Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia

Corso di Dottorato di ricerca

in Lingue, culture, società
moderne e Scienze del
Linguaggio

ciclo XXXI

Tesi di Ricerca

in cotutela con Bergische Università Wuppertal

An Interface Based Account for the

grammaticalization of the VO word

order in the history of English

SSD: L-LIN/01
SSD: L-LIN/12

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Acknowledgements

Having almost reached the end of this phase in one's academic life called PhD, it is high time to thank all the people who have accompanied me through these three intense years. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Roland Hinterhölzl, Svetlana Petrova, Marina Buzzoni and Carsten Breul; they have not only supported me through their advice and invaluable expertise on (diachronic) Linguistics and Germanic Philology, but they have also given me personal support during not so easy moments of my life. In particular, I would like to thank Roland Hinterhölzl and Marina Buzzoni for their support during the initial phase of my PhD, and for having believed in my project; I would like to thank Svetlana Petrova and Carsten Breul for having readily embarked into the project of the *Cotutelle*, without knowing me beforehand, and for having supported me during the last phase of my PhD, which I spent at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal.

During these years, I had the chance to attend to different conferences, summer schools and workshops on historical linguistics, from which I have gained deeper insights into this complex and fascinating field. Moreover, I have received advice and feedback on previous versions of my work, which have undoubtedly contributed to the version being presented at this point. I would like to thank especially the audience and the senior researchers of the Summer School in Historical Syntax (Potsdam 2016), the audience of the 10th International Conference on Middle English (Stavanger, 2017), the participants of the Summer School Historical Linguistics (Göttingen, 2017), the audience of the 19th Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference (Stellenbosch, 2017), the audience of the Colloque Information Structure and Language Change (Caen, 2018), and the audience at the 20th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (Edinburgh, 2018).

Particular thanks go also to Virginia Hill and Marit Westergaard, for their comments during my presentation at the Summer School Historical Linguistics in Göttingen, and to the audience during my presentation at the *Wuppertaler Linguistiches Forum*, particularly to Elzbieta Adamczyk for her support and feedback.

I was, moreover, fortunate enough to become one of the members of the *Discourse Grammar/Sentence Grammar* network, initiated by Roland Hinterhölzl; the workshops organised by the network gave me the chance to present my work in front of an expert audience in a familiar and relaxed atmosphere, and to receive precious advice and feedback. I would like to thank personally Marco Coniglio, Ans van Kemenade, Kristin Bech, Ann Taylor, Susan Pintzuk, Eric Fuß, Bettelou Los, and Theresa Biberauer for their advice and feedback received

during the *Discourse Grammar/Sentence Grammar* workshops. Finally, I would like to thank Ans van Kemenade also for having let me spend a week at the Radboud University Nijmegen, where I had the chance to discuss and exchange ideas on my dissertation with her and with Tara Struik, whom I heartily thank as well.

Special gratitude goes to the two readers of a previous version of this dissertation, Ans van Kemenade and Marco Coniglio, who carefully read and commented my work, giving me precise and stimulating feedback on how to improve it.

Needless to be said, all errors are mine.

If I managed to complete my PhD, it is because I received not only academic but also material support from different institutions; I would like to thank the members of the Department of Linguistics and Comparative Cultural Studies at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice for having granted me a Research Grant during the 2015/2016 Academic Year. I would like to thank the International Promovieren in Wuppertal (IPIW) Group, led by Prof. Ursula Kocher, for having given me the chance to attend to their first Summer School in 2015, where I met Svetlana Petrova and where I received the first indications for the completion of the *Cotutelle* Agreement between the Ca'Foscari University and the Bergische Universität Wuppertal. I thank the IPIW also for the further support received during October and November 2018.

I spent the third year of my PhD at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal, a stay which was funded by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), to which my gratitude goes. During my stay at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal I had the chance to become part of the Institute for Linguistics, and to attend to different seminars organised by the *Wuppertaler Linguistiches Forum*. At this point, I would like to thank the so-called *Wuppertaler Clique* for having brightened up my stay in Wuppertal: Nicholas Catasso, Cathy Lange, Tabita Rath, Christopher Saure and Carsten Dahlmann. I especially thank Nicholas for all the conversations and coffees we had, and for his positivity and encouragement, Cathy for the special bond we developed during this year, all the laughter and the deep conversations we had, Tabita for her encouragement and the funny moments we shared together with Christopher, which helped me endure my writing phase during an exceptionally hot Summer in Wuppertal, and Christopher for having helped me with some technical problems I had right before submission.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my friends and family. I thank my closest friends Roberta, Giorgia, Riccardo and Francesca, for having always been there for me (yes, after all this time), and for accepting me the way I am, which is not an easy task. I also thank Caterina, Simone, Sara and Cristina, whom I met during the first day of our Bachelor in Ca' Foscari, and

Abstrakt in deutscher Sprache

Der Wandel von einer *Objekt > Verb*- zu einer *Verb > Objekt*-Oberflächensyntax beim Übergang vom Alt- bis zum Mittelenglischen ist jahrzehntelang erforscht worden. Jedoch besteht in der einschlägigen Literatur immer noch kein Konsens über die Basiswortstellung des Altenglischen sowie über die Ursachen dieses Wandels.

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die Syntax des Altenglischen von Variation geprägt ist (vgl. Mitchell 1985, van Kemenade 1987, Lightfoot 1991, Kiparsky 1996, Pintzuk 1999, Roberts 1997, Fischer et al. 2000). In dieser Sprachstufe sind nämlich sowohl die Abfolge *Auxiliarverb > Verb* als auch die Abfolge *Verb > Auxiliarverb* belegt; ferner ist auch die relative Abfolge von Verb und Objekt von Variation geprägt.

Verschieden sind die syntaktischen Analysen von der beobachteten Variation in der Wortstellung, sowie verschieden sind die vorgeschlagenen Ursachen für den beobachteten Wandel. Die syntaktische Debatte teilt sich in zwei grundsätzlich gegensätzliche Positionen: Die *Double-Base*-Hypothese besagt, dass die verschiedenen Abfolgen von unterschiedlichen Grammatiken generiert werden (Pintzuk 1999, Kroch und Taylor 2000, Fuß und Trips 2002), während laut der *Universal-Base*-Hypothese (Roberts 1997, Fischer et al. 2000, Biberauer und Roberts 2005 und Hinterhölzl 2014, 2015, 2017) alle Abfolgen von einer antisymmetrischen Grammatik generiert werden, wobei sich die Serialisierungen durch die Überprüfung von Kasusmerkmalen (Roberts 1997) oder von EPP-Merkmalen (Biberauer und Roberts 2005) oder durch die aus Schnittstellenbedingungen resultierende Ausbuchstabierung von Objekten (Hinterhölzl 2014, 2015, 2017) voneinander unterscheiden.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird der antisymmetrische Ansatz von Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015, 2017) verwendet, laut dem die beobachteten Abfolgen durch obligatorische Bewegungen in spezifische vP-Projektionen im Rahmen der Merkmalsüberprüfung generiert werden. Ferner werden informationsstrukturelle und prosodische Schnittstellenbedingungen postuliert, die das Ausbuchstabieren von der nach der Überprüfung von Kasusmerkmalen erzeugten Kopie steuern. Es wird angenommen, dass gegebene Information in der Überprüfungsposition ausbuchstabiert wird, während neue Information in der Basisposition, nach der coverten Bewegung zur Überprüfungsposition, ausbuchstabiert werde. Laut diesem theoretischen Rahmen ist die präverbale Position die Überprüfungsposition, während die postverbale Position die Basisposition sei. Außerdem wird angenommen, dass leichte Objekte präverbal, während schwere Objekte postverbal realisiert werden. Das syntaktische Gewicht einer Konstituente wird laut der strukturellen Definition von Hinterhölzl (2014) bestimmt.

In dem vertretenen Übergangsszenario werden die informationsstrukturellen Bedingungen zunehmend intransparent, sodass im Laufe der Zeit nur das Gewicht eines Objektes für dessen Ausbuchstabierung entscheidend ist. In der letzten Phase dieses Prozesses werden auch die prosodischen Bedingungen intransparent, sodass schließlich alle Objekttypen nach dem Verb realisiert werden. Es wird also angenommen, dass die bestimmenden Faktoren dieses Wandels sprachintern sind. Ausgangspunkt von diesem Szenario ist die Grammatikalisierung des definiten Artikels als Kopf der DP Nach Hinterhölzls Definition gelten DPs, die von einem definiten Artikel eingeleitet werden, als schwere Konstituenten. Allerdings stellen diese Konstituenten typisch identifizierbare und abgrenzbare Entitäten dar, die laut informationsstrukturellen Bedingungen in präverbaler Position realisiert werden sollten. Mit der Grammatikalisierung des Artikels werden definite DPs zu schweren Elementen, die postverbal realisiert werden und allmählich zur Intransparenz der informationsstrukturellen Bedingungen führen.

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, die Implikationen dieses theoretischen Rahmens für das oben erwähnte Phänomen zu überprüfen und zu bestimmen, von welchen Bedingungen die Realisierung der beobachteten Abfolgen im Altenglischen abhängt. Nachdem die Bedingungen anhand der altenglischen Daten überprüft werden, werden die Belege von ausgewählten frühmittelenglischen Texten analysiert, um zu bestimmen, ob sich das postulierte Szenario anhand dieser Daten bestätigen lässt.

Zur Überprüfung des Ausgangsszenario wird zuerst eine empirische Studie über die Grammatikalisierung des Artikels präsentiert, die auf die Studien von Crisma (2011), Breban (2012) und Allen (2016) basiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass im Altenglischen die ursprünglichen Demonstrativa *se*, *seo* und *þæt* artikelartige Funktionen zwar aufweisen, jedoch ist die volle Grammatikalisierung des Artikels erst am Anfang des Mittelenglischen vollzogen. Der Kern der Arbeit besteht aus der informationsstrukturellen und prosodischen Analyse von direkten, indirekten und PP-Objekten in den folgenden Abfolgen:

- Auxiliar > Objekt > Verb
- Auxiliar > Verb > Objekt
- Objekt > Verb > Auxiliar
- Verb > Auxiliar > Objekt

Es wurden die Ergebnisse einer Pilotstudie zu altenglischen Nebensätzen gesammelt, die mit Hauptsätzen aus gewählten Texten erweitert wurde; die Daten wurden aus dem YCOE Corpus (Taylor et al. 2003) mithilfe des Programms Corpusstudio (Komen, 2011) abgerufen. Es wird sich zeigen, dass die erhobenen Daten den theoretischen Rahmen zwar bestätigen, dass jedoch

eine stärkere Korrelation zwischen der Gegebenheit eines Objektes und der präverbalen Position im Vergleich zu der Korrelation zwischen neuer Information und postverbaler Position zu beobachten ist. In anderen Worten, präverbale Objekte sind überwiegend gegeben und leicht, während postverbale Objekte heterogene Merkmale aufweisen. Dieser Befund wird von einer ausführlichen Studie von Struik und van Kemenade (2018) bestätigt, in der gezeigt wird, dass es die präverbalen Objekte sind, die eine spezielle Lizensierung brauchen. Diese Objekte stellen nämlich gegebene Information dar; die empirische Evidenz wird von Struik und van Kemenade als Bestätigung für die universelle Basis interpretiert. Die OV-Abfolge markiert nämlich Gegebenheit, während die VO-Abfolge unmarkiert ist.

Nachdem die relevanten Faktoren für die Wortstellungsvariation im Altenglischen bestimmt werden, werden Haupt- und Nebensätze aus ausgewählten frühmittelenglischen Texten analysiert. Die Texte wurden aus dem PPCME2 (Kroch und Taylor 2000) Corpus mit Corpusstudio (Komen 2011) untersucht; es handelt sich um neun Prosa Texte aus verschiedenen Gebieten: South-East Midlands, Kent, North-East Midlands und West Midlands. Ferner wurde eine Auswahl von Belegen aus dem poetischen Text *Ormulum* analysiert, die jedoch zeigen, dass dieser historisch wichtige Text keine zuverlässige Quelle für die syntaktische Analyse ist (*pace* Trips 2002). Es wird sich zeigen, dass die im Altenglischen beobachteten Bedingungen und Prozesse auch in den ausgewählten Texten erkennbar sind. Die Texte weisen jedoch unterschiedliche Entwicklungen in der Ausbuchstabierung von Objekten auf; die Texte aus den südlichen Gebieten zeigen noch eine gewisse Konservativität in der präverbalen Realisierung von Objekten, während in den Texten aus den West und North-East Midlands fast alle Objekte postverbal realisiert werden. Die wenigen Elemente, die noch präverbal realisiert werden, sind überwiegend leicht und gegeben, genauso wie in den altenglischen Belegen. Es wurde in der Literatur beobachtet, dass die weniger konservativen Texte aus den Gebieten kommen, die zur sogenannten *Danelaw* gehörten (vgl. Kroch und Taylor 1997 und 2000, Trips 2002). Die Unterschiede können zwar mit dem Gebiet und dem Grad des Kontakts zu den Skandinaviern zusammenhängen, aber es wird in dieser Arbeit betont, dass die konservativen Texte entweder Kopien von altenglischen Texten oder Übersetzungen aus dem Latein bzw. Französisch sind, während die Texte mit einer innovativeren Syntax direkt in der frühmittelenglischen Stufe komponiert wurden. Das die Übertragung dieser Texte zu ihrer Konservativität korreliert, wird von den Texten aus dem Gebiet der West Midlands gezeigt. Unter diesen Texten sind sowohl Predigten, die aus altenglischen Exemplaren kopiert wurden als auch originelle Kompositionen zu finden; die kopierten Texte zeigen eine konservativere Syntax im Vergleich zu den anderen

Texten, die in derselben Region komponiert wurden, was einen möglichen Kontakt zu den Skandinaviern als Ursache des Wandels in dieser Region ausschließen würde.

Schließlich wird in dieser Arbeit eine Studie über Objektpronomina vorgestellt und besprochen, die als typisch leichte und gegebene Elemente gelten. Es wird sich zeigen, dass die Realisierung von Pronomina in verschiedenen Positionen in den Haupt- und Nebensätzen von informationsstrukturellen und prosodischen Bedingungen gesteuert ist und es wird ein Grammatikalisierungsprozess vorgeschlagen, der mit dem weiteren Übergangsszenario korreliert.

Schließlich wird gezeigt, dass die Grammatikalisierung der VO Abfolge von sprach-internen Prozessen verursacht wird, dessen Wurzeln zur altenglischen Sprachstufe zurückgehen; die in dieser Arbeit präsentierten Daten betonen die Rolle von Informationsstruktur und Prosodie als entscheidende Elemente in der Organisierung der Äußerung in den altgermanischen Sprachen, und beschränken die Rolle des Kontakts mit den skandinavischen Sprachen als mögliche Ursache für den hier thematisierten Wandel.

1. Introduction

With the present work, I aim to investigate the syntax of Old English and Early Middle English, in order to determine the factors that led to the grammaticalization of the VO word order. It is well known in the literature that Old English 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[1].

A lively scientific debate has developed around the question on which the basic word order underlying Old English is, and around the causes that led to the word order change attested. Two basic positions can be identified; on the one hand, the proponents of the double base hypothesis (Pintzuk 1999, Fuß and Trips 2002) argue for the simultaneous presence of three grammars, which differ according to the head directionality of both the IP and the VP. The different grammars are in competition throughout the whole Old English period, until the OV grammar is ruled out by the VO grammar, in the transition from the Old English to the Middle English period. On the other hand, Biberauer and Roberts (2005), building on Roberts (1997), propose a Universal Base approach which has EPP features as a trigger for the pied piping or stranding of the VP and vP projections.

Turning to the causes for the language change, different scholars have identified the contact with the Scandinavian population settled in the Danelaw, claiming that these settlers already spoke a language with a VO grammar. Two main objections can be raised towards this approach; on the one hand, there is no record of the language spoken by these Scandinavian settlers; on the other hand, Old English already presents consistent VO word orders, beside OV and V > Aux word orders. Finally, evidence from Old Swedish and Old Icelandic suggests that also Old Scandinavian languages were subject to variation in the order of verb and object for centuries; moreover, the variation was resolved at a much later date than in the English language.

According to Roberts (1997), it was the loss of case morphology which led to a more rigid restructuring of syntax; this approach, however, raises the question why Dutch retained OV

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[1] But cf. Fischer et al. (2000) and chapter 2 below for a more detailed overview of the residual OV word orders in Late Middle English.

word order despite losing case morphology, and why Icelandic drifted to the VO word order despite its rich case morphology (cf. Kiparsky 1996).

It is worth noticing that not only were Old Icelandic and Old Swedish subject to word order variation, but also Old High German displayed the mixed word orders which can be found in the Old English records. In other words, Early Germanic languages were subject to a degree of variation in their word orders which is not attested in the modern stages. In recent years, a flourishing literature on the role of information structure in the word order variation of Early Germanic languages has developed. These studies have demonstrated how the word order variation in Early Germanic is influenced by information structure; turning to Old English, the work by van Kemenade and Los (2006, 2018), van Kemenade (2009), van Kemenade and Westergaard (2012), Struik and van Kemenade (2018), Bech (2001, 2012), Petrova and Speyer (2011) shows that the variation attested in Old English is subject to information structural requirements. Moreover, Behaghel's (1932) *Law of Growing Elements* has received its share of attention in the literature on Early Germanic, and it has been demonstrated that also the weight of constituents has an impact on the clausal organization in these languages.

Given the literature on word order variation and information structure and weight in Early Germanic languages, the framework employed in the present work builds on an antisymmetric framework, as in Biberauer and Roberts (2005), but information structural and prosodic interface conditions are identified as a trigger for the language change. More specifically, Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015, 2017) proposes an account which takes the syntax of the English language has having a universal VO base and derives the attested word orders by assuming both covert leftward movement of objects, nominal parts of complex predicates and particles, and interface conditions regulating the spell-out of either the higher or the lower copy of movement. The interface conditions postulated are of prosodic and information structural nature: given and/or light constituents are predicted to occupy a weak position in prosodic structure, which is identified with the pre-verbal position in the framework, whereas new and/or heavy constituents are predicted to occupy a strong position in prosodic structure, which is identified with the post-verbal position in the framework.

As a trigger for the blurring of the information structural and prosodic interface conditions, Hinterhölzl proposes the grammaticalization of the definite determiner, which would cause DPs with a demonstrative in their Specifier to turn into DPs with a definite determiner occupying the D head. This implies that DPs are analysed as right branching, which turns them into heavy elements in the framework proposed by Hinterhölzl.

The mapping of definite DPs would cause on the one hand the blurring of the information structural interface conditions, since definite and presumably active referents would be mapped on a strong branch; on the other hand, the mapping of heavier elements in the post-verbal domain would lead to progressive spell-out of light elements in the same domain.

The empiric research conducted in this work aims at testing whether the assumption by Hinterhölzl are confirmed by the data, and at identifying in information structural and prosodic conditions as a trigger for the change, claiming that the observed change in the history of the English language can be explained by assuming a language internal account.

The research domain consists of selected OE clauses having a complex verbal form, a subject and an object. The focus of the research lies on the arguments of verb mapped in the pre- verbal domain (between IP and VP) and in the post-verbal domain. The investigation of a selected sample of Old English subordinate and matrix clauses serves as the basis for a comprehensive investigation of matrix and subordinate clauses in 10 Early Middle English texts coming from the Kentish area, the East Midlands and the West Midlands. I aim to obtain a comprehensive picture for the Early Middle English texts selected, in order to determine whether Early Middle English was subject to information structural and prosodic constraints on the one hand, and whether the language change can be explained by postulating language internal triggers, on the other hand. The data are extracted from the York Corpus of Old English Prose, hence YCOE, (Taylor et al., 2003) and from the Penn Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd edition. Hence, PPCME2, (Kroch and Taylor, 2009). A detailed description of the selection criteria and the programmes employed is given in chapter 4.

The texts have been chosen according to the dialect classification presented in the PPCME2 corpus, in order to allow for a comparison with the data of Kroch and Taylor (2000). Unlike in previous quantitative works on these dialects, the constituents are analysed according to their prosodic weight and information structural value.

In chapter 2, I summarise the debate on word order variation in Old English (2.1) and on the causes for the language change (2.2); in section 2.3 I present the literature on the role of information structure and weight in the organisation of the syntax of Early Germanic.

In chapter 3, I present the theoretical framework underlying the present research; in section 3.1 the framework by Hinterhölzl is presented, in section 3.2 I present the reasons for a metric definition of prosodic heaviness, and in section 3.3 the impact of the grammaticalization of the

definite determiner within the framework employed is discussed. Finally, section 3.4 presents the prospected language change scenario.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the methods. In section 4.1, I illustrate how I proceeded with the coding of information structural value and weight, whereas sections 4.2 and 4.3 present the Old English and the Early Middle English samples respectively.

In Chapter 5 I discuss whether Old English already possesses a definite determiner; the discussion in section 5.1 revolves around the literature about the grammaticalization of the definite determiner in Old English, whereas in section 5.2 I present an empirical study in support of Breban (2012). I conclude with Allen (2016) that the determiners *se*, *sēo* and *þæt* in Old English were an ambiguous category, which could either occupy the head of the DP projection, or its specifier. The ambiguity is resolved in the Early Middle English period.

Chapters 6-8 are devoted to the study of the Old English and the Early Middle English samples; in chapter 6, I explore the word order variation in a restricted sample of Old English subordinate and matrix clauses. The study is corroborated by a wider investigation by Struik and Van Kemenade (2018), who show that OV word order is uniformly triggered by the information status of the objects, whereas VO word order presents a heterogeneous composition. I conclude that the heterogeneous VO word order can be accounted for by taking into consideration the weight of the constituents.

In chapter 7, the Early Middle English texts are investigated; for each text I examine the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs in pre-verbal and in post-verbal position of both matrix and subordinate clauses. The study focuses on Aux > V sentences, but V > Aux sentences are also investigated, when present[2]. I conclude that the changes witnessed in the Early Middle English period constitute a natural development of the situation witnessed in the Old English sample; the dialectal variation is taken into account, but I also take into account the transmission history of the texts. In fact, the sample consists of texts which are either composed directly in the Early Middle English period, and of texts with a more complex history, which are either translated from Latin or French, or are copies of older material.

Chapter 8 focuses on the distribution of personal object pronouns; Pintzuk (1999) argues that object pronouns in Old English can be optional syntactic clitics, therefore, it is reasonable to

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[2] The configurations studied are the following: Aux > V > O, Aux > O > V, O > V > Aux and V > Aux > O. The possibly logic configuration V> O > Aux is ruled out because of the Final Over Final Constraints (cf. Biberauer et al. 2014).

treat them separately from non-pronominal objects of verbs. In this chapter, I investigate the distribution of object pronouns preceding the auxiliary verb, in pre-verbal position and in post-verbal position, by taking into account information structural constraints. I show that higher object pronouns correlate with topic reading, whereas the pronouns in pre-verbal position constitute the unmarked case. I will link the progressive spell-out of pronouns in post-verbal position in the Early Middle English sample to the blurring of the information structural constraints on the one hand, and to the reanalysis from special clitics into simple clitics in the sense of Zwicky (1977), on the other hand.

Chapter 9 summarises the findings for the Old English and the Early Middle English samples respectively, by presenting the data on the mapping of both pronominal and non-pronominal objects of verbs in matrix and subordinate clauses. In section 9.2, moreover, I return to the mapping of DPs with a definite determiner, and I show that the grammaticalization of the VO word order in the Early Middle English period has its basis in the Old English period. The Early Middle English texts show a progressive tendency to spell-out non-pronominal objects in the post-verbal domain, until also object pronouns are spelled-out in the post-verbal position, when the information structural constraints governing the syntax of Old English are not transparent anymore. It will be also shown that the texts which are composed directly in the Early Middle English period present a more innovative syntax.

In chapter 10, I implement the syntactic analysis presented in chapter 3, by taking into account the empirical findings of chapters 6-8. Chapter 11 concludes the work.

2. The debate on word order variation in Old and Middle English

This chapter deals with the ongoing debate about the word order variation in Old and Middle English, on the one hand, and on the debate around the causes for the language change on the other hand. The debate is complex and has been carried out for almost thirty years; in a nutshell, the debate on the syntactic nature of Old English 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).

Finally, I will also present literature on the role of information structure and weight in the syntax of Early Germanic.

Before going into the details about the debate on Old English and the language change in Early Middle English, let us observe some of the possible attested word orders found in the Old English period:

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**	**mehte**	
	the	river,	and	observed	where	one	might	
	þa	**ea**	**forwyrcan**					
	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)

Aux > V > O

(2)	þe	læs	**þe**	**se**	**hlyst**	**&**	**seo**	**gesihđ wurđe**
	the	less	that	the	hearing	and	the	sight became

	bescyred	**þæra**	**haligra**		**geryna**
	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][3]

O> V > Aux

(3)	&	mec	mine	geferan	bædon	**þæt**	**hie**	**swelcramerþo**
	and	me	my	comrades	asked	that	they	such glory

	bescerede	**ne**	**wæron.**
	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 eall**	**his**	**werod** swa
	And	after	that	that	he	arranged	had all	his	army so

	his	þeaw	wæs,	þa	ferde	he	to	þam	gefeohte.
	his	custom	was,	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 signals in her work further word order patterns attested, such as the following example:

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

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[3] The examples between square brackets come from the YCOE and the PPCME2 queries performed for the empirical investigation. The examples between round brackets come either from the literature quoted in each example, or from the manual scrutiny of the text under examination. As far as the examples quoted from the literature are concerned, I reported the glosses and the translation found in the quoted literature, as they are found in the text. The examples obtained from my own empirical research are translated by me, with the aid of the relevant editions quoted and the Old English and Middle English Dictionaries.

Abstracting away from the underlying structure and the causes for the variation and change, it is reported by the various scholars that already in the earlier texts the different word orders reported above can be observed, with an increase in verb-object and auxiliary-verb orders during the OE period, until the VO word order is reanalysed as the basic one around 1200 (cf. Lightfoot 1991, in Pintzuk 1999).

In the following, the debate is summarised, starting from the syntactic accounts in section 2.1, followed by the causes for the language contact in section 2.2. Finally, in section 2.3 recent literature on the role of information structure and weight of constituents in Early Germanic will be presented.

2.1 The syntax of Old English: Double Base or Universal Base?

Not only is there debate around the causes for the language change, but there is debate around the underlying structure of the Old English language; a very influential proposal to solve the puzzle presented by the word order variation in the Old English stage was put forth by Pintzuk (1999[4]). 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 processes in languages with an OV base structure. Moreover, she notices that van Kemenade's (1987) proposed asymmetry between matrix 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. Using sophisticated statistic instruments, Pintzuk demonstrates that inflection medial orders increase at the same rate both in main and subordinate clauses in the OE period,

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[4] The book *Phrase Structures in Competition, Variation and Change in Old English Word Order* was published in 1999, but it is a slightly revised version Pintzuk's (1991) doctoral dissertation (Pintzuk 1999: vii).

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 devises 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)

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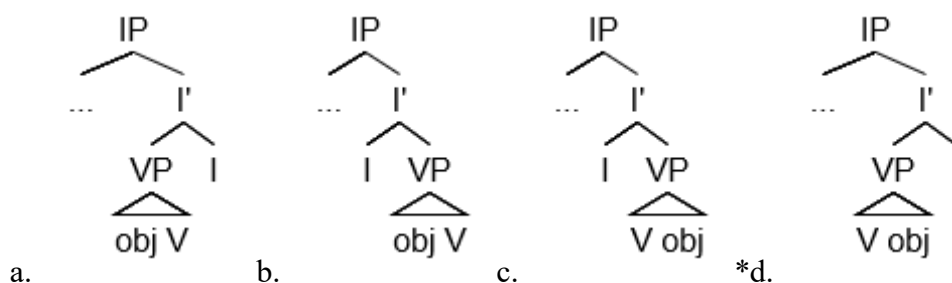
a. Head-final IP + Head-final VP: S – O – V - V_{fin}
b. Head-initial IP + head-final VP: S – V_{fin} – O – V
c. Head- initial IP + head-initial VP: S – V_{fin}- V – O
d. *Head-final IP + head-initial VP: S – V – O - V_{fin}

(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)[5]. Pintzuk claims that there is evidence in OE for (6a), and hence 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

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[5] 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).

extraposition or verb projection raising processes, therefore their position after a finite verb would indicate an IP initial and a VP initial structure. Pintzuk divides her database between clauses which show unambiguously head final structures and ambiguous head initial structures; her analysis shows that no light element as indicated above is found in the unambiguous sentences with head final structure, whereas the sentences with so far ambiguous head initial structure show a low percentage of these elements in post-verbal position. Pintzuk concludes that this asymmetry points at the existence of different IP and VP projections, which vary in the headedness parameter. In fact, only in an IP or VP initial projection can the elements listed above be found after the verb.

Having established that head-initial IPs and VPs are possible in Old English, Pintzuk observes that this does not totally exclude the possibility that certain Infl Medial orders - hence deriving from a head initial IP – are actually generated by the head-final grammar and derived by verb (projection) raising. Pintzuk, then, 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.

Moreover, Pintzuk analyses personal pronouns, concluding that subject pronouns are always syntactic clitics, and cliticise to the edge of the IP, whereas object pronouns are optional syntactic clitics, which can cliticise to the left edge of IP, like subject pronouns, or can remain in the VP. This analysis will be re-considered in chapter 8.

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. Using statistical methods, she determines that Infl-Medial orders were present right from the start in the sample examined, both in matrix and subordinate clauses, albeit with a lower distribution in the latter clause type. In both clause types, the ratio of Infl-Medial sentences increases steadily throughout the OE period, until in the MS E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle they reach a 100% distribution[6]. Pintzuk

---

[6] A possible counterexample is the following:

þet	se	papa	hit	him	forboden	haefde
that	the	Pope	it	him	forbidden	had

'That the Pope had forbidden hit to him.'   [cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1048.8.2245]

concludes that the steady increase of the Infl-Medial orders is to be ascribed to the grammar competition on the one hand, which yields the synchronic variation, and to the reanalysis of the head initial grammar as the basic one in the Early Middle English period. It has to be noticed, that the core of her arguments relies on statistical examination of Infl-Medial orders, but head initial and head final VPs are treated only in her chapter 3, where she examines whether unambiguous head initial VPs are attested thanks to the evidence provided by her diagnostic object pronouns, verb particles and monosyllabic adverbs, concluding that VO structures were possible in OE. The statistical investigation presented in her chapter 5, however, deals only with the position of inflection in the clause; an Infl-Medial clause, however, can present OV word order, as structure (6b) shows. Pintzuk shows that inflection medial orders steadily increase in the course of time, but does not provide a reason for the variation between the grammatical systems, nor for the loss of head final structures. In my view, the hypothesis of grammar competition describes the facts at hand, but does not constitute an explanation for language change; in fact, different word orders are attested within the same texts, pointing at the fact that the different grammars where synchronically present in the minds of the speakers. For reasons of Economy, it is reasonable to assume that the synchronic presence of different grammars is motivated by some principle of language, and that these present qualitative differences, leading to the choice of one grammar instead of the other. In other words, the theory proposed by Pintzuk can account for the descriptive situation, but does not provide a reason why a speaker should choose one grammar in a certain context, and the other grammar in another context. Moreover, her theory does not explain why exactly the head initial grammar "won" the competition at the beginning of the Middle English period.

After her dissertation in 1991, further works have been presented using Pintzuk's framework of the Phrase Structures in competition, cf. Kroch and Taylor (2000), Pintzuk and Taylor (2011, 2012a, 2012b), and Trips (2002). A further refinement of the 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 over 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 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 structures derived from their framework are given in the following:

(7)[7]

a.

```
        TP
       /  \
     ...   T'
          /  \
         T    VP1
             /   \
           ...    V1'
                 /   \
              VP2     Vfin
             /   \
          Obj   V-fin
```

b.

```
              TP
             /  \
           ...   T'
                /  \
               T    vP
                   /  \
                 Subj  v'
                      /    \
                 v+Vfin₁    VP1
                           /   \
                         ...    V1'
                               /   \
                            VP2     Vfin
                           /   \      |
                        Obj   V-fin
```

c.

```
              TP
             /  \
           ...   T'
                /  \
               T    vP
                   /  \
                 Subj  v'
                      /    \
                 v+Vfin₁    VP1
                           /   \
                         ...    V1'
                               /   \
                            Vfin    VP2
                             |      /  \
                           V-fin  Obj
```

(Adapted from Fuß and Trips 2002: 199-201)

In (7a), the "pure" OV grammar is represented; in this grammar, there is no vP projection, and the two VP projections are uniformly head-final. In (7b), the vP projection is present; this projection is head-initial and requires the movement of the finite verb to v; since VP is a lexical category, it can be either head final or head initial; the difference between (7b) and (7c) relies in the headedness of the VP2 projection.

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[7] The label *V-fin* indicates the non-finite verb, whereas the label *Vfin* indicates the finite verb.

They motivate the absence of the vP projection in the purely head final grammar of (7a) on the basis of Haider's (2000) Branching Constraint and his assumption that theta-licensing must proceed uniformly to the left in OV languages, and to the right in VO languages. His Branching Constraint is reported in the following:

(8) Branching Constraint (BC)
Projection-internal branching nodes on the (extended) projection line follow their sister node.

(Haider 2000, in Fuß and Trips 2002:202, example 48)

In (7a), both the finite verb and its complement are licensed uniformly to the left of their dominating head; in order to fulfil the BC however, a head initial projection must be placed to the left of its complement, in order to license it to the right. Hence the necessity of the vP projection in Infl-Medial OE orders, which licenses the VP shells on its right. In this framework, the order in (6d) cannot be generated, since an Infl-Medial order always implies the presence of a head-initial v. Finally, Fuß and Trips assume that the finite verb moves to v and not to I in embedded clauses, since in embedded clauses, adverbials may intervene between the subject and the finite verb, in their corpus. The following two sentences from my corpus, however, constitute counterexamples to their claim:

(9) […]   ær   we   beon   **æfre**   ælcere   synne   swa clæne amerede
     […]   before we   are   ever   each   sins   so   clean purified
 'Before we are ever purified so cleanly from our sins.'

[cowulf,WHom_4:33.121]

(10) &   gif   hig   him   beoð   **ungesceadlice** geswutelode
     And if   they him   are   indiscreetly   declared.
 'And if they are indiscreetly revealed to him.'

[cochdrul,ChrodR_1:81.8.1060]

Moreover, the adverbials found in the examples presented in their paper all belong to the class of discourse partitioners individuated by van Kemenade and Los; it is not clear whether all of the adverbials in their corpus belong to this class, but if it were so, it must be pointed out that these occupy a high position in the clause, namely above TP (van Kemenade 2009). Consider, in fact, the following example:

(11) Gif him **þonne** God ryhtlice & stræclice deman wile.

  if him then God justly and strictly judge will

'if God will then justly and strictly judge him'   (cocura, CP.5.45.20)

                    (From van Kemenade and Los 2006: 231, example 13)

As can be seen from example (11), the adverbial *þonne* precedes both the subject and the manner adverbials.

 The proposal by Fuß and Trips has the appealing result of not generating the structure in (6d), and the indirect confirmation that functional categories, at least, must be head-initial (cf. Fuß and Trips 2002: 203).

A similar 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 I, and a grammar with a fully developed I projection. In the following, his arguments are summarised.

Kiparsky reviews the literature on OE variation and change in word order, tackling the proposed causes for the language change, on the one hand, and the structural account proposed by Pintzuk. As regards the causes for the language change, we will return to them in section 2.2. 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).

Kiparsky ascribes the variation attested by assuming 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 development of IP (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 that 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.

Roberts claims that there is evidence to support the presence of head-initial IP and VP projections; he notices that in the standard account[8], extraposition is generally assumed to account for post-verbal CPs and PPs. This analysis is standardly accepted for Modern German and Dutch. Notice, however, that extraposition of DPs is not allowed in these languages, but it is attested in Old English, as Roberts (1997) points out:

(12)   þæt   ænig   mon   atellan   mæge   [DP **ealne   þone   demm**]

          that   any   man   relate   can   all   the   misery

'That any man can relate all the misery.'

(Or 52.6 – 7; Pintzuk 1999:25).

