions. In the following, the same research methods are applied to the EME sample.

The pronouns in the left periphery are topics in 194/209 (92.8%) of the cases among the sample of main and subordinate clauses. The non-topical ones are either contrasted or reflexive pronouns coreferential with the subject, which is in most cases the topic of the passage, as illustrated in example (15), or it is a direct reference to the audience of the text, as example (16) shows:

- (15) *dat* *tu* ***de*** ***seluen*** *naht* *ne*
 that *you* *your-* *self* *not* *neg*
 miht *helpen*
 might *help*

“That you cannot help yourself.”

(CMVICES1-M1,65.697)

- (16) ic **ðe** wile seggen of his
 I you will say of his
 drædnesse, [...]
 fear [...]

“I will tell you of his fear.”

(CMVICES1-M1,59.637)

As was observed for the OE period, also part of the pre-verbal pronouns can be analysed as topics (65/141) but are in the most cases unmarked given elements; a small amount of them are contrasted. Pre-verbal contrastive pronouns amount to 7 in main clauses, and to 6 in subordinate clauses (the data are calculated on the overall sample).

Among both main and subordinate clauses, there are 110 post-verbal pronouns; the amount of contrastive post-verbal pronouns is 23 (20.9%), an amount too small to be held responsible for their post-verbal mapping. As far as the OE sample was concerned, it was noticed that post-verbal pronouns usually occur in the post-verbal domain together with the second argument of the verb; this feature will be investigated also for the EME texts. In the following, however, I will first treat the different texts separately by looking at the properties that characterise the post-verbal pronouns which occur as the only element in the post-verbal domain.

In the main clauses of the SEM texts there are four such pronouns, of which only one is not contrasted:

- (17) and þanne ich wille hem forleten. and
 and then I will them leave and
 nime shrift and beten **hem.**
 take penance and smite them

“And then I will leave them, and make my penance, and smite them”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,75.1027)

We can see that in the first sentence, the pronoun is mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas in the third coordinated VP the pronoun is mapped in post-verbal position; however, no contrast can be determined, since both pronouns refer to the referent *sin*, which is already active in the passage under consideration. In the other cases, we find a contrasted post-verbal pronoun:

- (18) Turned giu to me; and ich
 Turn you to me and I
 wile turne **me** to giu
 will turn me to you

“If you turn yourselves to me, I will turn myself to you.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,61.828)

Among the subordinate clauses of the SEM texts there are two sentences presenting a pronoun in the post-verbal domain which is not followed by another argument or adjunct; no contrastive focus is to be detected in these examples. Cf. Example (19):

- (19) [...] he hadde imaked adam louerd
 [...] he had made Adam lord
 ouer þis middelherd and ec ouer
 over this MiddleEarth and also over
 paradis þe wile þe he wolde
 Paradise the moment that he wanted
 heren **him**.
 obey him

“Because he had made Adam lord over this Earth and also over Paradise as long as he wanted to obey him.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,59.818)

The only example of a post-verbal pronoun as the only element in the post-verbal domain found for the Peterborough Chronicle presents contrast:

- (20) Þerefter wæx suythe micel uuerre betuyx
 thereafter grew such great war between
 þe king & Randolf eorl of Cæstre:
 the king and Randolf earl of Chester:
 noht forþi ðat he ne iaf him
 not because that he not gave him
 al ðat he cuthe axen **him**, also
 all that he could ask him, as
 he dide alle other.
 he did all others.

“Afterwards there was such a great war between the king and Earl Randolf of Chester, not because that he did not give him all that he could ask him, as he did to all the others.”

(CMPETERB-M1,58.526)

In this example, the contrast is between the referent of the pronoun *him*, and the referent of the QP *alle oþer*.

In the texts of the Katherine Group, post-verbal contrasted pronouns can be found, as exemplified by (21):

- (21) Mi feader & Mi moder
 My father and my mother
 for-þi þt ich nule þe
 because that I not-wanted you
 forsaken; habbe forsake **me.**
 forsake have forsaken me

“since I did not want to forsake you, my father and my mother have forsaken me.”

(CMJULIA-M1,106.172)

In most of the cases, however, the post-verbal object pronouns in the texts belonging to this group do not present marked features.

Since most of the post-verbal pronouns in the OE sample are not the only elements spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, it is appropriate to investigate whether a similar constraint can be detected also for our EME sample.

As far as the Kentish Sermons are concerned, we find one post-verbal pronoun in the main clauses, and one post-verbal pronoun in the subordinate clauses; both are governed by a verb requiring two objects and the second argument is likewise spelled-out in post-verbal position.

In the texts of the South East Midlands, of the 23 post-verbal pronouns in the main clauses, 17 are governed by a verb requiring two arguments, whereas 2 are followed by an adjunct; the amount of post-verbal pronouns in the subordinate clauses is 16, of which seven are followed by the second argument of the verb, and six are followed by an adjunct, an adverb or a relative clause.

In main clauses of the Lambeth Homilies, 9 pronouns are found in post-verbal position; in seven cases, they are followed by the second argument of the verb, whereas in the remaining two cases they are followed by an adjunct. The situation in the subordinate clauses of the same text is similar: of the three post-verbal pronouns, one is governed by a verb requiring two objects, one is followed by an adjunct and the remaining one is followed by a complement clause.

In the main clauses of the texts from the Katherine Group, I counted 38 post-verbal pronouns; of these, 7 occur alone in the post-verbal domain. Of the remaining ones, 16 are governed by a verb requiring two objects, 12 are

followed by an adverbial or an adjunct, 3 by a conjunct clause. Of the 14 post-verbal pronouns in the subordinate clauses, only 2 are mapped in the post-verbal domain together with the second object of the verb. Of the remaining ones, 7 are followed by either an adverbial or an adjunct, whereas 2 are followed by a conjunct clause and one by a complement clause. There are only two which are found as the only element in the post-verbal domain.

Finally, we can find post-verbal pronouns also in the subordinate clauses of the Peterborough Chronicle; of the 5 pronouns, 4 are followed by the second argument of the verb. The remaining one is the only element in the post-verbal domain.

As was observed also for the OE sample, it is not the case that only post-verbal pronouns are governed by a verb requiring two arguments. In fact, while most post-verbal pronouns cluster with other arguments in the post-verbal domain, in other sentences the pronouns which are governed by a verb requiring two arguments can still be mapped in the pre-verbal domain; among the 141 pre-verbal pronouns in main and subordinate clauses, 35 are governed by a verb requiring two arguments. These vary with respect to the mapping of the second argument, which similarly to the Old English sample, can be either pre-verbal or post-verbal. When looking at the proportion of post-verbal pronouns followed by a second argument of the verb, though, it emerges that they are more often spelled-out together with the second argument of the verb, with respect to the pre-verbal object pronouns likewise governed by a verb requiring two arguments.

Finally, similarly to the OE sample, we still find pronouns scrambled across an adverbial at the left of the vP, or pronouns which are mapped between an adverbial and the non-finite verb.

The analysis for the pre-adverbial and the post-adverbial pronouns is not different from the OE sample: pronouns scrambled across the adverbial are removed from the focus domain, and the adverbials used modify the denotation of the verb. The pronouns found after the adverbial can be analysed as being included in the wide focus domain, even though in some cases the difference is very subtle.

(22)	Ha	wes	<i>him</i>	<i>some</i>
	she	was	him	soon
	ihondsald	þah	hit	hire
	betrothed	though	it	her
	unwil	Were		
	ill-will	were		

“she was soon betrothed to him, although she did not want it.”

(CMJULIA-M1,96.19)

(23)	Ġif	du	wilt	<i>wel</i>
	if	you	want	well
	<i>it</i>	understonden	and	liernin
	it	understand	and	learn
	and	folġin		
	and	follow		

“If you want to understand, learn and follow it well.”

(CMVICES1-M1,151.1863)

6.2.2 V > Aux clauses

In our EME sample we have 14 subordinate clauses presenting V > Aux order; I checked whether the meaning expressed by the verb, in combination with the object pronoun, can be analysed as given information. This prediction is met for 12/14 clauses; cf. the following example:

(24)	Ac	ðanne	hit	is	þin	wille
	But	then	it	is	your	will
	ðat	ic	ðe	loc	ofrin	mote
	that	I	you	offering	offer	may

“But if it is your will that I offer you a gift [...]”

(CMVICES1-M1,85.962)

The context in which this sentence is embedded is the following:

Hlauerd, nu ic ðe wolde wurðizen, and loc ofrien, 3if ic hadde ani þing þat ðe icweme wære.

Lord, now I want to worship you, and offer a gift, if I had anything that could please you. (Holthausen 1967: 84-85)

6.3 Summary and discussion

In this chapter, I examined the mapping of object pronouns from a quantitative and qualitative perspective; the aim of the chapter was to pin down the structural and the information structural properties of the pronouns occurring in Aux > V as well as in V > Aux matrix and subordinate clauses.

From a descriptive point of view, we have seen that object pronouns can be mapped in four positions in Aux > V clauses: preceding the inflected verb, between the inflected and the non-finite verb, after the non-finite verb and above an adverbial at the left edge of vP. Even though these possibilities

are already represented in the OE sample, their ratio changes from text to text and from dialect to dialect in the EME period.

The texts which have a distribution similar to the OE sample are the homiletic and religious texts: the Kentish Homilies, the Kentish Sermons, the Trinity Homilies, the Lambeth Homilies and Vices and Virtues. The text of the Kentish Sermons may present some peculiarities due to the fact the sermons were translated from the French, but where possible the influence of the French translation was controlled for.

The texts which show a predominance of post-verbal pronouns are the Peterborough Chronicle and the texts of the Katherine Group; to my view, what distinguishes these texts from the texts listed above, is that they were composed in the Early Middle English period directly, and are not manipulations of older material, or translations, as the texts reported in the previous paragraph are.

As regards the OE sample, we have moreover seen that 11/13 post-verbal pronouns (among the total of main and subordinate clauses) are mapped in the post-verbal position together with a second argument required by the verb, whereas one is followed by an adjunct. I checked whether this requirement holds in the contrary direction for the pre-verbal pronouns; in other words, if the presence of the post-verbal pronoun can be analysed by its building a whole prosodic cluster with the second argument of the verb, then we would expect that this does not hold for the pre-verbal pronouns. I showed that this is not the case, since there are sentences with both arguments of the verb spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain, as well as presenting the pronominal object in the pre-verbal domain and the non-pronominal object in the post-verbal domain. However, their amount is smaller with respect to the amount of post-verbal objects followed by the second argument of the verb.

A similar state of affairs is shared by the post-verbal pronouns in the clauses of the Early Middle English texts; among these, the texts of the Katherine Group have the highest proportion of post-verbal pronouns not followed by any arguments or adjuncts and not contrasted.

Another structural aspect which emerges from the investigation of pre-verbal pronouns is the fact that a scrambled position across adverbials can be found; often the scrambled pronoun correlates with topic reading, but the difference with the non-scrambled position is hard to pinpoint in some contexts. The scrambled position is attested also in the EME texts examined in this chapter.

We have also seen that there are information structural properties which correlate with the mapping of pronouns; we have seen, in fact, that the pre-Aux position strongly correlates with Topic reading; the topic reading is not

excluded from the pre-verbal position, but the amount of pre-verbal pronouns correlating with topic reading is not as high as the amount of pre-Aux pronouns with this reading. I hypothesised that contrastive focus could be responsible for the post-verbal mapping of pronouns, but this prediction is not met for all the post-verbal pronouns in the sample. In a more recent investigation, De Bastiani and Hinterhölzl (2020) perform a finer-grained investigation on object pronouns, showing that the pre-Aux and the pre-verbal position host different types of Topics: Aboutness and Contrastive Topics correlate with the pre-Aux position, whereas the pre-verbal position hosts mostly Familiar Topics, i.e. simple given elements. This piece of evidence corroborates the view that in the OE and conservative EME texts examined IS distinctions are encoded syntactically. Contrastive focus on pronouns does not seem to be a factor prompting their post-verbal Spell-Out.

So far, we have established that the pre-verbal position of pronouns is the unmarked one, since it hosts object pronouns referring to plainly given referents, and marginally allows for topic and contrastive reading. That this position is the unmarked one is predicted in the theoretical framework employed in the work, since a default option is postulated, according to which light elements are spelled out in their checking position, unless other prosodic or information structural conditions apply.

Finally, we saw that $V > \text{Aux}$ clauses generally represent totally given information; their analysis is given in Chapter 8.