Furthermore, Roberts argues that there is evidence for a head-initial IP projection; he first refers to Pintzuk (1991), where it is shown that Infl-Medial orders are attested also in the earlier texts of her sample, both in main and subordinate clauses. Pintzuk, moreover, shows that the frequency of Verb (Projection) Raising from a head-final base is relatively low. Roberts provides further evidence for a head-initial IP projection. First, he observes that the fact that a fully inflected verb is found in post-verbal position does not necessarily have to be identified with a head-final IP. In fact, he argues that the verb could emerge fully inflected and check its features by raising to I; nothing, however, prevents that the raising may take place covertly. The apparent verb final position may be due to the leftward movement of the complement (see below). Furthermore, he observes that clitics are generally analysed as raising to I-type positions; Pintzuk shows that clitics are consistently found at the edge of the IP projection. If the position of clitics constitutes evidence for a head-initial IP, then the OE data constitute evidence for this, according to Roberts (1997). Finally, Roberts (1997) observes that in OE, there are putative Verb Projection Raising structures involving Negative Polarity Items. Haeberli and Haegeman (1995, in Roberts 1997) show that Verb Projection Raising is ruled out in West Flemish, when the object is an NPI, since the rightward-moved VP constitutes an island. Haeberli and Haegeman conclude that the actual occurrence of Verb Projection Raising in OE should be reconsidered, in light of these findings about West Flemish. Other contexts which rule out an analysis involving Verb Projection Raising, and are attested in OE, involve an object pronoun as the complement of the putatively raised verb, as Pintzuk already pointed out. Roberts (1997) concludes that there is very little evidence for Verb (Projection) Raising, which

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[8] What Roberts (1997) defines as *standard account* refers to a general account of OE as head-final language proposed in the literature, basing mostly, but not exclusively, on van Kemenade (1987).

under his account can be eliminated totally, by providing scrambling sites for the constituents preceding the inflected verb (see below).

In the following, Roberts' (1997) proposed architecture of the clause is given:

(13)

```
        CP
       /  \
      1    C'
          /  \
         C    Agr1P
         |   /   \
         2  3     Agr1'
                 /    \
              Agr1     AgrsP
               |      /    \
               4     5      Agrs'
                           /    \
                        Agrs     TP
                                /  \
                               6    T'
                                   /  \
                                  T    AgroP
                                      /    \
                                     7      Agro'
                                           /    \
                                        Agro     VP
                                         |       |
                                         8       V'
                                                / \
                                               V   O
                                               |   |
                                               9   10
```
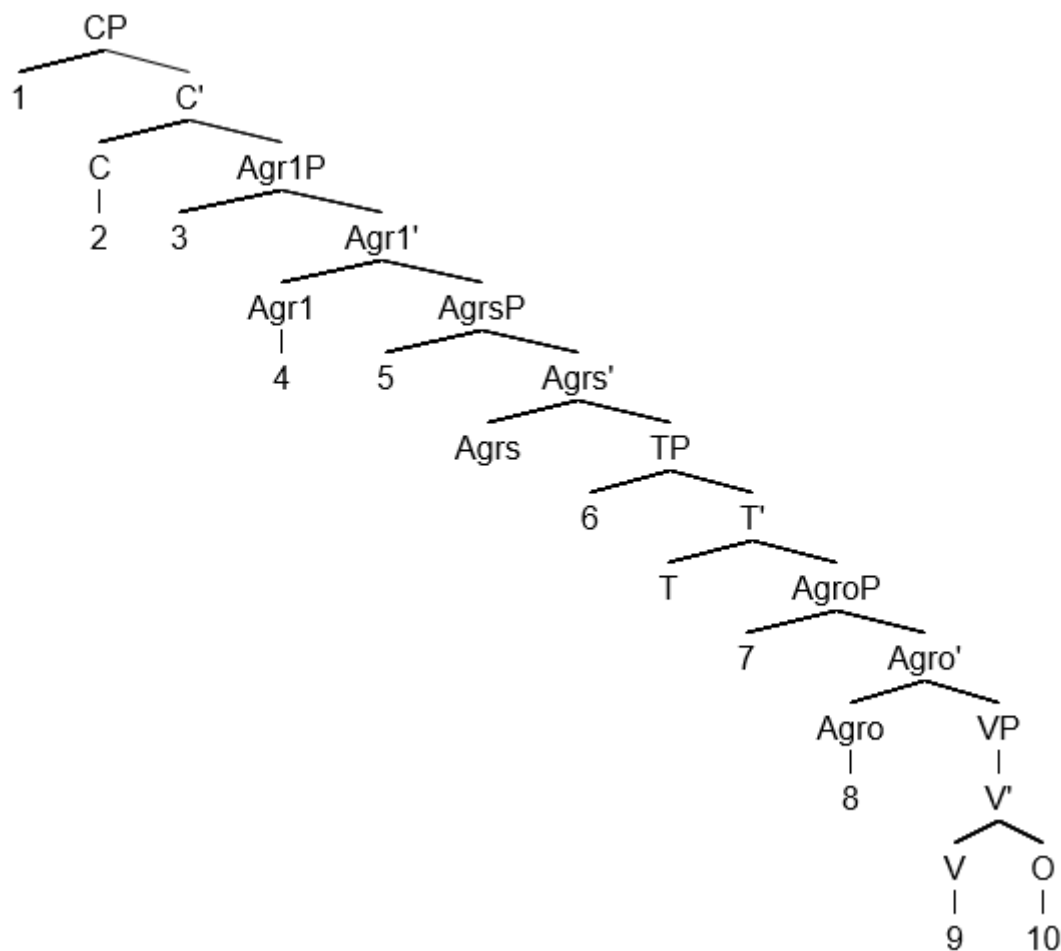
(Based on Roberts 1997: 415, example 28)

The numbers reported under the different Specifier and Head positions in the tree correspond to the landing sites and mergers of different syntactic elements. These are listed in the following, as defined by Roberts (1997):

1. A Topic Position, which is active only in V2 clauses[9];
2. C;
3. A Subject position;

---

[9] Roberts notices that the verb does not always move to C in such clauses, as the evidence provided by van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1999) about subject clitics shows.

17

4. The clitic position;
5. A scrambling position, which can also be occupied by the subject;
6. A further scrambling position;
7. The checking position for object, non-finite complements and small clauses;
8. The position of the verb in non-V2 clauses;
9. The base position of V, where the verb seems to remain in certain sentences (cf. Roberts 1997);
10. The complement position, which is occupied by CP, some PPs and focused DPs (the latter according to the account by Kroch and Pintzuk 1989);

As far as the position in 10 is concerned, Roberts argues that CPs and PPs never undergo leftward checking movement, since they are not required to check for case; the fact that position 7 is the position targeted not only by objects that need to receive case, but also non-finite complements and small clauses, leads to a paradox with respect to the analysis proposed for CPs and PPs, which Roberts solves by arguing that for the categories targeting position 7, a more abstract definition of case is needed. If this definition applies to non-finite complements and small clauses, it is not clear why it should not apply to CPs and PPs. Moreover, Roberts provides no evidence for the "focused DPs" in position 10; he reports the results of a study by Kroch and Pintzuk (1989) on the syntax of Beowulf, where post-verbal DPs are found in metrically accented position. He argues that for these DPs, one should argue that they have a special privilege with respect to Case Theory. In chapter 3, a solution to these puzzles is proposed, since in the framework employed in this work, obligatory leftward licensing movements with variable Spell-Out options are postulated; the spell-out options are governed by Information Structural and Prosodic interface conditions, which would account for the optional cases reported in Roberts (1997). Moreover, also verb movement to Agr_O is not always required in Roberts' framework; he argues that the optionality of verb movement may concern the strength of features of the functional heads which trigger movement.

To sum up, 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 $Agr_O°$ 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 the partially unaccounted optionality, this framework is liberal enough to derive the different word orders attested in the OE period. In the following, the mechanisms deriving the different OE word orders are illustrated; when both a finite and a non-finite verbal form are present, Roberts (1997) argues that the category containing the non-finite verb is larger than a VP, and that it is probably an IP. The proposal is not represented syntactically in his work, but for

pragmatic reasons, I decided to label the projection hosting the finite verb as Agr$_O$1P, and the projection hosting the non-finite verb and its complements as Agr$_O$2P. I would like to underline that this is probably not the option that Roberts had in mind for his 1997 analysis, but in lack of a more explicit proposal, I think that the structure illustrated in the following represents adequately the core of Roberts's analysis. The labels S, Aux, V and O stand respectively for the subject, the finite verb, the non-finite verb and the complement of the non-finite verb. In the following structures, the subject is not represented, but recall from the list given above, that it can be mapped either in [Spec, Agr$_I$P] or in [Spec, Agr$_S$P]. Finally, Roberts does not explicitly state whether also the verb in the complement of the auxiliary verb undergoes head movement to the head of the Agreement projection dominating the VP.

(14)

    a.   (S)>V>AUX>O is derived by licensing movement of the complement of the lower predicate, followed by fronting of the remnant VP to [Spec, Agr$_O$1P]:

```
Agro1P
 ┌──────┴──────┐
...          Agro1'
       ┌───────┴───────┐
     Agro1            VP
       |               |
       V              V'
              ┌────────┴────────┐
             tr             Agro2P
              |         ┌──────┴──────┐
              O       Agro2'
                  ┌─────┴─────┐
                Agr2          VP
                               |
                              V'
                          ┌────┴────┐
                          V        tr
                                    |
```
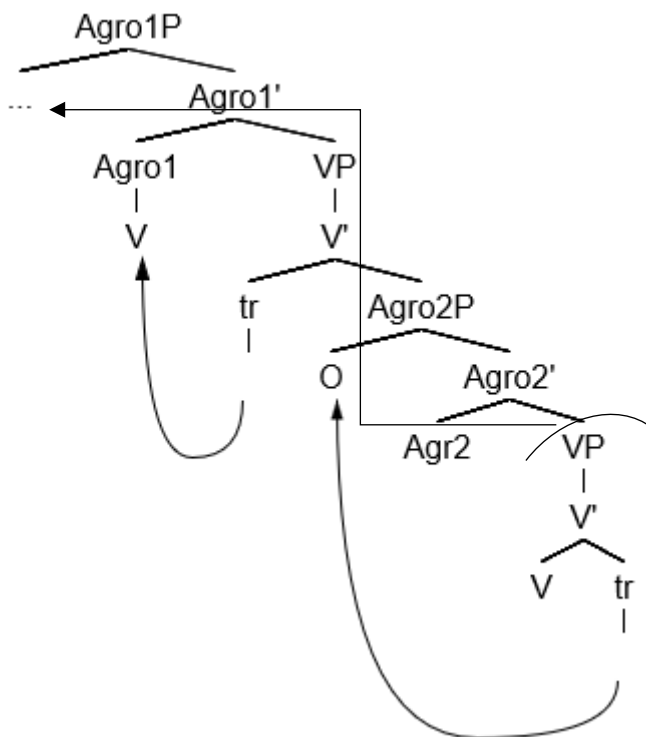
    b.   (S)>O>AUX>V is derived by the licensing movement to [Spec, Agr$_O$1P] of the complement of the lower predicate through [Spec, Agr$_O$2P]:
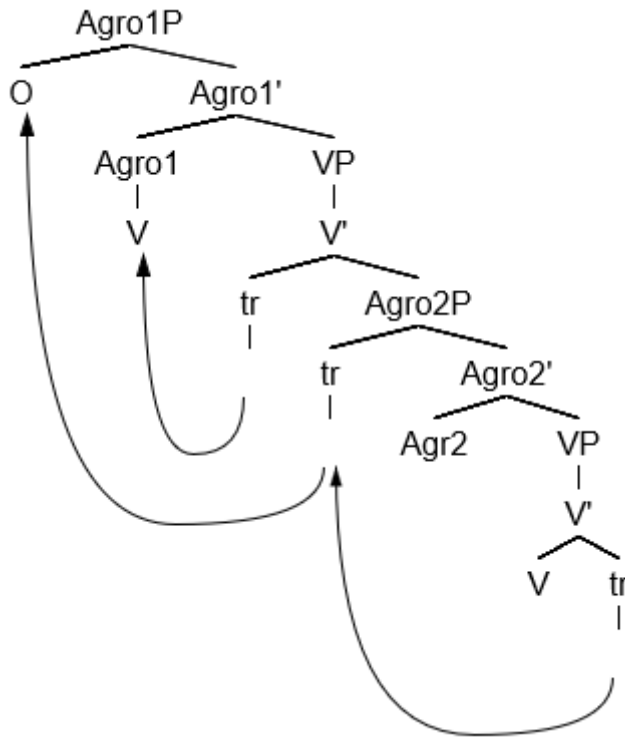
c. (S)>O>V>AUX: this word order is derived first by leftward movement of the complement of the lower predicate to [Spec, Agr$_O$2P], and then by fronting of the whole Agr$_O$2P projection to [Spec, Agr$_O$1P]:
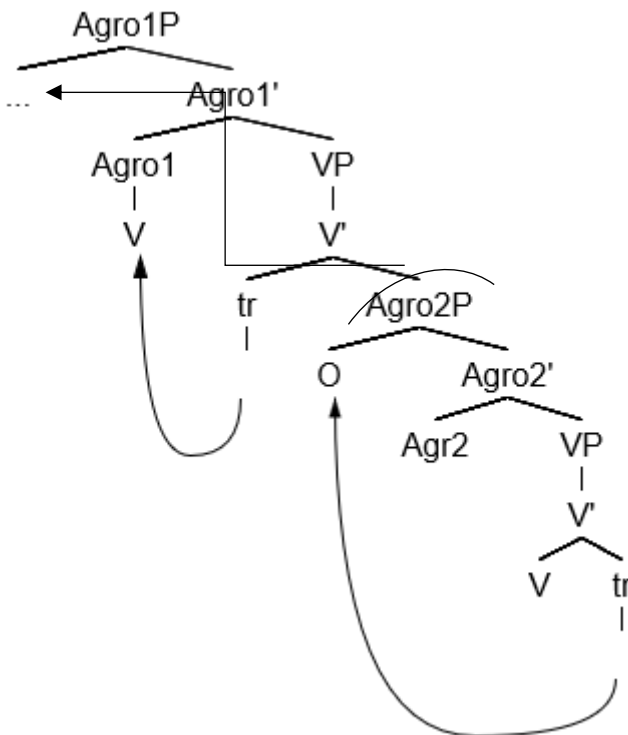
d. (S>) AUX>O>V is obtained by the leftward movement of the object of the lower predicate:
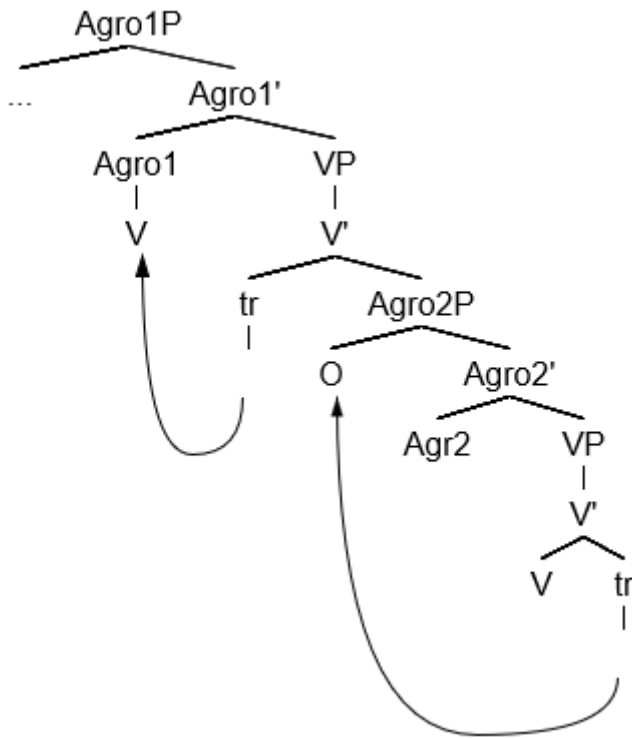
e. (S)>AUX>V>O: this word order is obtained by leftward movement of the complement of the lower predicate, and adjunction of the non-finite verb to the auxiliary:
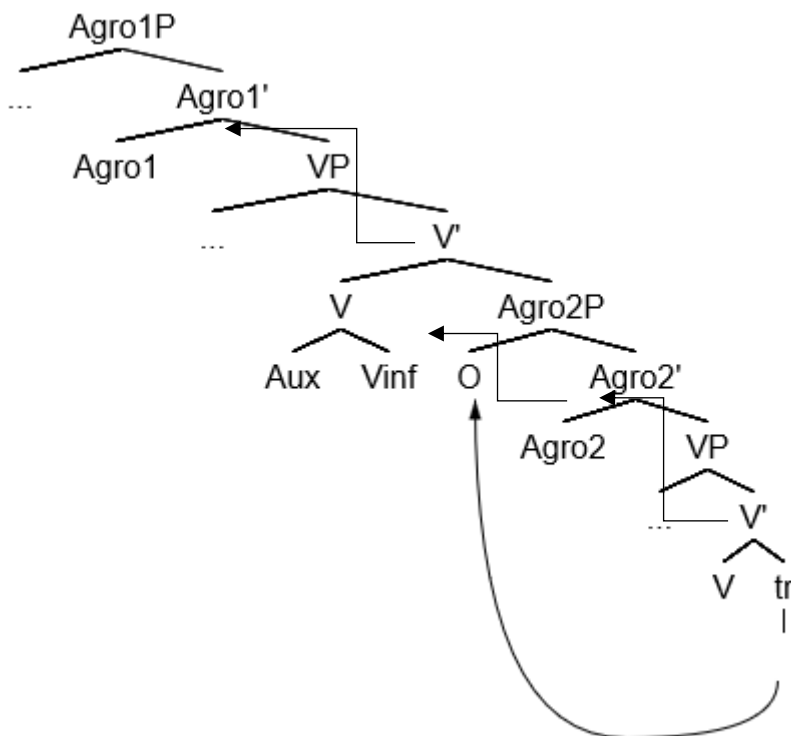
The word orders in b. and e. need some further specification; in b., it is not excluded that the moved object scrambles further to the left. As far as e. is concerned, Roberts (1997) stipulates that the leftward licensing movement of the complement of the lower predicate occurs, unless the complement is a CP, a PP or a focused DP. In order to derive the relative order Aux > V after the licensing movement has taken place, the non-finite verb is adjoined to the auxiliary verb, creating a verbal cluster. This adjunction process would also account for the impossibility of orders such as (6d) above, repeated here:

(15) *S > V > O > Aux

As was noticed above, this approach is liberal enough to derive all the word orders attested in a principled way; 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. In the approach by Kiparsky, one has to stipulate that the absence of a grammaticalized class of auxiliary verbs equals the lack of the IP projection.

Roberts' approach, however, still involves a great deal of optionality; in fact, he argues that object complements, 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, as was pointed out above, 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 in OE and ME word orders which are clearly derived from leftward movement of the object, which are signalled by a diagnostic adverbial intervening between the object and the verb. They argue that in these cases, the object is moved to a higher Agr$_O$P; 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. In this framework, a central notion is that of pied-piping, which I will briefly summarise, following 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:

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

'To whom have you spoken?'

(17)   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:

(18)   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:

(19)	*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 for the specific case of pied-piping or preposition stranding illustrated above, the following representation for pied-piping can be formulated:

(20) X_{PROBE} …. [$_{YP}$ …. Z_{GOAL}] ….

(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 (18 a-b) show for Modern English.

The generalisation in (20) can be equated to the TP and vP projections respectively:

(21) T_{PROBE} …. [$_{vP}$ … element with D features$_{GOAL}$]

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), quoted in Biberauer and Roberts (2005), 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 obligatory 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 (22) then extends to the following categories:

(22) v_{PROBE} …. [$_{VP}$ … element with D features$_{GOAL}$]

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 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 > 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):

(23)
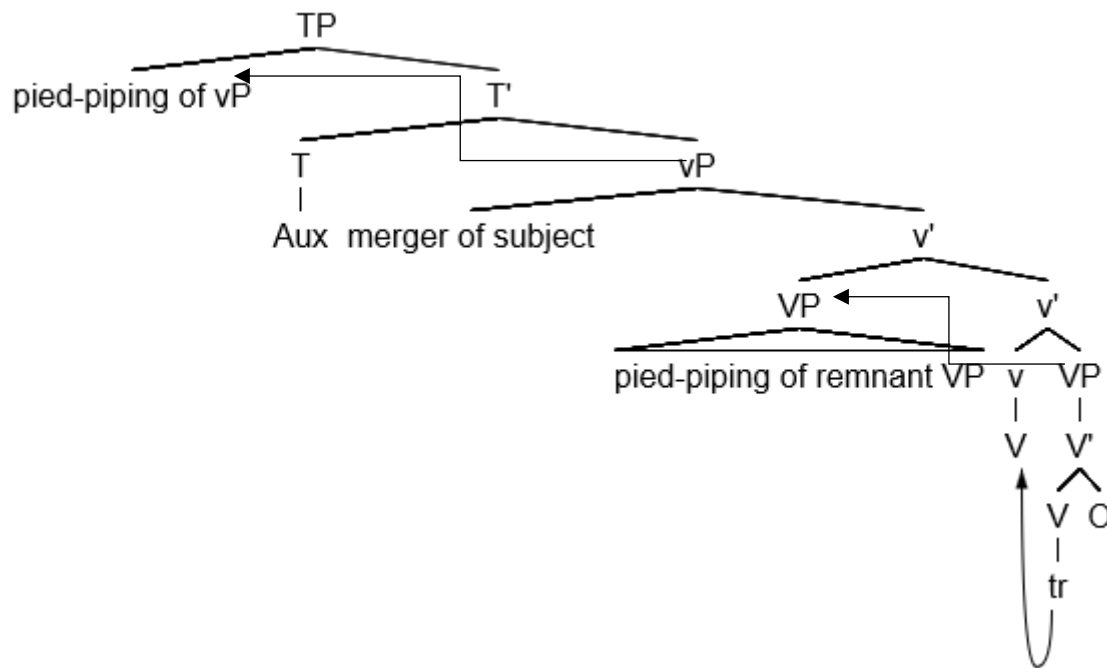
The non-finite verb moves to v, and the remnant VP is fronted to the inner specifier of vP; the subject is analysed as being directly merged in the topmost Specifier of vP. After that these movements have taken place, the vP is fronted to the Specifier of TP.

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 > Aux > O > V and S > 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[10]:

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

```
            TP
          /    \
        S        T'
              /     \
          T/VR        TP
                    /    \
                  vP       T'
                /    \    /   \
          tS...O tV+v V+v+T    vP
                              /   \
                            S      v'
                                 /    \
                               VP      v'
                             /   \    /   \
                          tV  O  V+v   VP
                                        |
                                        V'
                                       /  \
                                     tV    O
```
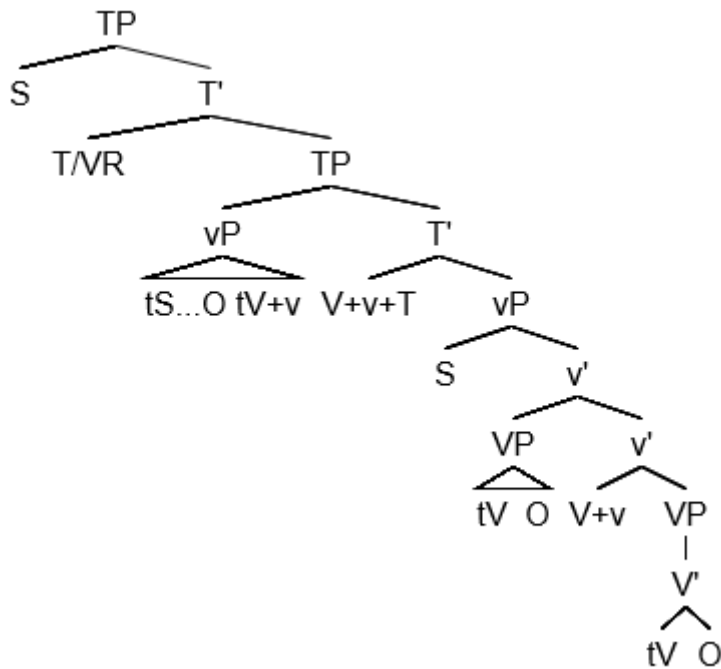
The following structure represents their derivation for S > Aux > V > O order:

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

```
            TP
          /    \
        S        T'
              /     \
          T/VR        TP
                    /    \
                  vP       T'
                /    \    /   \
          tS...O tV+v V+v+T    vP
                              /   \
                            S      v'
                                 /    \
                               V+v     VP
                                        |
                                        V'
                                       /  \
                                     tV    O
```

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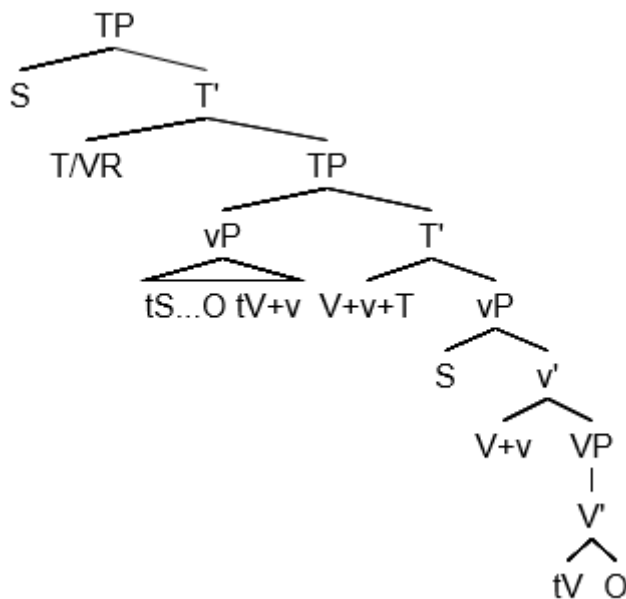
[10] The Label 'VR' stands for 'Verb Raising'. Notice that in their representation, the matrix vP is lacking.

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 Spellout, 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 is 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 the object as well. 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.

Concluding this section, I argued that universal base accounts 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 are governed by different principles, we could do away with the optionality which underlies both the grammar competition and the universal based literature, 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. Before presenting some literature on the role of information structure and weight in word order variation, I review the current proposals in the literature about the causes for the language change between the OE and the ME periods.

2.2 The causes for the language change

The 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, Agr$_O$P] 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 basis 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 a rich case inflection. Moreover, Kiparsky (1996) notes that the erosion of the case declension had already started in the Old English period. Finally, Kiparsky (1996) reviews Lightfoot's (1991) proposal that the reanalysis from OV to VO in Old English was subject to random fluctuations in frequency of usage, since Pintzuk (1999) shows that Infl Medial orders steadily increase throughout the OE period.

Kiparsky (1996) proposes that it was the rise of the I category which led to the grammaticalization of the VO word order; as we saw before, he proposes a grammar without

the IP projection, in which verbs are analysed as VIPs with both head-final and head-initial orientation, and a grammar containing an IP and a VP, where the latter is not specified for the headedness parameter. The second grammar generates Infl-Medial word orders, since in the approach advocated by Kiparsky functional categories are uniformly head-initial, whereas lexical categories can be both head-initial and head-final. 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. And 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 structures, 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, 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[11].

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[11] 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

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. These authors, moreover, rely upon reports of mutual comprehension between the English and the Scandinavians (cf. Trips 2002:17). However, Walkden and Bech (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 Walkden and Bech 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 Walkden and Bech 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 Early Middle English composition from the Northern East Midlands and occupies therefore a key position in the study of language change in the history of English. However, the text is written with a rigid metre of 15 syllables, to which the author conforms very precisely. Trips claims that in this text, Scandinavian features can be detected; however, some of her arguments are not clear. In fact, she aims to determine whether this text displays Object Shift; 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 section 7.6, 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

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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).

to use a marked word order in order to conform to his strict pattern firmly. Moreover, it must be noticed that V > 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 > 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 V2, 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 Orm's grammar, but they do not directly bear on the question of the word order change investigated in this work.

Kroch and Taylor (1997) investigate the properties of V2 in Middle English, by examining a variety of Middle English texts coming from different areas; given the fact that there are virtually no texts for the Northern variety, they can only examine the Northern Prose Rule of Saint Benet, which dates back to the 14ᵗʰ century. They claim that this text shows a different pattern with respect to the southern and the midlands texts, which they assume is influenced by the contact with the Norse grammar. However, Warner (1997) notices that this text may be stylistically marked, and the question whether the syntax exhibited by it is really a matter of dialect or a matter of style remains open.

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, in their view. 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. 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 Walkden and Bech (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. In the following, some of the properties discussed by Emonds and Faarlund are illustrated, in order to show the general flaws in their methodology.

One major syntactic property of English that Emonds and Faarlund attribute to an Anglicised Norse ancestor is the surface VO word order; however, as demonstrated above, this view is problematic since there is already evidence in Old English for surface VO orders, and there is evidence that also Old Scandinavian languages displayed mixed OV/VO surface word orders. Moreover, it was noted above that we should expect English to display V2, if it were derived from Anglicised Norse rather than from Old English. This is evidently not the case. Emonds and Faarlund present the following language change scenario: Old English died out and was replaced by the consistent V2 language Anglicised Norse, which later changed into an SV language. Emonds and Faarlund present a rather incomplete picture of the Old English and Middle English facts about V2 and SV orders. First, it must be noticed that SV orders are attested already in Old English, as Walkden and Bech (2016) point out, and as demonstrated by extensive work by van Kemenade (1987, 1997, 2012) and Pintzuk (1999). Emonds and Faarlund quote van Kemenade (1987), who had claimed that inversion of verb and subject is consistent with lexical subjects, whereas subject pronouns need not invert. However, this view was later challenged by different scholars, including van Kemenade herself. In fact, lexical subjects do not always invert and can appear between an XP topic and the finite verb, even though in these contexts subject pronouns are more frequent. More recent research has shown that the placement of subjects before the inflected verb is linked to information structural requirements (cf. van Kemenade and Westergaard 2012, or Bech 2001, among others). As far as Middle English is concerned, Emonds and Faarlund report Kroch et al. (2000), by claiming that East Midlands and Northern English pattern with North Germanic by displaying consistent verb-second. However, their representation of Kroch et al.'s study is not accurate, as Walkden and Bech (2016) point out. In fact, Kroch et al. individuate a different pattern between the Northern text they examine, and the syntax of the Southern and Midlands texts. The Northern text presents categorical inversion of nominal subject, whereas the other texts show more variation. Whereas the Southern and the Midlands varieties are well represented, the Northern variety is characterised by the paucity of texts; for this reason, the database consulted by Kroch

et al. only counts one northern text. Therefore, Kroch et al. are cautious in their conclusions. Furthermore, Warner (1997) and Walkden and Bech (2016) argue that the text used by Kroch et al., namely the Prose Rule of Saint Benet, is peculiar in its syntax, and its data should not therefore be relied upon too heavily. Walkden and Bech (2016) in fact report that Richard Rolle's Prose Treatise, another Northern text, does not present consistent V2 patterns as the Prose Rule of Saint Benet does. Richard's Rolle Prose Treatise has a slightly later manuscript date than the Rule of Saint Benet, but was probably composed earlier. If the northern variety had generalised V2, then the language of Rolle's treatise does not constitute evidence for the putative Anglicised Norse.

Another rather dubious claim regards relative complementisers; according to Emonds and Faarlund, Middle English relativisers are caseless, whereas Old English relativisers were not. Since the Middle English relativiser is the invariant complementiser *þæt*, but not the Scandinavian *er,* they even go so far as to claim that the Scandinavian complementiser *er* was relexified in the Middle English *þæt*. Also these claims show that the representation of the Old English facts and the further developments in Middle English is ill-founded. The system of relative complementisers in Old English presents a wider array of possibilities with respect to Middle English, but the possibility of using an invariant complementiser was already present in the Old English stage.

Vezzosi (1998), in fact, reports that relative clauses are introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *se*, *seo* and *þæt*, by the invariant relativiser *þe* and by the combination of these two elements, (*se - þe*, where the demonstrative pronoun inflects for case and gender). Marginal strategies are also *þær* and the interrogative pronouns *swa hwær swa*, *swa hwylc swa* (literally *so who so, so which so*) used in indefinite relative clauses, which later would be supplanted by wh-pronouns. Moreover, the neuter demonstrative *þæt* is marginally used with no agreement in gender and/or number of its antecedent, as is the Modern English *that*. Already during the Old English period, the invariant relativiser *þe* was the most common relativisation strategy, so an invariant complementiser was not so alien to the language as Emonds and Faarlund would make us believe. In the transition from Old to Middle English, the system of demonstratives underwent levelling of inflection, and *þe* was reanalysed as the definite determiner. A scenario in which the originally neuter demonstrative *þæt* supplanted the invariant relativiser *þe*, after the reanalysis of the latter into a definite determiner is complete, is in my opinion more likely than a scenario in which the Norse invariant relativiser *er* is relexified into the Middle English relativiser *þæt*. In fact, Vezzosi reports that the neuter demonstrative *þæt* was used in Old

English not only with a neuter antecedent, but with a whole clause as the antecedent. It could also relativize masculine or feminine antecedents, which however share the feature [-animate]. This marginal strategy was already present in the OE period, and it is reasonable to assume that, once the OE demonstrative system had undergone complete levelling of declension, this strategy was reanalysed as the predominant one.

The arguments presented above are representative of Emonds and Faarlund incomplete representation of the OE and ME data, as well as the occasional misrepresentation of Old Norse data (for details, cf. Walkden and Bech 2016). This work has certainly revived the scientific debate, since it is clear that Modern English displays syntactic properties which differentiate it from its sister West-Germanic languages, but the claim that Old English died out, and that the syntactic properties of Modern English are in no way related to properties of Old English and Middle English cannot be supported. The impact of the contact with the Scandinavian settlers remains, however, open, given the considerations reported above as regards the lack of evidence for the language spoken by the Scandinavian settlers.

2.3 The role of Information Structure and Weight for the word order variation in Early Germanic

The aim of this section is to summarise previous literature on the correlation between word order and information structure and weight of constituents in Early Germanic. There is flourishing literature on the interaction between word order, information structure and weight of constituents, to which I cannot do full justice in this chapter. I will discuss some important findings in the literature, which demonstrate how word order in Early Germanic languages was influenced by Information Structure and Weight. Early Germanic languages were characterised by a higher degree of variation in their word order, in opposition to their modern counterparts; the studies reported in the present section highlight how the variation in word order can be accounted for by taking into account information structure and weight of the constituents.

Hróarsdóttir (2009) shows that Old Icelandic is characterised by variation in the relative order of verb and object; this variation is attested throughout the history of Icelandic, until OV word order patterns are lost at the beginning of the 19th century[12]. Hróarsdóttir builds on Roberts' (1997) analysis of Old English, and proposes an antysimmetric framework to account for the word order patterns attested in her corpus. Like Roberts, she assumes that objects undergo

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[12] The OV word order patterns lost do not include patterns derived by Negative and quantified phrase construction, Object Shift and Stylistic Fronting, which productively derive SOV surface word order in Modern Icelandic (cf. Hróarsdóttir 2009:82).

licensing movement to [Spec, AgrOP] in order to check case, but she argues that the loss of OV word order cannot be linked to the loss of strong agreement morphology. In fact, Icelandic has retained case marking throughout its history. She individuates information structure and weight of constituents as decisive factors driving the different word orders attested; more specifically, she argues that objects conveying given information tend to appear in pre-verbal position, whereas objects conveying new information tend to appear in post-verbal position. Hróarsdóttir, furthermore, specifies that the reason why a clear-cut rule cannot be individuated lies in the second factor influencing word order. In fact, she demonstrates that word order is also influenced by the weight of the constituents; she shows that heavy DPs are found in post-verbal position, even when they convey given information. Moreover, she concludes that weight is a stronger factor in governing the word order variation in the history of Icelandic; she shows that not only light objects conveying given information are always pre-verbal, but also that light objects conveying new information are usually found in pre-verbal position. Thus, Old Icelandic can be defined as a language in which word order is driven by a complex interplay of information structural and weight conditions.

Old Swedish, as reported by Delsing (2000), displayed variation in the relative order of object and verb until the 16th century; he reports that VO is consistent right from the start with coordinated objects and DPs with a determinative pronoun and a relative clause. He ascribes this piece of evidence to the weight of the post-verbal constituents; moreover, he demonstrates that the objects which are invariably found in post-verbal position, from 1300 onwards, are those objects with a filled D-head, whereas objects with an empty D-head are found both in pre- and in post-verbal position. Delsing relates the variation to different licensing options; whereas objects with an empty D-head must be licensed in the Specifier of the AgrOP, situated above the VP, objects with a filled D head can be licensed by virtue of the filling of the D position. However, in chapter 3 it will become clear how the facts in Old Swedish can be accounted for by relating the structural composition of the phrases and the definition of prosodic heaviness provided by Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015, 2017).

The correlation between word order and information structure in Old High German was extensively studied by scholars such as Petrova (2009), Petrova and Solf (2009), Hinterhölzl, Petrova and Solf (2005), Schlachter (2004), Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2010, 2018). All these studies conclude that Old High German was a discourse configurational language, in which the expression of information structural categories correlate with word order. More specifically, Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2018), elaborating on extensive previous research, individuate a

correlation with the realisation of background information, contrastive focus and new information focus with respect to the finite verb (Vfin). Their correlation is reported in the following:

(26) [$_{CP}$ Background [$_{FocP}$ ContrFocus Vfin [$_{AgrP}$ NewInformFoc [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ XP]]]]

<div align="center">(From Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2018: 285, example 16).</div>

According to the generalisation proposed in (26), there is a FocusProjection between CP and VP in OHG; contrastively focused elements move to the Specifier of this position, whereas the finite verb moves to its head. Elements denoting background information move outside the scope of the Focus Phrase, whereas new information focus remains in the scope of the Focus Phrase.