Turning to the diachronic development, I summarised in the introduction to this chapter the properties of special and simple clitics in the sense of Zwicky; I argue that pronouns at the left of the auxiliary and pronouns scrambled across an adverbial are special clitics. They are licensed by a special head; in Chapter 8, I will define the two special licensing heads. These pronouns correlate with a special information structural reading; in the course of time, information structural constraints become opaque in the history of English. In fact, referential objects are progressively spelled-out with an increasing ratio in the post-verbal position; the IS interface conditions regulating their spell-out are not transparent anymore, since the number of given elements in the post-verbal domain increases constantly through time (cf. Chapters 7 and 8). The blurring of the information structural constraints affected also special clitics, which correlate with topic reading. If the information structural constraints are not transparent anymore, topicalization and scrambling become less frequent, as the data from the Peterborough Chronicle and the Katherine Group suggest. In the latter group of texts, in fact, one can find a higher amount of post-verbal pronouns which are neither contrastive nor followed by a heavier element.

The licensing of special clitics to dedicated heads becomes less frequent, blurring the evidence for their status as special clitics.

Moreover, I showed that in most of the cases, object pronouns can cluster with the second argument of the verb, or with a heavier adjunct in the post-verbal domain. The mapping of both objects of verbs in post-verbal position is not obligatory, but it was an option, together with contrastive accent; I argue that these facts, together with the demise of the information structural conditions regulating the licensing of special clitics have favoured the reanalysis of special clitics into simple clitics.

These simple clitics can be spelled out in the smallest domain containing their host; notice that their host can either be the auxiliary or the non-finite verb. Given the fact that also referential objects are progressively spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, I argue that their phonologic host is reanalysed as the lexical verb, hence the non-finite verb, governing them. As De Bastiani and Hinterhölzl (2020) argue, this reanalysis is possible after the preferred Spell-Out site of DPs is reanalysed as the unmarked one; after that the IS distinctions prompting the pre-verbal Spell-Out of given but heavy DPs are blurred, the finer IS distinctions governing the scrambling and Spell-Out of object pronouns are lost as well, leading to a system in which IS distinctions are not signalled by the syntactic position anymore, but by a fixed word order combined with de-accenting options for given elements (cf. De Bastiani and Hinterhölzl 2020 for more details).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND A CLOSER LOOK AT THE DEFINITE DETERMINER

The aim of this chapter is twofold; In section 7.1 I will first summarise the distribution of arguments across the OE period and across the different EME dialect areas, and I will summarise the findings for the object pronouns.

In Section 7.2, I will focus on DPs in the OE and EME sample from a closer perspective; so far, I have analysed DPs with the determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* in the OE sample as left branching, given the analysis provided for the status of these determiners in the OE period. We have seen in Chapter 3, in fact, that the determiner was not grammaticalized fully as a definite determiner sitting in the head D in the OE period; however, my empirical research and the research by Crisma (2011), Breban (2012) and Allen (2016) show that these determiners were possibly ambiguous during the OE period, having a textual deictic function, and serving as markers of definiteness for certain semantic categories.

At the beginning of the EME period, these determiners had undergone the grammaticalization into markers of definiteness in the dialect areas under scrutiny in this work. We will see in this chapter that DPs with a definite determiner are reanalysed in post-verbal position before object pronouns; this is in line with the predictions in Hinterhölzl (2017), and with the word order changing scenario postulated in Chapter 2.

7.1 On the distribution of arguments across the history of the Old English and the Early Middle English periods

In this section, I focus on the distribution of arguments of verbs divided according to their syntactic weight and information structural value; I will focus on the comparison between main and subordinate clauses on the one hand, and on the transition between the OE and the EME period, with

attention to the different texts and dialect areas examined. I collect the tables presented in Chapters 4 to 6, in order to gain a comprehensive view of the syntactic change, as analysed according to our instruments of investigation. Since in the Early Middle English period there is a lower number of $V > \text{Aux}$ clauses, this section focuses on the distribution of constituents in the $\text{Aux} > V$ clauses, in order to have comparable data.

7.1.1 The Old English Sample

In this section, I present the data collected for the OE sample; I present the tables depicting the relative distribution of given, new, light and heavy constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domains.

Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	117	58; 49.6%	59; 50.4%
	All heavy elements	98	23; 23.5%	75; 76.5%
IS value				
	All given elements	119	64; 53.8%	55; 46.2%
	All new elements	78	13; 16.6%	65; 83.3%

As I commented in Chapter 4, we can notice that given and light elements are also distributed in the post-verbal domain of OE $\text{Aux} > V$ clauses; the distribution of heavy and new elements in the pre-verbal domain is, however, lower with respect to the distribution of given and light elements in the same domain. In Chapter 4 we have seen that the new pre-verbal elements consist mostly of light elements, and we have seen that some of them can be accommodated by assuming that they may have been part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by the audience of the works.

Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	59	29; 49.2%	30; 50.8%
	All heavy elements	42	9; 21.4%	33; 78.6%
IS value				
	All given elements	54	28; 51.8%	26; 48.2%
	All new elements	24	1; 4.2%	23; 95.8%

As we can see for the subordinate clauses collected in the OE sample, the amount of new pre-verbal elements is lower than the amount of new pre-verbal elements in the main clauses. Moreover, heavy elements are distributed for almost 80% of the cases in the post-verbal domain; the distribution of light and given elements is divided almost equally between the pre- and the post-verbal domain, even though we have a higher number of given elements in the pre-verbal domain.

Finally, let us observe the distribution of object pronouns in our set of data:

Main clauses	105
Aux > V clauses	101
pre-Aux pron	40; 39.6%
pre-V pron	50; 49.5%
post-V pron	11; 10.9%
Subordinate clauses	41
Aux > V clauses	21
pre-Aux pron	12; 57.1%
pre-V pron	7; 33.4%
post-V pron	2; 9.5%

We have seen that most pronouns are either mapped in the pre-Aux position or in the pre-verbal position; concerning the information structural properties of these pronouns, we have seen that the pre-Aux position strongly correlates with topic reading, whereas the pre-verbal position has unmarked features. As regards the post-verbal pronouns, we have seen that

they are mapped in the post-verbal domain together with the second argument of the verb, or with an adjunct; we have noticed that this is not a one-way correlation, but the number of pronouns occurring in a ditransitive structure in the pre-verbal domain is much lower.

Concluding this section, our findings are in line with Struik and van Kemenade's (2018) analysis of direct objects in subordinate clauses; they show that both the information structural parameter, as well as the weight of constituents yield significant results for the mapping of arguments. Moreover, they notice that the effect of information structure is equally significant in both $Aux > V$ as well as $V > Aux$ sentences; this finding challenges Taylor and Pintzuk's (2012b) analysis of $V > Aux$ sentences as presenting a stronger correlation with the information structural mapping of constituents.

The findings in Struik and Van Kemenade's (2018) work and the findings presented in this book moreover highlight that it is the set of pre-verbal elements which has a different licensing with respect to the post-verbal ones. In fact, whereas the pre-verbal domain of $Aux > V$ main and subordinate clauses predominantly hosts light and given arguments, the post-verbal domain shows a more mixed distribution. Struik and Van Kemenade argue that this piece of evidence follows if the base grammar is VO, since pre-verbal objects display a special trigger, but not the other way around.

The data presented in this work confirm this view, but we have also seen that weight has an effect when it comes to the mapping of given elements, which are found in post-verbal position if they are heavy. Recall, however, that we do not only find heavy and/or new elements in the post-verbal domain, but also light and given elements. These can be followed by a heavier argument of the verb or are contrasted. In the case of a ditransitive structure, I argue that both arguments are perceived as a heavy prosodic unit and are therefore both spelled-out in the post-verbal domain; contrasted objects are argued to be prosodically more prominent. However, I noticed in Chapter 4, that given and light post-verbal elements, which are neither contrasted nor followed by a second argument of the verb, amount to circa 12% of the post-verbal elements. These elements can be taken as an indication that the post-verbal Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects was starting to become the unmarked strategy; as shown in Chapter 5, the percentage of non-contrastively marked given and light elements in the post-verbal position increases in the EME period.

Moreover, we have seen that given and heavy elements are both mapped in pre-verbal and post-verbal position; I concluded that there is competition between the prosodic and the interface mapping conditions as regards these

elements, as predicted in Chapter 2. In fact, given elements reject sentence accent, even if they are heavy, and they can therefore be mapped on a weaker branch than the verb (cf. discussion in Chapter 2); on the other hand, their weight would require their mapping in the post-verbal position. This piece of evidence follows if we suppose conflicting mapping parameters which act within a language change scenario; we will see that the tension is resolved in the texts of the Katherine Group and in the Peterborough Chronicle, as well as in the Kentish Sermons, where almost all constituents are mapped in post-verbal position, and the pre-verbal ones have a predominant light syntactic weight.

7.1.2 The Early Middle English Sample

In this section, I will look at the distribution of arguments in a comparative perspective. The attention focuses on Aux > V sentences, since they are predominant in the sample.

The data are presented according to the subdivision motivated in Chapter 5; please note that, given the analysis in Chapter 5, the data from the Ormulum are excluded from the present overview.

Table 7-4: main clauses of the conservative sub-sample		KS		SEM texts		LH	
Arguments		Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	4; 44.4%	5; 55.6%	37; 34.3%	71; 65.7%	18; 28.2%	46; 71.8%
	All heavy elements	1; 14.3%	6; 85.7%	8; 8.3%	89; 91.7%	9; 12.8%	61; 87.2%
IS value							
	All Given elements	3; 33.3%	6; 66.7%	24; 26.1%	68; 73.9%	17; 23.9%	54; 76.1%
	All new elements	0%	3; 100%	5; 7.2%	65; 92.8%	8; 17.4%	38; 82.6%

The continuity with the OE sample is evident in the distribution of direct, indirect and PP arguments; in fact, the distribution of new and heavy

elements does not change much from the sample of OE clauses, but we can furthermore notice that the number of light and given elements is progressively lower in the pre-verbal domain with respect to the OE sample, when we progress from the Kentish Homilies to the texts of the South East Midlands and the Lambeth Homilies. Even though the ratio of given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain is still higher with respect to the heavy and new elements, we can see that the amount of non-pronominal elements in the pre-verbal domain progressively diminishes.

Table 7-5: subordinate clauses of the conservative sub-sample		KS		SEM texts		LH	
Arguments		Pre- verbal	Post- verbal	Pre- verbal	Post- verbal	Pre- verbal	Post- verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	5; 71.4%	1; 28.6%	43; 58.1%	31; 41.9%	20; 34.5%	38; 65.5%
	All heavy elements	1; 25%	3; 75%	17; 24.6%	52; 75.4%	10; 21.8%	36; 78.2%
IS value							
	All Given elements	4; 57.2%	3; 42.8%	45; 52.9%	40; 47.1%	25; 39.1%	39; 60.9%
	All new elements	1; 100%	0; 0%	4; 11.4%	31; 88.6%	1; 3.3%	29; 96.7%

Concerning subordinate clauses, we can see that they present a more conservative distribution with respect to the heaviness parameter; in fact, light elements are mapped in 70% of the cases in the pre-verbal domain in the Kentish Homilies, whereas the Lambeth Homilies present a lower distribution. The given elements are equally distributed across the pre-verbal and the post-verbal domain, with the exception of the text of the Lambeth Homilies, which shows a lower distribution.

Summarising, whereas the text of the Kentish Homilies presents a distribution which is very similar to the OE period, the texts of the South East Midlands and the Lambeth Homilies, despite still presenting a relatively high amount of given and light elements in pre-verbal position, demonstrate that the post-verbal position was being reanalysed as the preferred Spell-Out site.

The results for the subordinate clauses show, however, that the reanalysis of the post-verbal position as the unmarked one is less progressed than in the main clauses. From a qualitative point of view, we have noticed that the new information we can find in the pre-verbal domain can be accommodated by assuming a wider array of elements pertaining to encyclopaedic knowledge. The distribution of light and given post-verbal elements presents similarities with respect to the OE sample; these elements are either contrasted or followed by a heavier argument of the verb in the post-verbal domain. It was noted, however, in Chapter 5, that the non-contrastive light and given post-verbal elements in this sub-sample amounts to circa one-third of the overall post-verbal elements.