(27) a. so   hér   **thén**   **buoh**   int&a
        when He   this   book   opened
    'as he opened the book'   (T 53, 21)

  b. thaz in   mir   habet   **sibba**
     that in   me   have   peace
   'that in me you may have peace'   (T 290, 8)

  c.   [thanne thu fastes/ salbo thin houbit/ Inti thin annuzi thuah = 'when
       you fast, anoint your head and wash your face']
       thaz   thu   **mannon**   nisís   gisehan/   fastenti.
       that   you   men-DAT   NEG-are-SUBJ seen/   fasting
       úzouh thinemo   fater
       but   your-DAT   father'
   'so that you do not appear to men to be fasting but to your Father'(T 68,29–32)

<div align="center">(Examples adapted from Petrova 2009:258 – 271, examples 7, 25b, 35)</div>

According to Petrova (2009), the constituent in example (27a) refers to a discourse given referent, as the anaphoric demonstrative shows; it is accordingly mapped before the finite verb. In (27b), the post-verbal bare noun represents new information, and it is mapped in post-verbal position. Finally, in (27c), a contrastively focused referent is found before the finite verb. It is moreover, important to underline that the constituents analysed by Petrova come from sentences

deviating from the Latin source of the Tatian translation, which makes them representative of the genuine use of the OHG language.

Moreover, Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2009) demonstrate that in Old High German declarative clauses, the finite verb separates the aboutness topic from the remainder of the clause, whereas V1 sentences lack a topic-comment division, and introduce a new discourse referent, especially at the beginning of texts and episodes, and can introduce a new narrative sequence. They conclude that verb placement in OHG declarative clauses was crucial for the discourse organisation of the clause. Let us observe the following examples:

(28)　　a.　　**uuarun**　thô　　hirta　　in　　thero　　lantskeffi

　　　　　　　were　　there　　shepherds　in　　that　　area

　　　　　　'There were shepherds in that region'　　　　　　　　(T 35, 29)

　　　　　b.　　[ih bin guot hirti = 'I am good shepherd']

　　　　　　　guot　　hirti　　**tuot**　　sina　　sela　　siniu　　scaph

　　　　　　　good　　shepherd　gives　　his　　soul　　for his　　sheep

　　　　　　`A good shepherd gives his soul for his sheep`　　　(T 225, 16)

　　　　　　　　　　　　　(From Petrova and Hinterhölzl 2010, examples 3a-b)

As can be noticed from the examples reported above, in (28a) a new discourse referent is introduced; the sentence presents V1 word order. In example (28b), the finite verb separates the aboutness topic, which as the bracketed sentence shows was already introduced in discourse, from the comment concerning the aboutness topic.

Similar results were obtained by Linde (2009) for V1 and V2 sentences in Old Saxon; Linde argues that the V2 pattern dominates in sentences displaying a topic – comment division. She notices that in most of the cases, the topic is the grammatical subject, but one can also find personal object pronouns in this position. Interestingly, similar constructions with object pronouns can be found in Old English and Early Middle English, for details cf. chapter 8 below.

(29)　　　['His name was Simon']
　　TOP[Im]　　habda　giuuisid　uualdandas　craft　　langa
　　　　him-DAT　had　　led　　　rulers　　power　　long.ACC
　　　　huila　　　　　(…)
　　　　time-ACC　　　(…)
'The power of the ruler had led him for a long time (…)' (Hel 469)
　　　　　　　　　　　(From Linde 2009: 378, example 20)

As can be seen from the previous example, the topic of the passage was already introduced in discourse; the sentence predicates a new property about the topic, which is found before the finite verb. The finite verb in Old Saxon, then, separates the topic from the comment of the clause, as was demonstrated by Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2010) for Old High German. Moreover, Linde (2009) notices that in Old Saxon not only V2 patterns are attested; as is well known from the literature on OE, OHG and OS, Old West Germanic languages display V1, V2 and V3 patterns. Linde shows that also in sentences with V3 or Verb Late patterns, the finite verb demarcates the background domain of the clause from the focus domain. An example is given in the following:

(30)   thar   ina   thiu modar **fand** sittean under them gisidea
        There him-ACC the mother found sit-INF among the   crowd
    'The mother found him there sitting in their company.' (Hel 818)

                        (From Linde 2009:378, example 22)

Linde argues that in this example, all the elements preceding the finite verb refer to activated referents, whereas the verb expresses new information.

Like in Old High German, V1 sentences in OS open a new narrative section, as can be seen in the next example:

(31)   quamun managa Iudeon an   thene   gastseli
        came-PL many   Jews   into   the   hall
    'Many Jews came to the great hall.' (Hel 2736)

                        (From Linde 2009:382, example 31)

Linde draws the following generalisations from her study of V1, V2 and Vn patterns in Old Saxon:

(32)

    a.   FOC[Vfin ...]   V1 sentences

    b.   TOP=BG[NP] COM=FOC[Vfin …]   V2 sentences

    c.   BG[(Frame)[Top](XP ...)] FOC[Vfin(XP)]   V3 and Vlate sentences

                (adapted from Linde 2009: 380 – 384, examples 26 and 34)

Her analysis shows how Old Saxon, similarly to OHG, was a discourse-configurational language.

Turning to Old English, there have been several studies highlighting the role of information structure on its syntax. I will provide an overview in the following.

In a series of papers, van Kemenade (2009) and van Kemenade and Los (2006, 2018) have shown that Old English possessed a system of discourse tracking devices, which were decisive in the discourse organisation of the Old English clause. These elements comprise the demonstratives *se, seo and þæt*, which were also used pronominally and as relativisers, and an etymologically related class of adverbs that express time, place and manner.

The þ/s system		Singular			Plural	*Adverbials*	
		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	All Genders	Þa þonne	Then
Nominative	se	seo	þæt	þa	þær	There
Accusative	þone	þa	þæt	þa	þus	Thus
Dative	þæm	þære	þæm	þæm	swa	So
Genitive	þæs	þære	þæs	þara	swylc	Such
Instrumental	Þy/þon					

The *þ/s* system of van Kemenade and Los (2006)

Van Kemenade and Los (2018) show that these elements serve diverse functions in order to track discourse referents during the information flow. A prominent function is covered by those elements which they dub *discourse partitioners*, of which the temporal adverbials *þa* and *þonne* are the prominent members; these adverbs introduce a main clause (33a), and are found in clause internal position in subordinate clauses, where they separate the topic and focus domains of the clause (33b)[13]:

(33) a. Þa   wæs   þæt   folc   þæs micclan   welan

then   was   the   people the   great   prosperity(G)

ungemetlice   brucende, …

excessively   partaking

`Then the people were partaking excessively of the great prosperity' (Or 1.23.3)

(From van Kemenade and Los 2006: 225 example 1a.)

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[13] They define the topic domain as the domain containing discourse given referents, whereas they describe the focus domain as the domain containing new information.

b.

on	Salomonnes	bocum,	hit	is	awrieten	ðæt	mon
in	Solomon's	books	it	is	written	that	one

ne	scyle	cweðan	to	his	frind:	Ga,	cum	to
not	shall	say	to	his	friend	go	come	to

morgen,	ðonne	selle	ic	ðe	hwæthwugu,	gif	he	hit
morrow	then	give	I	you	something	if	he	it

him	ðonne	sellan	mæge.
him	then	give	may

'in the books of Solomon, it is written that we are not to say to our friend: "Go, and come tomorrow, then I will give you something," if he can give it him then.' (cocura, CP.44.323.24)

(From van Kemenade and Los 2006:235, example 16)

Moreover, demonstrative determiners signal discourse given referents (cf. chapter 5 below), and – when used pronominally – signalled shifting topics.

(34)

Ðone	Iustum	he	in	Cent	sylfre	to	biscope
DEM-M.ACC	Justus	he	in	Kent	self	to	bishop

to	Hrofesceastre.	Seo	is	from	Cantwarena	byrig	on
to	Rochester-F	DEM-F.NOM is		from	Canterbury	city	in

feower	&	twentigum	mila	westrihte.
four	and	twenty	miles	west

'He consecrated that Justus to bishop himself, at Rochester. That (=Rochester)/, which is twenty-four miles west of Canterbury.   <Bede 2 3.104.23>

(From van Kemenade and Los 2018:10, example 12)

This system underwent a significant levelling of forms at the end of the Old English period; the demonstrative determiners grammaticalized into the invariant definite determiner *þe*, whereas the discourse markers *þa* and *þonne* underwent a sharp decrease in frequency at the beginning of the Early Middle English period (cf. van Kemenade and Los 2006). Van Kemenade (2009) and van Kemenade and Los (2018) argue that the loss of this system led to the loss of the cues relevant for the tracking of discourse information.

From a non-generative perspective, the work by Bech (2001) shows that different word order patterns involving the finite verb, the subject and one or more constituents correlate with the pragmatic properties of the syntactic elements. She shows that clause initial elements correlate with a low information value (which can be compared, but not completely equated, with given

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discourse value), whereas the information value progressively increases the further right an element is placed.

As far as the relative position of verb and object is concerned, Pintzuk and Taylor (2012b.) demonstrate that the information structural status of the object and its weight correlates with its position with respect to the finite verb; they analyse subordinate clauses with a finite verb from a pilot sample comprising three texts. They code the information structural value of the object as given and new, and they code their weight in terms of the number of words of which the constituent is constituted. They argue that information structure and weight are both relevant factors; they demonstrate that given elements tend to be placed in pre-verbal position, whereas new elements tend to be placed in post-verbal position. They, moreover, show that heavy elements are found in post-verbal position. They argue, however, that information structure and weight, despite being both relevant, constitute independent factors.

Similarly, Petrova and Speyer (2011) test the significance of the information structural value of referential objects in subordinate clauses containing one finite verb in the text of the Blickling Homilies, demonstrating that the correlation between givenness/newness of the object and its position with respect to the finite verb is significant. Moreover, for the same text, they show that the rate of VO word order increases with respect to the weight of the constituents, concluding that the information structural value of an object may be overridden by its weight. They widen their scope of investigation by analysing sentences with a complex verbal form, but they conclude that the data present idiosyncrasies as regards the information structural value of the constituent and its position with respect to the finite verb. Therefore, they decide to investigate sentences, in which the DP object has clearly undergone movement and study the information structural value of constituents which are moved across the finite verb in sentences with a complex verbal form; they conclude that contrast is realised in the left periphery of Old English, above the domain of background information. An example is given below:

(35)	ac	ic	cwæðeþ	þæt	þu	miht	þa	cucan
	and	I	said	that	you	might	the	livingACC
	adydan,	**þam**	**deadan**	þu	ne	miht	eft	lif
	kill	the	dead-DAT	you	NEG	can	again	life
	forgifan
	give.

'and I said that you can kill the living, but you cannot give life back to the dead'

(coaelive,+ALS_[Cecilia]:327.7304)

(From Petrova and Speyer 2011: 1763, example 20)

Cloutier (2009) compares Old and Middle English with Old Dutch and examines whether OV and VO word orders in different constructions (cf. below) are influenced by information structure (more precisely, newness defined in terms of indefiniteness of the object under scrutiny) and weight of the constituents. He uses two definitions of weight: lexical and structural. Lexical weight is defined by the number of words which belong to a constituent, whereas the definition of structural weight takes into account the presence of a relative clause as post-modifier and conjoined phrases. His scope of investigation involves directional phrases, relative objects and naming objects in OV and VO configurations in both Old Dutch and Old and Middle English. The conclusions of this study with respect to Old and Middle English highlight that newness, as defined by Cloutier (2009), does not play a consistent role in the placement of the studied objects, whereas structural heaviness does. The fact that structural heaviness has a significant impact correlates with the theoretical framework presented in this study (cf. chapter 3 below). The fact that newness in Cloutier's terms does not play a significant role should be taken into account, but I will claim below that it is actually givenness which plays a more distinct role, as the study of Struik and van Kemenade (2018) highlights (cf. below).

In a more extensive investigation on the relation of word order and information structure, however, Pintzuk and Taylor (2011) are cautious with respect to the role of information structure in the language change. They examine circa 1500 subordinate clauses with a complex verbal form and non-pronominal objects, which display variation in the relative order of object and verb, and in the relative order of auxiliary and non-finite verb. They analyse their dataset within the framework put forth by Pintzuk (1999) and argue for competing phrase structures which vary in the headedness of the IP and VP projection. Therefore, in their framework, V > Aux sentences are generated by head final VP and IPs, and objects in V > Aux > O constructions are subject to extraposition. As far as Aux > V clauses are concerned, the orientation of the VP

is ambiguous, since a head initial IP can dominate a head-final or a head-initial VP. In their investigation, they concentrate on the information structural properties of the object in V > Aux > O and Aux > V > O constructions. Notice that in their framework, Aux > V > O orders can be generated either by a head-initial VP, or by a head-final VP with extraposition. Moreover, they distinguish between complex and simple objects, which vary with respect to their weight. They argue that complex objects are placed post-verbally due to their weight, whereas they predict that information structural effects are found with simple objects. They claim that in V > Aux sentences, which are not affected from the OV/VO order alternation, the order V > Aux > O with simple objects is driven by information structure: the object in these constructions constitutes new information. As far as Aux > V sentences are concerned, they notice that post-verbal objects do not seem to be driven by their information status as new. They conclude that this is in line with their double base hypothesis: when an object is found in post-verbal position, and represents new information, it is the result of the extraposition of the objects from a head-final VP, whereas when the post-verbal object is not marked as new, it is the result of the "new" head-initial grammar, which is not subject to information structural constraints. However, Pintzuk and Taylor do not measure whether the pre-verbal mapping of an object correlates with the given information status of the constituent. Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) demonstrate, in fact, that it is the OV word order which is marked for information structure; in other words, given objects must be mapped in pre-verbal position. They approach the data without formulating a priori hypotheses on the underlying structure of Old English; they study the correlation of information structural value of constituents and their position with respect to the finite verb in Aux > V clauses, and in O > V > Aux and V > Aux > O clauses respectively. They notice that objects occurring in Aux > O > V and O > V > Aux sentences share the same information structural given value. They conclude that the fact that post-verbal objects can both have given and new status constitutes evidence for a universal base, since post-verbal objects are not particularly marked for the Information structural status; OV word order, on the other hand, is triggered by a precise information structural constraints. Moreover, they test the statistic significance of weight and information status, concluding that both the weight factor, as well as information structure, are significant variables when it comes to the mapping of constituents in both Aux > V as well as V > Aux sentences. I will return to van Kemenade and Struik's (2018) study in more detail in chapter 6.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, the literature on OE word order variation was reviewed; we saw that the structure of Old English and Early Middle English has been accounted for by assuming:

1. underlying OV base word order plus Verb (Projection) Raising and extraposition which derive superficial inflection medial and VO word order;
2. A Double Base which generates three different grammars according to the head-directionality of the IP and VP projections;
3. A Universal Base plus leftward licensing movements to derive V > Aux and OV word orders.

It was argued that the evidence provided by Pintzuk rules out an account according to which Old English was uniformly head-final; moreover, Roberts (1997) argues that there is empirical evidence supporting Kayne's Antysimmetric framework. Further evidence is provided by Struik and Van Kemenade (2018).

However, analyses exclusively based on syntactic properties of the language fail at pinpointing the trigger for the variation attested, regardless of which underlying base order is proposed. In fact, all of the different syntactic accounts proposed involve a certain amount of optionality.

As far as the causes for the language change are concerned, I argued that morphosyntactic triggers cannot fully motivate the language change. As far as the language contact scenario is concerned, I argued that also this account faces empirical difficulties, since the language of the Scandinavian settlers is not extensively recorded. Given the evidence provided by Hróarsdóttir and Delsing, it is probable that it was subject to the same variation attested in Old English.

Finally, in section 2.3 I provided some literature on the role of information structure and weight for the word order variation in Older Germanic. The studies reviewed show that Old Germanic languages were discourse configurational; moreover, as far as Old English is concerned, Struik and Van Kemenade (2018) show that OV word order correlates with the givenness of the object. Weight is another relevant factor driving the mapping of constituents in Older Germanic, and in Old English more specifically.

Concluding this chapter, I argued that antisymmetric frameworks present the advantage to derive the different word orders attested by postulating a uniform base; provided that we can individuate precise constraints driving the word orders attested, an approach in terms of the UBH has the conceptual advantage of reducing the space of optionality, rendering word order variation and change less costly than by postulating a range of grammars from which speakers

simultaneously choose. Given the literature on Older Germanic presented in section 2.3, it is probable that the source for the variation must be sought in the information structural and weight properties of constituents. This approach is undertaken in the present work, which adopts the framework proposed by Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015, 2017); his framework is presented in the next chapter.

3. The theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will provide 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 Old English, presented in chapter 2. 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 information structural and prosodic interface conditions operating at the LF and PF interface. We saw in the previous chapter, in fact, that word order variation in Germanic is heavily influenced by Information Structure and weight of the constituents; therefore, Hinterhölzl devises precise interface conditions which influence the Spell-Out of constituents so as to meet discourse and prosodic needs. In section 3.1, I present the general theoretical framework and the expected output of our interface conditions; in section 3.2, I will give the reasons for the postulation of a prosodic interface condition which defines heaviness in terms of metric structure, and in section 3.3 I will discuss the interaction between the interface conditions postulated and the grammaticalization of the definite determiner. In section 3.4, I will present the prospected language change scenario.

3.1 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 information structure (henceforth IS), Hinterhölzl (2014, 2015, 2017) proposes an anti-symmetric framework, in which information structural and prosodic interface conditions govern the spell-out of constituents. In chapter 2, I provided the literature dealing with the role of IS in the clausal organization of Early Germanic; moreover, we saw that 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.

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 Old English, but he claims that these movement operations are optional, yielding the word order variation attested in the Old English 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[14] Position;

      b.   Licensing movement of verb particles into the specifier of a low Aspect position;

      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:

(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[15]

      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 3.2 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 3.2). Moreover, condition (2c) predicts that a heavy phrase is mapped on a strong branch, hence in post-verbal position. 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:

---

[14] This syntactic position is analogous to Roberts' (1997) AgrOP.

[15] As Ans van Kemenade 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)

```
TP
├─ ....
└─ T'
   ├─ T
   └─ FP
      ├─ ...
      └─ F'
         ├─ F
         └─ vP
            ├─ ...
            └─ v'
               ├─ v
               └─ CASEP
                  ├─ ...
                  └─ CASE'
                     ├─ CASE
                     └─ PREDP
                        ├─ ...
                        └─ PRED'
                           ├─ PRED
                           └─ ASPP
                              ├─ ...
                              └─ ASP'
                                 ├─ ASP
                                 └─ VP
                                    ├─ ...
                                    └─ V'
                                       ├─ V
                                       └─ O
```
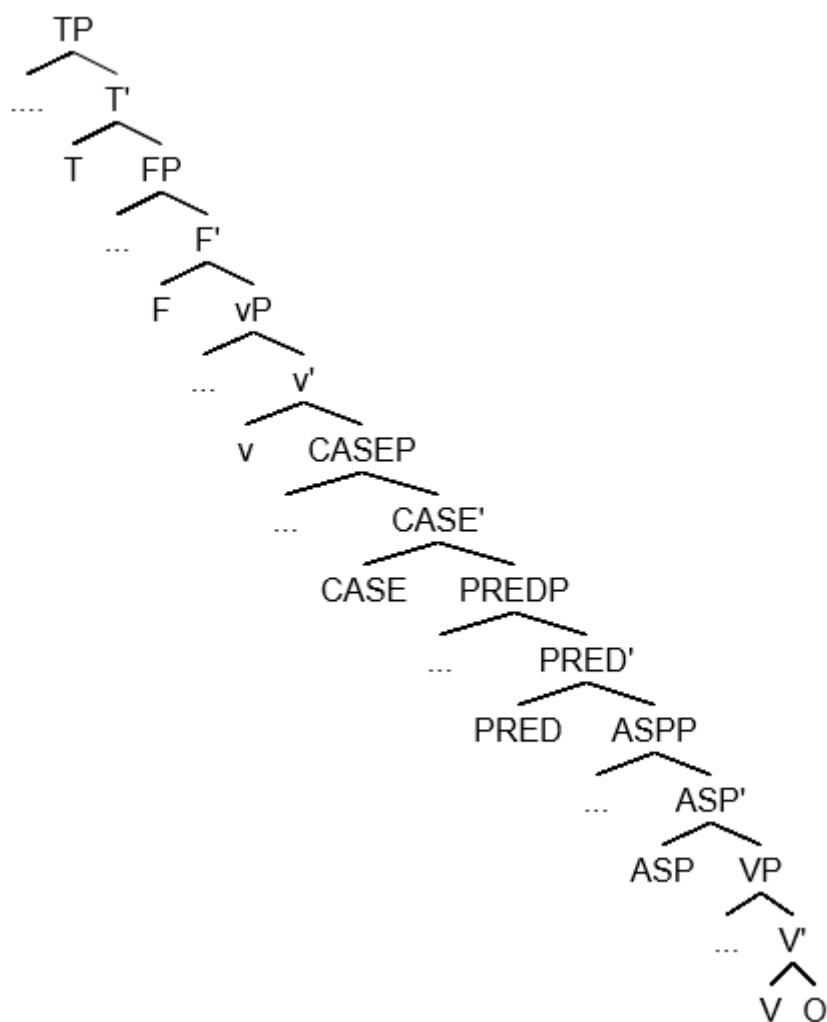
In accordance with Cinque (1999), it is postulated that adverbials are mapped in dedicated functional projections at the left of the vP. I represented them collectively under an FP projection. The different Spell-Out options of different types of objects are collected under (4):

(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 mapping 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 3.2, 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; similarly 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 Givenness 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 3.3 and 3.4). New elements, on the other hand, are predicted to receive extra-beat after that the focus exponent is determined (cf. Uhmann 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 > Aux sentences; let us observe Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) proposal for V > Aux sentences again.

(5[16])
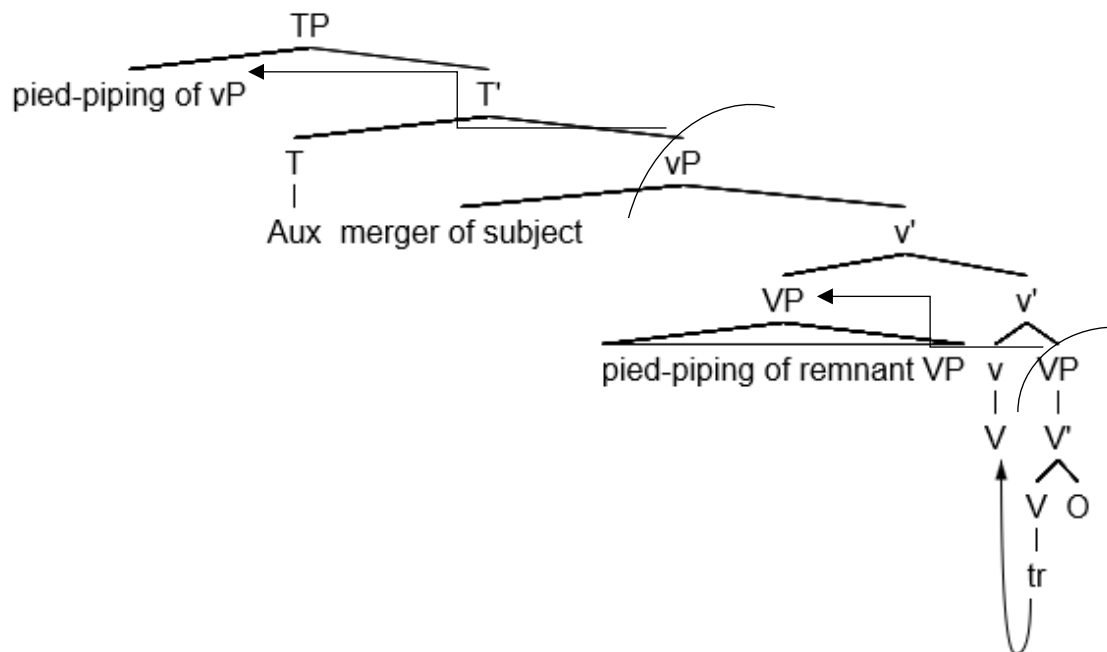
In Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) analysis, after the v-to-V movement has taken place, the whole remnant VP is pied-piped to the higher v' node. The subject is assumed to merge directly in [Spec, vP]; after these movements have taken place, the whole vP is pied-piped to [Spec, TP]. These movement operations can derive a sentence like the following within an antisymmetric approach:

---

[16] 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.

(6) & þa he þis gecweden hæfde […].

and when he this said had […].

'And after he had said this, […].'
  [coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BlHom_13]]:149.191.1832]
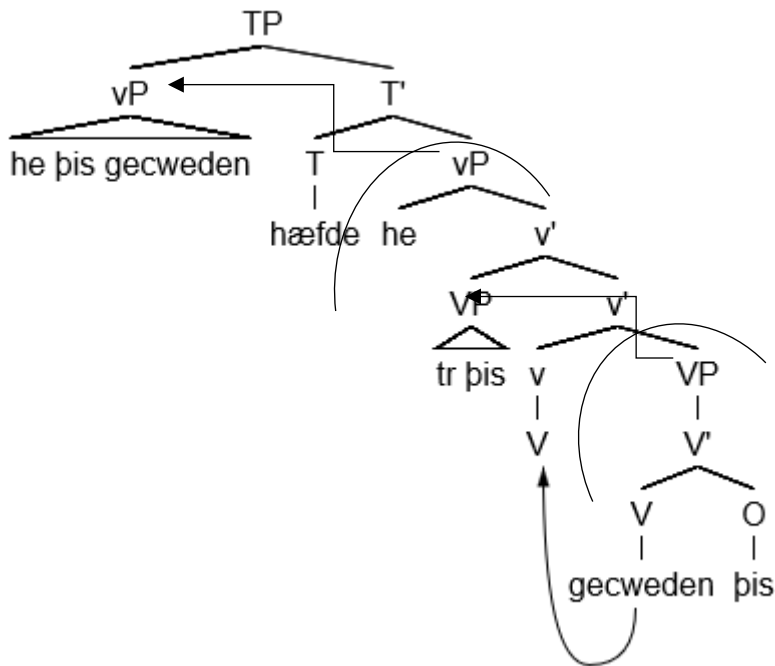
I adopt this analysis by combining it with our spell-out operations in the vP; in chapter 10, I propose a different trigger for the pied-piping of the vP to the [Spec, TP][17]. Let us sketch our proposal as follows:

---

(7)

```
                        TP
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
             vP  ◄─────────┐        T'
        ┌─────┴─────┐      │   ┌────┴────┐
   he þis gecweden   │     T        vP
                     │    │    ┌─────┴─────┐
                  hæfde merger of subject  v'
                                      ┌────┴────┐
                                      v      CASEP
                                         ┌─────┴─────┐
                                        þis        CASE'
                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                            CASE           VP
                                                            │
                                                            V'
                                                          ┌─┴─┐
                                                          V   O
                                                              │
                                                             þis
```
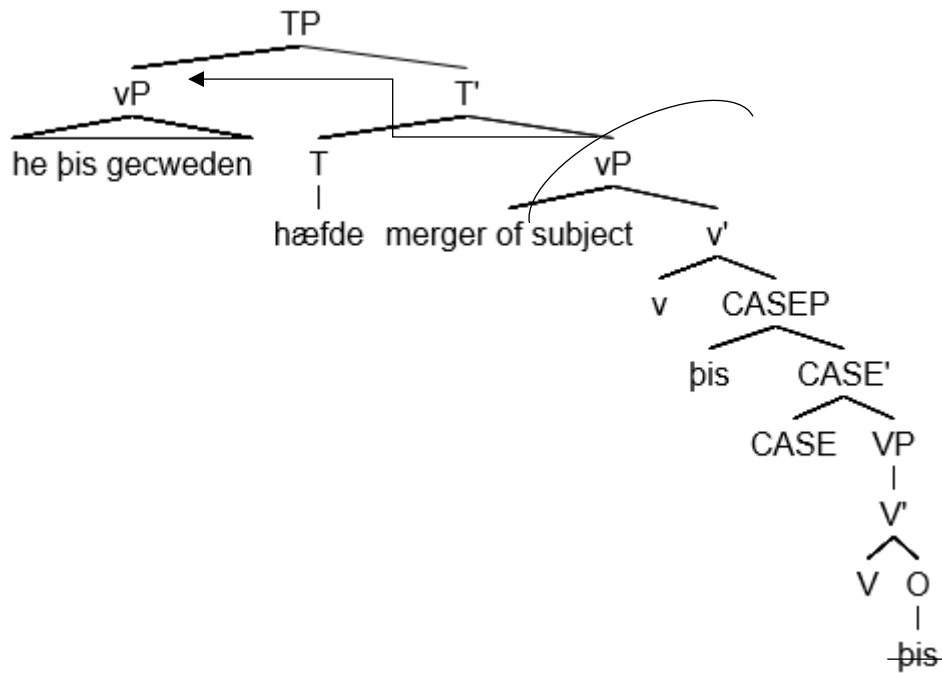
For the sake of exposition, I have not represented all our assumed projections, but only the ones of interest for the analysis of this sentence. Given the anaphoric status of the demonstrative object, this is spelled-out in the checking position, and accordingly, on a weak branch in the pre-verbal domain. 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].

3.2 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)[18].

And cf. the following generalization (Hinterhölzl 2014:345):

> (9) Pronouns and unmodified nouns precede the verb, while modified nouns, PPs and other heavy phrases tend to follow the verb in OI, OE and OHG.

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) have 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 has 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 and the 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)

---

[18] 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).

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:

(11)   Hans hat öfter als der Peter das Buch gelesen[19].

(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. 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):

---

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

(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?

<div align="right">(Hinterhölzl 2014:352, examples 25a-c)</div>

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

<div align="right">(Hinterhölzl 2014:353, examples 28a-b)</div>

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' structure arises; in an antisymmetric tree, it is the right branch which is dominant:

(16)
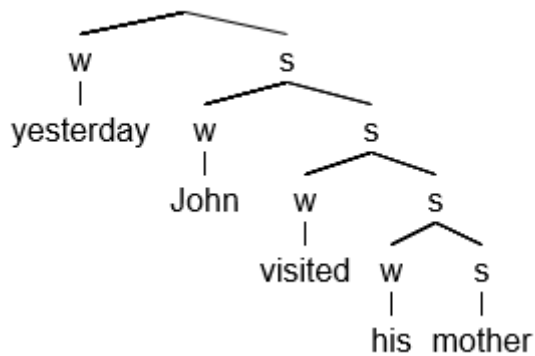
<div align="right">(Hinterhölzl 2014:354, example 29)</div>

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 it 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 Old English 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 OI, OE and OHG.

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.

<div align="right">(Hinterhölzl 2017:17, example 13)</div>

Finally, in the relation-based approach[20] 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 chapter 4.

3.3 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.

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 Old English sample. Moreover, we have identified a possible conflict arising from the satisfaction of both the Givenness as well as the Prosodic mapping condition, since heavy elements conveying given information can possibly have two Spell-Out sites.

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[20] 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).

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 constitute a background referent (cf. also Chapter 4). 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[21]; 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 Early Middle English texts; they show that there is a sharp divide in the quantity of scrambling of object pronouns in different Early Middle English 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:

 (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 spell-out of 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.

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[21] 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 option of 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 and 2017) for further discussion.

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 8 and 9 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 chapter 8.

3.4 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 Old English 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 there is already in the Old English period a conflict in the Spell-Out of right branching elements conveying given information; 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 mapping 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.

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 predicted to evolve into a PF system.

4. Sample and Methodology

In this chapter, I will present the selected OE sample of matrix and subordinate clauses, as well as the texts included in the investigation on Early Middle English; the sample selected for the Old English stage is not meant to be comprehensive, but serves as a basis for the information structural and prosodic investigation of the selected Early Middle English texts, from which I extracted all the matrix and subordinate clauses with the features specified for my search.

4.1 On the assignment of the IS category and of the weight category

In order to test whether the framework employed can correctly motivate the mapping of constituents in the Old English 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 matrix clauses as well; Lightfoot (1991), in fact, had proposed that acquisition must be based on matrix 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 YCOE and the PPCME2 corpora; the corpora are parsed syntactically with the Penn-Treebank format and are searchable via the Corpus Search2 program (Randall 2009). In order for the Corpus Search program to operate on my system, I used the Corpus Studio Suite (Erwin Komen 2011, http://erwinkomen.ruhosting.nl/software/CorpusStudio/).

With the Corpus Studio Suite, one can determine how much context preceding the result sentence can be obtained; I made use of this function, but I also consulted the editions of the texts on which the parse is based. Moreover, I consulted the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon

dictionary online (http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/), and the Middle English Dictionary (https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/lookup.html); 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 chapter 3, repeated here for convenience:

(1) A syntactic phrase XP counts as heavy if both its head X and the complement of X contain lexical material.   (cf. Hinterhölzl 2014 and chapter 3)

According to this definition I labelled left branching and non-branching elements as light, whereas right branching elements are labelled as heavy[22]. 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 8.

As far as the information structural value is concerned, I decided to use binary distinction into *given* and *new* elements. There is a vast literature on information structure, to which I cannot

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[22] 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).

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[23].

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 time 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 sentence. These elements are shared by the speech participants, or – since we are dealing with written texts – they denote those elements 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:

(2)   and   gief   we   wise   ben;   we   mugen   mid   one
      and   if   we   wise   are   we   may   with   one
      worde **þese** **þrie** **þing**   bidden   […]
      word   these   three   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[24]. For this reason, the DP is labelled as given.

---

[23] I am aware of the fact that the study of information structure is transmitted through a vast literature, as Marco Coniglio in his review 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.
[24] 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)

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. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and – more specifically – the Peterborough Chronicle, we do not have religious references, but rather references to the different kingdoms and episcopal seats in England. In these cases, I analysed the elements in the specific context, keeping track of which kingdoms, kings, bishops and episcopal seats are already active in the passage in which our result sentence is embedded. As far as the Peterborough Chronicle is concerned, the monastery of Peterborough is labelled as being part of the encyclopaedic knowledge, since the narration revolves around the facts happening in and about the monastery.

Finally, also the reference to body parts is considered given information (cf. Struik and Van Kemenade 2018), whereas bridging inferables in the sense of Birner (2006) are analysed in the specific context. Cf. the following example:

(3) Martianus hæfde   **his** **sunu** ær   befæst   to   woruldlicre lare and
     Martianus had   his   son   before committed   to   worldy   lore and
     to   uðwitegunge […].
     to   philosophy   […].

'Martianus had entrusted his son to the study of worldly lore and to philosophy.'
[coaelive,ÆLS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:184.1049]

In the present example, 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[25], since the referent Martianus may have no children at all, or one daughter, or more than one child; the reference of *son* cannot be

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[25] 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.

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:

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

Moreover, I label as *new* the referents which are re-activated in the context under discussion:

(5)	Þa	þa	þis	wearð	gecyðed	**þam**	**halgan**	**were**
	Then	when	this	was	told	the	holy	man
	Furtunate	[…].						
	Fortunate	[…].						

'Then when this was told to the Holy Fortunate […].`[cogregdH,GD_1_ [H]:10.80.10.793]

In the context preceding this sentence, the talk is about the Goths kidnapping two children. The reference of *Furtunate* is reactivated at this point, and the sentence opens a new narrative passage; for this reason, referents in examples like this are 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 involved 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. Struik and van Kemenade 2018 and Petrova and Speyer 2011).

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. Let us observe two examples:

(6)   and   ic   đe   wile   scilden   **fram alle   euele,** […].
       And   I   you   will   shield   from   all   evil   […].

 'And I will shield you from all harm' [CMVICES1-M1,87.990]

In this verb, the PP *fram alle euele* has been labelled as an argument; cf. the corresponding entry for the verb *scilden* in the Middle English Dictionary:

> shẹ̄lden (v.) Also sheld(e, chelde, (N) sceild & shild(e(n, (N) child(e, (SW & K) ssilde, (K) silten, (chiefly early) scild(e(n, (chiefly early SEM) sild(e(n & shuld(e(n, sholde, (chiefly SW) ssuld(e, (early SW) sculde(n & (error) schide; sg.3 shildes, etc. & (early) scildæþ, shilt; p. (early SWM) sheldede, scelde, shilde, scilde; ppl. shelded(e, shilded, (SEM) shilt.
>
> [OE scildan, scyldan, sceldan, sceoldan; for sense 3. also cp. ME shẹ̄ld n.]
>
> (a) To protect (sb., oneself, sth.) from harm, save, defend; (b) ~ from (with), to protect (sb.) against (sb. or sth.), save (sb.) from (sb. or sth.)
> (Permanent link to this entry: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED39836)

(7)   &   seide   þet   he   hæfde   forlæten

       and   said   that   he   had   left

       þone   mynstre   **mid**   **ealle**

       the   monastery   with   all

 'And [he] said that he had left the monastery altogether.' [CMPETERB-M1,52.324]

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In this example, on the contrary, the only argument of the verb *forlæten* is the direct object; the PP *mid ealle* has adverbial meaning, it means in fact *entirely/altogether*. Cf. from the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary:

Mid ealle *altogether;*

(Link to the entry: http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/008380)

I proceeded in this way for the elements found in our datasets, in order to separate arguments from adjuncts; in fact, we have seen in chapter 3 above, that adjuncts form their prosodic domain differently from the verb and their arguments.

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:

(8) þeos ne schulen neauer **song** singen in heouene
    These not shall never song sing in 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. Let us observe an example:

(9) […] þat alle men sholden **deað** þolien.
    […] that all men should death undergo

'That all men should undergo the penalty of death.' [CMTRINIT-MX1,143.1932]

Let us observe the MED entry for the verb *þolien:*

þōlen (v.) Also thol(e, tholi, tole, (NEM) thoile, (16th cent.) thoule & (chiefly early) þolie(n, þoliȝe(n, (early)þolia(n, þolige(n, þoliȝean, þolieȝen, (SWM) þoele & (errors) thowyn, dolye. Forms: sg.2 þōlest, etc. & (early) þolast; sg.3 þōleth, etc. & (early) þaleð; pl. sbj. (early) þoligen, þolian; p. þōled(e, þōld(e, ðhōlede, (early) þollid, þolode; pl. þōled(en, (N) þōlod, (late) tollid & (early) þolenden. Contraction: tholedestou (tholedest thou).

[OE þolian, þolige(a)n.]

(a) To be made to undergo (a penalty for misdeeds); ~ ded (deth), undergo the penalty of death
(Permanent link to this entry http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED45378)

As we can notice, the combination of verb and the nominal part has a precise denotation, qualifying the nominal element as the nominal part of a complex predicate. Note that in the YCOE and in the PPCME2, there is no special tagging for these elements, which are coded as objects of verbs. Let us observe the relevant string of parsing for sentence (7) above:

(10) (40 CP-THT (41 C +tat)

      (43 IP-SUB (44 IP-SUB (45 IP-SUB-1 (46 NP-SBJ (47 Q alle) (49 NS men))

        (51 MD sholden)

        (53 NP-OB1 (54 N dea+d))

        (56 VB +tolien))

As can be observed from line 53, which I italicised, the nominal part of the complex predicate is labelled as *NP-OB1,* which refers to the direct object of a verb. In the account presented in this work, these elements are not argued to behave like referential objects of verbs, and are excluded from the analysis.

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 matrix and subordinate clauses. In the next sections, the samples are described.

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:

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.

4.2 The Old English sample

For the Old English period, I collected an explorative sample of subordinate clauses, and a lager sample of matrix 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; the texts from which the sentences come are the following:

Text	Period[26]
coaelhom	O3
coaelive	O3
coalcuin	s. xii med.
coalex	O23
coaugust	s. xii med.
coblick	O23
cocanedgD	s. xi in.
cochdrul	s. xi (3rd quarter)
cochristoph	s. xi med.
cochronA	O23
cochronC	s. xi1 - xi2
cochronD	s. xi med. - xi2
cochronE	O34

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[26] 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).

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
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

As we can observe from the table, all periods are represented, with the exception of period O1. Among these texts there are both translated, as well as non-translated texts. The main dialect covered is the West Saxon dialect, with the exception of codocu3 (Anglian Mercian), cogregdH (West Saxon/ Anglian Mercian), comarvel (West Saxon/Anglian), coalex (West Saxon/Anglian). We will see in chapter 6 that our qualitative scrutiny of this sample is confirmed by a large scale investigation of Old English subordinate clauses by Struik and Van Kemenade (2018).

For the sample of Old English matrix clauses, I decided to extract the matrix clauses with the given features from the following texts:

Text	Period
coaelhom	O3
coaelive	O3
cobede	O2
coblick	O23
cochonA	O23
cochronE	O34

Moreover, we have some examples coming from the texts of comargaC, cosolsat and coalcuin. The total sample of matrix 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.

4.3 The Early Middle English sample

In this section, I provide the information about the texts chosen for the study of the Early Middle English period; as was already stated in the introduction, for the EME period I collected all matrix 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[27]. 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.

In the following table, I present the texts according to the date of composition and dialect area, as presented in the PPCME2 corpus (cf. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/histcorpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-4/):

Dialect	Text	Date	Period[28]	Comment
Kentish	Kentish Homilies	a1150 (c1125)[29]	M1	Contemporary. Composition between 1108-1114 (or 1122), according to the PPCME2 information.
	Kentish Sermons	c1275	M2	Contemporary. Translation from the French.

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[27] The first text representing the Northern variety dates back to 1400 A.D. (PPCME2 Corpus information, texts arranged by date and dialect).

[28] 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.

[29] The dates given follow the indications in the PPCME2, but I will give further details below. 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.

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
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[30]
	The Guardianship of the Soul	c1225 (?c1200)	M1	Contemporary[31]. Composed between 1200-1220
	St. Juliana	c1225 (?c1200)	M1	Contemporary. Composed probably before 1200-1220

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

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[30] For this additional information, cf. http://www.ling.upenn.edu/histcorpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-4/, texts arranged by dialect, West Midlands, Katherine Group.

[31] 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.

the Katherine Group separately, given the fact that the Lambeth Homilies present material copied from older texts (cf. below).

The texts representing the Kentish dialect are the Kentish Homilies and the Kentish Sermons; the Kentish Homilies 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 Old English 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.

Moreover, Förster argues that in this text one can detect the more advanced language of the 12th century, albeit under a more archaic orthographic influence. Basing on his own scrutiny of the texts and on other philological investigations on other excerpts of the collection, Förster locates the manuscript in a Southern monastery, probably in the Midlands or in the Eastern part of England. Finally, Förster comments on the edition by Warner (1917), which is at the basis of the parse in the PPCME2 corpus, by noticing that in the edition emendations were adopted, for which it is not commented whether they are part of the original version of the work, or whether they are later corrections and additions.

I decided to include the text in our investigation, given its linguistic and cultural value, even though I am aware that this is a translation. 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 Kentish Sermons were composed later, the manuscript is dated around 1275, but they are thought of having been composed before 1250 A.D; they consist of five sermons, all translated from the French. In his edition of the texts, Hall (1972) remarks that the influence of the French is remarkable, permeating also the syntax of the work. 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 my own scrutiny of the translation, I 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[32], cf. for instance:

(11) F: et   si   **li**   distrent E: and   seiden **to**   **him**

           and   so   him   said   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.

In other cases, the order of the French source and the translation is the same:

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[32] 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.

(12) F: 'Sire, sauvez **nos** / E: 'Lord, sauve *us* /
Lord save **us** Lord save *us*

51 **ke** **nus** **ne** **perisons'**/ 51 **þet** **we** **ne** **perissi**/
that we not perish that we not perish

52 et que **il** **nus** 52 and þet **he** **us**
and that he us and that he us

delivre de tuz malz/ delivri of alle evels/
deliver from all evils deliver from all evils

53 et **qu'** **il** **nus** 53 and þet **ha** **yef** **us**/
and that he us and that he give us

doinst tot bien et 54 swiche werkes to done
give all good and such works to do

nus dont/ in þise wordle,
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, I decided to include it as well in the investigation since it is interesting for the comparison with the text of the Kentish Homilies.

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, five sermons are shared with the Lambeth Homilies[33]; Hall identifies the area in which the manuscript was composed as an area in the South East Midlands, but on the borders with Kent. Morris (1969) edited both the Lambeth as well as the Trinity Homilies; he observes that the Lambeth MS is probably older than the Trinity MS, moreover, a part from the five shared

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[33] In our results, however, there are no sentences overlapping between the Trinity Homilies and the Lambeth Homilies.

sermons, the Trinity Homilies do not seem to be copies of older material from Ælfric, but rather original translations of Latin Homilies, even though some of them have the appearance of original composition. 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 and according to Morris the Lambeth MS is older than the Trinity MS. Even though this work is classified in the PPCME2 under the West Midlands dialect, I decided to treat it separately from the Katherine Group, 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 Katherine Group. 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 which (MX1, cf. table above) consist 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. For the analysis, only the sentences composed after 1121 (when the so called "Continuations of Peterborough" begin) are included. According to Clark (1970), the syntax of this work is very modern, and displays all the changes which would then affect the ME language. 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; even though the literary value of Holy Maidenhood is considered lower than the other works in the group, the texts are written in a literary language, which is supposed to be the "direct descendant of the OE prose" (D'Ardenne 1961). D'Ardenne (1961) describes the language 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 Katherine group can be defined as rhythmic prose, descending from the work of Aelfric (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, which 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, in fact, writes that the work derives from

> the extreme West Midlands, where the ancient English culture survived most coherently, and whence it was able in the Early Middle English period to exert very considerable influence, especially in the general recovery of the native language – precisely because in those regions English had plainly never sunk to a mere regional patois, but had remained in possession both of polite usage and education in letters. (D'Ardenne ibid.: xlvii).

The author 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) moreover 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 the product of a very composite language community themselves, where influences of five languages can be found: English, French, Scandinavian, Welsh and Latin. Finally, the texts represent one of the few extant works produced in the Early Middle English period.

The text of the Ormulum is an incomplete poem written by Orm, a monk living 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: xx́xx́xx́x ‖ xx́xx́xx̀x (cf. also Hall 1972), where *x̀* 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, I extracted all matrix and subordinate clauses with the features specified, but I further reduced the result files by extracting a sample of sentences from the results[34].

Finally, I would like to point out that in my set of texts, the Scandinavian third person plural pronoun[35] *þei* is only found in the text of the Ormulum; the Southern texts preserve the Old English plural pronoun in all forms, except for the Trinity Homilies where two instances of Nominative of *þei* are found. As far as the third person plural pronoun *þei* is concerned, Fisiak (1968) writes that it cannot be found in the East Midlands texts before the 15th century, whereas in the West Midlands it is found after 1350. In the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, we can find the third person singular innovative feminine pronoun *scæ,* the origin of which is obscure, even though Fisiak (1968) claims it can be both derived from the Old English feminine pronoun *heo*, or from the Old English feminine demonstrative *sio*.

From the survey of the different dialect features of these texts, as well as from their philological history, it emerges that the variation found in the different texts cannot be ascribed exclusively to their regional origin, but other factors 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 8); the more conservative character of the Lambeth Homilies has certainly to 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[36] (cf. Trips 2002); 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 7-9). A look at the philological history of the texts allows to draw a difference between

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[34] The sample was extracted by choosing one every three sentences from the result files.
[35] Cole (2018), however, argues that the origin of this pronoun stems from the Old English determiner system.
[36] 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).

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 in this section is that the mechanistic association of provenance and conservatism in the language does not automatically include or exclude the influence of language contact[37]. 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.

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[37] I thank an anonymous reviewer of the ICOME 10 (International Conference On Middle English) committee for this remark.

5. 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 3, 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 3, 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.

Given that in the framework, an important impact of the grammaticalization of the definite determiner on the diachronic change at the core of this study is assumed, 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 5.1, I will list 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 5.2. In 5.3, I will summarise the findings.

5.1 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, indisputed that the Present Day English (hence 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 reanalyzed 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, genitive objects selected by these verbs and prepositions could be both [+ definite] or [- definite], as the following example shows:

(1) Nu   ic   *þyses*   *Alexandres*   her   gemyndgade, cwæđ   Orosius.

     Now   I   this.GEN   Alexander.GEN   here   remind   said   Orosius

'now, said Orosius, I remind (of) 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 *gemynan*, 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 [±definite]. 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	brieuen	ze	sagenne
	What	have	I	now	of	the	false	letters	to	say
	mit	dîen	sie	mih	zihent	uuellen	uuidere	guuunnen	**umbe**	**den**
	with	which	they	me	accuse	want	back	obtain	about	the
	cheiser	**dia**	**rumiskunselb- uualtigi**			?				
	emperor	the	roman	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 uuârhéit* (Notker, I,24,28/29), *taz úbel* (Notker, I ,26,18), *Tîa sâlighéit* (Notker, III, 111,277), which denote abstract entities such as *truth*, *evil* and *bliss* respectively.

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

In her paper, Crisma uses quantitative data taken from the York Corpus of Old English. 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[38]. 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 deinem Kurs geholfen?

        have you the.DAT-PL.Students in your course helped?

   B. Ja, **denen** habe ich geholfen.

        Yes, those.DAT-PL.have I helped.

    A. Have you helped the students in you course?
    B. Yes, I helped them.

In this example, the determiner preceding the dative plural substantive *Studentinnen* is the definite determiner. In the answer to A's question, the demonstrative 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 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: [± 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 [±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 strategies for marking a noun phrase as [+definite] vary cross-linguistically (lexical, morphological or

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[38] 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).

syntactical strategies), but one generalization holds: languages that mark their NPs for the feature [± definite] have a minimal morpheme whose interpretive content is only [+ definite]. For older Indoeuropean languages, that 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[39]. 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 languages like PDE, the insertion of the article is not obligatory. Let us observe the following examples:

(6)   *pro*   ho   incontrato *(il)   vecchio   Gianni.

        pro   have   met   *(the)   old   John.

        '[I] met old John.'

(7)   I met old John.[40]

                                                            (adapted from Crisma 2011:179)

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

[40] 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*).

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 in PDE, the insertion of the article in these contexts 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):

(8) se   arwurða   Æquitius ongann ormætlice to þancienne þam ælmihtigum Gode

      SE   venerable Æquitius began   immensely 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 as *recognitional use* of the demonstrative 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 determiner-less 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]. Also the instances of determiner-less singular nouns Crisma has found 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   beorcan.

            dumb   dogs   NEG   be-able   bark

'Dumb dogs cannot bark.' (CP:15.89.16.578, in Crisma 2011: 185, example 11b)

(10)   &   wæg   mid   hine   twiecge   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 labeled 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 reference is specified by a relative clause) to eventually mark inherently identifiable referents.

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, which is 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[41].

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 [± count]; Crisma argues that OE nouns lacked the obligatory marking for the [± count] feature.

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[41] These amount to 4 in her dataset.

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.

When Crisma comments on the presence of the definite article when a Proper Nouns 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 then it is described at some length, the Proper Noun denoting this referent is preceded by the determiner *se* (cf. below). Crisma argues that these are not instances of the definite determiner and are instead cases of 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 (hence 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   þæt   heafod of   aceorfan

     then   ordered the   consuls   Hasterbal:DAT   the   head   off   cut

'then the consuls ordered that Hasterbal's head be cut off'

<div align="right">(coorosiu,Or_4:10.105.34.2190, in Allen 2016:75, example 24)</div>

The results of her study show that in Old English 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, but cf. her paper for exceptions to this rule) when the *possessum* is the subject or the object of the sentence, as example (12) shows. In this example, 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 in OE, definite nouns were not always preceded by a determiner. 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 narration[42] 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   geþolode, se

     then SE   powerful-demon   hard   grievance bore,   that-one

     þe   in   þystrum   bad

     who   in   darkness   abode

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

<div align="right">(Beowulf, Klaeber 86-7, in Breban 2012: 277)</div>

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[42] 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).

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:

(14)

[Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices 7 Westseaxna wiotan for unryhtum dẹdum buton Hamtunscire, 7 he hæfde þa oþ he ofslog 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 wrẹc 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	feaht	uuiþ	Bretwalum.
and	SE	Cynewulf	often	great	battlers	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 reanalyzed 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 analyzed 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*[43]). 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[44], 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 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.

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[43] For more insightful discussion and for the examples, cf. Demske (2001).

[44] 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 can be also interpreted as demonstratives. It will be seen, in fact, in section 5.2, that textual anaphoric uses with determiner *se* will be supplanted by a complex demonstrative once *se* is reanalysed as a functional category.

5.2 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 Early Middle English Period. According to Smith (1996), in the first and second contituations 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 Pihtum.(...)]

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

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

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

(Chron. A, Year entry 565).

In this example we can observe how referents 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	wiþ	Brettas,	**in**	**þam**
	Here	Ceawlin	and	Cuþa	fought	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	Ecgbryht	Cantwara	cyning	forþferde; 7	**þy**	geare
	Here	Egbert	Kentish people	king	died	and SE	year
	wæs	senoð	æt	Heorotforda	[…].		
	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 an exposition of events is one of the defining uses of the demonstrative, as catalogued by Himmelmann (1996). We will see below, that this function is progressively overtaken by the complex determiner *þis*.

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

(18)	a.	Her	wæs	**se**	**mona**	swelce	he	wære	mid	blode
		here	was	SE	moon	such	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**   aþistrode.

         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   geare aþiestrode **sio**   **sunne**   ane   tid   dæges.

      and   SE   same   year   obscured SE   son   one   hour   day.

'And in the same year the sun obscured for an hour in a day.'
<div align="right">(Chron.A, year entry 879)</div>

b. Her   **sunne**   aþiestrode .xiiii. dagum   ær   kalendas Martii   from
     Here sun   obscured 14   days   before kalends March from
     ærmergenne   oþ   undern.
     early morning 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.'

<div align="right">(Chron.A, year entry 538)</div>

Let us now turn to the use of the complex determiner; the use of the complex determiner *þis* 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 *þis* 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**	**ðys**	**gere**	for	se
	and	then	soon	after	that	on	THIS	year	went	SE
	here	of	Wirheale	in	on	Norðwealas	[…]			
	army	of	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**	**fiftan**	**nihte**	on	Maies	monðe	ætywde	**se**
	[...]	On	SE	fifth	night	on	May's	month	appeared	SE
	mona	on	æfen	beorhte	scinende	[...]	**Ealle**	**þa**	**niht**	wæs
	moon	in	heaven	bright	shining	[...]	All	SE	night	was
	seo	**lyft**	swiðe	clene.	7	**þa**	**steorran**	ofer	**eall**	**þa**
	SE	air	very	clean	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 Entry1110)

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

(22) **On þisum geare** se cyng Willelm heold his hired to

On THIS year SE king William held his court to

Cristes messan on Wæstmynstre […] hit **on þisum sehte**

Christ- mas in Westminster […] it on THIS reconciliation

habben sceoldan. […] **Be þisre sylfan forewarde** gif

have should […] By THIS self treaty if

se cyng swulte wære se eorl yrfenuma ealles

SE king died were SE earl heir all

Englalandes. **Ðas forewarde** gesworan xii. þa betste

England. THIS treaty swore 12 SE best

of þes cynges healfe. and xii. of þes eorles.

Of SE king half 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 entry 1091)

As can be noticed from the example, it is the complex determiner which serves to the anaphoric mention of referents in this version of the Chronicle.

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) *Ðes ilces geares* com fram Ierusalem Hugo *of þe temple*

THIS same year came from Jerusalem Hugo of SE templars

to *ðone* kyng on Normandig. 7 *se* kyng him underfeng

to SE king on Normandy 7 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 have the complex determiner which has substituted the instrumental case when pointing at the year entry, we have 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*.

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. | an | of | alle | þe |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| […] | and | obtained | se | privileges | one | of | all | SE |
| landes | of | **þabbotrice.** | | | | | | |
| 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. | sume | helden | mid |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Then | was | England | very | divided | some | held | with |
| Te | king. | . 7 | sume | mid | **þemperice.** | | |
| SE | king | 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).

5.3 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 *þis*, 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 semantic class to semantic class[45]. 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 *þis* 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 Early Middle English 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).

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[45] Or from the Pragmatic to the Semantic Definites, to put it in Löbner's (1985) terms.

6. On the mapping of constituents in Old English[46]

In order to test if the model proposed in Chapter 3 can motivate the mapping of constituents in Old English, I collected a sample of subordinate clauses containing a complex verbal form, a subject and at least one object. As described in chapter 4, even though the number of clauses selected is relatively small, it aims to cover the whole Old English period. The coding of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs proceeded as described in chapter 4. The analysis carried out confirms 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 matrix clauses, which will show to be subject to the same mapping conditions as the subordinate clauses; the dataset of Early Middle English clauses, which represents different genres and dialect areas, will be compared to the results of OE clauses, and it will be seen in chapter 7 that the instruments of analysis applied in this chapter yield coherent results in the Early Middle English period.

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 OCopy]]]
        Licensing movement of the object to the [Spec, CASEP] position, with the copy in the base position.
        b. [vP[CASEP Ogiven [CASE]][PREDP [PRED]][ASPP [ASP]][VP [V O̶g̶i̶v̶e̶n̶]]]
        Spell-out of the higher copy due to the Givenness Transparency condition
        c. [vP[CASEP O̶n̶e̶w̶[CASE]][PREDP [PRED]][ASPP [ASP]][VP [V Onew]]]
        Spell-out of the lower copy due to the Focus Transparency condition.
        d. [vP[CASEP O̶h̶e̶a̶v̶y̶[CASE]][PREDP [PRED]][ASPP [ASP]][VP [V Oheavy]]]
        Spell-out of the lower copy due to the prosodic mapping condition.

In (1), the Spell-Out conditions postulated in chapter 3, 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 3, that the weight mapping condition and the Givenness

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[46] The results presented in section 6.1 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.

Transparency condition can be conflicting in the case of a given but heavy constituent. In fact, the givenness 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 weight transparency condition which is interpreted as relevant.

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

(2)   a. Aux[47] > 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 8.

In sections 6.1.1 – 6.1.4 I focus on our pilot sample of subordinate clauses, whereas in sections 6.2.1 – 6.2.4 I extend the analysis to the matrix clauses of selected OE texts.

6.1 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

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[47] As was noticed in chapter 2, 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 Old English. Moreover, I analyse also those objects which are scrambled across an adverbial and are spelled-out below the auxiliary verb, as stated in chapter 4.

> Aux clauses exhibit different IS properties with respect to the Aux > V clauses, as will be seen in sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.4.

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 value[48] (IS) and to their weight. The tables are followed by an analytic section, where constituents deviating from our predictions are analysed in more detail.

6.1.1 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 Weight transparency conditions lead to two possible mapping sites.

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

'that you are not deprived entirely of my books' [colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigeweardZ]: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_[SigeweardZ]:11.10]

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[48] 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 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	&	mid
and	told	him	with	writings	and	with
worde.	hu	his	breðre	Peada	&	Wulfhere
words	how	his	brethren	Peada	and	Wulfhere
&	se	abbot	Saxulf	heafden	wroht	**an**
and	the	abbott	Saxulf	had	built	a

minstre.

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]

Moreover, in example (5) we can find a heavy constituent which represents given information:

(5)

Cwæþ	he	þæt	ic	þær	sy	eft	oþre	siþe
Said	he	that	I	there	be	again	another	time

on	**rode**	ahangen.
on	cross	hung.

'And said that I should be hung on the cross again at another time.'
[coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BlHom_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	ðæs	mannes	sawul	is
We	say	now	to	truth	that	the	man	soul	is
belocen	**on**	**his**	**lichaman**	ða	hwile	ðe	he	lybbende	bið.
enclosed	on	his	body	the	while	that	he	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.

Let us now turn to the quantitative distribution of constituents:

Table 6-1		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		101
Pre-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight[49]		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[50]. 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:

Table 6-2		
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

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[49] This and the tables in chapters 6, 7 and 9 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.

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

As can be seen from this table, 21 out of 26 the given and post-verbal constituents are either heavy of 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:

Table 6-3[51]				
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	55	28; 50,9%	27; 40,1%
	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 Old English 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 Aux >

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[51] I thank Ann Taylor for suggesting me to divide the data as in table 6-3.

V/V >Aux surface word order of the sentences. They discover that both the IS conditions and the weight conditions yield statistically significant results[52]. 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. They conclude that this is expected within a head initial VP grammar, 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. In the following, I present the tables which summarise their findings:

	AUXOV	AUXVO	OVAUX	VAUXO	TOTAL
GIVEN	293 (97.7%)	125 (51.0%)	42 (97.7%)	143 (98.0%)	626
NEW	7 (2.3%)	120 (49.0%)	1 (2.3%)	11 (32.4%)	142
TOTAL	**300**	**247**	**43**	**34**	**768**

(Struik and Van Kemenade2018: 14, Table 4)

	AUXV		VAUX		
	OV	VO	OV	VO	TOTAL
GIVEN	335 (74.6%)	125 (25.4%)	143 (87.0%)	23 (13.0%)	626
NEW	8 (7.5%)	120 (92.5%)	3 (27.2%)	11 (72.8%)	142
TOTAL	**336**	**245**	**146**	**34**	**768**

(Struik and Van Kemenade2018: 15, Table 5)

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 van Kemenade and Ellenbaas' (2014) findings about the IS structure of pre-verbal objects in Early Middle English, 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.

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

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 5, I identify the grammaticalization of the definite determiner as a keynote factor in our prospected changing scenario.

6.1.2 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 6 – 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) forđan   þe   him   is   getiþod   þæt   ic   on   his
     because that   him   is   vouchsafed that   I   on   his

     timan   beo   **mannum**   geswutelod.
     time   be   men   revealed

'Because it is vouchsafed to him that I am revelead to men in this time.'

[coaelive,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 ask 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 6 – 2 it is reported that there are six given and light elements mapped in post-verbal position; for these, I investigated whether the meaning of the verb governing them is already given in discourse. According to Hinterhölzl (p.c.), a verb with a given information structural value would exempt the given element from being mapped on a weaker branch in prosodic composition. The study of the information structural value of the verb is non-standard[53], but in order to test this hypothesis I labelled the verb as given if it is

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[53] But cf. Milicev (2016) for a similar study about the givenness of propositions and events as conveyed by the verbs and the implications for word order.

mentioned in the previous context, or if there is a synonymous verb in the previous context, whereas the verb is labelled as new if it represents a new action in the discourse.

The verb reports given information in only 2 of these 6 cases, an example is given in the following:

(8)

Forđæm	biđ	se	sige	micle		mara	đe	man	mid
Because	is	the	victory	much		greater	that	man	with
geđylde	**gewinđ,**	forđæm	sio	gesceadwisnes	đonne	hæfđ	**ofercumen**	đæt
patience	conquers	because	the	discretion	then	has	overcome	the
mod.								
spirit								

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

[cocuraC,CP_[Cotton]:33.218.19.42]

In this sentence, both the object and the verb represent given information; the verb *to overcome* is labelled as given, since the verb *to conquer* in the preceding context is synonymous with it.

In the other cases, the verb does not report given information; three examples from the MS. E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are interesting:

(9)

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

Þa	herdon	þa	munecas	of	Burh	sægen	þæt	heora
then	heard	the	monks	of	Peterborough	say	that	their
agene	menn	wolden	hergon	**þone**	**mynstre**			
own	men	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) Þæt wæs forðan þet hi herdon sæcgen þet se
that was because that they herd say that the

cyng heafde gifen **þæt abbotrice** an Frencisce abbot.
king had given the abbacy a French abbott

'that was because that they heard say that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbott.'
[cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1070.11.2576]

In all these three examples, the facts narrated are presented at this point in the Chronicle; 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. 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, we might be dealing with DPs with a realised D head governing a definite entity. This would entail that the DPs under consideration are heavy. I will return to this point in chapter 9.

The remaining two examples in this set are the following:

(12) 7 þohton þæt hie sceoldon gewrecan **hira teonun.**
and thought that they should 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** mid swylcum.
that I might end my age with such

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

[coaelive,ÆLS_[Maurice]:99.5739]

These elements given and light post-verbal elements are neither contrasted, nor does the action expressed by the verb governing them constitute given information.

As far as the remaining given and light elements are concerned, we saw in table 6 – 2 above that they are contrasted. An example is given in the following:

(14)

[...]	þe	læs	þe	se	hlyst	&	seo	gesihđ
[...]	the	less	that	the	hearing	and	the	sight
wurđe	bescyred	**þæra**	**haligra**	**geryna,**	&	wurđe	gefyled	mid
were	cut-off	the	holy	mysteries,	and	were	filled	with
besmitenysse	fracodlicra	wurda	&	wlatuncga.				
defilement	fleshly	things	and	loathing				

'The less that the sight and the sense of hearing are deprived of the sight of shameful and loathing things.'

[cochdrul,ChrodR_1:66.1.883]

In table 6 – 2 it was also shown 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	&	mid
and	told	him	with	writings	and	with
worde.	hu	his	bređre	Peada	&	Wulfhere
words	how	his	brethren	Peada	and	Wulfhere
&	se	abbot	Saxulf	heafden	wroht	**an**
and	the	abbott	Saxulf	had	built	a
minstre.						
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 motivate 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.

6.1.3 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**   **fæsten** gefæst hæfdon,
      then   the   night   that   they   the   fast   fast   had

      þa   wæs   Sanctus Michael þæm   bisceope on   gesihþe æteowed.
      then   was   Saint   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 [BlHom_17]]:205.170.2632]

(17) Ic   secge þis   sceortlice, for- ðan þe   ic   gesett   hæbbe
     I   say   this   shorly   because that   I   composed have

     of   þisum feower bocum   **wel** **feowertig larspella on**   **Engliscum**
     of   these four   books   well   forty   sermons in   English

     gereorde.
     language

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

[colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_ [SigeweardZ]:921.382]

Table 6-4		
Aux > V		
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	0; 0%
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 6-5			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	4	0; 0%	4; 100%

With respect to table 6 – 3, it can be noticed that in these sentences, 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 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 issue in the next section.

6.1.4 V > Aux clauses: qualitative analysis

We have seen in Section 6.1.3 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[54]. Two examples are given below:

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[54] 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.

(18) &   mid   þy   þe   hie   **þis**   gesprecen   hæfdon, þa

      and   with   this   that   they   this   said   had   then

      com   þær   se   eadiga   Iohannes

      came   ther   the   blessed John.

'And as soon as they had spoken this, the blessed John came.'

[coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BlHom_13]]:143.93.1749]

(19) Þa   ðære   nihte   þe   hie   **þæt**   **fæsten**   gefæst   hæfdon,

      then   the   night   that   they   the   fast   fast   had

      þa   wæs   Sanctus   Michael   þæm   bisceope   on   gesihþe   æteowed.

      then   was   Saint   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 [BlHom_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.

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**   **hie**   **swelcra**   **merþo**

      and   me   my   comrades asked   that   they   such   glory

      bescerede   **ne**   **wæron**

      cut-off   not   were

'and my comrades asked me not to be deprived of such glory.'

[coalex,Alex:33.5.420]

(21) þa   wiðcweð   se   arcebiscop. &   cwæð   **þet**   **se**   **papa**

      then   answered the   archbishop and   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]

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(22)	Þa	wearð	hit	swa	mycel	æge	fram	þam	here.
	then	befell	it	so	great	terror	from	the	army
	þet	man	ne	mihte	geþeoncean	ne	asmægian	**hu**	**man**
	That	one	not	could	think	nor	meditate	how	one

of	**earde**	**hi**	**gebringon**	**sceolde.**
of	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	Pallig	mid	þan	scipan
	and	him	there	towards	came	Pallig	with	the	ship
	ðe	he	gegaderian	mihte	**forþam**	**þe**	**he**	**asceacen**	**wæs**
	that	He	gather	might	because	that	he	forsaken	was

fram	**Æðelredecyncge**	**ofer**	**ealle**	**ða**	**getrywða.**
from	Ethelred	king	over	all	the	pledges.

'and towards him came Pallig with the ships that he could father, 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 of the event reported in sentence (23). 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 in these sentences we have a majority of given elements, 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 these contain given information.

We saw seen in Table 6- 5 above that we can find some material after the verbal cluster also in these sentences; 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	soðlice,	syððan	he	asend	wæs	**his**
	The	Holy	Ghost	truly,	since	he	sent	was	his

halgum apostolum. […]

holy apostles

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

<div align="right">[coaelhom,ÆHom_7:81.1100]</div>

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 not reactivated, 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 draw the the attention of the reader on a certain point in time.

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. For the time being, 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 matrix clauses.

6.2 Matrix Clauses

In this second part of the chapter, I will examine the distribution of constituents in an enlarged sample of matrix clauses. According to my explorative search of a sample of subordinate clauses coming from different Old English 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) have demonstrated that the clear trigger for OV word order in subordinate clauses is the givenness of the object.

Starting from these premises, I will widen my scope of investigation by taking into account a wider sample of matrix 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 chapters 3 and 4. The set of matrix clauses was extracted by selecting sentence with a complex verbal form, a subject and at least one object, as described in chapter 4. The elements that I have not treated in this quantitative part are object pronouns, which will be analysed in more detail in chapter 8, 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. 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, however, we have only semantic clues at our disposal in order to 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 9, where I will examine the distribution of DPs from a closer perspective.

6.2.1 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 out dataset of matrix clauses:

(25)   &   Drihten is   soþlice **þisse**   **bære**   fultumiende.

         and   Lord   is   truly   this   bier   helping

'And the Lord is truly helping this bier.'

<div align="right">[coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor [BlHom_13]]:149.210.1852]</div>

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 **mynecena mynster** mid   mycelre

      Eugenia   had   before than founded nun   minster with great

      gehealdsumnysse.

      observance.

'Eugenia had founded before that a minster for nuns with great observance.'

<div align="right">[coaelive,ÆLS_ [Eugenia]:310.378]</div>

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 elements introduced in post-verbal position is new.

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

(27)   We   habbađ   eow   oft   gesæd **eowerne** **geleafan** **be**   **þære**

         we   had   you   often   said   your   beliefs   by   the

         halgan **đrynnysse.**

         holy   Trinity

'We have often told you your beliefs about the Holy Trinity.'

<div align="right">[coaelive,ÆLS_ [Christmas]:84.68]</div>

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

Table 6 – 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		121
	Given	56; 46,3%
	New	65; 53,7%

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 6 -7				Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
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	117		62; 52,9%	55; 47,1%
	All new elements	79		13; 16,5%	66; 83,5%

In this table, 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 6 – 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:

Table 6-8[55]		
Given constituents		56
	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 16, which amount to circa 13% of all the elements in the post-verbal domain. In the next section, the deviations to our model will be investigated more closely.

6.2.2 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 6 - 6 above shows, we can find 15 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

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[55] Also among the pre-verbal elements, there is one contrasted constituent. However, the remaining contrasted constituents are found in the post-verbal domain.

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   befæst   to woruldlicre lare and
     Martianus had   his   son   before committed to worldy   lore and
     to   uðwitegunge […].
     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   wife beweddad.
     Had   he   his   daughter   him to   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   **ænne** **licðrowere** belocen on   anum   clyfan.
     he   had   a   leper   shut   in   a   cave
 'He had shut a leper in a cave.'
                                            [coaelive,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) Forðferendum þam cyningum Æðelbyrhto & Sæbyrhto,
     departed the kings Ethelberth and Saeberth

     heora æfterfyligendas wæron **deofolgylde** folgiende.
     their successors were devils following

'After the death of King Ethelberth and Selberth, their successors were following idols.'
[cobede,BedeHead:2.12.3.42]

(33) Þa ongunnon sona openlice **deofolgildum** þeowian, […].
     then began soon openly idols 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 Aelfric:

Miller (1959: 124): **deofolgeldum ne þeowode**

Pope (1967: 251): and ealle oðre þeoda **þeowdon deofolgyldum**.

Another suspect complex predicate is the following:

(34) Þa ðære nihte þe hie þæt fæsten gefæst hæfdon,
     then the night that they the fast fast had

     þa wæs Sanctus Michael þæm bisceope **on** **gesihþe** æteowed.
     then was Saint 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 [BlHom_17]]:205.170.2632]

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

(35)	Þa	on	ða	ilcan	tid	wæs	se		eadiga	engel
	then	on	the	same	time	was	the		blessed	angel
	Michahel	ætiewed	þæm	hera	bisceope	**on**	**gesihþe.**			
	Michael	appeared	the	their	bishop	in	vision			

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

[coblick,LS_25_[MichaelMor [BlHom_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 may point at a complex predicate construction.

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

(36)	&	Botulf	ongon	**mynster**	timbran	æt	Icanho.
	and	Botulf	began	minster	build	at	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 6-8 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	**þis**	**godspell,**
	we	have	simply	said	you	now	this	gospel
	and	we	willað	geopnian	eow	**þæt**	**andgyt**	nu.
	and	we	will	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 16 given and light post-verbal elements in the set are concerned, which amount to 13,2% of all the elements in the post-verbal domain, I investigated whether the meaning expressed by the verb constitutes given information. Recall that in section 6.1.2 above, I argued that the given denotation of the verb would exempt the given object to be mapped on a weaker branch than the verb.

This is confirmed for 7 out of 15 such constituents, whereas in 8 cases, the light and given post-verbal element is followed by the heavy second argument of the verb:

(38)

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

'Then the priest began, so much as he loved God, to sing his prayers, and fast must, and obey God days and nights, and between this to say the true beliefs to the venerable Albane.