In the following table, the distribution of object pronouns in this group of texts is reported:

	Kentish Homilies	SEM texts	Lambeth Homilies
Number of clauses	14	220	117
Main clauses	9	97	73
Pre-Aux pron	8; 88.8%	50; 51.5%	35; 48%
Pre-V pron	1; 11.2%	24; 24.7%	29; 39.7%
Post-V pron	0; 0%	23; 23.8%	9; 12.3%
Subordinate clauses	5	123	44
Pre-Aux pron	3; 60%	65; 52.8%	21; 47.7%
Pre-V pron	2; 40%	42; 34.1%	20; 45.5%
Post-V pron	0; 0%	16; 13.1%	3; 6.8%

As can be seen from this table, in these texts object pronouns are mapped predominantly in the pre-verbal or in the pre-Aux position; in the main clauses, the texts of the South East Midlands and of the Lambeth Homilies present a slightly higher amount of post-verbal pronouns, but the data collected for these texts point at the conclusion that, whereas the post-verbal Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects was on its way of being reanalysed as the unmarked option, the post-verbal Spell-Out of typically light elements such as object pronouns was ruled out. By comparing the distribution of both non-pronominal as well as pronominal elements, the phases postulated in Chapter 2 emerge: these texts represent a stage in which typically light elements are spelled-out preferably in pre-verbal or in pre-Aux position due to their Topic status, but non-pronominal elements are progressively spelled-out in post-verbal position. Even though the residual pre-verbal

elements are given and light, their amount in the pre-verbal position is lower with respect to the OE stage (with the exclusion of the Kentish Homilies). In this stage, the prosodic condition was gaining ground, whereas the G-Transparency condition was probably subject to blurring, since also given elements are spelled-out in the majority of cases in the post-verbal position.

As already observed in Chapter 5, the remaining texts in the sample show that non-pronominal objects are predominantly mapped in post-verbal position; the only exception is given from the texts of the Katherine Group, which present a higher number of pre-verbal elements with respect to the other texts in the innovative sample:

Table 7-7: main clauses of the innovative sub-sample		KS		PC		KG	
Arguments		Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	1; 50%	1; 50%	0; 0%	2; 100%	9; 29.1%	22; 70.9%
	All heavy elements	0; 0%	8; 100%	0; 0%	6; 100%	4; 11.4%	31; 88.6%
IS value							
	All given elements	1; 11.2%	8; 88.8%	0; 0%	3; 100%	7; 27.5%	27; 72.5%
	All new elements	0; 0%	1; 100%	0; 0%	2; 100%	0; 0%	22; 100%

As remarked above, in the texts from the Katherine Group, we can see that the amount of given and light elements is lower in the pre-verbal domain, with respect to the Kentish Homilies and the texts of the South East Midlands, but higher than the Kentish Sermons and the Peterborough Chronicle. We can observe, however, how the results can be placed within a continuum which has its roots in the OE period.

Table 7-8: subordinate clauses of the innovative sub- sample		KS		PC		KG	
Arguments		Pre- verbal	Post- verbal	Pre- verbal	Post- verbal	Pre- verbal	Post- verbal
Weight value							
	All light elements	0; 0%	4; 100%	1; 6.7%	14; 93.3%	8; 44.4%	10; 55.5%
	All heavy elements	0; 0%	10; 100%	0; 0%	26; 100%	3; 23.1%	10; 76.9%
IS value							
	All given elements	0; 0%	13; 100%	1; 4%	24; 96%	10; 50%	10; 50%
	All new Elements	0; 0%	1; 100%	0; 0%	11; 100%	0; 0%	8; 100%

In the subordinate clauses of the Peterborough Chronicle and of the Kentish Sermons, direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs are all found in post-verbal position. Only object pronouns are mapped in the pre-verbal position. For the texts of the Katherine Group, we can notice that the amount of light and given elements is higher with respect to the main clauses, as was noticed moreover for the subordinate clauses of the other texts; in Chapter 5 it was shown that the pre-verbal mapping of some elements is probably due to stylistic choices.

The distribution of object pronouns is crucially different in the Peterborough Chronicle and the Katherine Group with respect to the more conservative group of texts:

Table 7-9: the distribution of object pronouns in the innovative sub-sample			
	Kentish Sermons	Peterborough Chronicle	Katherine Group
Number of clauses	11	12	86
Main clauses	3	3	54
Pre-Aux pron	2; 66.7%	2; 66.7%	7; 12.9%
Pre-V pron	0; 0%	1; 33.3%	9; 16.7%
Post-V pron	1; 33.3%	0	38; 70.4%
Subordinate clauses	8	9	32
Pre-Aux pron	6; 75%	1; 11.10%	9; 28.1%
Pre-V pron	1; 12.5%	3; 33.30%	9; 28.1%
Post-V pron	1; 12.5%	5; 55.60%	14; 43.8%

As we have seen in Chapter 6, one can hardly find any post-verbal pronouns in the main clauses of the Peterborough Chronicle, however, this might be due to chance given the small amount of data; in fact, in the subordinate clauses we can find that almost half of the pronouns are mapped in post-verbal position. Among the post-verbal pronouns in the subordinate clauses, only in one case is the pronoun not mapped together with the second argument of the verb, but it is contrasted.

In the Katherine Group we can see that pronouns are mostly mapped in post-verbal position; the pre-verbal and the pre-Aux positions emerge as a residual strategy in the main clauses.

Concluding, we have seen that the distribution of constituents in the Aux > V main and subordinate clauses can be traced within a continuum which has its roots in the Old English period; in fact, also in the clauses from the Old English dataset we can find light and given elements in the post-verbal domain, whereas new and heavy elements have a lower distribution from the start. This shows that it is the pre-verbal domain that needs a special licensing for the elements, and not vice versa; in fact, the presence of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain progressively diminishes, until we find texts which present only object pronouns in the pre-verbal domain. These texts are those texts which were composed during the Early Middle English period and do not represent manipulations of older material. The post-verbal domain shows a more heterogeneous distribution right from the Old English period, where the interactions of the IS and weight parameters is more evident.

When one observes the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects only, the Early Middle English texts examined show different ratios, but a

similar tendency towards the progressive Spell-Out of objects in the post-verbal domain. What differentiates the texts is the distribution of object pronouns; this can be seen clearly when the Lambeth Homilies and the texts of the Katherine Group are compared.

Finally, we have seen that subordinate clauses generally show a more conservative system, as hinted at in Chapter 2.

7.2 On the mapping of DPs

In this section, we will determine whether the post-verbal mapping of definite DPs predates the post-verbal Spell-Out of object pronouns, as proposed also in Chapter 6 and argued for by De Bastiani and Hinterhölzl (2020). Since the reanalysis of the demonstratives *se/seo/þæt* is completed in the EME period, the DPs with a definite determiner found in the EME texts can be analysed as right branching. At the end of this section, an analysis for the OE DPs will be proposed.

Looking at our set of data, I isolated the number of DPs with a definite determiner found in each text; it has to be noted, though, that some of the DPs we have found have a PP or a relative clause as post-modifier. I will not consider these DPs in the present chapter, but I will focus on the DPs which are not further modified.

One example is given in the following:

- (1) for hie wule liken **alle** **þe**
 for she wants please all the
 lechures **þe** **on** **hire** **loked.**
 adulterers that on her look

“For she wants to please all the adulterers that look at her.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,29.384)

As can be noticed from this example, in fact, the DP has a relative clause as a post-modifier; in order to track whether DPs are predominantly mapped in post-verbal position, I decided to leave aside this kind of DPs for the present chapter, because their post-verbal mapping can be dependent on the weight of the post-modifier. Let us then turn to the analysis of simple DPs which do not present further right branching post-modifiers.

Given the number of sentences, in the text of the Kentish Homilies we can find five DPs with a definite reference; three of them are mapped in post-verbal position, whereas two are found in pre-verbal position, of which one of them is scrambled across an adverbial. The scrambled DP and one of the post-verbal DPs are exemplified below:

- (2) For he wolde **þone** **forwordene**
 For he wanted the perished
middeneard eft aræren on
 Middle-Earth again build on
 þan ylcan dæige, þe he
 the same day that he
 ærst getimbrod wæs.
 First built was

“For he wanted to build again the mortal Earth on the same day, in which it was built.”

(CMKENTHO-M1,144.260)

- (3) Ac þa mænn þe habbed þine
 But the men that have torment
 on þyssen middenearde, [...] heo
 on this Middle-Earth [...] they
 sculen habben **þa** **heofenlice selen.**
 shall have the heavenly bliss

“But the men who are tormented in this world shall have the heavenly bliss.

(CMKENTHO-M1,143.256)

In all five sentences, the reference of the DP is identifiable and given in the context, so the pre-verbal and post-verbal mapping is not driven by the IS properties of the DPs; even though Allen has not reconstructed an indeclinable *þe* article, we can see that these determiners precede identifiable and unique referents, and that they mark their definiteness.⁵⁷

In the text of the Kentish Sermons, all DPs we have found, which do not present a complex post-modifier, are mapped in post-verbal position. All of these denote identifiable referents, as the following examples show:

- (4) Nu ye habbeþ iherd **þe**
 Now you have heard the
Miracle.
 miracle

“Now you have heard the miracle.”

(CMKENTSE-M2,217.83)

⁵⁷ Allen (2016) in fact, notices that the definite determiner can still be declined for case and number in some varieties. This does not entail that the determiner is not already grammaticalized as a definite article, however.

(5)	Pet	holi	godspel	of	to-dai	us
	The	holy	gospel	of	today	us
	telp.	þet	ure	lord	ihesus	
	tells	that	our	Lord	Jesus	
	crist	ase	he	hedde	iyue	
	Christ	as	he	had	given	
	þo	newe	laghe.	[...]		
	the	new	law	[...]		

“The gospel of today tells us, that our Lord Jesus Christ, as he had given the new law on a mountain, [...]”

(CMKENTSE-M2,218.100)

As far as the Trinity Homilies are concerned, among the non-complex DPs we can find, only one is mapped in pre-verbal position:

(6)	and	gef	he	þat	hiede
	and	if	he	that	held
	synne.	he	wolde	þe	dede
	sin	he	would	the	deed
	widtien.				
	withdraw				

“And if he held it for a sin, he would withdraw his deed.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,31.419)

The remaining ones are all mapped in post-verbal position, even though they represent given and identifiable referents:

(7)	for- þi	mai	godes	word	turnen	þe
	therefore	may	God’s	word	turn	the
	ouelete	to	fleis.	[...]		
	bread	to	flesh	[...]		

“Therefore God’s word may turn the sacramental bread to flesh.”

(CMTRINIT-MX1,99.1317)

Among the main clauses of the text of Vices and Virtues all the DPs with a definite determiner are post-verbal, one example is given in the following:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| (8) | and | ðurh | scadwisnesse | þu | scalt |
| | and | through | discernment | you | shall |
| | skilien | | ðe | euele | fram |
| | distinguish | | the | evil | from |
| | ðe | gode. | | | |
| | the | good | | | |

“And through discernment you shall distinguish evil from good.”

(CMVICES1-M1,125.1531)

In the set of subordinate clauses from the same text, though, two of the DPs under scrutiny are mapped in pre-verbal position; one example is given in the following:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----------|--------------|----------|------|-----|
| (9) | Hier | ðe | lærð | godd | ðat | tu |
| | Hier | you | teaches | God | that | you |
| | scule | ðe | world | forlaten | ðine | |
| | shall | the | world | leave | your | |
| | aġenes | þankes | [...] | | | |
| | own | will | [...] | | | |

“Here God teaches you that you shall leave the world on your own will.”

(CMVICES1-M1,111.1320)

The remaining three are spelled-out in post-verbal position, as the following example shows:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|-----|--------|-------|------------|
| (10) | “Hlauerd,” | cwað | he, | “ hwat | mai | ic |
| | Lord | said | he | what | may | I |
| | don | ðat | ic | mihte | hauen | ðat |
| | do | that | I | might | have | the |
| | eche | lif? | “ | | | |
| | eternal | life? | ” | | | |

“‘Lord,’ he said, ‘What can I do, so that I can obtain the eternal life?’”