[coaelive,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 the 13% 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. 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.

6.2.3 V > Aux clauses: quantitative and qualitative analysis

Among our set of matrix 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:

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Table 6-4		
Aux > V		
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	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		1
Heaviness parameter	Light	0; 0%
	heavy	1; 100%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		1
IS parameter	Given	0; 100%
	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 Iohanne bedyrned
and all this human race Saint John concealed

is.

is.

'And all this human race is obscured by Saint John.'

[coblick,LS_12_[NatJnBapt[BlHom_14]]:167.128.2130]

The enlarged context for this sentence is the following:

[…] & hit cuþ 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. San*ctus* Iohannes þonne gæþ beforan eallum oþrum witgan, & ealra oþera heahfædera mægen ge oferstigeþ on þæm apostolican gewealde, & 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[56]) 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 this referent. 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 many 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	geare	æteawed	bið	monig	wundor
	and	there	again	every	year	appeared	are	many	wonders
	untrumra	hælo	þara	ðe	ða	stowe	mid	geleafan	secað.
	sick	heal	those	that	the	place	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 translated text. The influence of the Latin translation cannot be excluded for this example.

6.2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the results of a preliminary sample of Old English matrix and subordinate clauses; as was stated in the introduction, this preliminary sample serves as basis for the investigation on Early Middle English. The results from the sample of subordinate and matrix clauses show that the trigger for the OV word order in Aux > V clauses is the givenness

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[56] This addition is due to Morris (1967).

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 Tranparency and the Weight Transparency condition postulated in the framework; in chapter 3, 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. I investigated whether a given denotation of the verb can account for these cases, but this assumed trigger does not yield decisive results. It was moreover 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.

It must be noticed, moreover, that 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 round. Considering that in the transition from Old English to Early Middle English the *þ/s* system illustrated in chapter 2 undergoes a sharp demise, and that the definite determiner is fully grammaticalized at the beginning of the Early Middle English period, I will adopt a looser form of the interface conditions postulated in chapter 3. In fact, I expect that the pre-verbal domain in Early Middle English continues to host given and light elements, but I expect the relative distribution of given and light constituents 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 matrix clauses selected for the pilot study I found 56 subordinate and 6 matrix clauses exhibiting V > Aux word order. Following the tentative suggestion in Biberauer and Roberts (2005) that vP movement in these clauses is triggered by

de-focusing, 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 matrix 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 matrix clauses, 5 out of 6 convey entirely given information. The data are small, but they confirm Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) tentative concusion that vP movement in these sentences is triggered by a defocusing operation.

7. On the mapping of constituents in Early Middle English

In this chapter, the results from the set of Early Middle English texts will be presented; as was stated in chapter 4, from these texts all the sentences containing a subject, and object and a complex verbal form, both matrix and subordinate, were extracted from the PPCME2 corpus. 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. In each sub-chapter, I will first give the quantitative distribution of objects in the pre- and post-verbal domain of matrix clauses, followed by the qualitative analysis; the sub-section on the matrix clauses is followed by the sub-section on the subordinate clauses, which is organised in the same way.

In Section 7.1 I will present the findings from the Kentish texts, whereas in section 7.2 the findings for the texts of the South-East Midlands are illustrated. These are followed by the findings for the Peterborough Chronicle in section 7.3, and the findings for the Lambeth Homilies in section 7.4. Sections 7.5 and 7.6 deal with the findings for the texts of the Katherine Group and the Ormulum respectively.

7.1 Kentish Texts

In this chapter, I will analyse the distribution of constituents in the two texts coming from the Kentish area selected for our study. However, since the two texts have the dialect area in common, but a very distant date of composition from one another (cf. Chapter 4), the results are treated separately. The text of the Kentish Homilies, in fact, belongs to the M1 period, and has a putative date of composition between 1108 and 1114 (cf. PPCME2 and Hall 1963). The text of the Kentish Sermons belongs to period M2 and is dated around 1275, so more than a hundred years later than the text of the Kentish Homilies. Moreover, the Kentish Sermons are translated from the French, a factor which may interfere with the general picture provided by the data (cf. chapter 4 for the comparison with the French text). This chapter is structured as follows: sections 7.1.1 to 7.1.5 focus on the Kentish Homilies, whereas sections 7.1.6 to 7.1.9 are dedicated to the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the matrix and subordinate clauses in the Kentish Sermons.

7.1.1 Kentish Homilies: matrix clauses

In this sub-section, I will analyse the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the matrix clauses from the text of the Kentish Homilies. Among our set of data for the matrix clauses, no sentence with respective order of the finite and non-finite verb V > Aux was found.

Given the arguments defended in chapter 4, I have excluded from the analysis adjuncts, nominal parts of complex predicates and subjects occurring after the finite or the non-finite verb. Moreover, negated and quantified objects are not considered for the information structural analysis. The relevant configurations investigated are the same as the ones studied for the Old English set. In the following table, the percentages regarding the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects are given:

Table 7-1		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		16
Pre-verbal elements		5
Arguments analysed for their weight		5
	Light	4; 80%
	heavy	1; 20%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		3
	Given	3; 100%
	New	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		11
Arguments analysed for their weight		11
Heaviness parameter	Light	5; 45,4%
	heavy	6; 54,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		9
IS parameter	Given	6; 66,7%
	New	3; 33,3%

Given the fact that the text comprises only two homilies, it is not surprising that the data are so small; what one can notice from the composition of the pre-verbal domain, is that it hosts exclusively given elements, which are for the most part light. As far as the post-verbal domain is concerned, its composition is more heterogeneous, as expected given the evidence for the OE sample (cf. chapter 6, section 6.4).

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

Table 7-2				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	9	4; 44,4%	5; 55,6%
	All heavy elements	7	1; 14,3%	6; 85,7%
IS value				
	All Given elements	9	3; 33,3%	6; 66,7%
	All New elements	3	0%	3; 100%

As far as the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs across the pre- and post-verbal domain is concerned, this table shows that the predictions delineated in chapter 6, section 6.4, is confirmed. In fact, new and heavy elements show a restricted distribution in the pre-verbal domain, whereas given and light elements are distributed almost equally in the two domains; the discrepancy between the percentage of arguments in the pre- verbal and the post-verbal domain is higher for the new and heavy elements. Given the small number of examples, I will directly treat the interaction between the heaviness and the IS structural parameters in the post-verbal domain in the qualitative section, without providing a table, as was done for the OE sample.

7.1.2 Qualitative analysis

In this section, I analyse the distribution of constituents of this text from a qualitative perspective. In table 7-1 it is shown that the elements which are not inert for information structure all have a given value in the pre-verbal domain. Among these, 2 are light, whereas one is syntactically heavy:

(1) For he wolde **þone forwordene middeneard** eft aræren on

For he wanted the perished Middle-Earth again build on

þan ylcan dæiġe, þe he ærst ġetimbrod wæs.

the same day that he first built was

'For he wanted to build again the mortal Earh on the same day in which it was built.'
[CMKENTHO-M1,144.260]

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This constituent is a DP with a definite determiner, which is analysed as right branching and thus heavy. The DP constitutes encyclopaedic knowledge, and is moreover scrambled across a temporal adverbial.

One example of a light constituent representing given information is exemplified below:

(2) Ne   sculen namare   þa   Judees **hire** **Sune** swingan ne
     Not   shall   no more   the   Jews   her   son   flog   nor

     cwellen.
     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.

Turning to the composition of the post-verbal domain, we have seen that we can find six arguments of verbs to which a given information structural value is assigned. Four of these such arguments have a heavy syntactic composition, as exemplified in (3):

(3) […] heo   sculen habben **þa** **heofenlice** **selen**.
     […] they   shall have   the   heavenly   bliss

'They shall have the heavenly bliss.' [CMKENTHO-M1,143.256]

This example constitutes a minimal pair with example (1) above, since we can find a DP with a definite determiner. In this case, the right branching given element is found in post-verbal position.

The only light and given element in the post-verbal domain is given in the following:

(4) &   Herodes is   beflogen **his** **ansyne** into   helle þeostre.
     and   Erodes   is   fleed   his   face   into   hell   darkness

'And Erodes has escaped his appearance into the darkness of hell.'

[CMKENTHO-M1,138.124]

Given that this constituent is a case of inalienable possession, it is labelled as given (cf. chapter 4). Let us observe the context in which this sentence is embedded:

> Nu ne carcað heo to befleon Herodes ehtnysse into Egypte mid hire Cilde, for he is gestogan into Heofone, & Herodes is beflogen **his ansyne** into helle þeostre.

"Now she does not search to escape Erodes' persecution [by going to] Egypt with her child, because he is arisen to Heaven, and Erodes has escaped his appearance into the darkness of Hell."

(Warner 1917: 138)

From the context we can see that the verb governing the light and given constituent under consideration was already mentioned in the previous lines; moreover, there is a contrast between the elements governed by the verb *befleon* in the sentence preceding example (4), and the elements governed by the verb in our result sentence. The given and light element is, therefore, contrasted.

The remaining post-verbal constituents are analysed as having a new information structural value, as exemplified below:

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

'Anf for the love of the beautiful women they shall suffer the sulphurous stench in hell.'
[CMKENTHO-M1,143.253]

7.1.3 Kentish Homilies: subordinate clauses

In this sub-section, I analyse the quantitative distribution of the elements found in the pre- and in the post-verbal position of the Aux > V subordinate clauses in the text of the Kentish Homilies.

Let us first start with the quantitative distribution in the pre- and post-verbal domain:

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Table 7-3		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		10
Pre-verbal elements		6
Arguments analysed for their weight		6
	Light	5; 83,3%
	heavy	1; 16,7%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		5
	Given	4; 80%
	New	1; 20%
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		4
Heaviness parameter	Light	1; 33,3%
	heavy	3; 66,7%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		3
IS parameter	Given	3; 100%
	New	0; 0%

As was noticed for the main clauses, the data in this text are not many. However, we can see that the pre-verbal domain is dominated by light and given elements, whereas the post-verbal domain has a more heterogeneous distribution. Given the fact that there is only one new constituent, which is mapped in pre-verbal position, I will venture no conclusive statements about IS in the subordinate clauses of this text. The fact that given and light elements are likewise found in the post-verbal domain might be an indication of the undergoing drift towards a uniform post-verbal Spell-out of objects.

Table 7-4				
Arguments				
Weight value			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
	All light elements	6	5; 71,4%	1; 28,6%
	All heavy elements	4	1; 25%	3; 75%
IS value				
	All Given elements	7	4; 57,2%	3; 42,8%
	All New elements	1	1; 100%	0; 0%

From this table we can notice that light objects are predominantly distributed in the pre-verbal domain, whereas heavy elements tend to be mapped in post-verbal position, even though their percentage in the pre-verbal domain is higher than their percentage in the pre-verbal domain of the matrix clauses of this text, as well as of the matrix and subordinate clauses of the other Early Middle English texts examined (cf. subsequent sections).

As far as the IS parameter is concerned, we can only observe that the only new argument we find is mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas the distribution of given elements is equally divided between the pre- and the post-verbal domain. Given the numbers, I cannot draw definitive conclusions about the IS parameter, but I only observe that given elements are distributed across the pre- and the post-verbal domain as expected.

7.1.4 Qualitative Analysis

In this section, I will analyse my findings for the subordinate clauses in the text of the Kentish Homilies from a qualitative perspective. As one can see from table 7-3 above, in the pre-verbal domain we find mostly given elements with a light syntactic weight; only 1 of the 6 constituents mapped in pre-verbal position has a heavy syntactic weight, but given IS value:

(6)	hwu	heo	wæs	**þan**	**(Hælende)**	to	moder	gecoren
	how	she	was	the	Saviour	to	mother	chosen

'how she was chosen as the mother of the Saviour.'

[CMKENTHO-M1,135.37]

The indirect object, in fact, refers to an activated referent, namely *Christ*, and is mapped in pre-verbal position, before the PP adjunct.

In table 7-3 we have seen, moreover, that we can find a pre-verbal new constituent:

(7)	for	he	hæfde	forhaten,	þæt	he		nolde
	For	he	had	vowed,	that	he		not-wanted
	Metes	**abiten,**	fram	þan	Fridæiġe,		þe	he
	Food	bite	from	the	Friday		that	he
	ġepined		wæs,	[…].				
	tormented		was	[…].				

'For he had vowed not to eat any meat from the Friday, when he (=Christ) was tormented.

[CMKENTHO-M1,144.276]

As far as the post-verbal domain is concerned, we have seen that it hosts only given referents; these are all heavy:

(8)　　[…].　þt　heo　mugen　On- nytt beteon　**þt**　　**God**

　　　　[…].　that　they　may　useless accuse　that　　God

　　þe　　heom　is　leof.
　　that　them　is　dear

'That they may uselessly accuse that God that is dear to them.'

<div align="right">[CMKENTHO-M1,142.209]</div>

(9)　　&　for þan　þe　mægeđhad　stranglice　mæig　wiđstanden

　　And　because　that　maidenhood　strongly　may　withstand

þære　galnysse.
the　　luxury.

'Because maidenhood can strongly withstand luxury.'

<div align="right">[CMKENTHO-M1,134.24]</div>

In example (8), the post-verbal direct object is a DP with a relative clause as post-modifier, whereas in (9), the post-verbal object is a DP with a definite determiner and an abstract referent.

7.1.5 V > Aux Clauses

In this text, 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:

(10) Đa　þa　se　ængel　hire　cydde,　**þt**　**heo**　**cænnen**

then　when　the　angel　her　said　that　she　generate

scholde　Godes　Sune, heo　andswerede　&　acsode, 'Hwu sceal

should　God's　son　she　answered　and　asked　How　shall

þiss　gewurđen . […] ´.　a

this　become

'As the angel told her, that she should generate God's son, she answered and asked: "How shall this be?"'

<div align="right">[CMKENTHO-M1,135.31]</div>

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, as well as 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 gewurđen, for ic ne cann naht of weres gemane?' Gyf ænige mædene, þe hæfde gemynt were to underfone, wære gesæd þæt[57] heo scolde sune geberen, ne þuhte hit hire sellic, ne heo axigen nolde, 'Hwu sceal hit gewurðen, þæt ic sune gebide?'.

> 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?"

<div align="right">(Warner 1917: 135)</div>

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

Summarising, we have seen that the text of the Kentish Homilies represents a coherent development from the OE period; we can find a pre-verbal domain dominated by light and given elements, whereas the post-verbal domain presents a more heterogeneous composition, in which heavy elements predominate. New elements are outnumbered by the given elements in the subordinate clauses, but in the matrix clauses we can notice that slightly more than the 80% of the new objects is mapped in post-verbal position.

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[57] The abbreviation found in the edition of the text was expanded by the author of the present work.

As far as the text of the Kentish Sermons is concerned, there are only Aux > V clauses in the dataset. The distribution of constituents is given in the following table:

Table 7-5		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		10
Pre-verbal elements		1
Arguments analysed for their weight		1
	Light	1; 100%
	heavy	0; 0%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		1
	Given	1; 100%
	New	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		9
	Light	1; 11,2%
	heavy	8; 88,8%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		9
	Given	8; 88,8%
	New	1; 11,2%

What one can straightforwardly notice from this text is that all constituents, except for one, are spelled-out in the post-verbal domain in this text. The only constituent found in the pre-verbal domain is, however, coherent with our theoretical model and with our prospected diachronic change, since it is light and constitutes given information.

Table 7-6				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	2	1; 50%	1; 50%
	All heavy elements	8	0; 0%	8; 100%
IS value				
	All Given elements	9	1; 11,2%	8; 88,8%
	All New elements	1	0; 0%	1; 100%

This table shows that in this text, the spell-out of objects in the post-verbal position is the default strategy, as far as constituents other than objects pronouns are concerned. In fact, I will show in chapter 8 that in this text, object pronouns are found either at the left of the auxiliary, or in pre-verbal position; only one object pronoun is mapped in post-verbal position in this text. The mapping of object pronouns confirms the prospected changing scenario: the information structural constraints are not transparent anymore, and only prosodically light elements, namely object pronouns, are spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain, or at the left of the auxiliary. Even though the number of constituents found in this text is small, the findings are coherent with the finding for the texts belonging to the same period (cf. below).

7.1.7 Qualitative analysis

From the quantitative analysis given above, we have seen that we only have one pre-verbal argument in this text, and this is light and constitutes given information:

(11) for   Man   mai   **longe**   **liues**   wene.
      for   one   may   long   life   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 then activated 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 othen him belies the wrench.'

(Maidstone A.13, "Man mei longe")[58]

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 positioning of this constituent may have nothing to do with the interface conditions we

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[58] See Gorst (2013).

have postulated, but is rather influenced by the position of the corresponding constituent in the poem quoted.

As far as the post-verbal arguments are concerned, these constitute all except but one given information. Among the constituents representing given information, we can only find one which has a light syntactic weight:

(12)

Nu	lordinges	ure	lord	god	almichti.	þat	hwylem	in
now	lords	our	Lord	God	almighty	that	formerly	in
one	stede.	and	ine	One	time	flesliche	*makede*	of
one	place	and	in	one	time	physically	made	of
watere	wyn;	yet	habbeþ	manitime	*maked*	of	watere	**wyn**;
water	win	yet	had	manitimes	made	of	water	win
gostliche.								
spiritually								

'Now, lords, our Lord God Almighty that once in one place physically made of water wine, yet has made of water wine spiritually.' [CMKENTSE-M2,218.90]

Given the fact that the only elements mapped in pre-verbal position in this text are object pronouns, I interpret the mapping of a light and given post-verbal element as the default option for this text, since the VO word order with non-pronominal objects is fully grammaticalized.

The remaining given elements in the post-verbal domain all consist of right branching constituents, as in the following example:

(13)

Nu	ye	habbeþ	iherd	**þe**	**Miracle**.
Now	you	have	heard	the	miracle

'Now you have heard the miracle.'

[CMKENTSE-M2,217.83]

In the following example, the only new element in the post-verbal domain is presented:

(14)	Goþ	a	seide	ure	lord	inte	mine	winyarde.	þet
	'Go'	he	said	our	Lord	'into	my	vineyard	that
	is	inte	mine	beleaue.	and	hic	yw	sal	yeue
	is	into	my	belief	and	I	you	shall	give
	yure	**peni**	**þet**		**is**	**heueriche**	**blisce.**		
	your	**penny**	**that**		**is**	**heaven-kingdom**	**bliss'**		

'"Go", said our Lord, "into my vineyard, that is into my belief, and I shall give you your penny, that is the bliss of the heavenly kingdom.

<div align="right">'[CMKENTSE-M2,221.203]</div>

The referent denoted by the left branching constituent *yure peni* is introduced at the very beginning of the sermon, as the gospel is reported. In this context, however, which is found two pages after, the referent is embedded within direct discourse; the referent constitutes new information for the addressee of the direct discourse, and is moreover reactivated at this point in the narration, where the symbols evoked by the narration of the gospel are explained.

The prosodic composition of the sentences in this text is, however, clear: what we find in the pre-verbal domain are only pronouns, and only one light element which is part of a quotation from verse. All other types of constituents are mapped in post-verbal position, regardless of their information structural value. The findings for the matrix clauses of this text, which is dated around 1275, are coherent with the prospected language change scenario defended in this work.

7.1.8 Kentish Sermons: subordinate clauses

In this section, I will analyse the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the sentences coming from the text of the Kentish Sermons. We have already seen in section 7.1.6 above, that this text presents overwhelmingly post-verbal elements in the matrix clauses. In fact, also for the subordinate clauses, all the direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs we can find are mapped in post-verbal position:

Table 7-7		14
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		14
Pre-verbal elements		0
Arguments analysed for their weight		0
	Light	-
	heavy	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	-
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		14
Arguments analysed for their weight		
	Light	4; 28,5%%
	heavy	10; 71,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	13; 92,8%
	New	1; 7,2%

As in the matrix clauses, object pronouns are found in pre-verbal position, or preceding the auxiliary; there is only one object pronoun in post-verbal position. The properties of object pronouns will be analysed in chapter 8 in more detail.

Summarising, in this text the only objects which are mapped in pre-verbal position are object pronouns, which constitute prototypical light and given elements. All other types of constituents, regardless of their syntactic weigh and IS value, are mapped in post-verbal position.

7.1.9 Qualitative analysis

We have seen in section 7.1.8. above, that all the arguments in the subordinate clauses of this text are mapped in post-verbal position, and that their syntactic weight heavy in the majority of cases; moreover, only one constituent represents new information.

(15)	swo	hi	nomen	conseil	betuene	hem	þet	hi	wolden
	so	they	took	council	between	them	that	they	wanted
	gon	for	to	hyne	anuri.	and	þet	hi	wolden
	go	for	to	him	honour	and	that	they	wanted
	offri	him	**gold**	**and**	**stor**	**and**	**Mirre.**		
	offer	him	gold	and	incense	and	myrrh		

'And so they held a consultation between them, [and decided] that they wanted to go in order to honour him, and that they wanted to offer him gold, incense and myrrh.'

[CMKENTSE-M2,214.8]

This example is embedded in the narration of the Gospel, and these elements are introduced now for the first time.

The remaining constituents consist of given referents, which have both heavy and light weight, even though the latter are found in a lower percentage.

The heavy constituents are mostly definite DPs as in (16), which can present relative clause as post-modifier, as in example (17):

(16)	And	al- se	þo	men	þet	weren	in	þo
	and	as	the	men	that	were	in	the
	ssipe	hedde	iseghe	**þo**	**miracle**	so	awondrede	hem
	ship	had	seen	the	miracle	so	marvelled	themselves
	michel.							
	much							

'And as soon as the men, who were in the ship, had seen the miracle, they marvelled very much'.

[CMKENTSE-M2,219.142]

(17)

Þet	holi	godspel	of		to-dai	us	telþ.	þet	ure
The	holy	gospel	of		today	us	tells	that	our
lord	ihesus	crist.	ase		he	hedde	iyue	þo	newe
Lord	Jesus	Christ	as		he	had	given	the	new
laghe.	in	one	montayne.	and	hedde	imaked	**þet**	**formeste**
law	in	one	mountain	and	had	made	the	first
sarmun	þet	euerte	made	in	erþe;	suo	him	folgede
sermon	that	ever	made	in	earth	so	him	followed
michel	folk.							
great	people							

'The gospel of today tells us, that our Lord Jesus Christ, as he had given the new law on a mountain, and [had] made the first sermon that was ever made on Earth, was followed by a great multitude.

[CMKENTSE-M2,218.100]

Concluding, in this text all types of objects are mapped in post-verbal position, with the exception of object pronouns. The IS and the prosodic weight 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.

7.2 South - East Midlands Texts

In this chapter, the mapping of constituents in the texts of the Trinity Homilies *and Vices and Virtues* is going to be analysed; in the same way as for the previous texts, a quantitative overview of the findings is given, whereas in the second part of the chapter the quantitative findings are analysed from a qualitative point of view.

As was stated in chapter 4, pronouns are not included in the count given in the quantitative section for the relevant texts, as their mapping is treated separately in chapter 8.

7.2.1 South - East Midlands: matrix clauses

In the following, the mapping of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs will be illustrated. The tables are structured in the same way as the tables given above.

Table 7-8		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		205
Pre-verbal elements		45
Arguments analysed for their weight		45
	Light	37; 82,3%
	heavy	8; 17,7%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		29
	Given	24; 82,7%
	New	5; 17,3%
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		160
	Light	71; 44,4%
	heavy	89; 55,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		133
	Given	68; 51,2%
	New	65; 48,8%

The distribution of arguments in the pre- and post-verbal domains is consistent with the postulation of the Givenness Transparency and the Weight Transparency conditions, since the elements found in the pre-verbal domain are in 80% of the cases light and given. The distribution in the post-verbal domain shows, however, that light and given elements are not banished from this domain, rather it is the other way round. It is the pre-verbal domain which

strongly correlates with light and given elements; this will become clear with the following table.

In the following table, the distribution of light, heavy, given and new elements across the pre- and the post-verbal domains is given.

Table 7-9				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	108	37; 34,3%	71; 65,7%
	All heavy elements	97	8; 8,3%	89; 91,7%
IS value				
	All Given elements	92	24; 26,1%	68;73,9%
	All New elements	70	5; 7,2%	65; 92,8%

This table presents an eloquent picture, as far as the distribution of new and heavy elements across the pre- and post-verbal domains is concerned; in fact, only around 10% of these elements are mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas around 90% of them are mapped in post-verbal position.

As was observed also above, this does not entail that given and light elements are banned from the post-verbal domain; they are also found in the post-verbal domain, but the discrepancy between the ratios of light and given elements in the pre-verbal and in the post-verbal domain is smaller than the discrepancy between the ratios of pre- and post-verbal new and heavy elements. In other words, the amount of heavy and new elements in the post-verbal domain is higher than their amount in the pre-verbal domain. The majority of given and light elements is likewise spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, but their amount in the pre-verbal domain is still higher than the amount of heavy and new elements in the same domain.

Recall, moreover, that pronouns are not inserted in the tables of this chapter; in chapter 8 it will be shown that in these texts, about 80% of the pronouns found are distributed either in pre-Aux position, or in pre-verbal position. Even though we have decided to treat object pronouns separately, since their mapping is driven by different syntactic constraints, it has to be kept in mind that the pre-verbal domain also presents a large amount of object pronouns.

These quantitative findings then confirm the predictions laid out in our theoretical account: heavy and new elements are predominantly mapped in post-verbal position, whereas the pre-verbal domain prefers light and given elements.

However, the findings also show that the drift towards a rigid VO surface order was already taking place at this stage of the language, and in this dialect area. In fact, whereas new and heavy elements are highly restricted in the pre-verbal domain, given and light elements are not restricted from the post-verbal domain. Moreover, as was commented above, they are spelled-out in post-verbal position in the majority of cases. The findings show a continuity with the Old English period, in which the demarcation of the domains was clearer between a pre-verbal domain occupied by light and given elements, and a post-verbal domain occupied by new and heavy elements; but it is also evident that given elements are already starting to be progressively spelled-out in the post-verbal domain.

The following table shows how the heaviness and the Information Structural values of post-verbal constituents interact.

Table 7-10		
Given constituents		68
	Of which light and contrasted	4
	Of which light	27
	Of which heavy and contrasted	6
	Of which heavy	31
New constituents		65
	Of which light and contrasted	3
	Of which light	23
	Of which heavy and contrasted	5
	Of which heavy	34

The number of deviations to our theoretical assumptions is justified: if a light constituent is mapped in post-verbal position, it is probable that it represents new information, whereas if a constituent is given, it is either contrasted or heavy in the majority of cases, as the table illustrates.

In the qualitative sub-part of this chapter, heavy and new elements in the pre-verbal domain, as well as light and given elements in the post-verbal domain are treated.

Finally, the following table illustrates the distribution of constituents in the two texts examined in this chapter:

Table 7-11			
The Trinity Homilies			Vices and Virtues
	Total number of VP arguments	100	105
Pre-verbal elements		22	23
Elements analysed for their weight			
Heaviness parameter	Light	19; 86,4%	18; 78,3%
	heavy	3; 13,6%	5; 21,7%
Elements analysed for their IS value		14	13
IS parameter	BG	11; 78,6%	11; 84,6%
	F	3; 21,4%	2; 15,4%
Post-verbal elements		77	82
Elements analysed for their weight		77	
Heaviness parameter	Light	31; 40,3%	40; 48,8%
	heavy	46; 59,7%	42; 51,2%
Elements analysed for their IS value		44	63
IS parameter	BG	23; 52,3%	27; 42,8%
	F	21; 47,7%	36; 57,2%

As can be noticed from the table, the texts show a similar distribution. In the Trinity Homilies, the distribution of constituents in the post-verbal domain is almost equally divided between the different parameter categories identified, whereas the text of Vices and Virtues shows a slightly higher percentage of new elements in the post-verbal domain.

Given the fact that for these texts there is a sufficient amount of data, in the following table I present the distribution of referential direct objects.

Table 7-12		
Referential Direct objects		
Pre-verbal elements		22
	Light	21; 95,5%
	heavy	1; 4,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		22
	Given	18; 81,8%
	New	4; 18,2%
Post-verbal elements		103
	Light	51; 49,5%
	heavy	52; 50,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		103
	Given	55; 53,4%
	New	48; 46,6%

The distribution of direct objects is in line with the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs illustrated above; the pre-verbal domain hosts almost exclusively given and light elements, whereas the post-verbal domain has a heterogeneous distribution. In the next section, the qualitative findings of the Aux > V clauses will be illustrated.

7.2.2 Qualitative Analysis

In this section, I will concentrate our investigation on the qualitative aspects of the constituents we have isolated for the present study. Before moving to the new and pre-verbal constituents, and to the light and given post-verbal object, let us observe an example of given and pre-verbal constituent, and one of a new and post-verbal constituent:

(18) and gief we wise ben; we mugen mid one

   and if we wise are we may with one

   worde **þese** **þrie** **þing** bidden […]

   word these three 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 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)

(19)	and	elizabet	þi	spuse	shal	hauen	**a**	**cnauechild**
	and	Elizabeth	your	bride	shall	have	a	male-child

'And your bride Elizabeth shall have a boy.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,135.1808]

This 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 baby boy. The constituent is accordingly analysed as new.

In the following, I will concentrate our study on the properties of elements which deviate from our model, therefore on heavy and/or new arguments in pre-verbal position, and light and given arguments in post-verbal position.

In table 7-8 above, we saw that there are 5 new constituents in the pre-verbal domain:

(20)	bute	we	turnen	to	gode	anradliche	he	wile	**his**
	unless	we	turn	to	God	firmly	he	will	his
	swerd	dragen;	þat	is	his	wrake.			
	sword	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 which 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.

(20)	On	þine	nebbes	swote.	þu	shalt	**þin**	**bred**	noten.
	on	your	face	sweat	you	shall	your	bread	enjoy

'You shall enjoy your bread with the sweat of your face.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,181.2473]

This sentence reports a quotation of what God has told Adam, when he is banned from Paradise. In the context of the Homily, this quotation is presented at this point in the narration. For this reason, the DP *þin bred* is analysed as new information in the context under analysis, given the fact that it is not an item of inalienable possession, but a bridging inferable. It has to be noted, however, that the episode quoted may have already been familiar to the audience of the Homily, even though in the indirect speech context, it constitutes new information.

Further three constituents pattern like (21):

(21)	[…]	þu	miht	mid	godes	felste	đe	berġen	and
	[…]	you	might	with	God's	help	yourself	save	and

heuneriches	**merchþe**	mid	þese	halie	mihtes sikerliche
kingdom of heaven's	joy	with	these	holy	virtues surely

iwinnen.

gain

'You might save yourself and earn the joy of the Kingdom of heaven for certain with these holy virtues.'

[CMVICES1-M1,151.1863]

In this example, the referent *heavenly mirth* has not been mentioned directly before and for this reason, it is labelled as new information; however, it can be argued that the fact that one receives a reward or punishment for one's actions may have been common for the audience of this text.

Let us now turn to the analysis of heavy arguments in the pre-verbal domain; they constitute all given information. An example is given in the following:

(22) and   gef   he   þat   hielde   synne.   he   wolde   **þe**

and   if   he   that   held   sin   he   would   the

dede   wiđtien.

deed   withdraw

'And if he held it for a sin, he would withdraw his deed.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,31.419]

This DP refers to the actions enumerated in the context preceding the sentence, and is therefore labelled as given.

Other elements which deviate from our model are light and/or given elements in the post-verbal domain. As can be seen from table 7-10 above, the given elements which are not heavy, or contrasted, amount to 27. Of these, 5 are spelled-out in the post-verbal position with the second argument of the verb, as in the following example:

(23)   for   þanne   he   wile   đere   gelden   elch   man   **his**

for   then   he   wants   there   requite   each   man   his

hwile   mid   swilch   mede   swo   he   ernede   here.

labour   with   such   recompense   so   he   earned   here

'For then, there, he will recompense each man for his labour with such a reward as he earned it here.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,5.46]

In 7 further cases the light element is followed by a heavier adjunct. The remaining sentences contain a given light constituent in post-verbal position, which is not followed by a second constituent in post-verbal domain. Moreover, in 23 of these sentences the verb has a given meaning. The remaining instances are unmarked.

Let us see one example in which the meaning conveyed by the verb is analysed as given:

(24)   […],   ne   scal   tu   naure   **ġesen**   mid   đase   eiġene

[…],   not   shall   you   never   see   with   these   eyes

đe   þu   mide   ġesiest   sunne   and   mone,   godd   almihtin.

that   you   with   sees   sun   and   moon   God   Almighty

'And you shall never see God Almighty with these eyes, with which you see the sun and the moon.'

[CMVICES1-M1,125.1538]

In the chapter in which the example under examination is embedded, the whole discussion revolves around the virtue of purity, and this sentence is embedded within the discussion about the value of having a pure heart, since who has a pure heart may see God. The sentence under discussion is found in the concluding lines of the chapter; within the final paragraph, the denotation of the verb: *to see* is repeated 4 times.

Summarising this section, we saw that the pre-verbal domain prefers light and given elements, since new and heavy constituents are highly restricted in this domain. However, the post-verbal domain is not restricted to the light and given elements; these elements are either mapped together with a second constituent in the post-verbal domain, or present a verb, whose denotation is given or inferable in the majority of the cases. As was hinted at in section 6.4, the fact that given and light post-verbal elements can be found may be a sign that the progressive spell-out of non-pronominal objects in the post-verbal position is becoming the unmarked case.

As far as the heavy or new objects in the pre-verbal domain of these texts are concerned, we have seen that the heavy element mapped in pre-verbal domain have a given IS value, whereas the new pre-verbal elements can be accommodated by assuming a wider array of elements pertaining to the encyclopaedic knowledge of the audience of a religious text. In the next section, V > Aux matrix clauses are discussed.

7.2.3 V > Aux matrix clauses

Among our sample of matrix clauses presenting a complex verbal form, a subject and an object, there are only two sentences presenting V> Aux word order.

These are presented in the following:

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

<div align="right">(Morris 1868: 48-49)</div>

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

(26)

Ne	dieuel	ne	mann	none	mihte	ne	none	strengþe
neither	devil	nor	man	no	power	nor	no	strength
habben	**ne**	**muġen**	ouer	ođren				
have	not	may	over	others				

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

<div align="right">[CMVICES1-M1,107.1278]</div>

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; these sentences constitute a minimal pair with respect to this one, because they presents Aux > V word order:

(27)   a.

Ac	ne	mai	non	senne	ne	non	dieuel
But	not	may	no	sin	nor	no	devil
habben	strengþe	aġean	đessere	gode	ileaue.		
have	strength	against	this	good	faith		

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

<div align="right">[CMVICES1-M1,27.301]</div>

   b.

' Đo	ġaten	of	helle	ne	muġen	hauen	none
The	gates	of	hell	not	may	have	no
strengþe	aġean	đessere	ileaue.'				
strength	against	this	faith				

'" The gates of hell cannot have any strength against this faith."'

<div align="right">[CMVICES1-M1,27.301]</div>

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 exampes, no definite conclusion can be drawn.

<u>7.2.4 South – East Midlands: subordinate clauses</u>

In this sub-chapter, we will look at the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs in the subordinate clauses of the texts of the Trinity Homilies and of Vices and Virtues.

Table 7-13		
Aux > V		
Total number of VP arguments		143
Pre-verbal elements		60
Arguments analysed for their weight		60
	Light	43; 71,7%
	heavy	17; 28,3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		49
	Given	45[59]; 91,8%
	New	4; 8,2%
Post-verbal elements		83
Arguments analysed for their weight		83
	Light	31; 37,4%
	heavy	52; 62,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		71
	Given	40; 56,3%
	New	31; 43,7%

The data show a clear preference of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain, and a heterogeneous distribution in the post-verbal domain. In the following table, the distribution of given, new, light and heavy elements across the pre- and the post-verbal domain is given:

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[59] 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 7-14			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	74	43; 58,1%	31; 41,9%
	All heavy elements	69	17; 24,6%	52; 75,4%
IS value				
	All Given elements	85	45; 52,9%	40; 47,1%
	All New elements	35	4; 11,4%	31; 88,6%

The distribution of the arguments according to their weight and IS value again confirms that heavy and new elements are restricted in the pre-verbal domain, whereas light and given elements are distributed almost equally between the pre- and post-verbal domains. Unlike the distribution of constituents in the matrix clauses, the distribution in the subordinate clauses is more similar to the one in the OE sample, since it shows a higher number of given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain, with respect to the same type of elements in the post-verbal domain.

The following table presents the distribution of the post-verbal elements, when the four IS and weight values are combined.

Table 7-15		
Given constituents		40
	Of which light and contrasted	4
	Of which light	8
	Of which heavy and contrasted	7
	Of which heavy	21
New constituents		31
	Of which light and contrasted	1
	Of which light	12
	Of which heavy and contrasted	2
	Of which heavy	16

These detailed percentages confirm the findings presented in the previous tables. They show that, when the parameters are combined, the presence of light elements in the post-verbal domain is motivated either by their representing new information, or being contrasted. Similarly, the presence of given constituents in the post-verbal domain is motivated by their

being either heavy or contrasted. The light and given elements amount to 8, among 71 post-verbal constituents.

In the following table, the constituents in the two texts examined are treated separately:

Table 7-16			
The Trinity Homilies			Vices and Virtues
	Total number of VP arguments		
Pre-verbal elements		28	32
Elements analysed for their weight		28	32
Heaviness parameter	Light	23; 82,2%	20; 62,5%
	heavy	5; 17,8%	12; 37,5%
Elements analysed for their IS value		23	26
IS parameter	BG	23; 100%	22; 84,6%
	F	0; 0%	4; 15,4%
Post-verbal elements		35	46
Elements analysed for their weight		35	46
Heaviness parameter	Light	12; 34,3%	19; 41,3%
	heavy	23; 65,7%	27; 58,7%
Elements analysed for their IS value		32	37
IS parameter	BG	18; 56,2%	21; 56,8%
	F	14; 43,8%	16; 43,2%

These texts present some qualitative differences with respect as far as the pre-verbal domain is concerned, since it is clearly made up of light and given elements in the text of the Trinity Homilies; in the text of Vices and Virtues, we have a clear preference for given elements in the pre-verbal domain, but we have a higher percentage of heavy elements, with respect to the Trinity Homilies.

Finally, let us look at the distribution of referential direct objects in the subordinate clauses of the texts of the South East Midlands:

Table 7-17		
Referential Direct objects		
Pre-verbal elements		40
	Light	32; 80%
	heavy	8; 20%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		40
	Given	37; 92,5%
	New	3; 7,5%
Post-verbal elements		55
	Light	24; 43,6%
	heavy	31; 56,4%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		55
	Given	28; 50,9%
	New	27; 49,1%

The distribution of referential direct objects confirms the picture obtained for the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs, with the pre-verbal domain showing given and light elements, and the post-verbal domain presenting a heterogeneous picture. In the next section, the findings will be discussed from a qualitative point of view.

7.2.5 Qualitative analysis

In this section, we will examine qualitatively those constituents which deviate from the predictions laid out in our framework; the discussion revolves around new and heavy elements in the pre-verbal domain and around light and given elements in the post-verbal domain.

Before moving to the constituents showing a behaviour not consistent with our predictions, let us observe an example of given and pre-verbal element, and of new and post-verbal element respectively:

(28)	Ortrowe	of	agene	mihte	letteđ	þe	mannes	shrifte.	þe
	Distrust	of	own	power	hinders	the	man's	shrift	that
	þincheđ	þat	he	ne	mihte	**his**	**sinne**	**forlete**	[…]
	thinks	that	he	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]

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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 letteð þe mannes shrifte. þe ne dar his sinnes seien þe prest. leste hit uttere cume 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: […]."

<div align="right">(Morris 1868: 71-72)</div>

(29)	Ġif	ðu	mihtest	biġeten	**prudentiam**,	swa	hatte	an,	hie
	if	you	might	obtain	prudence	so	is called	one	it
	ðe	ware	swiðe	beheue	ðese		wike	to	lokin.
	you	were	very	profitable	this		office	to	look

'If you might obtain prudence, so it is called one [of them], it may be very profitable to you to look at this office.' [CMVICES1-M1,99.1180]

In this example, the virtue of patience is introduced at this point, and is accordingly labelled as new.

Turning to the deviations to our model, one can see from table 7-13 above, that there are 4 new constituents also in the pre-verbal domain; in the following, I am going to examine them.

(30)	For ði	ðat	tu	hauest	**þine**	**sennen**	**and**	**ðine**	**euele**
	Because	that	you	have	your	sins	and	your	evil
	þeawes	forlaten							
	habits	left.							

'Because you have relinquished your sins and your evil habits'

<div align="right">[CMVICES1-M1,87.989]</div>

(31) Gif þu woldest **at te kinge** ani þing beseken,

If you would at the king any thing beseech

[…] mid michele dradnesse and mid michele embeþanke đu

[…] with great dread and with great consideration you

scoldest speken.

should speak

'If you want to obtain something from the king […], you should speak with great dread and consideration.'

[CMVICES1-M1,141.1740]

In the following sentence, the two pre-verbal constituents are both heavy and both provide new information:

(32) […] þat he wile **þane lichame of ure eadmodnesse**

[…] that he wants the body of our humility

in to michele brihtnesse wanden […]

in to great brightness turn […]

'That he wants to turn our humble body into great brightness.'

[CMVICES1-M1,31.344]

In all three of these sentences, the heavy pre-verbal phrase is mentioned at this point in the narration; in example (30), the author of Vices and Virtues reports the words of God, as they are expressed through the prophet. In the context preceding the direct quotation, there is no direct reference to sin, or to evil habits, but the new virtue to be discussed is introduced. The referent of the Possessive phrase is not a case of inalienable possession; however, given the fact that the person who utters the sentence is God, and given the fact that God knows our deeds, it can be argued that the pre-verbal constituent is given for the referent who utters the sentence.

In example (31), the PP constitutes an argument of the verb. The reference of *king* is mentioned here for the first time and is therefore labelled as new; in example (32), the two pre-verbal constituents are both arguments of the verb. In the context preceding the sentence, it is said that Christ will come again in order to fulfil his promises; the promises are then explained in the subsequent lines. The sentence under examination is part of this context. The briging inferable is labelled as new because of the PP post-modifier *of ure eadmodnesse*; in this case, since the reference is not to our bodies in general, but more specific, I decided to label this constituent as new. The PP argument is likewise labelled as new, since the information conveyed by it is not mentioned previously in the discourse. Given the fact that this sentence is an explanation of

what Christ promised to mankind, it is probable that its content was more accessible to readers of the time, than to us. Apart from these heavy pre-verbal and new constituents, the remaining heavy constituents in the pre-verbal domain constitute given information:

(33)　Hier　đe　lærđ　godd　đat　tu　scule　**đe**　**woreld**
　　　Hier　you　teaches　God　that　you　shall　the　world

　　　forlaten　đine　aġenes　þankes　[…]
　　　leave　your　own　will　[…]

'Here God teaches you that you shall leave the world on your own will.'

[CMVICES1-M1,111.1320]

Let us now turn to the analysis the light elements in the post-verbal domain. As one can see from table 7-15 above, there are 8 light and given elements in the post-verbal domain, which are not contrasted.

One example of contrasted light and given constituent is presented in the following example:

(34)　[…]　and　understant　þat　he　haueđ　þer　þurh　forloren　**heuene**
　　　[…]　and　understand　that　he　has　therewith　lost　heaven

　　　wele　and　of-erned　helle　pine　[…]
　　　bliss　and　earned　hell　torment　[…]

'And [he] understand that he has therewith lost heavenly bliss and earned the torment of hell.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,189.2603]

Only in two sentences is the referent of the given and light constituent followed by a second constituent in the post-verbal domain. In this sentence, the PP adjunct *on þat ođer woreld* is contrasted with the PP adjunct *on þis liue.*

(35)　Ne　sente　ic　đe　seggen　bi　đa　write　of
　　　not　sent　I　you　say　by　the　scripture　of

　　　goddspelle　đat　tu　scoldest　makie　**đin**　**hord**　**up**　**in**
　　　gospel　that　you　should　make　your　treasure　up　in

　　　heuenriche　and　naht　upen　ierđe?
　　　Heaven-kingdom　and　not　upon　Earth?

'Did not I sent you say through the scripture of the gospel that you should make your treasure up in the kingdom of Heaven, and not upon the Earth?'

[CMVICES1-M1,75.853]

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In 4 remaining cases, the light and given object is governed by a verb, the meaning of which is given, whereas in the remaining cases the verb expresses new information. Also these data can be taken to indicate that the option of Spelling-Out every type of non-pronominal constituent in the post-verbal domain is becoming the unmarked one.

7.2.6 V > Aux subordinate clauses

There are 8 sentences presenting V > Aux word order, a subject and an object in the sample of subordinate clauses of this text; in this section, I will first illustrate the quantitative distribution of the constituents in the sentences, and then I will analyse them from a qualitative point of view.

Table 7-18		
V > Aux		
Total number of VP arguments		
Pre-verbal elements		4
Arguments analysed for their weight		4
	Light	2; 50%
	heavy	2; 50%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		4
	Given	3; 75%
	New	1; 25%
Post-verbal elements		3
Arguments analysed for their weight		3
	Light	0; 0%
	heavy	3; 100%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		3
	Given	2; 66,7%
	New	1; 33,3%

This table shows that in the post-verbal domain of these sentences, only heavy constituents are found. This is illustrated also by the following table.

Table 7-19				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	2	2; 100%	0; 0%
	All heavy elements	5	2; 40%	3; 60%
IS value				
	All Given elements	5	3; 60%	2; 40%
	All new elements	1	0; 0%	3; 100%

Recall that in chapter 6, section 6.1.4, 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 matrix clause following the subordinate clause, or in the post-verbal element. In the following, I examine the properties of these sentenes, 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:

(36) Đus   behet   Crist   […]   þat   he   and   his   fader

thus   promised   Christ   […]   that   he   and   his   father

hine   scolden   luuiġen   **and   mid   him   wuniende   bien.**

him   should   love   and   with   him   abiding   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.

(37) and   swo   he   forfarđ,   **for đan   đe   his   priestes   lare**

and   so   he   died   because   that   this   Priest's   lore

ne   his   ræd   lesten ne   folġin ne   wile.

nor   his   advice   listen   nor   followed   not   wanted

'And so he died, because he did not want to listen, nor to 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.

(38) **Gif**   **ðu**   **ðese**   **godes**   **ġiue**   **biġeten**   **miht**,   þanne   scalt
      if   you   this   God's   gift   get   might,   then   shall

      tu   hauen   nexce   herte   and   gode   […]
      you   have   soft   heart   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:

(39) and   ic   wile   lihten   ġeuer   berðene,   **ġif**   **ġe**   **mine**
      and   I   will   lighten   your   burden   if   you   my

      rad   **hlesten**   **willeð**.
      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 ot 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 is a condition for the matrix clause.

(40)

bledsed	be	þi	name	on	us.	swo	þat	we
Blessed	be	your	name	on	us	so	that	we
[…]	ouer	alle	þing	þe	luuien.	and	Swo	ernien
[…]	over	all	things	you	love	and	so	earn
þat	**we**	**habben**	**moten**	**of**	**þine**	**holie**	**name**	**þe**
that	we	have	can	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.

(41)

and	wel	am	becnawe	**đat**	**ic**	**ġewerġed**	**habbe**	**aiđer**
and	well	am	ackowledged	that	I	cursed	have	either
ġe	**hodede,**	**ġe**	**leawede**	**sibbe**	**and**	**framde,**	**[…]**	
both	clerics	both	laymen	family	and	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.

(42)

[…]	and	þat	ġie	wiđhealden	ġew	fram	galnesse,	[…]
[…]	and	that	you	abstain	yourselves	from	lechery	[…]
and	**đat**	**ġie**	**healden**	**cunnen**	**ġewer**	**fatt**	**of**	**ġewer**
and	that	you	hold	can	your	vessel	of	your
likame	**mid**	**michele**	**wurscipe**	**and**		**mid**	**michele**	**clannesse** […]
body	with	great	worship	and		with	great	purity […]

'and that you abstain from lechery, and that your 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.

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 entirely repeat given information. In further two cases, the subordinate clause serves as a pre-condition for the action conveyed by the matrix 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.

7.3 The Peterborough Chronicle

7.3.1 The Peterborough Chronicle: matrix clauses

In this section, I analyse the quantitative distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the text of the Peterborough Chronicle; in the first table, the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects is presented.

Table 7-20		
Arguments		8
Pre-verbal elements		0
Arguments analysed for their weight		
	Light	-
	heavy	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	-
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		8
	Light	2; 25%
	heavy	6; 75%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		5
	Given	3; 60%
	New	2; 40%

We can see from this table that most of the constituents spelled-out in post-verbal position are syntactically heavy, whereas their information structural value is predominantly given. Moreover, we have to notice that in the matrix clauses extracted from this text, object pronouns are mapped in the left periphery and in pre-verbal position. In other words, all arguments of verbs are mapped in post-verbal position, unless they are pronouns.

7.3.2 Qualitative Analysis

We have seen in the quantitative section above, that direct, indirect and PP arguments of verbs are all spelled-out in post-verbal position in our set of matrix clauses for this text. We can notice that most of the elements in post-verbal position consist of right branching constituents, an example is given below:

(43)

Þes	ilce	Willelm	hæfde	æror	numen	**ðes**	**eorles**	**dohter**
This	same	William	had	previously	taken	the	Earl's	daughter

of	**Angeow**	to	wife.					
of	Anjou	to	wife					

'This same William had previously married the daughter of the Earl of Anjou.'

[CMPETERB-M1,48.203]

Moreover, five of these arguments have a complex structure[60], as exemplified below:

(44)

I	ne	can	ne	I	ne	mai	tellen	**alle**
I	not	can	nor	I	not	may	tell	all

þe	**wunder**	**ne**	**alle**	**þe**	**pines**	**ðat**	**he**	**diden**
the	wonders	nor	all	the	tortures	that	they	did

wrecce	**men**	**on**	**þis**	**land**;				
wretched	men	on	this	land				

'I am not able, nor may I tell, all the wondrous things and the tortures that they did to the wretched men of this land.'

[CMPETERB-M1,56.451]

In this sentence, in fact, the direct object consists of two coordinated DPs with a relative clause as post-modifier. The two light and post-verbal elements are either a quantified expression, or a negative expression, which were not analysed for their IS status, as stated in chapter 4.

One sentence presenting new information in post-verbal position is given in the following:

(45)

On	þis	gær	wolde	þe	king	Stephne	tæcen	Rodbert
In	this	year	wanted	the	king	Stephan	take	**Robert**

eorl	**of**	**Gloucestre**,	þe	kinges	sune	Henries;		
earl	of	Gloucester	the	King's	son	Henry's.		

'In this year, King Stephan wanted to take Robert, the Earl of Gloucester, the son of King Henry.'

[CMPETERB-M1,57.519]

In the sentence under examination, the referent is introduced at this point in the narration; moreover, the sentence opens a new year entry.

The data found for the matrix clauses of this text confirm the postulations outlined in chapter 3, section 3.4 as far as the language change scenario is concerned. In fact, all types of objects

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[60] Given the fact that it is quantified, this constituent was not annotated for Information Structure.

other than object pronouns are spelled-out in the post-verbal position; as far as the language change stage I postulated in chapter 3 is concerned, the text exhibits a transitional stage, where only prototypical light elements are mapped in pre-verbal position. In the next section, I will show that the subordinate clauses of this text behave in the same way.

7.3.3 The Peterborough Chronicle: subordinate clauses

In this section, I will analyse the distribution of the elements found in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the subordinate clauses of this text.

In the following table, the percentages for the direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs are given.

Table 7-21		
Arguments		41
Pre-verbal elements		1
Arguments analysed for their weight		
	Light	1
	heavy	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	1
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		40
	Light	14; 35%
	heavy	26; 65%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		35
	Given	24; 68,6%
	New	11; 31,4%

The only object mapped in pre-verbal position is light and constitutes given information; the post-verbal domain hosts all types of elements: 35% of them are light, whereas 65% of them are heavy. The amount of given material in the post-verbal domain is higher than the amount of new objects.

The distribution of the different types of arguments, divided according to their weight and IS value, shows that a residual amount of given and light elements is mapped in pre-verbal position, whereas heavy and new objects are only mapped in post-verbal position.

Table 7-22			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	15	1; 6,7%	14; 93,3%
	All heavy elements	26	0; 0%	26; 100%
IS value				
	All Given elements	26	1; 4%	24; 96%
	All New elements	10	0; 0%	10; 100%

Similarly to the result in the Kentish Sermons, in this text, both in matrix as well as in subordinate clauses, all direct, indirect, and PP objects of verbs are spelled-out in post-verbal position; I regard the spell-out of a given and light constituent in the pre-verbal domain as a residual strategy, considering that in the subordinate clauses of this text, 50% of the object pronouns are spelled-out in the post-verbal domain (cf. chapter 8). In other words, the only elements which are still spelled-out in the pre-verbal domain are prototypical light elements.

7.3.4 Qualitative analysis

In this section, I will analyse the distribution of constituents from a qualitative perspective; we have already seen that the predominant word order in these sentences is Aux > V > O, the post-verbal objects being predominantly – but not exclusively – heavy elements, with a predominantly given IS value.

Let us observe the residual pre-verbal object:

(46) […] & aðes swor on halidom þet, gif he

[…] he and oaths swore on sacred relic that if

moste **Engleland** secen, þet he scolde begeton hem ðone

must England seek that he shall give them the

mynstre of Burch, […].

minster of 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 was before abbot in Peterborough, therefore, the reference of England is activated.

The remaining constituents are mapped in the post-verbal position. We have seen that 10 of the post-verbal arguments have a light syntactic weight and given IS value; recall that I proposed above that a given and light object can be mapped on a stronger branch than the verb, if the meaning expressed by the verb is given in the context. I argued that this might be a potential explanation for a small number of unmarked given and light elements in the post-verbal domain of matrix and subordinate clauses in Old English, even though a second explanation would be that already in Old English, these objects are already constitute evidence for the fact that the spell-out of all types of objects in post-verbal domain was gaining ground. Given the fact that in this text all objects of verbs are spelled-out in the post-verbal domain, and assuming that the IS status of the verb indeed played a role in Old English, I expect that the givenness of the verb is not relevant for the spell-out of given and light elements in the post-verbal domain in this text. In fact, only for four out of the ten light and given post-verbal constituents, the meaning expressed by the verb is given:

(47)	Ealle	þa	ærcebiscopes	&	biscopes	seidon	þet	hit	wæs
	alle	the	archbishops	and	Bishops	said	that	it	was
	togeanes	riht,	&		þet	he	ne	mihte	**hafen**	twa
	against	right	and		that	he	not	might	have	two
	abbotrices	**on**	**hande**.						
	abbacies	on	hand						

'And the archbishops and bishops said that it was against right, and that he could not have two abbacies in hand.'

[CMPETERB-M1,48.209]

This sentence is embedded within the following context:

> Ðes ilce gæres he gæf þone abbotrice of Burch an abbot Heanri wæs gehaten of Peitowe. se **hæfde** his abbotrice Sancti Johannis of Angeli **on hande**. 7 ealle þa ærcebiscopes 7 biscopes seidon þæt hit wæs togeanes riht. 7 þæt he ne mihte **hafen** twa abbotrices **on hande**.

In this same year he gave the abbacy of Peterborough to an abbot, who was called Henry of Peitou. He had his abbacy of Saint John of Agneli in hand and all the archbishops and bishops said that it was agains right, and that he could not have two abbacies in hand.

(Peterborough Chronicle, year entry 1127)

In this example, it is the whole compositional meaning of the complex predicate *on hande haven* is considered for the information structural investigation. As can be noticed, the meaning of the verb, as well as the combination of the verb and the object, is already given information in context.

However, for the remaining seven light and given elements in the post-verbal domain, the same cannot be stated. Observe, for instance, the following example:

(48)	&	sæde	heom	đat	he	uuolde	**iiuen**	heom	up
	and	said	them	that	he	wanted	give	them	up
	Wincestre
	Winchester

'and [he] said that he wanted to give them up Winchester.'

[CMPETERB-M1,58.551]

The sentence is embedded within the following context:

Þerefter þe biscop of Wincestre Henri þe kinges brother Stephnes spac wid Rodbert eorl 7 wyd þemperice 7 suor heom athas ðæt he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde halden. 7 cursede alle þe men þe mid him heoldon. 7 sæde heom ðæt he uuolde iiuen heom up Wincestre. 7 dide heom cumen þider.

After that Henry bishop of Winchester, the brother of king Stephan, spoke with Earl Robert and with the empress and swore them oaths that he would not remain with the king his brother anymore. And he cursed all the men that held with him, and he told them that he wanted to give them up Winchester and made them come tither.

(Peterborough Chronicle, year entry 1140)

As can be noticed from the context, the sentence reports direct speech; in the preceding context, it is not mentioned that the abbot has to surrender Winchester to the empress and to the Earl, but this information is presented at this point in the narration.

As far as the remaining given elements in post-verbal domain are concerned, these consist of heavy constituents:

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(49) þet   wæs   forþan þet hit wæs   don   ðone   Pape
     that was   because that it   was   done   the   Pope

     to   understanden   þet he   hæfde   underfangen   **đone**
     to   understand   that he   had   received   the

     ærcebiscoprice togeanes þa   muneces of   þe   mynstre
     archbishopric   against   the monks   of   the minster

     &   togeanes rihte.
     and   against   right.

'That was because the Pope was made understand, that he had received the archbishopric against the monks of the minster and against right.'

The post-verbal constituent found in this sentence is a DP with a definite determiner, therefore a heavy element according to our framework; the reference *archbishopric* constitutes given information in the context, since it is activated by the reference of *archbishop*.

In the post-verbal domain, moreover, we can find more complex constituents having given IS value:

(50) […]   &   aðes   swor   on   halidom   þet, gif
     […]   and   oaths   swore on   sacred relic that if

     he   moste   Engleland   secen, þet he   scolde   begeton
     he   must   England   seek   that he   shall   give
     hem   **đone**   **mynstre**   **of**   **Burch**,   […].
     them the   minster   of   Peterborough […].

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

In this example, the given denotation of the referent under examination is encoded within a heavy constituent, in which a right branching DP has a PP as post-modifier.

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(51)	Þa	hwile	þe	þa	munecas	sungen	þære		messe	&
	the	while	that	the	monks	sung	the		mass	and
	se	dæcne	hafde	ongunnan	**þone**	**godspel**	**"Preteriens**	**Iesus".**		
	the	deacon	had	begun	the	gospel	"Preteriens	Iesus"		

'The moment in which the monks were singing the mass, and the deacon had begun [to read] the Gospel "Preteriens Iesus".'

[CMPETERB-M1,41.5]

The referent of the post-verbal DP is labelled as new; the fact that the deacon had begun to read the gospel can be inferred from the mention of *mass*, but the same cannot be stated for the precise gospel which is named. Therefore, the constituent is labelled as new.

Summarising, we have seen that 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 matrix 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.

7.4 Lambeth Homilies

In this section, I will examine the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the text of the *Lambeth Homilies*; whereas most of the material coming from this text belongs to the MX1 period (composition unkown, date of the manuscript 1150–1250), part of it is attributed to the M1 period (composition and date of manuscript 1150–1250).

7.4.1 Lambeth Homilies: matrix clauses

In the following quantitative section, the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects in the pre- and post-verbal domain in the text of the Lambeth Homilies is presented; where necessary, the percentages for the MX1 period and the M1 period are treated separately.

Table 7-23		
Arguments		134
Pre-verbal elements		1
Arguments analysed for their weight		27
	Light	18; 66,7%
	heavy	9; 33,3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		25
	Given	17; 68%
	New	8; 32%
Post-verbal elements		107
Arguments analysed for their weight		107
	Light	46; 42,9%
	heavy	61; 57,1%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		92
	Given	54; 58,7%
	New	38; 41,3%

The picture obtained from the matrix clauses of this text does not show as striking a majority of given pre-verbal elements as the other texts in the Early Middle English sample do; however, we will see below that most of the new elements in the pre-verbal domain come from the sentences of one homily.

In the following, the relative distribution of given, new, heavy and light constituents in the pre-verbal and post-verbal domain is given:

Table 7-24			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	64	18; 28,2%	46; 71,8%
	All heavy elements	70	9; 12,8%	61; 87,2%
IS value				
	All Given elements	71	17; 23,9%	54; 76,1%
	All New elements	46	8; 17,4%	38; 82,6%

The percentages in this table show that the ratio of heavy and new elements in the pre-verbal domain is constant with respect to the OE sample, and with respect to other texts in the EME sample; however, given and light elements show a lower distribution in the pre-verbal domain as well, when compared to the texts of the South-East Midlands, for instance.

In the following, a detailed picture about the interaction between the weight and the IS structure of the referential direct, indirect and PP objects is given.

Table 7-25		
Given constituents		54
	Of which light and contrasted	9
	Of which light	18
	Of which heavy and contrasted	6
	Of which heavy	21
New constituents		38
	Of which light and contrasted	3
	Of which light	12
	Of which heavy and contrasted	0
	Of which heavy	23

These numbers show that, when the parameters are combined, the number of light and post-verbal elements is partially justified by the fact that 12 of them represent new information, whereas in 9 further cases they represent given information, but they are contrasted. As far as the given and post-verbal elements are concerned, in 21 cases they are heavy, in further 6 cases heavy and contrasted, and in 9 remaining cases they are light but contrasted. This reduces the number of light and given elements in the post-verbal domain to 18[61].

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[61] As one of the reviewers notices, this number is not small, if compared to the overall number of post-verbal constituents; again, this piece of evidence may be indicative of the fact that VO word order with non-pronominal objects was becoming the unmarked case.

In the following, the distribution of arguments of verbs in the MX1 and in the M1 versions is given.

7-26		MX1	M1
Total number of VP arguments		117	17
Pre-verbal elements		23	3
Heaviness parameter	Light	16; 69,6%	2; 66,7%
	heavy	7; 30,4%	1; 33,3%
		23	2
IS parameter	Given	15;65,2%	2; 100%
	New	8; 34,8%	0
Post-verbal elements		75	14
Heaviness parameter	Light	38; 50,7%	8; 57,2%
	heavy	37; 49,3%	6; 42,8%
		77	15
IS parameter	Given	48; 62,4%	6; 40%
	New	29; 37,6%	9; 60%

The distribution of arguments is similar in the two versions, but the pre-verbal constituents in the M1 version all have a given IS value.

Finally, let us observe the distribution of referential direct objects:

Table 7-27		
Referential Direct objects		
Pre-verbal elements		21
	Light	15; 71,4%
	heavy	6; 28,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		21
	Given	14; 66,7%
	New	7; 33,3%
Post-verbal elements		70
	Light	36; 51,4%
	heavy	34; 48,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		70
	Given	46; 65,7%
	New	24; 34,3%

The distribution of referential direct objects is similar to the overall distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects given in the preceding tables.

7.4.2 Qualitative Analysis

In this section, we will examine our dataset from a qualitative perspective; the deviations to our theoretical model will be treated.

Before moving to the constituents deviating from the theoretical model, let us observe an example of a given and light pre-verbal constituent, and of a new constituent in post-verbal position:

(52) […] on eower iþulde ġe habbeđ **eower** **saulen** ihaldene.
      […] on your patience you have your souls held

 'In your patience you have preserved your souls.'

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,105.975]

(53) […] he mahte iseon **ane** **berninde** **glede** þet
      […] he might see a burning ember that

      hine al for-bernađ þurut to cole.
      him all burns throughout to coal

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

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,27.314]

As can be observed from the quantitative data presented in table 7-23, we can find in the text of the Lambeth Homilies heavy and/or new material mapped in pre-verbal position; once the two versions are separated (cf. table 7-26), it emerges that the new and pre-verbal elements come from the MX1 version. In the pre-verbal domain of the Lambeth Homilies MX1, moreover, we can find 7 heavy constituents. One example is given below:

(54) Ac he nalde mid his to-cume **þa** **sunfullen** fordemen;
      but he not-wanted with his coming the sinful condemn

 'With his coming, he did not want to condemn the sinful people.'

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,95.832]

As regards their information structural value, among these 7 heavy and pre-verbal constituents we can find 1 which is labelled as new:

(55)	for	he	scal	wissian	mid	wisdome	his	folke	and
	for	he	shall	direct	with	wisdom	his	people	and

	unriht	aleggen	and	**þene**	**ileaue**	areren.
	injustice	condemn	and	the	belief	exalt

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

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,115.1110]

The context in which the second example is embedded deals with the characteristics a good king should have. It is argued that a good king should instruct wisely his folk, and banish injustice. The reference of *faith* is not mentioned explicitly in the preceding context.

In the text of the Lambeth Homilies, M1, we find only light elements in the pre-verbal domain.

As was mentioned above, in the MX1 version, we can find also pre-verbal light but new constituents; an example is given below:

(56)	and	he	scal	**wicche**	**creft**	aleggan	[…]
	and	he	shall	witch-	craft	condemn	

'And he shall condemn witchcraft.'

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,115.1117]

The first example is embedded within the context of example (55) above, where the duties of a wise and good king are described. Of the 8 new elements in the pre-verbal domain, 7 come from the same homily as examples (55) and (56) above (*Dominica V Quadragesimæ*); these are labelled as new, because they belong to the list of the duties a good king has to perform, which are not mentioned previously in the text.

The remaining new and light constituent found in the MX1 text is the following:

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

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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.

We have seen in table 7-23 above that in the text of Lambeth Homilies we can find 54 given constituents in the post-verbal domain. Of these, 27 consist of heavy constituents, as in the following example:

(58) þus   þe   deofel   wule   bilesnien   **þe**   **wreche.**
     thus   the   devil   will   destroy   the   wretch
'Thus, the devil will destroy the wretch.'

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,23.256]

In this example, we find a DP with a definite determiner; this and similar examples constitute minimal pairs with the sentences listed above, containing a heavy and given element in the pre-verbal domain.

Another example is given in the following, which comes from the M1 version. In the M1 version, we can find only one example in which the given referent mapped in post-verbal position consists of a heavy constituent:

(59) þer   fore   we   willen   biginne   **ure**   **larspel**   **of**   **bileue**.
     There-   fore   we   will   begin   our   teaching   of   belief
'Therefore, we will begin our doctrine of belief.'

[CMLAMB1-M1,75.34]

As can be observed from the example, the direct object has a PP post-modifier.

Let us now turn to the analysis of the light and given constituents in the post-verbal domain of the text under examination. I showed in table 7-25 above, that light and given post-verbal constituents are contrastive in 9 cases. An example is given below:

(60) oðer   þu   most   hersumian **crist.**   oðer   þam   deofle.
     ot   you   must   obey   Christ   or   the   devil
'You must either obey Christ, or the devil.'   [CMLAMBX1-MX1,37.472]

Moreover, in 2 cases a light and given constituent is followed by another argument of the verb in the post-verbal domain, as in the following example:

(61) and   seodđan   þu   most   biġeten **milce** et   þine   drihtene.

      and   afterwards you   must   obtain   mercy   at   your   Lord

'And afterwards you must obtain mercy from your Lord.'

For these sentences, I investigated whether the meaning conveyed by the verb can be analysed as given; the result of our study shows that this is the case 13 out of 18 given and light post-verbal constituents, which are not contrasted. An example is given below:

(62) ah   god   haueđ **iset** **his** **mildhert-nesse**   **laġe** on   gode.

      but   God   has   set   his   mercy   law   on   good

'But God has set his law of mercy for good.'

In the context in which this example is embedded, the whole denotation of the sentence is given. Cf. the following passage, which is found in the same page as our result sentence:

> Þas laȝen weren from Moyses. a þet drihten com on þis middilert for us to alesnesse of deofles onwalde and seodðan he com on þisse middelert; **he sette his mildheortnesse laȝe ouer us.** and ouer al moncun.

> These laws lasted from Moses' time until the Lord came upon this middle earth for to deliver us from the devil's power; and after he came on this middle earth he set the law of his mildheartness (mercy) over us and over all mankind.

> (Morris 1969: 14-15)

In other cases, the meaning expressed by the verb can be inferred from the context, as in the following example:

(63) we   moten   **idreġan** **ure**   **wil**   þe   hwile   þe   we

      we   might   follow our   will   the   while   that   we

      beođ   ġunge

      are   young

'We might follow our will, while we are young.'

In the passage preceding this sentence, the talk revolves around confession; the examples given by the author include people who never confessed their sins, but put confession off till they are old and on the verge of dying. The example in (63) is part of a direct speech, in which the author reproduces the thoughts of these sinners, who do not want to confess. At this point, we already

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know that these people had followed their will, even though this fact is not mentioned explicitly. The meaning expressed by the verb is labelled as inferable. I already pointed out that the givenness of the meaning expressed by the verb can be one explanation for the given and post-verbal constituents. In fact, according to Hinterhölzl, a light and given constituent does not have to occupy a weaker position in prosodic structure, if also the verb represents given information. However, it must also be pointed out that in this text, circa 80% of all types of arguments are spelled-out in post-verbal position, with the exception of object pronouns, which are predominantly pre-verbal in this text (see chapter 8). When only non-pronominal objects are considered, the distribution of light, heavy, given and new constituents in the matrix clauses of this text is very similar to the distribution in the matrix clauses of the Katherine Group, which comes also from the same area (see below). Therefore, the spell-out of given and light non-contrasted constituents in the post-verbal domain can be explained by arguing that in this text, the reanalysis of the post-verbal position as the default spell-out site is almost complete. The residual elements which are spelled-out in pre-verbal position are prototypical light and given elements, namely object pronouns.

7.4.3 Lambeth Homilies: subordinate clauses

In the following quantitative section, the number of elements in the pre- and post-verbal domain in the subordinate clauses of the Lambeth Homilies is presented; where necessary, the percentages for the MX1 period and the M1 period are treated separately.

Table 7-28		
Arguments		105
Pre-verbal elements		30
Arguments analysed for their weight		30
	Light	20; 66,7%
	heavy	10; 33,3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		26
	Given	25; 96,2%
	New	1; 3,8%
Post-verbal elements		57
Arguments analysed for their weight		74
	Light	38; 51,4%
	heavy	36; 48,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		68
	Given	39; 57,4%
	New	29; 42,6%

This table shows that in the pre-verbal domain light and given elements are preferred; the post-verbal domain shows a heterogeneous distribution, a fact which is coherent both with the OE data, as well as with the theoretical framework. In the next table, the distribution of given, new, heavy and light constituents across the pre- and the post-verbal domain is presented:

Table 7-29				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	58	20; 34,5%	38; 65,5%
	All heavy elements	46	10; 21,8%	36; 78,2%
IS value				
	All Given elements	64	25; 39,1%	39; 60,9%
	All New elements	30	1; 3,3%	29; 96,7%

The percentage points collected for the direct, indirect and PP objects show that given and light elements are mostly distributed in the post-verbal domain. However, the percentage of heavy and new elements in the pre-verbal domain is lower; as regards new elements, moreover, we can see that only 3,3 % of them are distributed in the pre-verbal domain. With respect to the matrix clauses of the same text, we can notice that the distribution of given and light elements is higher in the pre-verbal domain, whereas for the matrix clauses one can see that circa 80% of the given and light objects are spelled-out in post-verbal position.

In the following table, the IS and the weight value of the post-verbal constituents are combined:

Table 7-30		
Given constituents		39
	Of which light and contrasted	1
	Of which light	19
	Of which heavy and contrasted	2
	Of which heavy	17
New constituents		29
	Of which light and contrasted	2
	Of which light	13
	Of which heavy and contrasted	1
	Of which heavy	13

As can be noticed from this table, only one light and given constituent in the post-verbal domain is contrasted; the remaining given elements are heavy, whereas the remaining light elements in the post-verbal domain constitute new information.

In the next table, the distribution of constituents in the two versions is given:

7-31		MX1	M1
Total number of VP arguments			
Pre-verbal elements		15	15
Heaviness parameter	Light	10; 66,7%	10; 66,7%
	heavy	5; 33,3%	5; 33,3%
		12	14
IS parameter	Given	11; 91,7%	14; 100%
	New	1; 8,3%	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		68	6
Heaviness parameter	Light	34; 50%	4; 66,7%
	heavy	34; 50%	2; 33,3%
		63	5
IS parameter	Given	34; 53,9%	4; 80%
	New	29; 46,1%	1; 20%

The two versions do not differ dramatically, when it comes to the distribution of constituents; therefore, in the next sections the data will be discussed collectively.

Finally, let us observe the distribution of only referential direct objects:

Table 7-32		
Referential Direct objects		
Pre-verbal elements		24
	Light	17; 70,8%
	heavy	7; 29,2%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		24
	Given	23; 95,8%
	New	1; 4,2%
Post-verbal elements		52
	Light	33; 63,4%
	heavy	19; 36,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		52
	Given	26; 50%
	New	26; 50%

As one can observe from this table, the pre-verbal domain only hosts almost exclusively given constituents, whereas in the post-verbal domain, the distribution is heterogeneous. Moreover, there is a higher perentage of light elements in the post-verbal domain.

Summarising this section, we have seen that the distribution of constituents in the subordinate clauses of this text is in line with the theoretical framework adopted in this work; the pre-verbal domain hosts almost exclusively given elements, whereas the composition of the post-verbal domain is more heterogeneous. Once the percentages of given, new, light and heavy elements across the pre- and the post-verbal domain are examined, one notices that the ratio of given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain is higher with respect to the matrix clauses of the same text. However, the majority of them is spelled-out in post-verbal position. I have separated the results between the MX1 and the M1 version of the text, and it emerges that they do not present striking differences. The IS distribution of referential direct objects shows that these objects are mostly light, also in the post-verbal domain.