(CMVICES1-M1,67.743)

In the text of the Lambeth Homilies we have the highest number of DPs without a heavier post-modifier. In this text, we can find five DPs which are mapped in pre-verbal position among the subordinate clauses; the remaining 7 DPs with a definite determiner are mapped in post-verbal position. Two examples presenting a pre-verbal and a post-verbal DP respectively in the subordinate clauses of the Lambeth Homilies are given in the following:

(11)	Nu	þah	he	walde	þa	ufele
	Now	though	he	wanted	the	evil
	sunne	for-leten	Ne	mei	he	for
	sins	leave	not	may	he	for
	þan	deoflan.				
	the	devils				

“Now, although he wanted to forsake his sins, he was not able to do it because of the devils.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,27.337)

(12)	Sunfulles	monnes	bone	nulle	god
	Sinful	man’s	prayers	not-want	God
	almihtin	iheren	bute	he	wulle
	Almighty	hear	but	he	will
	forleten	þa	sunne	and	gan
	leave	the	sins	and	go
	to	bote.			
	to	penance			

“God does not want to hear the prayers of a sinner, unless he wants to forsake his sins and repent.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,37.477)

In these examples we can observe two DPs with an identifiable referent in two subordinate clauses; the DPs refer to the same referent, but in sentence (11) the DP is mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas in sentence (12) it is mapped in post-verbal position.

In the main clauses, we can find 6 pre-verbal DPs and 12 post-verbal DPs with a definite reference; two examples are given in the following:

(13)	Ne	mei	þe	deofle	þa
	Not	may	the	devil	the
	sunne	iwiten	þa	get	
	sins	know	then	yet	
	er	þu	habbe	heo	idon
	before	you	have	them	done
	mid	þe	licome.		
	with	the	body		

“The devil may not be aware of your sins, until you have committed them with your body.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,21.241)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----|--------|--------|------------|--------------|
| (14) | and | þu | hauest | ilogen | þan | halie |
| | and | you | have | lied | the | Holy |
| | gaste; | | | | | |
| | Ghost | | | | | |

“And you have lied to the Holy Ghost.”

(CMLAMBX1-MX1,91.794)

As can be noticed from these examples, these DPs denote either unique or abstract referents, for which the determiner marks their definiteness; we are definitely dealing with DPs containing a definite determiner, and thus with right branching structures.

In the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, we have seen that the only elements mapped in the pre-verbal domain are prosodically light; in fact, the DPs we can find in this text are all post-verbal. One example is given in the following:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| (15) | & | seide | þet | he |
| | and | said | that | he |
| | hæfde | forlæten | þone | mynstre |
| | had | left | the | monastery |
| | mid | ealle | | |
| | with | all | | |

“And [he] said that he had left the monastery altogether.”

(CMPETERB-M1,52.324)

Given that the narration revolves around the same monastery, the reference of the monastery of Peterborough is labelled as identifiable in the *Continuations of Peterborough*.

In the text of the West Midlands, there are three DPs which are not modified by a PP or a relative clause; they are all post-verbal, as the following example shows:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------------|-------|-----|-------|--------|
| (16) | ah | lutle | hwile | ich | mahte | þolie |
| | But | little | while | I | might | endure |
| | þe | leome | | | | |
| | the | light | | | | |

“But I could endure the light only for a little while.”

(CMSAWLES-M1,179.206)

Summarising this section, we have seen that DPs with a definite determiner are predominantly mapped in post-verbal position even in the

more conservative texts; these DPs, as we have seen, have an identifiable reference. Moreover, in some cases they are scrambled across an adverbial. Given the fact that already in the texts from the South East Midlands and in the Lambeth Homilies the distribution of elements in the pre-verbal domain is reduced, we can regard the pre-verbal DPs as a residual strategy. In fact, the majority of them is mapped in post-verbal position, even in those texts which contain manipulation of older material. The evidence for the text of the Kentish Homilies is scant, but 3 out of 5 DPs are mapped in post-verbal position; consider, moreover, that this text has the least divergence from the OE sample. The text of the Peterborough Chronicle presents all constituents other than object pronouns in post-verbal position, so in this text the drift to VO was more advanced with respect to its South-East Midlands counterparts, if we also consider the date of composition of the texts (see Table 3 in the Appendix). Turning to the Katherine Group, we have seen that 70% of the object pronouns in the main clauses and 40% in the subordinate clauses are spelled-out in the post-verbal position. When comparing the Lambeth Homilies to the texts of the Katherine Group, I noticed that the distribution of non-pronominal objects is very similar, what differentiates the texts is namely the distribution of pronouns. In this respect, I regard the Lambeth Homilies as the prospected precursor of the grammar found in the texts of the Katherine Group. In the Lambeth Homilies, most of the DPs with a definite determiner are spelled-out in the post-verbal position.

Turning to our sample of clauses for the OE period, I briefly commented in Chapter 4, section 4.1.2, that we can find three post-verbal DPs in the sample of subordinate clauses which have an ambiguous interpretation. By collecting the pre- and post-verbal DPs in the sample of main and subordinate Old English clauses one can notice that the pre-verbal ones have an anaphoric interpretation, or an interpretation which is ambiguous between anaphoric and identifiable reference; let us observe one example:

- (17) and ic weard belocen **on anre**
 and I was locked in a
lytlan byrig mid hwonlicum fultume,
 little city with little help
 and we feohtan ne dorston
 and we fought not durst
 ongean ðone ormætan here,
 against the overwhelming army
 he hæfde **þa burh** beseten.
 that⁵⁸ had that/the city besieged

“And I was locked in a little city with a small force, and we did not want to fight against the overwhelming army, which had besieged the/that town.”

(coaelive,ÆLS [Agnes]:343.1953-5)

In this example, the reference of the noun introduced by the determiner is anaphoric, as the context shows. In the Old English sample, we can however find pre-verbal DPs with a clear inherently identifiable reference (5 out of 14 cases):

- (18) Þa weard se halga heap **þam**
 Then was the holy host the
hælende geoffrod.
 Saviour offered

“Then the holy host was offered to the Saviour.”

(coaelive,ÆLS_ [Julian_and_Basilissa]:123.1010)

What is interesting for our analysis, however, is the fact that 19 out of 25 post-verbal DPs in the Old English sample have an identifiable reference:

- (19) and we eac willað eow secgan
 and we also want you say
þæt gastlice andgyt
 the spiritual meaning

“And we also want to tell you the spiritual meaning.”

(coaelhom,ÆHom_2:59.280)

⁵⁸ The original version presents a personal pronoun, but Skeat interprets it as an error for a relative marker.

7.3 Discussion

I discussed in Chapter 3 that the nature of the determiners *se*, *seo* and *þæt* in the Old English period was ambiguous, since these determiners have a strong anaphoric function, as demonstrated by Breban (2012) and my own empirical study on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Mss. A and E. However, the study presented in Chapter 3 and the investigation by Allen (2016) and Crisma (2011) show that in some constructions which denote identifiable referents these determiners are used; it is however in the EME period where we witness a coherent use of the determiner as a marker of definiteness. Moreover, the split between the definite determiner *þe* and the distal demonstratives *þis* and *þæt* is complete in EME period (cf. Chapter 3 and Breban 2012).

The data presented in this section can be captured if we take into account the ambiguity delineated by Allen (2016) and by the empiric survey presented in Chapter 3. In fact, we have no structural criterion at this stage of the language to determine whether the determiners we find in the OE stage are already markers of identifiability, or are still anaphoric determiners, since in all the contexts they display the same superficial form, inflected for gender, case and number. We only have our semantic criteria that could disentangle the interpretation of the DPs we are analysing, but in the lack of more clear structural evidence, for which we have to wait until the Early Middle English period, our discussion of the OE data presented in this chapter is speculative.

Given the nature of the constituents presented in this section, we could assume that in case the determiner was interpreted as marker of identifiability, and hence mapped in the D head of the DP projection, the choice of mapping was twofold: either the given status of the referent led to its mapping in the pre-verbal position, or the right branching nature of the constituent prompted the post-verbal mapping.

This prediction is met when unambiguous right branching elements in the Old English sample are observed: they are distributed in the pre-verbal domain, if they represent given information, but they can also be found in the post-verbal domain. The ambiguity is expected if the system was undergoing a change, and if the information structural mapping conditions were undergoing blurring, as predicted in Chapter 2. As the data in Section 7.2 show, DPs with an identifiable referent and a likely definite determiner are spelled-out in post-verbal position in most of the cases.

The ambiguity is resolved in the Early Middle English period, where we can moreover see that the pre-verbal mapping of given elements is becoming a residual strategy. In fact, even in the more conservative texts,

most of the DPs with a definite determiner are mapped in the post-verbal domain. Recall that the development of the definite determiner is tied to the demise of the *b/s* system delineated by van Kemenade and Los (2006), which takes place in the transition from the OE to the EME period. This system was essential for the discourse configurability of the OE syntax; when this system is lost, it is predictable that IS constraints are progressively less transparent. At the same time, the ambiguity of the determiner system in OE, and the twofold possibility of Spell-Out for given and heavy constituents may have contributed to the growing tendency of spelling-out all types of constituents other than pronouns in the post-verbal position.

This scenario is confirmed by the data in the Early Middle English set, since we can see that the residual elements in the pre-verbal domain are mostly light, in some texts they only consist of pronouns.

Ultimately, the grammaticalization of the definite determiner and the progressive Spell-Out of DPs in post-verbal position has consequences also for the mapping of pronouns; we have seen that in the first contexts, pronouns are mapped in post-verbal position if they can cluster with a heavier element; otherwise they are mapped in the pre-verbal position, or scrambled in the pre-Aux position.

As far as pronouns are concerned, in fact, we have hypothesised that they undergo a reanalysis from special clitics to simple clitics; special clitics are licensed by a special head. Pronouns which are spelled-out in the checking position are analysed as simple clitics. When the triggers for the information structural mapping of pronouns are lost, together with the general demise of the *b/s* system and the grammaticalization of the definite determiner, the special licensing of higher object pronouns is not transparent anymore, and they are reanalysed as simple clitics.

The texts of the South-East Midlands and the Lambeth Homilies present the transitional stage postulated in Chapter 2, in which we find that the majority of the constituents are mapped in post-verbal position, whereas pronouns are still mapped in pre-verbal position.

Given this mixed system, it is reasonable to assume that in the following stages, the grammar is simplified, leading to the Spell-Out of object pronouns in the smallest domain possible, as predicted by the following condition:

- (20) Economy of Spell-out: A syntactic constituent is spelled-out in the smallest domain in which its PF- conditions are satisfied. (Hinterhölzl 2017:30).

This principle would allow for the more economic option of spelling-out the object pronoun in the V domain, where also definite DPs are spelled-out due to their weight, and where the non-finite verb may serve as a phonologic host. Thus, the mixed system we can find in the more conservative texts is reanalysed as a PF system, in which the Spell-Out of objects (both pronouns and DPs) is driven by prosodic constraints. Also in the text of the Katherine Group we have residual scrambling of pronouns and residual pre-verbal mapping of elements, but the grammar of these texts is more PF-oriented than the mixed grammar we encounter in the texts of the South East Midlands and in the Lambeth Homilies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will turn to the analysis of the OE and EME clausal architecture. Let us briefly summarise our theoretical framework and its predictions; building on Roberts (1997), Hinterhölzl assumes the following licensing leftward movement operations to be obligatory before Spell-Out:

- (1) a. Licensing movement of arguments into a Case Phrase;
- b. Licensing movement of verb particles into the specifier of a low Aspect Phrase;
- c. Licensing movement of predicative elements into a Predicative Phrase;

Let us observe our prospected architecture of the clause (cf. Chapter 2):

(2)

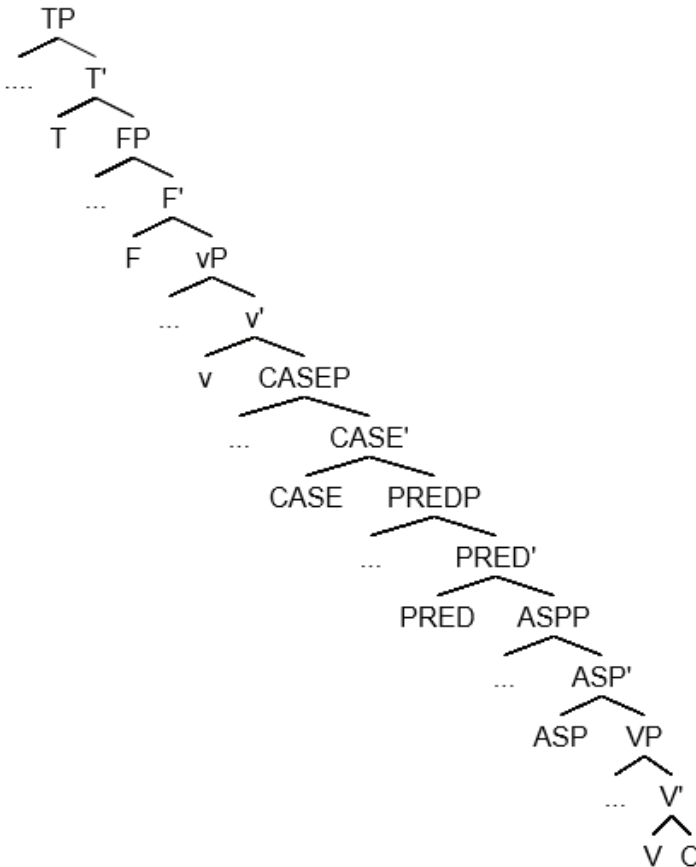


Figure 8-1: the prospected sentence structure

In this structure, I labelled FP the projection above the vP shell that hosts adverbials; moreover, for the sake of exposition I represent auxiliaries and modals as directly merged in the TP, but I am aware of the fact that they have not been grammaticalized yet as functional elements, and that a bi-clausal structure has to be assumed (cf. Biberauer and Roberts 2005).