7.4.4 Qualitative analysis

In this section, I will illustrate some examples regarding the distribution of constituents in this text, and I will examine those constituents which deviate from the predictions laid out in our theoretical model.

In the following two examples, a given pre-verbal and a new post-verbal constituent respectively are presented:

(64)	God	cweð	þurh	þes	witeġan	muð.	þet	he	walde
	God	said	through	the	prophet's	mouth	that	he	wanted
	his	**gast**	asenden	ofer	mennesc	flesc.			
	his	spirit	send	over	human	flesh			

God said through the prophet's mouth, that he wanted to send his spirit over human flesh.'
[CMLAMBX1-MX1,91.757]

(65)	hit	itimode	efter	noes	flode	þet	eontas	walden	areran
	it	happened	after	Noah's	flood	that	giants	wanted	erect
	ane	**buruh**	**and**	**anne**	**stepel**	swa	hehne;	þet	his
	a	city	and	a	tower	so	high	that	his
	Rof	astiġe	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]

In example (64), the pre-verbal constituent is part of the encyclopaedic knowledge shared by the audience of such a text; in example (65), the post-verbal object constitutes entirely new information.

In table 7-28, however, we have seen that we can find 1 pre-verbal and new constituent; This is presented in the following:

(66)

on	þa	oðre	souen	laġe	weren	alswa	sunderliche
and	the	other	seven	laws	were	also	severally
inna	oðre	stanene	table	brede	hu	uwilc	mon
in	other	stone	table	educating	how	each	man
scal	**his**	**euenexta**	beodan	alswa	he	walde	þet
shall	his	neighbour	act	as -so	he	wants	that
Me	him	bude.					
men	him	act					

'and the other seven aws were also written severally in the second stone table, instruction how each man shall act towards his neighbour, as he wants that men act towards him.'
[CMLAMBX1-MX1,13.119]

In the context in which this sentence is embedded, the ten commandments are introduced and explained; the pre-verbal referent *his neighbour* is introduced now in the context. Given that the reference of neighbour is a bridging inferable, but not part of inalienable possession, and given that this referent is introduced at this point in discourse, it is labelled as new. However, it cannot be excluded that such a referent was part of the encyclopaedic knowledge possessed by the audience of the text, given the fact that its reference may be activated by the introduction of the ten commandments.

Moreover, in the pre-verbal domain of this text we can also find 10 heavy constituents, which all constitute given information. An example is given in the following:

(67)

Nu	þah	he	walde	**þa**	**ufele**	**sunne**	for-leten;	Ne
now	although	he	wanted	the	evil	sins	leave	Not
mei		he	for	þan	deoflan.			
may		he	for	the	devil			

'And although he wanted to relinquish his sins, he could not do it because of the devil.'
[CMLAMBX1-MX1,27.337]

The DP *the evil sins* is analysed as heavy, since it is right branching; in the context preceding this sentence, it is already mentioned that the subject of the clause had committed sins, that the devil was dwelling in him and that he was an evil sinner.

Let us now turn to the mapping of light and given elements in the post-verbal domain; as can be noticed from table 7-28, light and given elements are frequent in the post-verbal domain, especially in the M1 version of the text. In fact, almost 50% of the light elements found in post-verbal position consists of given elements (cf. table 7-31).

The light and given post-verbal elements are 19, of which 2 are followed by another argument of the verb, whereas in 4 remaining cases the light and given constituent is followed by a heavier adjunct. In the following example, a given and light constituent is followed by the second argument of the verb, which is a PP:

(68)	Soðliche	þus	cweð	þe	boc.	þet	þis	scal	beren
	truly	thus	says	the	book	that	this	shall	bear
	eower	**saule**	to	heuene	riche.				
	your	sould	to	heaven	kingdom				

'"Truly," says the book, "that this shall bear your souls to the kingdom of heaven."'

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,39.506]

Moreover, I have analysed whether the denotation of the verb preceding light and given elements can be analysed as given; this is true for 12 cases out of 19, cf. the following example:

(69)	Gif	he	walde	þa	**deman**	**moncun**	þa	þe	he
	if	he	wanted	then	judge	mankind	when	that	he
	erest	to	middelearde		com.	hwa	weren	þanne	ihalden;
	first	to	Middle earth		came	who	were	then	kept?

'If he then would have judged mankind as he first came to Middle Earth, who would have remained?'

[CMLAMBX1-MX1,95.831]

The context in which this sentence is embedded is the following:

> **þe helend is alles moncunnes dema**. Ac he ne com na to **demane moncun** swa se heo him seolf cweð; ac to helenne. Gif he walde þa deman moncun þa þe he erest to middelearde com. hwa weren þanne ihalden.

> The Saviour ist the judge of all mankind; but he came not to judge mankind, as he himself said, but to heal (save). If he then would have judged mankind when he first came upon earth, who would then have been saved?

(Morris 1969: 94-95)

As can be noticed from the context in which example (69) is embedded, the predicate *judge* is activated both by the DP *alles moncunnes dema,* and by the infinitival clause *to demane moncun.* As can be noticed, also the referent *moncun* is highly activated in this context.

The remaining given elements found in the post-verbal domain consist of heavy phrases; these amount to 19 in the dataset for this text, of which 6 are particularly heavy, as in the following example, in which the given direct object of this text consists of three coordinated DPs:

(70)   […]   þet   we   moten   to   mede   habben   **eche**   **hele.**

         […]   that   we   may   to   reward   have   eternal   salvation

         and   **lestende**   **liht.**   **and**   **endeles**   **lif.**

         and   perpetual   light   and   endless   life

'That we may have as a reward eternal salvation, and perpetual light and endless life.'

[CMLAMB1-M1,159.520]

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

(71)   Þe   seofeđe   sunne   is   icweđen.   Iactancia.   þet   is   idelġelp

         the   seventh   sin   is   called   Iactancia   that   is   Idleboasting

         on   englisc.   þenne   mon   biđ   lof-ġeorn   and   mid

         in   English   then   one   is   greedy of praise   and   with

         fikenunge   fearđ   and   deđ   ġelpe   mare   þenne   for

         deceit   acts   and   does   vainglory   more   than   for

         godes   luue   **ġif**   **he**   **awiht**   **delan**   **wule**.

         God's   love   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, in this section I analysed the distribution of constituents in the text of the Lambeth Homilies, both in the MX1 and in the M1 versions. Matrix and subordinate clauses show a similar distribution, namely that all types of elements show a tendency to be spelled-out in post-verbal position, even though there is a higher percentage of given and light elements in the pre-verbal position of subordinate clauses with respect to the ratio of the same elements in the pre-verbal domain of matrix clauses. Moreover, in the pre-verbal domain of matrix clauses there is no clear preference for given elements, which is also shown by the higher distribution of new elements in the pre-verbal domain, but I showed that the new constituents come from one homily. The data from the subordinate clauses show, however, that new elements are restricted from the pre-verbal domain. Moreover, unlike other texts, there is a higher number of heavy elements in the pre-verbal domain of this text.

Finally, it has to be noted that in this text pronouns are mostly spelled-out in pre-verbal position and in the left periphery, whereas around the 10% of them is found in post-verbal position, qualifying the pre-verbal domain as hosting mostly light and given elements. As far as the matrix clauses are concerned, I argued that the evidence points at the fact that in this text constituents are for the most part spelled-out in post-verbal position. I will show in the next section, that the distribution of constituents in the texts of the Katherine Group is not dissimilar from the distribution in the Lambeth Homilies; what differentiates the texts is the position of pronouns.

7.5 The Katherine Group

In this sub-chapter, I will analyse the distribution of constituents in the texts of the Katherine Group selected for the present study; the texts under examination are three: Holy Maidenhood, The Life and Passion of Saint Juliana and the Guardianship of the Soul. In these texts, there are no sentences with the features specified presenting V > Aux word order.

7.5.1 The Katherine Group: matrix clauses

In the following table, the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the texts of the Katherine Group is collected.

Table 7-32		
Arguments		66
Pre-verbal elements		13
Arguments analysed for their weight		
	Light	9; 69,2%
	heavy	4; 30,8%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		7
	Given	7; 100%
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		53
	Light	22; 41,5%
	heavy	31; 58,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		49
	Given	27; 55,1%
	New	22; 44,9%

As one can see from the distribution of constituents in these texts, the pre-verbal domain only hosts given elements. In the post-verbal domain, as expected, the picture is heterogeneous, since it consists of both light, heavy, as well as given and new elements. The distribution of light, heavy, given and new elements across the pre- and post-verbal domain is consistent with the postulations outlined in chapter 3, section 3.4, and chapter 6, section 6.2.4. In fact, the ratio of heavy elements in the pre-verbal domain amounts to 10%, whereas the distribution of light elements in the pre-verbal domain amounts to circa 30%.

Table 7-33			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	31	9; 29,1%	22; 70,9%
	All heavy elements	35	4; 11,4%	31; 88,6%
IS value				
	All Given elements	34	7; 27,5%	27; 72,5%
	All New elements	22	0; 0%	22; 100%

When one observes only the amount of elements in the pre- and post-verbal domain, one can conclude that these text present a syntax which is not dissimilar to the syntax of Lambeth Homilies, which come from the same area (cf. section 7.4 above).

I will illustrate in the next table how the parameters interact in the post-verbal domain; In table 7-35 I show the distribution of referential direct objects, in a similar way as I did for the direct objects in the texts of the South East Midlands and the Lambeth Homilies.

Table 7-34		
Given constituents		27
	Of which light and contrasted	0
	Of which light	8
	Of which heavy and contrasted	6
	Of which heavy	16
New constituents		22
	Of which light and contrasted	2
	Of which light	9
	Of which heavy and contrasted	1
	Of which heavy	10

Once the parameters are combined, one can notice that the total number of light and given constituents amounts to 8; in the remaining cases, the remaining given constituents are heavy, and are contrasted in 6 cases. As far as the light elements are concerned, 11 of them constitute new information.

In the following table, the distribution of referential direct objects is presented:

Table 7-35		
Referential Direct objects		
Pre-verbal elements		7
	Light	4; 57,2%
	heavy	3; 42,8%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		7
	Given	7; 100%
	New	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		36
	Light	19; 52,8%
	heavy	17; 47,2%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		36
	Given	19; 52,8%
	New	17; 47,2%

The distribution of referential direct objects does not differ from the patterns individuated for the amount of direct, indirect, and PP objects of verb examined in table 7-32 above. The uniform trigger for the pre-verbal objects is their givenness.

These texts, however, present a qualitative and quantitative difference with respect to the texts of the South-East Midlands and of the Lambeth Homilies; in fact, the distribution of object pronouns in the pre-verbal domain and before the auxiliary is lower, since the percentage of post-verbal object pronouns amounts to 70% in the matrix clauses, and to circa 40% in the subordinate clauses (cf. chapter 8).

 7.5.2 Qualitative analysis

In this section of the chapter, I will illustrate the distribution of constituents in the texts of the Katherine group, and I will examine more closely those constituents which deviate from our theoretical assumptions.

Looking at table 7-32, we can see that all the elements found in pre-verbal position are given; however, three of them are also heavy; let us observe an example:

(72)   we   mahen   **hare**   **nurđ**   **&**   **hare**   **untohe**   bere

         we   can   their   noise   and   their   uproar   perceive

 'We can perceive their noise and their uproar'

[CMSAWLES-M1,167.20]

The remaining objects in the pre-verbal domain consist of given and light constituents:

(73)	&	tu	hauest	**Mi**	**freondschipe**	inoh	swiđe	of-	seruet.
	and	you	have	my	friendship	enough	exceedingly	earned	

'and you have earned my friendship well enough.'

[CMJULIA-M1,107.194]

It must be noticed, however, that the sentences presenting a pre-verbal element may have a very complex structure, in which more than one element precedes the finite verb. Cf the following sentence:

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

Notice, moreover, 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; 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. Given the fact that pronouns are mostly post-verbal, and that sentences with pre-verbal constituents have a marked structure, I conclude that the post-verbal spell-out of all types of constituents is the unmarked option in this text.

Let us observe some examples of the types of constituents found in the post-verbal domain of these sentences:

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

'Nor may any wordly misfortune deprive them of their joy.'

[CMHALI-M1,149.294]

(76)	ah	lutle	hwile	ich	mahte	þolie	**þe**	**leome**
	But	little	while	I	might	endure	the	light

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

[CMSAWLES-M1,179.206]

(77)	[…]	þu	wult	leote	liht-	liche	&	a-	beoren
	[…]	you	will	take	lightly		and		bear

	bliđeliche	**þe**	**derf**	**þt**	**tu**	**drehest**	**onont.**	**ti**
	blithely	the	difficulty	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]

(78)	þes	ġunge	mon	eleusius.	[…]	hefde	iunne	feolahschipe	to
	this	young	man	Eleusius	[…]	had	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 7-34 above, 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 (75) above.

Summarising, the results from the matrix clauses of these texts show a distribution coherent with our theoretical assumptions, even though they do not exhibit exclusively post-verbal obejcts as in the text of the Peterborough Chronicle or of the Kentish Sermons for instance.

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However, these texts show a predominant post-verbal distribution of object pronouns, which differentiates them qualitatively from the texts of the Kentish Homilies, the South East Midlands and of the Lambeth Homilies. Finally, I have shown that three of the seven sentences presenting a pre-verbal constituent have a structure marked for alliteration.

7.5.3 The Katherine Group: subordinate clauses

In this section, I will analyse the distribution of constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domain of the subordinate clauses extracted from the selected texts of the Katherine Group. In our sample, there are no V >Aux clauses with the features specified, therefore the discussion below deals with Aux > V sentences.

In the following table, I present the distribution of direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs:

Table 7-36		
Arguments		31
Pre-verbal elements		11
Arguments analysed for their weight		11
	Light	8; 66,7%
	heavy	3; 33,3%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		10
	Given	10; 100%
	New	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		20
Arguments analysed for their weight		20
	Light	10; 50%
	heavy	10; 50%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		18
	Given	10; 55,5%
	New	8; 44,5%

The table shows that the pre-verbal domain hosts only given referents, which are for the most part light, whereas the post-verbal domain shows a heterogeneous picture; the results are coherent both with the language change scenario prospected, as well as with the findings for OE and for the other EME texts. Again, if we observe how given, new, light and heavy objects are distributed across the pre- and post-verbal domain, we can notice that heavy arguments have a restricted distribution in the pre-verbal domain, whereas all new elements are found in the post-verbal position. The percentages are given in the following table:

Table 7-37			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	18	8; 44,4%	10; 55,5%
	All heavy elements	13	3; 23,1%	10; 76,9%
IS value				
	All Given elements	20	10; 50%	10; 50%
	All New elements	8	0; 0%	8; 100%

In the following table, the interaction between IS and weight value of the constituents in the post-verbal domain is given:

Table 7-38		
Given constituents		10
	Of which light and contrasted	0
	Of which light	6
	Of which heavy and contrasted	0
	Of which heavy	4
New constituents		8
	Of which light and contrasted	1
	Of which light	2
	Of which heavy and contrasted	2
	Of which heavy	3

This table shows that in the subordinate clauses of these texts, given post-verbal elements do not show marked features; in fact, whereas 40% of the given and post-verbal elements are heavy, 60% of them are light, and none of them is contrasted. Recall that for Old English, given and post-verbal constituents are either heavy, or contrasted; the data in this table point at the fact that the spell-out of the lower copy is the unmarked case, given also the fact that in these texts, also object pronouns are predominantly post-verbal. In the following section, I will provide some examples that illustrate the distribution of constituents in the subordinate clauses of the texts under discussion.

Finally, in the next table the distribution of only referential direct objects is illustrated:

Table 7-39		
Referential Direct Objects		
Pre-verbal elements		7
	Light	7; 100%
	heavy	0; 0%
	Given	7; 100%
	New	0; 0%
Post-verbal elements		11
	Light	5; 45,5%
	heavy	6; 54,5%
	Given	5; 45,5%
	New	6; 54,5%

Even if we isolate only direct objects, the distribution does not change with respect to the picture presented for direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs. We can see that in the pre-verbal domain in this case we can only find light objects, since the heavy objects found in the pre-verbal domain of table 7-36 above consist of given object PPs. The post-verbal domain continues to show a heterogeneous picture even when only direct objects are taken into account.

In the next section, the types of constituents found in the subordinate clauses of these texts are exemplified.

7.5.4 Qualitative analysis

We have seen in table 7-36 above that all the constituents mapped in the pre-verbal domain constitute given information; except for the text of Saint Juliana, we can find among these constituents also heavy elements.

One example is given in the following, from the text of Holy Maidenhood:

(79) Hwalt   þi   nome   þurh   hwam   þu   art   **to**   **him**

Keep   your   name   through   which   you   are   to   him

iweddet.

wedded

'Keep your name through which you are wedded to him.'

[CMHALI-M1,134.83]

As we can see from the example, the PP objects consists of a preposition which governs a pronoun; the referent of the pronoun is active and, moreover, it is given information that a maiden is the bride of Christ, to whom the object pronoun refers.

The remaining constituents in the pre-verbal domain consist of light elements conveying given information:

(80)   &   seide   hire   sikerliche.   […]   þt   ha   walde   **hire**

and   said   her   certainly[62]   […]   that   she   would   her

wil   wenden.

will   change

'and [he] told her that she would certainly change her mind.'

[CMJULIA-M1,99.67]

The reference of the constituent *her will* refers to Juliana's choice of devoting her life to Christ, which is professed throughout the work; moreover, this denotation is debated in the context under discussion, since Africanus, her father, is trying to force her change her decision and inquiring about her intentions.

As regards the post-verbal domain of these sentences, we have seen that the number of new constituents is not predominant; one example is given below:

(81)   ant   wel   is   him   þt   is   war.   &   bisið

and   well   is   him   that   is   wary   and   looks

him   hu   he   mahe   beast   halden   **his**   **hus**   þt

himself   how   he   might   best   hold   his   house   that

godes   tresor   is   in   […].

God's   treasure   is   in   […].

And [it] is well for the one who is wary and looks for himself how he can hold his house at best, where God's treasure is in.'

[CMSAWLES-M1,185.269]

The referent introduced in sentence (81) is a bridging inferable, which is analysed as new; in fact, there is no inferable connection between the referent *wary person* and *house*, as opposed to *wary person* and *his soul* for instance[63].

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[62] Huber and Robertson (2016) analyse the adverbial as being part of the subordinate clause.
[63] Notice that the text of the Guardianship of the soul builds on a parable in which the soul is compared to a house; in fact, the narration is set into a house, which the different personifications of virtues visit in order to speak to its inhabitants. One could argue, then, that the denotation of *house* in this example can be inferred, given the content of the text. However, the whole context preceding the sentence under discussion deals with the description of paradise; therefore, the reference of the bridging inferable *house* is re-activated at this point. Moreover, the house referred to in this example is not the same house in which the narration is set.

The majority of the constituents, however, conveys given information, as can be seen in Tables 7-36 and 7-38 above. In four cases, these given elements in post-verbal position have a heavy syntactic weight:

(82)	þt	tu	naldest	changin.	**þt**	**stat**	þt	tu	liuest
	that	you	not-want	change	the	state	that	you	live
	in.								
	in								

'That you do not want to change the condition in which you are living.'

[CMHALI-M1,131.46]

The remaining given referents in the post-verbal domain consist of light constituents, as in the following example:

(83)	&	seide.	ġef	he	wule	luuien.	&	leuen	**godd.**
	and	said	if	he	wants	love	and	believe	god
	al-mihti;	þenne	mei	he	[speoken][64]	þrof.			
	almighty	then	may	he	speak	thereof.			

'and [she] said: "if he wants to love and believe in Jesus Christ, then he can speak about it."'

[CMJULIA-M1,99.55]

The reference of *God Almighty* can be argued to be part of the encyclopaedic knowledge of the audience of the text; however, it may be not so accessible in this text as in homiletic texts, since some of the characters are heathen people who believed in the Roman deities, and since the text contains also direct and indirect speech, in which Juliana talks to the heathens torturing her about God. In the contexts of the indirect speech presented with example (83) above, then, we have to determine whether the denotation of *God Almighty* is presented as new to the addressee of the direct speech. This example is, in fact, embedded within the dialogue between Juliana and her father, where she proclaims that she is not going to marry Eleusius because she has decided to devote her life to Christ. At this point in the narration, however, the denotation of *God* is active also in the direct speech context, and it is therefore labelled as given.

As for the other texts we have examined, let us determine whether the meaning of the verb in the sentences containing a given and light object can be argued to be given or inferable. In these texts, the meaning of the verb is clearly given only in a few cases:

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[64] This verb, lacking in the result sentence from the PPCME2 query, was added from the edition of Huber and Robertson (2016).

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(84) He   ase   timliche   as   he   hefde   **iherd**   þis.   […].

     he   as   timely   as   he   had   heard   this   […].

'And as soon as he had heard this, […].'

In this example, we can argue that the meaning expressed by the verb is inferable, since it follows the report of a message from Juliana to Eleusius, cf. the context:

> Ah heo, forte werien hire with him summe hwile, sende him to seggen thet nalde ha nawt lihten se lahe to luvien, ne nalde ha neolechin him for na liviende mon ear then he were under Maximien, hehest i Rome, thet is heh reve.

> But she, in order to defend herself against him for some time, sent for him to say that she did not at all wish to descend so low to love, nor did she wish to approach him for any living man until he was directly beneath Maximian, the highest in Rome, that is, the high reeve.

(Huber and Robertson 2016: 5,2)

Summarising, we have seen that in the subordinate clauses of these texts the majority of constituents are spelled-out in post-verbal position; the composition of the pre-verbal domain shows a clear preference for given elements, the majority of which consist of light constituents. The composition of the post-verbal domain is heterogeneous and given and light post-verbal constituents do not present marked features, as in other texts.

In this chapter, I will look at the distribution of arguments of verbs and object pronouns in the text of the Ormulum; I introduced this text in chapter 4 and I discussed its metric organization. We have seen that the verses present a rhythmic alternation of weak and strong syllables, and that the author stuck to this alternation very rigidly. Moreover, we also have an alternation of octasyllabic and heptasyllabic semi-verses. For this reason, I decided not to include the object pronouns in this text in chapter 8, since it will be shown that also the mapping of object pronouns can be influenced by the metric organization of the text. In this text, there is no precise rhyme scheme, but I will show that one can encounter rhyme, chiasmus and assonance in the verses, even though these rhythmic devices are not used regularly. I am aware of the fact that this text was composed in the Early Middle English period, in an area densely populated by the Scandinavian settlers; however, given the poetic nature of the text, the rigid metric structure and the rhythmic devices I individuated, I do not think that this text is adequate for a syntactic investigation, and I will provide some evidence in the qualitative analysis. In the following, I will provide quantitative data as regards the mapping of arguments of verbs and object pronouns in the matrix and subordinate clauses I extracted from this text; as was described in chapter 4, I extracted all the sentences containing a subject, and object and a complex verbal form from this text. After obtaining the complete sample, I further selected a sub-sample of clauses from the results. The results file was sampled by taking into consideration the original proportion of VO and OV orders.

7.6.1 The Ormulum: matrix clauses

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.

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

Table 7-40		
Arguments		
Pre-verbal elements		14
Arguments analysed for their weight		14
	Light	10; 71,4%
	heavy	4; 28,6%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		13
	Given	11; 84,6%
	New	2; 15,4%
Post-verbal elements		55
Arguments analysed for their weight		55
	Light	30; 54,5%
	heavy	25; 45,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		44
	Given	33; 75%
	New	11; 25%

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

Table 7-41				
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%

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 new elements in the pre-verbal domain of this text with the proportion of new 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 new pre-

verbal elements is circa 10% points lower. Again, in the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, the only pre-verbal elements are light and constitute given information.

Table 7-41	
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%

The distribution of object pronouns is in line with the findings I obtained for the text of the Peterborough Chronicle and the Katherine Group, but we will see that the metric structure of the text has a great impact on their mapping.

7.6.2 Qualitative analysis

For the qualitative analysis of this text, I aim to identify whether the mapping of constituents in this text 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 the word order of this text. 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.

In the following, I present two sentences having a pre-verbal new constituent, and one sentence with a given pre-verbal constituent:

(85)[65] & nu þe shall Elysabæþ || Þin wif **an sune** childenn;

and now you shall Elizabeth your wife a sone generate

'And your wife Elizabeth shall generate you a child'

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 (*chīlden*). 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.

(86) & tær uppo þatt oferrwerrc || Þeġġ haffdenn **liccness**

and there up that superstructure They had image

metedd || Off Cherubyn.

sculpted || of Cherub

'And there, upon that super-structure, they had sculpted an image of a cherub'.

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:

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[65] The translation of the Ormulum extracts is done by the author. The examples with an indication between square brackets 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.

Affterr þatt itt maȝȝ wel inoh

Ben seȝȝd o Latin spæche.

& tær uppo þatt oferrwerrc

Þeȝȝ haffdenn liccness metedd

Off Cherubyn, & haffdenn itt

O tweȝȝenn 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. 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	tweȝ	ȝenn	sto	kess	me	tedd
*me	tedd	o	tweȝ	ȝenn	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 (86).

In the following example, the inversion of verb and object would result in a rising intonation on the last syllable of the verb, and on the last syllable of the genitive attribute:

(87) Forr   enngless   haffdenn   **heoffness**   **ærd** || Forrlorenn   all

wiþþ

     for   angels   had   Heaven's   abode   lost   all   with

     rihhte;

     right

'for Angels have lost their abode in Heaven entirely with right.'

[CMORM-M1,I,46.471]

Forr	enng	less	haff	denn	heoff	ness	ærd
*Forr	enng	less	haff	denn	Forr	lo	renn
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

Forr	lo	renn	all	wiþþ	rih	hte
*heof	fness	ærd	all	wiþþ	rih	hte
W	S	W	S	W	S	W

The word accent on the verb *forlesen* falls on the root syllable, as indicated in the Middle English Dictionary (*forlę̄sen*); the word accent on the word *heven* falls on the first syllable (*hĕven*). We can see that the inversion of verb and object would result in an unnatural accentuation on both the verb and the genitive attribute.

Let us observe some examples of post-verbal objects, which I labelled as given:

(88)   Þuss   þu   mihht   lakenn   **Drihhtin Godd** || Wiþþ   oxe

     Thus   you   might   worship   Lord   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	mihht	la	kenn	Drih	htin	Godd
*Þuss	þu	mihht	Drih	htin	Godd	la	kenn
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

Similarly to the examples we have seen above, 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, let us observe the whole accentuation pattern of the sentence, which is distributed in three verses:

(89)   Forr   tekenn   þatt   tatt   ehhte   maġġ || Full   opennlike
       for   take   that   that   eight   may   full   openly

       tacnenn || Þatt   illke   dere   Sunenndaġġ.
       represent   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	maġġ
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 *Sunnendaʒʒ* rhyme and are placed in the same rising position at the end of an octasyllabic verse.

(90)   Her   habbe   icc   shæwedd nu   till   ġuw || **Þa**
       Here   have   I   showed   now   to   you   the

       seoffne bedess   alle || Þatt   wærenn, alls   icc   hafe
       seven   prayers all   that   were   as   I   have

       seġġd, || Þurrh   tale   off   seoffne tacnedd.
       said   through number 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	ġuw			-
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

Moreover, we can find assonance in the verses following:

> Her habbe icc shæwedd nu till ȝuw
>
> Þa *seoffne* bedess *alle*
>
> Þatt wærenn, alls icc hafe seȝȝd,
>
> Þurrh *tale* off *seoffne* tacnedd.

'Here I showed you the seven prayers, which were represented by the number of seven, as I told you.'

<div align="right">(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 189, vv 5474-5479)</div>

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:

(91)	Ne	shall	he	næfre	drinnkenn	**drinnch**	||	Þatt	drunnkennesse
	not	shall	he	never	drink	drink		that	drunkenness
	follġheþþ.								
	follows								

'And he shall never drink anything which causes drunkenness.'

<div align="right">[CMORM-M1,I,25.308]</div>

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 (91) 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 given pre-verbal element:

(92)   &   tu   mihht   ec   **gastlike laf** || Onn   oþerr
         and   your   might   also   spiritual loaf   on   other

         wise   ġarrkenn,
         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	ġarr	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	ġarr	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							
*ġarr	kenn	gast	li	ke	laf		
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

Also 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 7-41 above, we saw that pronouns are distributed in half of the cases in the post-verbal domain, 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 8, as well as from a metric perspective.

Concerning the pre - Aux pronouns, they are co-referential with the topic of the passage in 12 out of 15 cases:

(93)	&	**himm**	wass	ec	þatt	name	sett	||	Forr
	and	him	was	also	that	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,

[…]

ȝeͣt 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:

(94)

&	icc	**itt**	hafe	forþedd	te,	||	Acc	all
and	I	it	have	carried out		you	But	all

þurrh   Cristess   hellpe;

through   Christ's   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	þedd	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 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	þedd	te
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S

By moving the pronoun *itt* in the pre-verbal domain, we would nonetheless find it on a weak syllable; however, the verb *hafe* would end up with a strong beat on the coda, which contrasts with the natural accentuation of the verb.

Concerning 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:

(95) Acc   i   þe   Kalldeowisshe land || Mann   maġġ   **itt**

But   in   the   Chaldean   land   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:

(96) &   tatt   teġġ ummbeshærenn swa || Þe   shapp   off

and   that   they   circumsised   so   the   shape   of

cnapechilldre, || Þatt   wass   **hemm** swa þurrh   Drihhtin sett,

Baby boy   that   was   them   so   through Lord   set

'And that they circumcised the baby boy. That was set for them [to do] from the Lord.'

[CMORM-M1,I,146.1204]

Þatt	wass	*hemm*	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:

(97) All   þiss   wass   **uss**   bitacnedd wel || Þurrh   þatt

All   this   was   us   assigned   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	*uss*	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 (97) above.

In the remaining example, we have contrastive interpretation:

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(98)	Þa	Crist	shall	**himm**	wiþþ	all	rihht	dom	||
	than	Christ	shall	him	with	all	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,

& seȝȝde, þatt he wollde

Lefenn onn himm & lutenn himm

& lakenn himm wiþþ maddmess,

& þohhte þohh to cwellenn himm,

Ȝiff þatt he mihhte himm findenn;

& forrþi nass he rihht nohht wurrþ

To findenn Crist tatt time,

Acc he shall findenn Crist inoh

O Domess daȝȝess time,

Þa Crist shall himm wiþþ all rihht dom

Till hellepine demenn.

"King Erodes let search 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 Erodes, 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 Erodes' 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	*himm*	wiþþ	all
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
*rihht	dom	Till	hel	le	pi	ne	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	-

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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 daʒʒess time,
>
> Þa Crist shall himm wiþþ all rihht *dom*

"he shall find Christ (enough) at Doomsday. Then it will be Christ who condemns him to the torment of hell with right judgement"

<div align="right">(Ormulum, Holt 1868: 253, vv. 7315-7319)</div>

Let us now observe the following passage, which is part of the dedication of the work:

(99)[66]	Forr	þatt	I	wollde	bliþeliġ	|| for	that	I	want blithely
	Þatt	all	Ennglisshelede			|| that	all	English	people
	Wiþþ	ære	shollde	lisstenn	**itt,**	|| with	ear	should	listen it
	Wiþþ	herrte	shollde	**itt**	trowwenn,	|| With	Heart	should	it suffer
	Wiþþ	tunge	shollde	spellennn	**itt**	|| With	tounge	should	spell it
	Wiþþ	dede	shollde	**itt**	follġhenn,	|| 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 tounges they should announce it, and with their deeds the should follow it.'

<div align="right">[CMORM-M1,DED.L113.33]</div>

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	-

---

[66] In order to allow the reader to follow the chiasmus, the gloss is provided at the right of the sentence, and not below it. Notice that this passage involves subordinate clauses, and not matrix clauses. However, it is a clear representation of how the metric structure of the text influences word order.

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:

*Wiþþ	æ	re	sholl	de_itt	liss	tenn	
W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S
*Wiþþ	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:

(100) Forr wel he mihhte **lokenn** *himm*, || for well he might look him

Ġiff 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:

(101) & tærfore hafe icc turrnedd **itt**|| and therefore have I
turned it

Inntill Ennglisshe spæche, || into English speech

Forr þatt I wollde bliþe**liġ**|| For that I wanted blithely

'And therefore, I turned it into English, because I wanted blithely [that all people should listen to it]'

In the remaining cases, manipulating the order verb – object pronoun would result in a strong beat on the final syllable of the verb.

In our sub-sample, we have five sentences presenting V > Aux word order; 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:

(102) &   ec   þe   werelld **tacnenn maġġ** || Mannkinn all

       and   also   the   world   represent 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 Stylisting Fronting of a non-finite verb are concerned; she argues that Stilysting 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.

7.6.4 The Ormulum: subordinate clauses

Let us turn to the quantitative distribution of arguments of verbs in the set of subordinate clauses.

Table 7-42		
Arguments		
Pre-verbal elements		13
Arguments analysed for their weight		13
	Light	8; 61,5%
	heavy	5; 38,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		13
	Given	10; 76,9%
	New	3; 23,1%
Post-verbal elements		42
Arguments analysed for their weight		42
	Light	18; 42,8%
	heavy	24; 57,2%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		34
	Given	27; 79,4%
	New	7; 20,6%

As I noticed for the matrix clauses, we have a very similar distribution of constituents with respect to the prose texts we have examined; however, the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, which comes from the same area and was composed earlier, presents only light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain.

Table 7-43			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
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%

The distribution of given, new, light and heavy elements presents some differences with respect to the other prose texts; in fact, we have always noted a very restricted percentage of heavy and new elements in the pre-verbal domain, noticing that the discrepancy in the amount of light and

given elements in pre- and post-verbal position is higher. As we can see in the table, the amount of given and new material in the pre-verbal domain is very similar to the amount of heavy and new material in the same domain.

Table 7-44	
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%

The distribution of object pronouns in our sample 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 come from sentences with a simple verbal form.

7.6.5 Qualitative analysis

We have seen in the quantitative section above that also subordinate clauses present a distribution which is similar to the distribution of constituents in the prose texts we have examined above in this chapter; in this section, I will focus on the mapping of constituents from a qualitative perspective and I investigate whether the metric composition of the text may have influenced the mapping of constituents.

We have seen in Table 7-42 above that there are three elements in the pre-verbal position which convey new information; I identified metric constraints for their mapping:

(103) Forr   kaggerrleġġc shall don þatt ġho || Shall **daffteleġġc**
       For   wantonness   shall do   that she   shall modesty

       forrwerrpenn.
       abandon

'For wantonness shall make her abadon modesty.'

[CMORM-M1,I,74.664]

Let us observe the two verses again:

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Forr *kaggerrleġġc* shall don þatt ġho | |

Shall *daffteleġġc* forrwerrpenn.

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	leġġc	forr	werr	penn
*Shall	forr	werr	penn	daff	te	leġġc
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:

(104)	Þurrh	þatt	icc	hafe	hemm	wrohht	**tiss**	**boc**			
	Through	that	I	have	them	written	this	book	
	To	þeġġre	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]

Þurrh	þatt	icc	ha	fe_hemm	wrohht	tiss	boc
*Þurrh	þatt	icc	ha	fe_hemm	tiss	boc	wrohht
*Þurrh	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 in section 7.6.2. In these cases, the pronoun is found on a strong syllable, as the following example shows:

(105)   Wel   birrþ   uss   likenn þær   whatt   **uss** || Þatt

        Well   is compelled us   like   there   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	maġġ	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 presented in section 7.6.2. The manipulation of the word order results in the majority of the cases in a different accentuation pattern:

(106)   &   Godess enngell seġġde himm   to || Forr   þatt

        and   God's   angel   said   him   to   For   that

        he   wollde **himm**   frofrenn;

        he   wanted 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	

In this example, for instance, the inversion of object and verb results in the lacking of syneresis, which would lead to an extra syllable on the verse.

7.6.6 V > Aux clauses

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:

(107)	&	ec	icc	seġġde	þatt	itt	wass	‖			Þær
	and	also	I	said	that	it	was				there
	henngedd	i	þatt	hirne,	‖	Forr	þatt	itt			**hidenn**
	hung	in	that	recess		for	that	it			hide
	shollde	þær	‖		All	þatt	tær	wass	wiþþinnenn	‖	
	should	there			all	that	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:

[CMORM-M1,I,56.527] | & ec icc seġġde þatt itt wass ‖

Þær *h*enngedd i *þ*att hirne, ‖

Forr *þ*att itt *h*idenn shollde þær ‖

All þatt tær wass wiþþinnenn ‖

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 devices.

7.6.7 Summary

Concluding this sub-chapter, 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 matrix 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 significant 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 Goddspelless wordess,
>
> All þurrh me sellfenn, maniȝ word
>
> *Þe ríme 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.