In the structure, I assume that nominal parts of complex predicates undergo licensing movement to [Spec, PredP] and that objects undergo licensing movement to [Spec, CASEP]; after the licensing movement has taken place, spell-out of either the higher or the lower copy after movement

is driven by the following information structural (3a-b) and prosodic (3c) interface conditions:

- (3) a. G(ivenness)-Transparency: a given constituent must occupy a weak position in prosodic structure;
 b. F(ocus)-Transparency: A constituent representing new information must occupy a strong position in prosodic structure
 c. A syntactic phrase XP counts as heavy if both its head X and the complement of X contain lexical material. Heavy phrases must be mapped on a strong branch.

I will not return to the reasons behind the individuation of the present interface conditions, nor on the metric nature of the prosodic condition, since arguments are provided in Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015, 2017), as summarised in Chapter 2. Moreover, I argued in Chapter 2 that the Spell-Out of the lower copy is possible if we follow Chomsky (1993) and assume that a feature is checked and deleted in all occurrences of the remerged copy (cf. Hinterhölzl 2015 for discussion), and if we consider that the copy interpreted at LF needs not be the one interpreted at PF. Let us see how the licensing movements of objects work (cf. Chapter 2):

- (4) a. [_{VP}[CASEP O [CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V O_{Copy}]]
 Licensing movement of the object to the [Spec, CASEP] position, with the copy in the base position.
 b. [_{VP}[CASEP O_{given} [CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V Θ_{given}]]
 Spell-out of the higher copy due to the Givenness Transparency condition
 c. [_{VP}[CASEP Θ_{new} [CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V O_{new}]]
 Spell-out of the lower copy due to the Focus Transparency condition.
 d. [_{VP}[CASEP Θ_{heavy} -[CASE]]][_{PREDP} [PRED]][_{ASPP} [ASP]][_{VP} [V O_{heavy}]]
 Spell-out of the lower copy due to the prosodic mapping condition.

As I argued in the previous chapters, the Prosodic Condition and the G-Transparency condition compete when a given and right branching constituent is concerned; in fact, there are two possibilities, as we have hinted at before. Either the given constituent is de-accentuated and can be therefore mapped on a weaker branch, or the constituent is mapped on a strong branch because of its prosodic composition.

Light and new elements should not present a conflict for the mapping conditions, because new elements receive an extra-beat after the focus exponent is assigned (Uhmann 1991) and are therefore mapped on a stronger branch. I noticed in Chapter 2 that the Focus Transparency condition predicts the Spell-Out of new elements. However, the data presented above show that contrastively focused elements, which can be given, tend to be mapped in post-verbal position. Given the fact that it can be argued that these too present a stronger beat, this finding is in line with the theoretical framework.

Before turning to the question of which of the prospected mechanisms is found in the data, let us observe the derivation of a given pre-verbal object (5a), of a new post-verbal object (5b) and of a heavy but given post-verbal object (5c):

- (5) a. Ne sculen namare þa Judees **hire**
 Not shall no more the Jews her
 Sune swingan ne cwellen.
 son flog nor kill.

“And the Jews shall neither flog nor kill her son anymore.”

(CMKENTHO-M1,138.127)

- b. hu his bredre Peada &
 how his brethren Peada and
 Wulfhere & se abbot
 Wulfhere and the abbott
 Saxulf heafden wroht **an**
 Saxulf had built a
 minstre.
 minster.

“how his brethren Peada, and Wulfhere and Abbott Saxulf had built a minster.”

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:675.4.532)

c.	[...]	&	ades	swor	on
	[...]	and	oaths	swore	on
	halidom	þet,	gif	he	moste
	sacred relic	that	if	he	must
	Engleland	secen,	þet	he	scolde
	England	seek	that	he	shall
	begeton	hem	done	mynstre of	
	give	them	the	minster	of
	Burch,	[...].			
	Peterborough		[...].		

“And he swore oaths on a sacred relic, that, if he could seek England, he shall give them the minster of Peterborough.”

(CMPETERB-M1,53.363)

According to the structure proposed in our framework, the Spell-Out of the objects under scrutiny is derived in the following:

- (6) a. [vp[CASEP **hire** **Sune**_{given} [CASE]]][PREDP [PRED]]][ASPP [ASP]] [VP [V swingan ~~hire~~ **Sune**]]
 Spell-out of the higher copy due to the Givenness Transparency condition
- b. [vp[CASEP ~~an minstre~~_{new} [CASE]]][PREDP [PRED]]][ASPP [ASP]] [VP [V wroht **an minstre**_{new}]]
 Spell-out of the lower copy due to the Focus Transparency condition.
- c. [vp[CASEP ~~done~~ ~~mynstreof~~ ~~Burch~~_{heavy} [CASE]]][PREDP [PRED]] [ASPP [ASP]] [VP [V begeton (hem) **done mynstreof Burch**_{heavy}]]
 Spell-out of the lower copy due to the prosodic mapping condition.

As was noted in Chapter 2, if both the Givenness-Transparency and the Focus-Transparency conditions govern the Spell-Out of objects in OE, we would expect all given elements to be spelled-out in the pre-verbal position and all new elements to be spelled-out in post-verbal position in our sample; in other words, we would expect a perfect asymmetry in the distribution of IS marked objects. The prosodic condition would account for the given but heavy post-verbal objects. However, as was noted already by Struik and van Kemenade (2018) and shown by the empirical research conducted in Chapters 4 and 5, the post-verbal domain presents a heterogeneous composition. This led Struik and van Kemenade (2018) to conclude that it is the pre-verbal domain that is marked by IS constraints; the data in Chapter 5 show, moreover, that the constraints regulating the pre-verbal Spell-Out

of objects are still effective in the EME, even though the number of pre-verbal objects becomes progressively lower.

This state of affairs is expected in a framework which takes pre-verbal elements to be marked, whereas the post-verbal mapping of elements is unmarked, as Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) argued. Moreover, this could be taken as an indication that the progressive Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects was becoming the unmarked option. This means, however, that the framework proposed by Hinterhölzl (2014; 2015; 2017) and tested in this work has to be revised.

After combining the distribution of non-pronominal and pronominal objects and having had a closer look at the distribution of DPs with a definite determiner in Chapter 7, we can determine which interface conditions are effective in the OE and EME texts selected.

In the OE pilot sample examined, we noticed that pre-verbal arguments of verbs present clear properties: they consist of given referents; moreover, object pronouns are either spelled-out in the checking position or scrambled to a higher position above the inflected verb. In our sample, moreover, essentially half of the given and/or light arguments of verbs are spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain. The majority of the post-verbal given elements are either contrasted or heavy, but light and given elements are also found in the post-verbal domain. Finally, the DPs found in the sample seem to indicate that the post-verbal mapping of a DP with a definite determiner, which is analysed as heavy according to the definition proposed by Hinterhölzl, start to be spelled-out in the post-verbal position already in the OE period.

From the scrutiny of the data, and from the results obtained by the wider scale investigation performed by Struik and van Kemenade (2018) we can conclude that the Givenness-Transparency and the Prosodic Transparency conditions were responsible for the pre-verbal Spell-Out of given arguments of verbs and for the post-verbal Spell-Out of right branching elements in the OE period. Given the fact that the post-verbal domain presents no clear-cut preference, it does not seem feasible to assume a F-Transparency condition responsible for the post-verbal Spell-Out of new elements. Non-branching elements are spelled-out in their checking position according to the Preference for the Higher Copy condition (cf. example 18 in Chapter 2). In other words, an element needs to be either given or given and light in order to be spelled-out in pre-verbal position; heavy and new elements are not allowed to be spelled-out in pre-verbal position, whereas given and light elements can be spelled-out in post-verbal position.

The mapping of pronouns is regulated by IS constraints: pre-Aux pronouns correlate with topic reading, whereas pre-verbal pronouns

represent unmarked familiar objects. The evidence from the mapping of pronouns also suggests that pre-verbal Spell-Out and scrambling is governed by both IS and Prosodic Conditions: pronouns, being light elements, have to be spelled-out in pre-verbal position. When representing the aboutness topic of the utterance, they are licensed by a special position above the TP.

The investigation in Chapter 6 showed that the distribution of object pronouns is regulated from slightly different conditions with respect to the non-pronominal arguments; topicalization leads to the scrambling to the pre-Aux position, whereas in the unmarked case pronouns are spelled-out in their checking position. With the reanalysis from special to simple clitics, the Preference for the Higher Copy Condition can be held accountable for the pre-verbal Spell-Out until object pronouns are spelled-out in the post-verbal position, as predicted from the condition on Economy of Spell-Out (cf. Hinterhölzl 2017:30 and Chapter 7).

The reanalysis of pronouns from special to simple clitics converges with the blurring of the G-Transparency and the Prosodic Conditions regulating the Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects, until the post-verbal position is reanalysed as the unmarked Spell-Out site, leading thereby to the PF-System postulated in Chapter 2.

Recall that in Chapter 2 it was postulated that the syntax of OE was governed by an interplay of IS and Prosodic Conditions; after the blurring of the IS conditions, an intermediate stage was assumed. In this stage only the Preference for the Higher Copy Condition and the Prosodic Condition would regulate the pre-verbal Spell-Out of light elements such as pronouns or light nominals, whereas all other arguments of verbs would be spelled-out in post-verbal position. The blurring of these conditions would then lead to the reanalysis of the post-verbal Spell-Out as the unmarked option.

We have seen in Chapter 5 that the EME sample selected can be divided into two groups (with the exclusion of the Ormulum, for the reasons given in Chapter 5): a more conservative group of texts, comprising the Kentish Homilies, the Trinity Homilies, Vices and Virtues and the Lambeth Homilies and a group of text with a more innovative syntax: the Peterborough Chronicle, the Katherine Group and the Kentish Sermons.

If we combine the distribution of both pronominal and non-pronominal arguments of verbs, we can determine which interface conditions govern the Spell-Out of constituents in the EME groups delineated.

For the conservative group we noted that the distribution of pronominal and non-pronominal arguments in the Kentish Homilies resembles the OE distribution the most, whereas the texts of the South-East Midlands groups and the Lambeth Homilies show a lower distribution of non-pronominal

arguments in the pre-verbal domain. We conclude that the text of the Kentish Homilies is subject to the same interplay between the G-Transparency condition and the Prosodic Condition operating in the OE period; this comes as no surprise, since the text was composed between the end of the OE and the beginning of the ME period and was probably copied from an OE exemplar.

Even though the texts of the South-East Midlands area and the Lambeth Homilies also consist of copies or manipulations of older material, they nevertheless present a higher number of post-verbal objects with respect to the Kentish Homilies and the OE sample. The pre-verbal non-pronominal arguments overwhelmingly consist of given elements, but their lower distribution let us conclude that the G-Transparency condition only had a residual effect on the mapping of constituents. Object pronouns are mapped predominantly in the pre-verbal or in the pre-Aux position; this lets us conclude that the G-Transparency condition had a residual effect on the mapping of given non-pronominal arguments, but the Prosodic Condition determined the Spell-Out of light elements in the pre-verbal domain and non-pronominal elements in the post-verbal domain.

Turning to the second group of texts, composed by the Katherine Group, the Peterborough Chronicle and the Kentish Sermons we can see that object pronouns present a higher distribution in the post-verbal domain. Let us first discuss the text of the Peterborough Chronicle: in this text, only pronominal objects are residually mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas non-pronominal arguments are almost exclusively found in post-verbal position. It must also be noticed, moreover, that object pronouns are mapped in post-verbal position in circa 33% and 55% in the main and subordinate clauses respectively. The G-Transparency condition is not the relevant condition anymore, otherwise we would have found also non-pronominal but given pre-verbal elements. The Prosodic Condition, responsible for the mapping of non-pronominal objects in post-verbal position is undergoing blurring as well, since the rate of post-verbal Spell-Out of pronouns has increased with respect to both OE and the texts of the more conservative sample. This text, which has an earlier date than the SEM and the LH, presents a very innovative syntax, when also compared with the more innovative texts in the sample.

The text of the Katherine Group presents the highest rate of post-verbal Spell-Out of pronouns in the whole sample; nevertheless we find a higher number of pre-verbal elements, which share the given IS status, but do not consist of exclusively light elements, as would be expected from the language change scenario proposed. As described in Chapter 5, however, this text is written in a prose style which aimed at reproducing Ælfric's

alliterative prose; it was shown in Chapter 5, in fact, that the pre-verbal non-pronominal constituents found in the texts of the group can be reconducted to stylistic choices.

The text of the Kentish Sermons presents hardly any non-pronominal argument in pre-verbal position, but object pronouns are predominantly mapped in pre-verbal or in pre-Aux position. Given that the composition of this text is later than both that of the Katherine Group and the Peterborough Chronicle, we can either link the different mapping of constituents to the dialectal area or to the nature of the text. The Southern area, to which the Kentish dialect belongs, has been described as a conservative one in the literature (cf. Kroch and Taylor 2000, Trips 2002 for instance); we can hypothesise that in this area, the blurring of the Prosodic-Condition condition is completed later, so that the reanalysis of VO as the unmarked option is completed later. Recall, however, that this text is a translation from the French; even though the EME translation deviates from the French source text, as shown in Chapter 5, it must be underlined that this is not always the case.

The following figure summarises the relevant interface conditions in the OE and EME period:⁵⁹

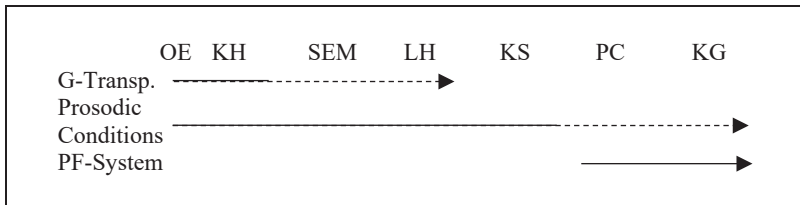


Figure 8-2: the Interface conditions operative in the OE and EME texts examined

In the remaining part of the Chapter we will account for some empirical evidence which was not explicitly tackled in the framework proposed in Chapter 2.

In our scrutiny of the data, in fact, we have individuated further features that characterise light and given post-verbal elements (including object pronouns): they are either mapped together with the second argument of the verb in the post-verbal domain or are contrasted. For the constructions involving two obligatory verbal objects, we can use a Larsonian structure, in which the objects are generated within VP shells:

⁵⁹ Under the label “Prosodic Conditions” we subsume both the Prosodic Condition illustrated in Chapter 2 and the Preference for the Higher Copy Condition.

(7) [VP [[Ve [VP Obj 1[V Obj 2]]

(cf. Larson 1988:342)

Now, in our framework, objects need to undergo leftward movement in order to check case features; given the fact that we can find sentences in which one object precedes the verb, and the second object follows the verb,⁶⁰ we have to assume that the objects undergo separate checking movement and separate Spell-Out.

In case of a double-object construction, then, I assume that two CASEP projections are present in the vP shell, in order for the two objects to check their case; Spell-Out is driven by the same interface conditions reported in (4) above, which work separately for each object.

(8) a. [_{CASE1}P [_{CASE1}]] [_{CASE2}P[_{CASE2}]] [_{PREDP} [_{PRED}]][_{ASPP} [_{ASP}]][VP[[Ve [VP Obj 1[V Obj 2]]

b. [_{CASE1}P Obj1[_{CASE1}]] [_{CASE2}P Obj2[_{CASE2}]] [_{PREDP} [_{PRED}]][_{ASPP} [_{ASP}]][VP[[Ve [VP Obj 1[V Obj 2]]

Licensing movement of both objects in order to check Case Features.

We have seen that in some cases, both objects are spelled-out in post-verbal position, even when one of the objects is lighter than the other; I will speculate that in these cases, the whole double object construction is perceived as heavy, and it is therefore spelled-out as a single unit in post-verbal position. The question why this does not happen with every double object construction, since the objects can be spelled-out both before and after the V, is left for future research.

We have also seen, moreover, that we can find pronominal and non-pronominal objects scrambled across an adverbial; cf. the following example:

⁶⁰ Cf. In fact the following sentence:

þæt	he	hæfð	us	gerymed	rihtne	weg
that	he	has	us	manifested	right	way
to	ecan	life				
to	eternal	life				

“That he has shown us the right way to the eternal life.”

(cowulf,WHom_6:185.365)

In fact, we can notice that the scrambled object follows the finite verb and the subject; assuming that in these sentences the verb targets the higher projection is not supported by the data, since movement to the higher projection is targeted by purely syntactic trigger and yields inversion of subject and verb. It follows that whatever position the scrambled object is targeting, is lower than the lower position targeted by the finite verb.

We have to ask ourselves which kind of position the scrambled object is targeting; in his account on scrambling, Hinterhölzl (2004) argues that DPs in German undergo the same licensing movement as postulated above, and then can be spelled-out in their case licensing position, or moved outside the case licensing position to satisfy discourse needs.

I individuate a further position between the TP and the FP at the left edge of the vP shell, as illustrated below:

(11)

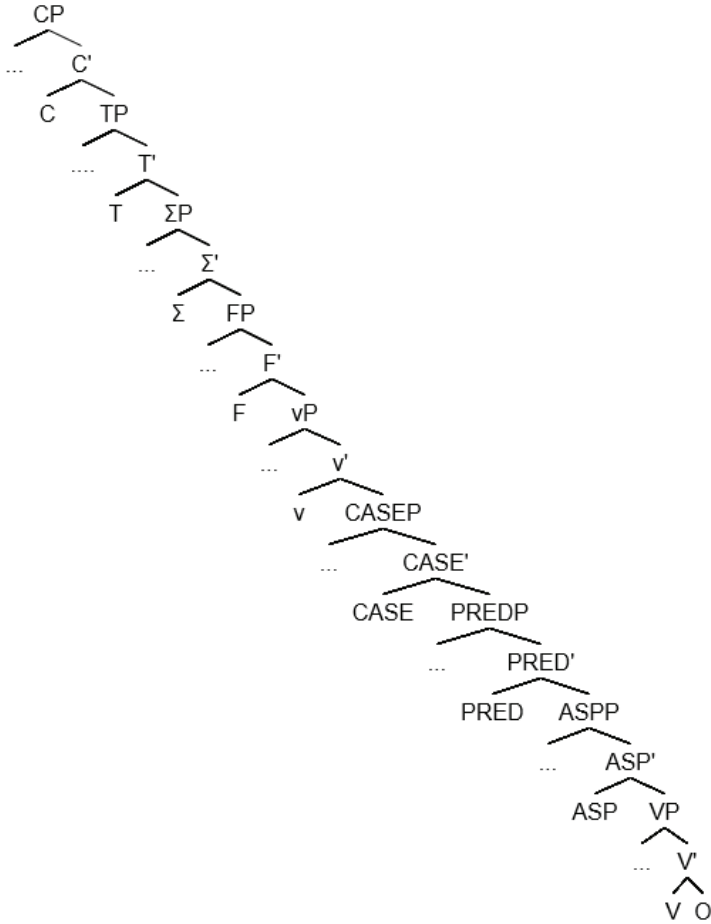


Figure 8-3: the inclusion of [ΣP]

For the sake of exposition, I have not presented a Split CP in this structure, but that does not mean I exclude a split CP in our clausal architecture. I dubbed the position between the TP and the FP as ΣP, building on van Kemenade (2009). Note, however, that the [ΣP] presented here is not to be associated with van Kemenade’s (2009) [ΣP]; I think that the area in which scrambled constituents are moved is lower than the left

periphery of the clause, given the relative order of subject and scrambled object. Moreover, if we associate the lower position for verb movement in van Kemenade's (2009) and van Kemenade and Westergaard's (2012) accounts with the [Spec, FinP], we have to conclude that the scrambled object is contained in a position lower than the left periphery.

Our analysis builds on Hinterhölzl (2004) in that we assume the licensing movements postulated above, and we then further assume movement of the scrambled object to the [Spec, Σ P], triggered by discourse.

Example (10) above receives the following analysis:

- (12) a. [TP [T][Σ P [Σ]] [FP eft [F]] [vP [v [CASEP **þone forwordene middeneard** [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]]] [ASPP [ASP]]][VP [V arären **þone — forwordene middeneard**]]]
 Licensing movement to [Spec, CASEP] to check case features.
 b. [TP [T][Σ P **þone forwordene middeneard** [Σ]] [FP eft [F]] [vP [v [CASEP **þone — forwordene middeneard** [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]]] [ASPP [ASP]]][VP [V arären **þone — forwordene middeneard**]]]
 Scrambling to [Spec, Σ P]

Finally, recall that object pronouns can be found also before the inflected verb in both main and subordinate clauses; van Kemenade (2009), looking at the relative distribution of subject and object pronouns in subordinate clauses with a discourse partitioner, individuates her Σ P below CP, but above NegP and TP. I implement my proposal by adopting this projection, where special object clitics can be licensed, and by dubbing the lower Σ P proposed above as ΣP_2 .

The architecture of the clause presented in (11) is integrated as follows:

- (13) [CP [C] [ΣP_1 [Σ]] [NegP [Neg]] [TP [T] [ΣP_2 [Σ]] [FP [F]] [vP [v [CASEP [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]]] [ASPP [ASP]]][VP [V O]]]]]]

In Chapter 6, I argued that object pronouns at the left of the auxiliary, and at the left of an adverbial are licensed by special heads; these heads are ΣP_1 and ΣP_2 respectively. Scrambled objects other than pronouns are moved to the [Spec, ΣP_2]. Let us observe an example in which a scrambled object pronoun is mapped before the inflected verb:

- (14) Her Egþriht cing forðferde, 7 **hyne**
 Here Egbert king died, and him
 hæfde ær Offa Mircna cing
 had preuisouly Offa Mercians' king
 7 Brihtric Wessexena cing aflýmed
 and Bertric West-Saxons'king banished
 .iii. gear of Angelcynnes lande on
 3 years from Angles' land on
 Francland ær he cing wære.
 France before he king was.

“In this year king Egbert died, and Offa king of the Mercians and Bertric king of the West Saxons had banished him for three years from England to France, before he became king.”

(cochronC,ChronC_ [Rositzke]:836.1.517)

The example receives the following analysis:

- (15) a. [CP [C] [ΣP₁ [Σ]] [NegP [Neg]] [TP [T hæfde] [ΣP₂ [Σ]] [FP ær [F]] [vP Offa Mircna cing 7 Brihtric Wessexenacing [v] [CASEP **hyne** [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]] [ASPP [ASP]] [VP [V aflýmed **hyne**]]]]]
 Licensing Movement to [Spec, CASEP] to check case features.
- b. [CP [C] [ΣP₁ [Σ **hyne**]] [NegP [Neg]] [TP [T hæfde] [ΣP₂ [Σ]] [FP ær [F]] [vP Offa Mircna cing 7 Brihtric Wessexena cing [v] [CASEP **hyne** [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]] [ASPP [ASP]] [VP [V aflýmed **hyne**]]]]]
 Special licensing of the Special clitic due to topicalization.

With this representation I do not aim to exclude a split CP as proposed by Rizzi (1997), but more research on the left periphery of the OE clause is needed in order to associate the different movement operations of the finite verb, or the licensing of clitics in order to determine whether they are compatible with a Split CP. Therefore, I limit myself to provide an account which is descriptively adequate for the facts at hand.

Let us now turn to the structure of V > Aux clauses; the framework provided in Chapter 2 does not provide a mapping for clauses in which the order of the verb and the auxiliary is V > Aux. We have seen, however, that the account proposed by Biberauer and Roberts (2005) assumes pied piping of the vP to the [Spec, TP] in order to derive the V > Aux word order.

Let us observe the following structure (cf. Chapter 2, example 5):

(16)

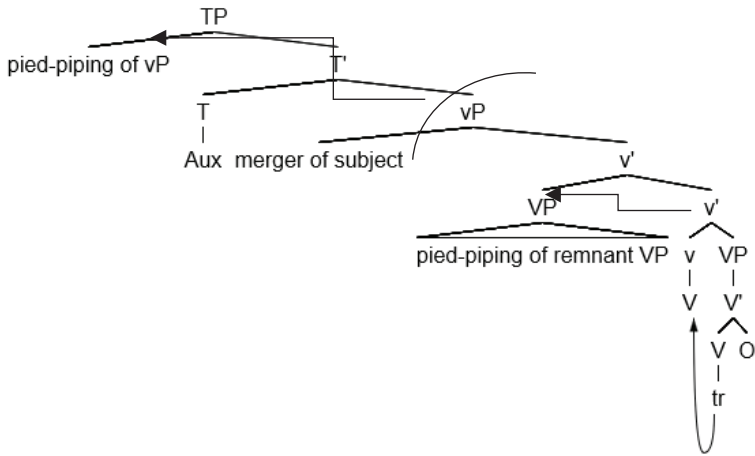


Figure 8-4: the derivation of S > O > V > Aux in Biberauer and Roberts’ (2005) framework

Biberauer and Roberts’ (2005) structure would derive examples like the following:

- (17) & þa he þis gecweden
 and when he this said
 hæfde [...].
 had [...].

“And after he had said this, [...].”

(coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BHHom_13]]:149.191.1832)

In order to obtain the order Subj > object > verb > auxiliary in a universal base structure, the verb is assumed to move to the head of the vP projection; afterwards, the VP is pied-piped to the higher v’ node, and the whole vP is then pied-piped to the [Spec, TP] projection, assuming that the subject is merged in the [Spec, vP]. Moreover, in order to account for sentences with

the order subject > verb > auxiliary > object order, it is assumed that the object is spelled-out in its base position.

As a trigger for the movement, Biberauer and Roberts (2005) propose the satisfaction of EPP- features, which can be checked either by pied-piping the whole category containing them, or by moving the minimal category containing them, and stranding the remaining elements in the constituent targeted. However, they suggest that also defocusing may be responsible for the pied-piping; even though V > Aux clauses are not the main objective of this work, I followed the suggestion for the small set of V > Aux clauses in my sample, and it emerges that in the most cases, they have a backgrounding function (cf. discussion in Chapter 4 and the in-depth investigation by Milicev 2016). More data are needed for this type of sentences, but since it has been shown that the trigger for the pre-verbal spell-out of the object in Aux > O > V sentences is its IS status, an analysis in which further leftward movement operations of constituents and verbs are driven by information structure would provide a unified analysis for the OE period, and a unified analysis for the loss of both the OV and the V > Aux word orders in the transition from OE to EME. In Chapter 2, I already combined the interface conditions provided in Hinterhölzl's framework with the movement operations devised by Biberauer and Roberts (2005), in order to derive sentence (17) above; the representation is given in the following (cf. example 7 in Chapter 2):

(18)

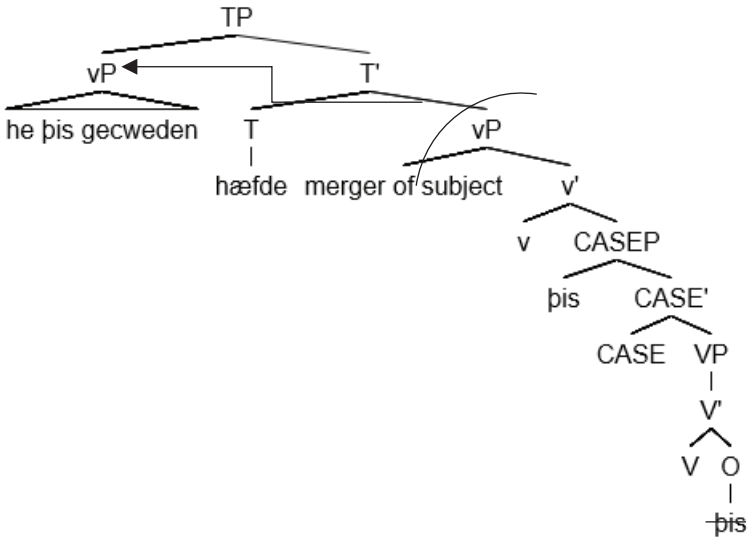


Figure 8-5: the derivation of S > O > V > Aux sentences in the present framework

After the licensing movement of the object has taken place, the defocusing operation triggers the movement of the vP to the [Spec, TP] in order to derive the word order attested. Recall, however, that the evidence for defocusing in our sample of VAux sentences is not very robust and that the EME texts examined present a limited number of VAux sentences; we can speculate that if such a defocusing operation was indeed relevant for the mapping of VAux clauses, it must have been subject to blurring at around the same time when the G-Transparency condition was no longer relevant for the Spell-Out of constituents.

Finally, it is well known in the literature that quantified and negated objects can be found in pre-verbal position until 1400 circa (cf. Fischer et al. 2000 and Chapter 1); in line with Fischer et al. (2000), it is assumed that these elements require overt checking of their features and are therefore spelled-out in their checking position. A final question that has to be tackled is that of the direction of Case Licensing. If all objects, with the exception of quantified and negated ones, are spelled-out in post-verbal position, it is reasonable to assume that not only is the post-verbal Spell-Out reanalysed as the default option, but also that Case Licensing is realised locally within the VP, leading to the loss of the covert checking movement to CaseP. In

fact, the only evidence for leftward movement is posed by special elements such as quantified and negated objects, whereas other types of objects are Spelled-Out in post-verbal position. In other words, after the reanalysis of post-verbal Spell-Out as the unmarked option, there is no evidence of leftward movement for case-checking, until the covert movement to CaseP is ultimately lost.

Concluding, the analysis conducted in this work shows that the reanalysis of VO as the unmarked option is due to language-internal mechanisms involving syntactic operations such as Case Checking and the satisfaction of EPP features (for VAux clauses) as proposed by Roberts (1997) and Biberauer and Roberts (2005) as well as IS and prosodic interface conditions which are comparable to IS and prosodic constraints uncovered in recent years by the research on Early Germanic. The literature on language change has always been torn between the identification of the sources of change within the language system itself or outside the language system. The evidence provided here shows that language internal processes can account for both the distribution of constituents in the OE period as well as for the reanalysis of VO as the unmarked option. Work on Old Icelandic and Old Swedish (cf. Hróarsdóttir 2000; 2009 and Delsing 2000) shows that the language of the Scandinavian settlers in England was probably subject to a similar degree of variation, which probably persisted until a much later date than in England.

Our own investigation on EME uncovered more conservative and more innovative tendencies in the texts examined; if on the one hand the more conservative texts do indeed come from the Southern area, which had the least contact with the Scandinavian settlers, it must be also noticed that the transmission history of the texts can also account for a more conservative syntax. The more conservative texts are the ones which constitute manipulations of older material; recall, moreover, that the West Midlands area is represented by two very different group of texts: the Lambeth Homilies and the Katherine Group. The Lambeth Homilies contain manipulations of older material, whereas the texts of the Katherine Group were composed directly in the EME period; Trips (2002) mentions a Scandinavian settlement dating back to the 10th century in the area where the texts of the Katherine Group were composed and it must also be added that Kroch and Taylor (2000) write that these two group of texts were probably composed in the same area. We must conclude that they were both subject to the same degree of influence from Scandinavian, if any was present; however, as the overview given in Chapter 7 shows, these two group of texts present a striking difference in the distribution of object pronouns, which led to the conclusion that the texts of the Katherine Group

represent the next stage in the blurring of the Prosodic Condition leading to the reanalysis of VO as the basic word order. This conclusion is demonstrated by the language-internal account pursued in this book; language-external influences do indeed play a role in language change (cf. Yang 2000) but given the fact that the language of the Scandinavian settlers in England is not documented and that the written evidence of Older Scandinavian texts suggest a similar distribution to OE and EME rather than a strict VO grammar, the role of language contact in the diachronic scenario investigated in this work has to be reconsidered.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

In this work, I presented an empiric study about the syntax of Old and Early Middle English; the aim was to determine whether the OV/VO variation in Old English was driven by information structural and prosodic interface conditions, on the one hand, and to determine whether the language change witnessed in the transition from Old English to the Early Middle English period can be accounted for by assuming a language internal account, on the other hand.

In Chapter 1, I introduced the objective of this book and reviewed the literature about the underlying structure of Old English and about the causes for the language change. I concluded that a Universal Base framework can account for the word order variation attested, provided that a uniform trigger for the different movement operations postulated can be identified.

In Chapter 2, I introduced the theoretical framework employed in the work; the framework was put forth by Hinterhölzl (2014; 2015; 2017); in the account provided by Hinterhölzl, an antisymmetric base word order is postulated. Moreover, covert licensing movements to dedicated projections above VP are postulated; after the licensing movements have taken place, information structural and prosodic interface conditions regulate the Spell-Out of the higher or of the lower copy. In sections 2.2 and 2.3 I provided arguments for the metric definition of prosodic heaviness proposed by Hinterhölzl, and reasons for assuming the Spell-Out of the lower copy. In Section 2.4, I presented the prospected language change scenario; I assumed that Old English was subject to both information structural as well as prosodic interface conditions. I argued that given and heavy constituents have two possible Spell-Out sites, according to which interface condition is interpreted as relevant for their mapping. I argued that this twofold possibility might have been at the basis for the postulated blurring of the information structural interface conditions. Moreover, the framework predicts that the grammaticalization of the definite determiner played a major role in the blurring of the information structural interface conditions. In the framework, a right branching phrase is defined as heavy; when the demonstrative determiner is reanalysed as the head of the DP projection, the

DP turns into a right branching phrase. The framework predicts that heavy phrases must be mapped in post-verbal position; the increasing Spell-Out of DPs with a definite determiner in post-verbal position would lead to the loss of the trigger driving the pre-verbal spell-out of constituents, and ultimately to a system which is not driven by information structural conditions anymore, but which is PF-driven. Finally, I noticed that the framework does not present a derivation for sentences with the order $V > Aux$, and I adopted the analysis by Biberauer and Roberts (2005). In Sections 2.5-6 I presented the methods with which direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs were coded for information structure and weight; the OE and the EME sample were presented in the same chapter. I underlined the fact that the OE sample was chosen in order to serve as the basis for the comprehensive investigation of the main and subordinate clauses of the texts chosen for the EME period. The EME texts come from the Kentish area, the East Midlands and the West Midlands; I argued that the texts can be divided not only according to their provenance, but also according to whether they are original EME compositions, or whether they are translations or manipulations of older material. I argued that also these characteristics have to be taken into consideration, when analysing the syntax of these works.

In Chapter 3, I presented the main views about the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in the history of English, and I presented an empirical investigation in support of Breban (2012). I concluded that the determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* were an ambiguous category in the OE period, as argued by Allen (2016). However, it is not until the EME period that a clear split between the definite determiner and the demonstrative system can be witnessed (cf. Breban 2012). This split is linked to the demise of a wider system of deictic and discourse partitioners, as argued for by van Kemenade and Los (2006). This system consists of the determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* as well as of a series of etymologically related adverbials, which introduce a new narrative sequence, when used at the beginning of a main clause, and partition the subordinate clause into a domain containing discourse linked information, and a domain containing new information.

In Chapter 4, I investigated the explorative OE sample. I concluded that in both main and subordinate clauses, the pre-verbal domain shows a more homogeneous picture, presenting a majority of given and light objects. One can notice that there are some new and pre-verbal elements, but the majority of them were accounted for by assuming a wider array of elements pertaining to the encyclopaedic knowledge. Moreover, when the number of given, new, light and heavy elements are divided according to their distribution in the pre- and in the post-verbal domain, one notices that heavy and new objects have a much more restricted distribution in the pre-verbal

domain. The results of this small-scale investigation are corroborated by a wider scale investigation on subordinate clauses of OE and EME texts performed by Struik and van Kemenade (2018). Since it is the OV word order which presents a uniform set of given objects, they conclude that it is givenness that triggers the fronting of the object in the pre-verbal position from a VO base. They also show that information structure and weight are both statistically relevant factors in both Aux > V and V > Aux clauses.

I concluded, in fact, that the more heterogeneous distribution in the post-verbal domain is motivated by different factors; on the one hand, the given elements are either heavy, or contrasted. On the other hand, almost half of the light elements represent new information; there is a small number of light and given post-verbal elements, which in some cases are mapped together with a second argument of the verb in the post-verbal position. The data collected point, however, at the fact that already in the OE period given and light elements are not banned from the post-verbal domain, even though I have shown that their mapping is motivated by prosodic factors in most of the cases. I argued that this piece of evidence, together with the demise of the *b/s* system individuated by van Kemenade and Los (2006), and van Kemenade (2009), which involves also the functional shift the demonstratives underwent, may have prompted the blurring of the G-Transparency condition.

Finally, I followed the suggestion hinted at in Biberauer and Roberts (2005), as far as the V > Aux clauses present in my set of data are concerned. They had suggested in fact, that one possible trigger for the pied-piping of the vP in V > Aux > O clauses might be the defocusing of the predicate, in order for the post-verbal object to be focused. They do not provide data for this hypothesis. I investigated the properties of both V > Aux > O and O > V > Aux clauses in my set of data and it emerged that these sentences usually report either completely given information or serve as a condition for the main action in the passage to take place. The objects in V > Aux > O clauses are predominantly new, but in other cases they are heavy and given. More data are needed to confirm the findings for my small set of V > Aux clauses, but the evidence confirms the suggestion in Biberauer and Roberts (2005) and can be compared to Milicev's (2016) analysis of V > Aux clauses. Moreover, if the trigger for V > Aux clauses is related to discourse, it follows that once the information structural conditions are lost, the trigger for this word order is lost as well.

In Chapter 5, the main objective of the research is presented; I investigated main and subordinate clauses presenting a subject, an object and a complex verbal form for the texts of the Kentish Homilies, the Kentish Sermons, the Trinity Homilies, Vices and Virtues, the Peterborough

Chronicle, the Lambeth Homilies, the Life and Passion of Saint Juliana, The Guardianship of the Soul, and Holy Maidenhood. Moreover, I examined a sub-sample of main and subordinate clauses from the Ormulum. The different texts show generally a more advanced syntax in the main clauses, where the overall number of pre-verbal direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs is lower than the overall number of the same elements in the post-verbal domain. The text of the Kentish Homilies is the more conservative one, presenting a distribution which is similar to the OE sample, both in main and subordinate clauses. The Kentish Sermons, translated from the French almost 100 years later than the Kentish Homilies were composed, present uniformly post-verbal non-pronominal objects, and pre-verbal object pronouns. A similar state of affairs is represented by an earlier text, namely the Peterborough Chronicle; in this text, which was originally composed in the EME period, and which deals with local events relating to the monastery of Peterborough, all non-pronominal objects are spelled-out in post-verbal position. Moreover, in the subordinate clauses, half of the personal object pronouns are spelled-out in the post-verbal position.

The texts from the South-East Midlands present a less progressive syntax with respect to the Peterborough Chronicle, but a more advanced one with respect to the Kentish Homilies. In fact, whereas heavy and new elements show as restricted a distribution in the pre-verbal domain as in the OE sample, given and light elements show that they are being progressively spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

The Lambeth Homilies, despite being a copy of older material, show that the ratio of given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain is lowering. In fact, the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs in this text is very similar to the distribution of objects in the Katherine Group. What differentiates these texts is the distribution of pronouns.

In the Katherine Group, the pre-verbal domain only hosts given elements. When the distribution of given, new, light and heavy constituents across the pre- and the post-verbal domains are compared, one notices that around 80% of non-pronominal objects are spelled-out in post-verbal position.

Finally, I investigated a sub-sample from the text of the Ormulum. Taken at face value, the distribution of both non-pronominal, as well as of pronominal objects, is very similar to the other EME prose texts examined, but I demonstrated that the metric composition of the text cannot be overlooked when examining its syntax. In fact, I showed that in most of the cases, changing the word order in the verse would result in a wrong accent pattern on the words, or in extra syllables. Moreover, there are also chiasmus structures and assonance, which play a role in the word order found in the text. Therefore, I decided not to include this text in the general investigation

on object pronouns, since I showed that also the position of object pronouns in this text is driven by metrical constraints.

In Chapter 6, I looked at the distribution of personal object pronouns in both the Aux > V and the V > Aux clauses present in the samples. In V > Aux clauses, object pronouns surface invariably before the verbal cluster, therefore the following discussion will concentrate on personal object pronouns in Aux > V clauses. As already noticed by Pintzuk (1999) and Van Kemenade (1987), personal object pronouns surface before the auxiliary verb, in a scrambled position below the auxiliary verb and above the vP, and in pre-verbal position. Moreover, in the OE sample of both main and subordinate clauses, circa a 10% of object pronouns surface in post-verbal position. I investigated whether the object pronouns before the auxiliary verb correlate with topic reading; this condition is met. The pronouns scrambled across an adverbial are not always co-referential with the topic of the passage, and I suggested that they are scrambled across the adverbial in order to be removed from the focus domain of the clause; scrambling in German is driven by discourse, as demonstrated by Hinterhölzl (2004), and I concluded that both the pre-Aux position, as well as the scrambled position above an adverbial, are special positions licensed by special heads. As far as the pre-verbal Spell-Out of pronouns is concerned, I concluded that this is the unmarked case, where pronouns are spelled-out due to their light weight, according to a default condition on the spell-out of light objects introduced in Chapter 2. The post-verbal object pronouns in the OE sample are all followed by a heavier argument of the verb, or by an adjunct, or a reinforcer. The data for the OE sample are not exhaustive, but I showed that most of the object pronouns in the more conservative EME texts are followed by a second argument of the verb in post-verbal position. I had postulated that contrastive accent on the object pronoun would prompt its Spell-Out in the post-verbal position, but this condition is not always met. The texts that present the highest ratio of post-verbal pronouns are the Peterborough Chronicle and the texts of the Katherine Group, two texts in our dataset which are originally composed in the EME period. I concluded that the growing Spell-Out of non-pronominal objects in the post-verbal position, together with the blurring of the IS interface conditions governing the syntax of OE driven by the grammaticalization of the definite determiner, prompted the reanalysis of object pronouns from special clitics, licensed by a special head, to simple clitics, which need a phonologic host to form a prosodic constituent. I concluded that the mixed system witnessed in the more conservative texts, which show predominant pre-verbal object pronouns, but predominant post-verbal non-pronominal objects, is simplified in terms of a grammar in which

the object pronoun is spelled-out in the minimal domain containing its host. Given the fact that spelling-out the object pronoun in the post-verbal position was a marginal option already in the more conservative texts, I argued that the phonologic host for the simple pronouns is the non-finite verb, and that the post-verbal Spell-Out of non-pronominal constituents has prompted the Spell-Out of object pronouns in their base position, with the non-finite verb as a host.

In Chapter 7, I collected the empirical data and analysed them from a comparative perspective; moreover, I collected the DPs with determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* from the OE and EME datasets, in order to observe whether the grammaticalization of the definite determiner was the decisive factor prompting the Spell-Out of objects in post-verbal position. The data from the OE sample show that DPs with an identifiable referent are spelled-out preferably in the post-verbal domain; given the ambiguity individuated in the structure of the OE DP, the conclusions are speculative, but if it is true that the determiner is in the head of the D projection when it governs an identifiable referent, then the predictions laid out in the theoretical framework employed for this work are met. The EME sample shows that there is still a number of DPs with identifiable reference mapped in pre-verbal position, even though the majority of them are spelled-out in the post-verbal position even in the more conservative texts. However, I conclude that the grammaticalization of the definite determiner was not the only factor prompting the blurring of the information structural interface conditions responsible for the Spell - Out of constituents in the OE period. In fact, I underlined above that the grammaticalization of the definite determiner is tied with the demise of the *þ/s* system. Moreover, the possibility of spelling-out given constituents in the post-verbal domain was present already in the OE period; we have seen that these given elements are either contrasted or heavy in the most cases, and this confirms the view that prosody and weight also plays a role in the spell-out of constituents. With the course of time, the trigger leading to the pre-verbal Spell-Out of constituents is less and less transparent, until a mixed system, as witnessed in the Lambeth Homilies and in the texts of South –East Midlands, is found. Finally, also object pronouns are spelled-out in the post-verbal position, due to their reanalysis into simple clitics, and to an Economy condition prompting their Spell-Out in the smallest domain containing their host.

Finally, in Chapter 8 I implemented the analysis provided in Chapter 2, by devising two scrambling positions, whose heads license object pronouns, and to which Specifiers scrambled objects can move.

Concluding, the investigation conducted in this work shows that there is a uniform development in the EME period, which has its roots in the OE

period; the contact with the Scandinavian settlers might have accelerated the simplification of the system, as witnessed in the Peterborough Chronicle, which is an early text with a progressive syntax. However, the investigation shows that the conditions responsible for the change are language internal and rooted in the Old English period.

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APPENDIX

Table 1 The OE sample of subordinate clauses

Text	Period⁶¹
coaelhom	O3
coaelive	O3
coalcuin	s. xii med.
coalex	O23
coaugust	s. xii med.
coblick	O23
cocanedgD	s. xi in.
cochdrul	s. xi (3 rd quarter)
cochristoph	s. xi med.
cochronA	O23
cochronC	s. xi1 - xi2
cochronD	s. xi med. - xi2
cochronE	O34
cocuraC	s. ix ex.
codocu3	O23
coeuphr	s. xi in.
coeust	s xi in.
cogregdH	O23
coherbar	s. xi
coinspolD	O34
coinspolX	s. xi (3rd quarter)
colsigewZ	O34

⁶¹ The period is provided in the YCOE description of the files and follows the Helsinki period practice. The periods are the following: O1 (before 850 - 850), O2 (850 - 950), O3 (850 - 1050), O4 (1050 - 1150). When a date indication has two numbers, the first refers to a prior date of composition, whereas the second one refers to the date of the manuscript. The texts for which no Helsinki period is provided are only included in the YCOE corpus, but not in the Helsinki corpus. For them, I provided the manuscript date as indicated in the text information file of the York Corpus of Old English Prose; the manuscript date follows Ker (Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, 1957).

comargaC	O34
comart2	O23
comarvel	O23
comary	s. xi in.
conicodC	s. xii med.
corood	s. xii2
cosevensl	s. xi in.
cowsgosp	O3
cowulf	O34

Table 2 The OE sample of main clauses

Text	Period
coaelhom	O3
coaelive	O3
cobede	O2
coblick	O23
cochonA	O23
cochronE	O34

Table 3 The EME sample

Dialect	Text	Date	Period⁶²	Comment
Kentish	Kentish Homilies	a1150 (c1125) ⁶³	M1	Contemporary. Composition between 1108-1114 (or 1122), according to the PPCME2 information.
	Kentish Sermons	c1275	M2	Contemporary. Translation from the French.
East Midlands	Peterborough Chronicle	c1150	M1	Contemporary.
	The Ormulum	?c1200	M1	Poem
	Vices and Virtues	a1225 (c1200)	M1	Contemporary.
	Trinity Homilies	a1225	MX1	Non-contemporary. 5 sermons are shared with the Lambeth Homilies MX1

⁶² The periods to which our texts belong are M(X)1 and M2; period M1 ranges from 1150-1250 A.D., whereas period M2 ranges from (1250-1350 A.D.); period MX1 indicates those manuscripts written during the M1 period, but their content was composed in an unknown period. In fact, the date of a manuscript and the composition of its content do not have to correspond. If no other indication is given, however, it is assumed that composition date and manuscript date coincide.

⁶³ The dates given follow the indications in the PPCME2, but further details were given in Chapter 5. The PPCME2 date information follows the Middle English Dictionary information and notation practice (<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>); the letter *a* (*ante*) signals a possible composition date located in a time span of 25 years at most preceding the given date, whereas the letter *c* (*circa*) indicates that the date presented ranges within a time span of 25 years before and after the given date. Finally, the question mark indicates uncertain information.

West Midlands	Lambeth Homilies (MX1)	a1225	MX1	Non-contemporary. 5 sermons are shared with the Trinity Homilies
	Lambeth Homilies (M1)	a1225	M1	Non-contemporary.
	Holy Maidenhood	c1225 (?c1200)	M1	Contemporary. Composed between 1210-1220 ⁶⁴
	The Guardianship of the Soul	c1225 (?c1200)	M1	Contemporary ⁶⁵ . Composed between 1200-1220
	St. Juliana	c1225 (?c1200)	M1	Contemporary. Composed probably before 1200-1220

⁶⁴ For this additional information, cf.

<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/histcorpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-4/>, texts arranged by dialect, West Midlands, Katherine Group.

⁶⁵ I have not been able to find a definition of the labels *contemporary* and *non-contemporary* in the PPCME2, however, I take it to indicate whether a text was originally composed in the EME period, or whether it contains copies of older material.