8. On the mapping of pronouns in Old English and Early Middle English[67]

In this chapter, I will examine the distribution of personal object pronouns in the Old English and Early Middle English texts selected for this empirical study (cf. chapter 4). 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 cliticized to a phonologic host.

Recall that in our theoretical framework it is predicted that light and given elements retain the pre-verbal position the longer, even if the post-verbal spell-out of other types of constituents may have been already reanalysed as the default option (cf. chapter 3). The complete demise of the information structural and prosodic interface conditions would lead to the spell-out of also object pronouns in the post-verbal domain.

From a preliminary search on the subordinate clauses of the Kentish Homilies, the Peterborough Chronicle, and Holy Maidenhood, it emerges that in Early Middle English, object pronouns can be mapped before the inflected verb, between the inflected and the non-inflected verb, and after the non-finite verb; moreover, the three positions can be found within the same text, cf. the following examples from the Peterborough Chronicle:

(1) a.

forþi		þæt	he	**hit**	hæfde	æror	beieten
because		that	he	hit	had	previously	obtained
mid	unrihte						
with	injustice						

'Because he had previously obtained it with injustice.'

(Peterborough Chronicle, year entry 1127)

b.

þet	se	abbot	of	Clunni	heafde	**him**	beboden
that	the	abbot	of	Cluny	had	him	commanded

'that the abbot of Cluny had commanded him.'

(Peterborough Chronicle, year entry 1131)

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[67] 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.

c.	þæt	he	scolde beieton**him**	þone	mynstre		of	Burch
	that	he	should obtain him	the	minster		of	Peterborough

'That he should obtain for him the minster of Peterborough.'

(Peterborough Chronicle, year entry 1130)

As can be noticed from examples (1 a-c), in fact, the object pronoun can surface before the inflected auxiliary *habban*, between the inflected auxiliary *habban* and the past participle of the verb *bebeodan,* and after the past participle of the verb *begitan*.

As far as Old English 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 ΣP projection.

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 ΣP. 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[68]. 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 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 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.

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[68] 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.

Given the language change scenario, and the type of texts involved in this preliminary search, which come from three different dialect areas, 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. Kroch and Taylor, (2000), in fact 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 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 I have done for direct, indirect and PP arguments of verbs, I will propose a uniform account about the mapping of object pronouns in the three positions delineated; 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 Old English to Early Middle English.

Given the fact that object pronouns surface frequently before the inflected verb, I will also analyse their mapping, and 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 contrasted 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.

Moreover, for each sentence the type of auxiliary, the respective order of auxiliary and verb, the position of the pronoun, the presence of adverbials, and the presence of other arguments or adjuncts in the post-verbal domain were annotated. In this way, I aim to obtain a complete information structural, prosodic, and syntactic picture for each sentence; the findings of the analysis are presented in the following sections.

In the following, I will first analyse the quantitative and the qualitative distribution of object pronouns in the Old English sample; in section 8.2 I will analyse their distribution in the different Early Middle English texts.

8.1 The distribution of object pronouns in the Old English sample

8.1.1 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 6. 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.

Table 8-1	
	105[69]
Aux - V clauses	101
pre-Aux pron	40/101; 39,6%
pre-V pron	50/101; 49,5%
post-V pron	11/101; 10,9%
V > Aux clauses	4
pre-V pron	4/4; 100%
post-V pron	0
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	41
Aux - V clauses	21
pre-Aux pron	12/21; 57,1%
pre-V pron	7/21; 33,4%
post-V pron	2/21; 9,5%[70]
V - Aux clauses	20
pre-V pron	20/20; 100%
post-V pron	0

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. sub-chapter 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.

In the following sections, I will first look at the structural properties of the clauses under consideration, and I analyse if the mapping of pronouns in the pre -Aux and post-V positions is driven by information structural conditions.

8.1.2 Aux > V Clauses: structural analysis

In a first step, I investigated whether the mapping of pronouns correlates with the type of auxiliary found in the sentence; the auxiliaries found are *beon, weorðan, habban, onginnan, magan* and *gewitan*. The ones found most frequently in the sample are *beon, weorðan, habban*, and *onginnan*. Excluding the example reported below, in both matrix and subordinate clauses

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[69] Each sentence has one pronoun; if a sentence has two pronouns, it is counted twice.

[70] 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.

we never find the pronoun in post-verbal position when the auxiliaries are *beon* or *weorðan*. The sentence in question is the following:

(2)   Wæs   eac   wundorlic,   þæt   seo   ðruh   wæs   geworht
      was   also   wonderful   that   the   coffin   was   carved

      þurh   Gode   foresceawunge   **hire**   swa   gemæte,
      throughGod's providence   her   so   similar

      swylce heo   hyre   sylfre   swa   gesceapen wære.
      such   she   her   self   so   shaped   were

'It was also a wonder, that the coffin was carved, through God's providence, so similar to her, just as she herself was formed'.

<div align="center">[coaelive,ÆLS_ [Æthelthryth]:102.4203]</div>

The sentence comes from Aelfric's lives of Saints; the pronoun in question is found in post-verbal position together with a predicative adjective modified by an adverbial. Notice that the pronoun is better analysed as being required by the predicative adjective, rather than the verb. Moreover, the whole phrase *hire swa gemæte* is separated from the non-finite verb by an adjunct. This points at the fact that the pronoun and the predicative adjective belong together as a semantic unit, and the construction is marked.

In the sentences with auxiliary *beon* or *weorðan* , the subject is often post-verbal in the surface; an example is the following:

(3)   **him**   wæs   soðlicebenæmed   his   gesihð and   spræc.
      him   was   truly   deprived   his   sight   and   Speech.
'In truth, he was deprived of his sight and faculty of speaking.'[coaelhom,ÆHom_4:1.516]

In these sentences, the pronoun refers to the topic of the passage, whereas the subject is part of the new information; in the context of the sentence under consideration, a new referent is introduced in the previous line, the following discourse then revolves around him. The pronoun anchors the referent in the narration, whereas the new element, which is the grammatical subject of the clause, is mapped in post-verbal position.

Returning to the syntactic distribution of pronouns, I investigated whether structural requirements demand their mapping in post-verbal position; in our framework, in fact, light elements are predicted to be spelled out per default in pre-verbal position, unless information

structural or prosodic interface conditions apply and require their spell out in post-verbal position.

Leaving aside information structural operations such as contrast, which would require a strong accented pronoun, and which I will analyse in the following section, I investigated whether other prosodic conditions can motivate the post-verbal mapping of pronouns, as for example, the presence of a second argument of the verb, or of an accented adjunct, onto which the object pronoun can cliticise.

In the set of matrix clauses, we find that 11 pronouns out of a total of 101 sentences with Aux > V order are mapped in post-verbal position; of these, 10 occur with a second argument of the verb in post-verbal position, an example is the following:

(4) Þa   ongunnon   þa   winnendan   wyrhtan   ardlice biddan **heom**metes.
     then   began   the   won   workers   immediately ask   them food

‘Then the recruited workers immediately started to ask them for food.’

<div align="right">[cogregdC,GDPref_and_3_ [C]:37.251.18.3566]</div>

The verb *biddan* requires an argument, which is the object of the request, and an argument, which is the referent to whom the request is addressed. The sentence, moreover, conveys new information, and the referent *metes* is introduced now in the discourse.

In the remaining sentence, the object pronoun is followed by the reinforcer *sylfe*:

(5) And   sona   swa   þæt   wæs   þæt   hi   swa   gedon   hæfdon,
     And   soon   so   that   was   that   they   so   done   had
     þa   hæfdon   hy   forworhte   **hy**   **sylfe**.
     then   had   they   ruined   them   selves.

‘And as soon that they had done so, they had ruined themselves’

<div align="right">[cowulf,WHom_6:48.273]</div>

In the subordinate clauses, we find two instances in which the pronoun is mapped in post-verbal position; in one sentence, the verb occurs with the second argument of the verb, whereas in the second example, which was already illustrated in sentence (5) above, the object pronoun is followed by a predicative adjective.

So far, we have seen 10 out of 11 post-verbal pronouns in the matrix clauses, and the two post-verbal pronouns in the sample of subordinate clauses are either followed by an argument of the verb, or by an adjunct.

It is reasonable to ask ourselves, 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:

(6)   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 both arguments are mapped in the pre-verbal domain; an example is given in the following:

(7)   Hæfde   he   **his**   **dohtor**   **him**   **to**   **wife**   beweddad

         Had   he   his   daughter   him   to   wife   wed

'He had given his daughter to him as wife.'

[cobede,Bede_3:5.168.4.1620]

In example (7), 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 matrix 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 (8) shows, in the pre-verbal domain, as example (6) above shows, or in post-verbal position.

(8)   and   **vii**   **ærendracan**   he   **him**   hæfde   to   asend

         and   seven   messengers   he   him   had   to   sent

         'And he had sent to him seven messengers.'

[cochronC,ChronC_ [Rositzke]:905.1.8.1033]

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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 analysed 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.

Finally, the type of subordinate clause was annotated in order to determine whether a certain mapping of the pronoun correlates with the type of subordinate clause; the most frequent ones are adverbial clauses, but also complement and relative clauses, as well as indirect questions, occur. All the different types of subordinate clauses display the three different mappings of pronouns; I conclude that the type of subordinate clause is not correlated to the mapping of the object pronouns.

Concluding this sub-section, we have seen that we cannot identify the type of auxiliary, or the type of subordinate clause as possible factors correlating with the mapping of pronouns; the only structural possible correlate we have identified is the presence of a second argument of the verb, or of a heavier adjunct, in the post-verbal domain. Since, however, according to our theoretical framework the pre-Aux and the post-verbal positions are the marked ones, in the next section I will investigate whether information structural factors can account for the mapping of object pronouns.

8.1.3 Aux > V clauses: information structural analysis

The information structural composition of the sentences was also analysed; even though pronouns intrinsically denote already activated referents, it is not excluded that they can be contrasted, or that they are topicalized.

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 reading; in the following, an example for topic is provided:

(9)	Her	Ecgbriht	cing	forðferde,	7	**hyne**	hæfde	ær		Offa
	Here	Egbert	king	died,	and	him	had	previsouly		Offa
	Mircna		cing	7	Brihtric		Wessexena			cing
	Mercians'		king	and	Bertric		West-Saxons'			king
	aflymed		.iii.	gear	of		Angelcynnes			lande on
	banished		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.'

<div align="right">[cochronC,ChronC_ [Rositzke]:836.1.517]</div>

In this example, the entire year entry revolves around King Egbert; after he is introduced, the topic continuity is maintained by the accusative pronoun *hyne*, whereas the new information of the sentence (namely that it was Offa and Bertric who had banished him) is found after the finite verb. The remaining part of the year entry still revolves around this king, which is referred to with a demonstrative pronoun in the subsequent lines.

The contrastive pronoun in the left periphery is the following:

(10)	and	**us**	he	wæs	geswutelod;	na	eallum	folce,	ac
	and	us	he	was	manifested	not	all	people	but
	we	ðe	æton	mid	him.				
	we	that	ate	with	him				

'And to us he was manifested, not to all the people, but to us, who ate with him.'

<div align="right">[coaelhom,ÆHom_9:158.1371]</div>

The referent of the pronoun includes Holy Peter and the disciples; in this sentence it is stated that Christ decided to reveal himself after his death only to them, not to all the people, but only to those who had eaten with him. Van Kemenade (2009) notices that pronoun clusters before the auxiliary verb are always found in a fixed order; so 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[71].

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 matrix clauses)[72]:

(11) and   vii   ærendracan   he   **him**   hæfde   **to**   asend
      and   seven   messengers   he   him   had   to   sent

'And he had sent to him seven messengers.'

[cochronC,ChronC_ [Rositzke]:905.1.8.1033]

(12) 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 matrix clauses, this postulation is met:

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[71] 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.

[72] This is the analysis given by the parsing in the YCOE corpus and in Pintzuk (1999).

(13)	&	on	Sancte	Martines	mæssedæg	heo	weard	**him**	mid
	and	on	Saint	Martin's	Mass-day	she	was	him	with
	mycelan	weorðscipe	forgifen	on		Westmynstre.
	great	dignity	given	on		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, and which are not moved in the left periphery of the sentence.

Summarising, so far we have seen that pronouns in the left periphery clearly correlates 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.

Our evidence suggests that there is another derived position in the Old English middle field, namely a scrambled position above vP, but below TP[73]:

(14)	he	ongan	**him**	**symble**	andswarian	mid	gecide
	he	began	him	continually	answer	with	strife

'He began to answer him continually in a litigious way.'

[cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:9.64.31.727]

The pronoun, 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:

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[73] 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.

(15)	þa	began	se	dema	**eft**	**hi**	herigan.
	then	began	the	judge	again	them	interrogate

'Then the judge began to interrogate them again.'

In this example, the forty Christian soldiers are prisoners of the heathen captain; then the forty soldiers are taken out and put before the heathen judge, who begins to interrogate them again. The reference of the soldiers is highly active, however, the action described constitutes a new passage in the narration. For this reason, I analyse this example as including the pronoun in the focus domain of the clause[74]. Concluding, we can identify four positions in which object pronouns appear in the OE sample:

(16) 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 again to the pronouns in post-verbal position.

There is one more information structural feature about the sentences presenting a pronoun in the post-verbal field; I analysed whether the meaning conveyed by the verb can be labelled as given or inferred in the context under scrutiny. As we can see in table 8-1 above, there are eleven sentences in the sample of matrix clauses, and 2 sentences in the sample of subordinate clauses presenting a post-verbal pronoun. Recall, moreover, that 10 out the 11 eleven matrix clauses under scrutiny present a second argument of the verb in post-verbal position. As far as the subordinate clauses are concerned, a post-verbal pronoun is followed by the second argument of the verb in one case, and in the remaining case the object pronoun is required by the predicative adjective which follows the non-finite verb. Further structural features that these matrix clauses share is the presence of the temporal adverbial *þa* and the semi-modal *onginnan* (these features are shared by 8 out of the 13 sentences under examination).

The meaning conveyed by the verb in these matrix clauses can be argued to be inferable, or given, as example (5), repeated here as (19) shows. In this passage, the meaning of the verb is already activated.

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[74] 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.

(19)	And	sona	swa	þæt	wæs	þæt	hi	swa	gedon
	And	soon	so	that	was	that	they	so	done
	hæfdon, þa		hæfdon	hy	forworhte		*hy*	*sylfe*.	
	Had	then	had	they	ruined		them	selves.	

'And as soon that they had done so, they had ruined themselves'

[cowulf,WHom_6:48.273]

In the sentence above, the pronoun is not contrasted directly with another referent in the same sentence; however, the sentence is compatible with an interpretation in which the pronoun is emphasised. In the passage under consideration, the author explains how God created Adam and Eve, and it is stated that they had to fulfil the kin in heaven, which the devil had ruined (*forwyrcan*) through his pride. After that, the author describes how the devil then tempts Eve, who in turn convinces Adam to eat from the forbidden tree; our sentence is embedded in this context, and it is said that after that Adam and Eve had done as the devil advised them, they had ruined themselves. The meaning of the verb is given at this point in the narration; the pronoun is not contrasted, but the reinforcer may point at an emphatic interpretation (*with their own hands*).

Among the 11 post-verbal pronouns in the matrix clauses, the meaning of the verb is given or inferable in 8 cases, whereas our prediction is not met for three remaining examples and for the two post-verbal pronouns in the subordinate clauses. So far, the presence of an accented heavier element in the post-verbal domain seems to obtain the strongest correlation, as far as the post-verbal mapping of object pronouns is concerned.

8.1.4 V >Aux clauses

As can be seen from Table 8-1, we have 4 matrix clauses and 20 subordinate clauses with the order V > Aux in the sample. 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:

(20)	&	ic	hit	wille	þæt	hit	on	ælle	wise
	and	I	it	want	that	it	in	all	manner
	beo.	swaswa	ge	**hit**	sprecon	hauen.			
	be	so-so	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 the matrix 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.

8.2 Early Middle English

In this section, I examine the distribution of object pronouns in the different texts selected for the Early Middle English period; in the previous section, we have determined that the mapping of pronouns does not correlate with the type of semi-modal or of semi-auxiliary, nor with the type of subordinate clause. However, in order to analyse the two different language stages in a uniform way, I will investigate whether in Early Middle English, the position of pronouns correlates with type of semi-modal or semi-auxiliary, or with the type of subordinate clause.

8.2.1 Quantitative analysis

In the following table, the distribution of object pronouns is given; the numbers presented in the first table are obtained by summing all the object pronouns found in the Early Middle English texts examined, without dividing them for period, or dialect.

Table 8-2	
MATRIX CLAUSES	239
Aux - V clauses	239
pre-Aux pron	104; 43,5%
pre-V pron	64[75]; 26,7%
post-V pron	71; 29,8%
V - Aux clauses	0
pre-V pron	-
post-V pron	-
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	237
Aux - V clauses	221
pre-Aux pron	105; 47,6%
pre-V pron	77; 34,8%
post-V pron	39; 17,6%
V - Aux clauses	14[76]
pre-V pron	14/14; 100%
post-V pron	-

From this table, we can notice that the number of post-verbal pronouns has risen slightly, whereas the amount of pre-Aux and pre-V pronouns does not present dramatic differences with respect to the OE sample. The composition of the V > Aux clauses does not present any differences with respect to the OE period.

Before moving to the single quantitative analysis of all the texts, let us compare the percentages of Aux >V clauses in the OE sample and the EME texts.

Table 8-3			
Old English		**Early Middle English**	
Matrix clauses		**Matrix clauses**	
pre-Aux pron	39,6%	pre-Aux pron:	43,5%
pre-V pron	49,5%	pre-V pron:	26,7%
post-V pron	10,9%	post-V pron:	29,8 %
Subordinate clauses		**Subordinate clauses**	
pre-Aux pron:	57,1%	pre-Aux pron:	47,6%
pre-V pron:	33,4%	pre-V pron:	34,8%
post-V pron:	9,5%	post-V pron:	17,6%

As we can see from the table, in the matrix clauses we have a lower percentage of pre-verbal pronouns in the EME texts, whereas the amount of post-verbal pronouns has increased. In the

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[75] One sentence is ambiguous, since also the past participle is moved to the left periphery: [CMJULIA-M1,119.398] […] iþonket hit beo þe. […]. "Thanked it be to you". There is no cue to determine whether the oblique pronoun is mapped in pre-or post-verbal position. I have inserted it in the pre >V count.

[76] The texts which present V > Aux clauses are the Lambeth Homilies, Vices and Virtues, and the Trinity Homilies.

subordinate clauses, it is the amount of the pre-Aux pronouns which has lowered in the EME text, whereas the post-verbal pronouns have slightly increased.

However, 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.

8.2.1.1 Kentish texts

In this section, I present the quantitative distribution of object pronouns in the texts of the Kentish area; given to the same considerations expressed in the previous chapter, section 7.1, I treat the results from the Kentish Homilies and the Kentish Sermons separately, since they differ in the time of composition, and since the Kentish Sermons are translated from the French.

Table 8-4	
Kentish Homilies	
Number of clauses	14
Matrix clauses	9
Pre-Aux pron	8; 88,8%
Pre-V pron	1; 11,2%
Post-V pron	0; 0%
Subordinate clauses	5
Pre-Aux pron	3; 60%
Pre-V pron	2; 40%
Post-V pron	0; 0%

As can be noticed from this table, there are no post-verbal objects in this text. Given the results from the OE sample, which shows a small number of post-verbal pronouns, though, and given the small number of result sentences from this text, we cannot take this piece of evidence as conclusive, since it may be due to chance. However, the distribution of pronouns observed is in line with or theoretical framework; moreover, most of the pronouns are mapped before the auxiliary verb.

Table 8-5	
Kentish Sermons	
Number of clauses	11
Matrix clauses	3
Pre-Aux pron	2; 66,7%
Pre-V pron	0; 0%
Post-V pron	1; 33,3%
Subordinate clauses	8
Pre-Aux pron	6; 75%
Pre-V pron	1; 12,5%
Post-V pron	1; 12,5%

Also in this text we notice that the majority of the pronouns are mapped in the pre-Aux position; however, we can find a post-verbal pronoun both in the matrix, as well as in the subordinate clauses[77].

8.2.1.2 The texts of the South East Midlands

In the following section, the distribution of pronouns in the texts of the Trinity Homilies, and of Vices Virtues is given.

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[77] I am aware of the fact that this text is a translation from the French; where possible (cf. Chapter 4) I have controlled for the influence from the French. The three examples I could trace with their French origin are: [CMKENTSE-M2,219.132], [CMKENTSE-M2,221.200], and [CMKENTSE-M2,218.116]. Only in the last example could the position of the pronoun have been influenced from the French, cf. in fact: *dont nuls ne se pot guardier* and Early Middle English: *þet noman hine ne mai loki* where however the French pronoun is found after the negation but before the finite verb. In the EME version, the object pronoun precedes the negated Auxiliary (cf Hall 1972: 672).

Table 8-6	
South East Midlands	
Number of clauses	220
Matrix clauses	97
Pre-Aux pron	50; 51,5%
Pre-V pron	24; 24,7%
Post-V pron	23; 23,8%
Subordinate clauses	123
Pre-Aux pron	65; 52,8%
Pre-V pron	42; 34,1%
Post-V pron	16; 13,1%

For these texts, we have a larger amount of data available with respect to the Kentish texts. We can observe that these texts are conservative with respect to the mapping of object pronouns, since we find a similar distribution, if compared to the Old English sample. This observation is in line with the findings for the objects of verbs, which are presented in chapter 7.2.

8.2.1.3 The Lambeth Homilies

As was argued for in Chapters 4 and 7.4, I decided to treat the Lambeth Homilies separately, even though they belong to the West Midlands area. Given the fact that the matrix and the subordinate clauses in the M1 text amount to 9 and 5 sentences respectively, I decided not to separate the MX1 and the M1 versions in this case.

Table 8-7	
The Lambeth Homilies	
Number of clauses	117
Matrix clauses	73
Pre-Aux pron	35; 48,00%
Pre-V pron	29; 39,70%
Post-V pron	9; 12,30%
Subordinate clauses	44
Pre-Aux pron	21; 47,7%
Pre-V pron	20; 45,5%
Post-V pron	3; 6,8%

The percentage points found in the MX1 and the M1 version of this text show that the distribution is very similar to the OE sample; with respect to the texts of the South-East Midlands, the distribution of post-verbal pronouns is lower, amounting to less than 10% in the subordinate clauses, and slightly more than the 10% in the matrix clauses. Almost half of the pronouns are mapped before the inflected verb in both clause types.

8.2.1.4 The Peterborough Chronicle

Table 8-8	
The Peterborough Chronicle	
Number of clauses	12
Matrix clauses	3
Pre-Aux pron	2; 66,7%
Pre-V pron	1; 33,3%
Post-V pron	0
Subordinate clauses	9
Pre-Aux pron	1; 11,10%
Pre-V pron	3; 33,30%
Post-V pron	5; 55,60%

Similarly to the Kentish texts, we have for the Peterborough Chronicle a small amount of sentences; however, a qualitative difference can be individuated with respect to the homiletic literature. Whereas for the matrix clauses we do not find post-verbal pronouns, a fact which may be due to chance, if we compare the matrix clauses of texts with more result sentences, in the subordinate clauses we can see that more than half of the object pronouns are mapped in post-verbal position in this text.

Table 8-9	
Number of clauses	86
Matrix clauses	54
Pre-Aux pron	7; 12,9%
Pre-V pron	9; 16,7%
Post-V pron	38; 70,4%
Subordinate clauses	32
Pre-Aux pron	9; 28,1%
Pre-V pron	9; 28,1%
Post-V pron	14; 43,8%

For the texts of the Katherine Group we can see that in the matrix clauses, 70% of the pronouns are mapped in post-verbal position, and more than 40% are mapped in the post-verbal position of subordinate clauses. Together with the text of the Peterborough Chronicle, these texts, which are not copied from older material, present a more progressive syntax. Below, I will investigate whether the different texts can be accounted for within the same theoretical model.

8.2.2 Structural Study

I examined the distribution of pronouns with respect to the type of auxiliary used; only in the subordinate clauses, the sentences with the auxiliary *beon* do not show the post-verbal mapping of pronouns. Among the matrix clauses, however, also the sentences with *beon* show all three distributions. The auxiliaries used most often are *beon*, *habban*, *sculan*, *magan*, and *willan*. Similarly to the findings on the OE clauses, there is no correlation between the auxiliary used and the mapping of pronouns. In the same way as for the Old English sample, I investigated whether the pronouns occurring after the verb are spelled-out as the only argument in the post-verbal domain. The results are summarised in the following sections.

As far as the Kentish Sermons are concerned, we find one post-verbal pronoun in the matrix clauses, and one post-verbal pronouns 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 matrix 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 matrix 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 matrix 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, and one is followed by a relative 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 matrix 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, the nature of the subordinate clause does not seem to correlate with the mapping of pronouns either; most of the sentences are adverbial, but we find also complement and relative clauses, and indirect interrogatives. All types of subordinate clauses display the three mapping positions of pronouns. In the next section, I will analyse the sentences from an information structural point of view.

8.2.3 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 driven by both information structural as well as 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 matrix 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 (21), or it is a direct reference to the audience of the text, as example (22) shows:

(21)	đat	tu	**đe**	**seluen**	naht	ne	miht	helpen
	that	you	your-	self	not	neg	might	help

'That you cannot help yourself.'

[CMVICES1-M1,65.697]

(22)	ic	**đe**	wile	seggen	of	his	drædnesse,	[…]
	I	you	will	say	of	his	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 matrix clauses, and to 6 in subordinate clauses (the data are calculated on the overall sample).

Concerning post-verbal pronouns, we have seen that most of them occur with a second argument of the verb, or with adverbial heavy elements. In the following, I investigate whether other phenomena can be held responsible for their mapping.

I want to analyse those pronouns which occur as the only element in the post-verbal domain (which amount to 17), to determine whether their mapping can be motivated by assuming contrastive focus accent. Among both matrix 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 of their post-verbal mapping. In the following, however, I will treat the different texts separately.

Of the only four matrix clauses displaying a post-verbal pronoun as the only element in the post-verbal domain among the sentences of the South East Midlands, only in the following is the pronoun not contrasted:

(23) and   þanne ich   wille hem   forleten.   and   nime   shrift   and
      and   then   I   will   them   leave   and   take   penance   and
      beten **hem.**
      smite them

'And then I will leave them, and make my penance, and smite them'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,75.1027]

The referent of the pronoun is the sins, which is an entity highly activated in the text. We can see that in the first conjunct, 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 same referent. The meaning conveyed by the third verb, however, can be argued to be inferable and activated, since the same concept is expressed repeatedly in the passage under consideration. In the other cases, we find a contrasted post-verbal pronoun:

(24)   Turneð giu   to   me;   and   ich   wile   turne   **me**
       Turn   you   to   me   and   I   will   turn   me
       to   giu
       to   you

'If you turn yourselves to me, I will turn myself to you.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,61.828]

Among the subordinate clauses of the South-East Midlands texts, there are two sentences presenting a pronoun in the post-verbal domain, which is not followed by another argument or adjunct. Even though it is inferable from the encyclopaedic knowledge, that Adam was made

lord of the Earth and of Paradise as long as he obeyed God, I refrain from making a bold claim and label the meaning of the verb in this example as given.

(25) […]   he   hadde   imaked   adam   louerd   ouer   þis   middelherd.
     […]   he   had   made   Adam   lord   over   this   MiddleEarth

     and   ec   ouer   paradis þe   wile   þe   he   wolde
     and   also   over   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.'

<div align="right">[CMTRINIT-MX1,59.818]</div>

As far as the other example is concerned, the meaning expressed by the verb can be inferred from the context.

The only example of a post-verbal pronoun as the only element in the post-verbal domain found for the Peterborough Chronicle shows contrast:

(26) Þerefter   wæx   suythe micel uuerre betuyx   þe   king   &
      Thereafter   grew such   great war   between   the   king   and

      Randolf   eorl   of   Cæstre: noht forþi   đat   he   ne
      Randolf   earl   of   Chester: not   because   that he   not

      iaf   **him** al   đat   he   cuthe axen him,   alse he   dide   alle
      gave   him   all   that   he   could ask   him,   as   he   did   all

      other.
      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.'

<div align="right">[CMPETERB-M1,58.526]</div>

In this example, the contrast is between the referent of the pronoun *him*, and the referent of the QP *alle other*.

In the texts of the Katherine Group, post-verbal contrasted pronouns can be found, as exemplified by (27):

(27)	Mi	feader	&	Mi	moder	for-þi	þt	ich
	My	father	and	my	mother	because	that	I
	nule		þe	forsaken;	habbe	forsake	**me.**	
	Not-wanted		you	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 the remaining cases, the meaning expressed by the verb is not analysed as given.

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.

(28)	Ha	wes	*him*	*sone*
	she	was	him	soon
	ihondsald	Þah	hit	hire
	bethroted	though	it	her
	unwil	Were		
	ill-will	were		

'she was soon bethroted to him, although she did not want it.'

[CMJULIA-M1,96.19]

(29)	Ġif	du	wilt	*wel*
	if	you	want	well
	it	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]

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<u>8.2.4 V > Aux clauses</u>

As we can observe from Table 2 above, among our sample of data 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:

(30)	Ac	ðanne	hit	is	þin	wille	ðat	ic	**ðe**	loc
	But	then	it	is	your	will	that	I	you	offering
	ofrin	mote	[…]
	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 wurðiȝen, and loc ofrien, ȝif 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)

8.3 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 Early Middle English 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 that it is a translation, 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.

From a structural point of view, we have seen that there does not seem to be a correlation between semi-auxiliary or semi-modal type and position of the verb. As regards other structural requirements, we have seen that there is no correlation with the type of subordinate clause either.

As regards the Old English sample, we have moreover seen that 11/13 post-verbal pronouns (among the total of matrix and subordinate clauses) are mapped in the post-verbal position together with a second argument required by the verb. 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 higher 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 differences to the non-scrambled position is hard to pinpoint in some contexts. The scrambled position is attested also in the Early Middle English 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.

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.

Another feature shared by the post-verbal pronouns, though, is the given meaning of the verb; this fact correlates also with the mapping of light elements in the post-verbal domain of Early Middle English sentences. But, as we saw also in chapter 7, this property is not always met.

Finally, we saw that V > Aux clauses generally represent totally given information; their analysis is given in chapter 10.

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 chaper 10, 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 amount of given elements in the post-verbal domain increases constantly through time (cf. chapters 7 and 9). 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. 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.

9. Summary on the empirical findings and a closer look at the definite determiner

The aim of this chapter is twofold; In section 9.1 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 9.2, 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 5, 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 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 Early Middle English 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 3.

9.1 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 matrix 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 6 – 8, 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 > Aux clauses, this section focuses on the distribution of constituents in the Aux > V clauses, in order to have comparable data.

9.1.1 The Old English Sample

In this section, I present the data collected for the Old English sample; I present the tables depicting the relative distribution of given, new, light and heavy constituents in the pre- and post-verbal domains.

Table 9-1				
Old English Matrix Aux > V 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	117	62; 52,9%	55; 47,1%
	All new elements	79	13; 16,5%	66; 83,5%

As I commented in chapter 6, we can notice that given and light elements are also distributed in the post-verbal domain of OE 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 6 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.

Table 9 - 2				
Old English subordinate Aux > V 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	55	28; 50,9%	27; 40,1%
	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 matrix clauses. Moreover, also 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 pronouns in our set of data:

Table 9-3 the distribution of pronouns in the OE sample	
	105
Aux - V clauses	101
pre-Aux pron	40/101; 39,6%
pre-V pron	50/101; 49,5%
post-V pron	11/101; 10,9%
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES	41
Aux - V clauses	21
pre-Aux pron	12/21; 57,1%
pre-V pron	7/21; 33,4%
post-V pron	2/21; 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. Moreover, we have seen that in most cases, post-verbal object pronouns are governed by a verb constituting given information (cf. chapter 8).

Concluding this section, our findings are supported by 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 work 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 matrix 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 V> O, 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; on the other hand, part of the light elements in the post-verbal domain represent new information. Moreover, light and given elements in the post-verbal domain 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. Finally, similarly for the mapping of post-verbal object pronouns, I investigated whether the meaning conveyed by the verb governing light and given post-verbal elements can be analysed as given; according to Hinterhölzl (p.c.), a given verb would exempt the object from being mapped on a weaker branch than the verb. Recall that in the framework, the weaker position coincides with the pre-verbal domain. The data indicate that this condition is not always met. However, I noticed in chapter 6, that given and light post-verbal elements, which are neither contrasted nor followed by a second argument of the verb, amount to circa 10% 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.

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 3. 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 3); 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 West Midlands and the East Midlands areas, 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.

9.1.2 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.

Let us start with the Kentish Homilies, which represent the Earliest Middle English text in our sample.

Table 9-4				
Kentish Homilies Aux > V matrix clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	9	4; 44,4%	5; 55,6%
	All heavy elements	7	1; 14,3%	6; 85,7%
IS value				
	All Given elements	9	3; 33,3%	6; 66,7%
	All New elements	3	0%	3; 100%

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 lower in the pre-verbal domain with respect to the OE sample, even though the ratio of given and light elements in the pre-verbal domain is higher with respect to the heavy and new elements.

Kentish Homilies subordinate Aux > V clauses				
Table 9-5				
Arguments				
Weight value			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
	All light elements	6	5; 71,4%	1; 28,6%
	All heavy elements	4	1; 25%	3; 75%
IS value				
	All Given elements	7	4; 57,2%	3; 42,8%
	All New elements	1	1; 100%	0; 0%

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. The given elements are equally distributed across the pre-verbal and the post-verbal domain; we have also one new element which is light and mapped in the pre-verbal domain.

The data presented in this text are not many, given the fact that the text only consists of two Homilies; however, we can see that there is a continuity with respect to the Old English period.

In the following table, the distribution of object pronouns in the Kentish Homilies is reported:

Table 9-6	
Kentish Homilies	
Number of clauses	14
Matrix clauses	9
Pre-Aux pron	8; 88,8%
Pre-V pron	1; 11,2%
Post-V pron	0; 0%
Subordinate clauses	5
Pre-Aux pron	3; 60%
Pre-V pron	2; 40%
Post-V pron	0; 0%

For this text we have no post-verbal pronouns; we can moreover notice that most of the pronouns are found before the auxiliary verb, and they are co-referential with the topic of the passage. This piece of evidence is coherent with the stage of the language represented by these texts; whereas we can find an equal distribution of given non-pronominal objects, pronouns - which are prototypically light - are only mapped in the pre-verbal position.

Within the Kentish dialect area, I also analysed the text of the Kentish Sermons.

Table 9-7				
Kentish Sermons Aux > V matrix clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	2	1; 50%	1; 50%
	All heavy elements	8	0; 0%	8; 100%
IS value				
	All Given elements	9	1; 11,2%	8; 88,8%
	All New elements	1	0; 0%	1; 100%

I chapter 4, I draw the attention to the possible influence from the French in this text. Where possible, I controlled for the influence from the translation. Moreover, the text belongs to period M2, with a presumed date of composition before 1250 (cf. PPCME2 text information). The dates of composition of the Kentish Homilies and of the Kentish Sermons are placed within an interval of roughly one hundred years.

This text clearly shows that almost all constituents are mapped in the pre-verbal position; moreover, they are mostly heavy. In fact, the only elements which are residually mapped in the pre-verbal position are object pronouns.

Table 9-8		
Kentish Sermons Aux > V subordinate clauses		
Total number of VP arguments		14
Pre-verbal elements		0
Arguments analysed for their weight		0
	Light	-
	heavy	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	-
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		14
Arguments analysed for their weight		
	Light	4; 28,5%%
	heavy	10; 71,5%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	13; 92,8%
	New	1; 7,2%

The same can be stated for the subordinate clauses: the elements we find in the pre-verbal domain are only object pronouns, as the following table shows:

Table 9-9	
Kentish Sermons	
Number of clauses	11
Matrix clauses	3
Pre-Aux pron	2; 66,7%
Pre-V pron	0; 0%
Post-V pron	1; 33,3%
Subordinate clauses	8
Pre-Aux pron	6; 75%
Pre-V pron	1; 12,5%
Post-V pron	1; 12,5%

Moreover, we can see that we can find also 2 post-verbal pronouns in the sample. The numbers from this text are small, since we are dealing with five sermons, but the findings are qualitatively significant.

In the following, the texts of the South-East Midlands area are presented.

Table 9-10				
South East Midlands Aux > V clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	108	37; 34,3%	71; 65,7%
	All heavy elements	97	8; 8,3%	89; 91,7%
IS value				
	All Given elements	92	24; 26,1%	68;73,9%
	All New elements	70	5; 7,2%	65; 92,8%

The texts from this area partially copy or re-elaborate older material; however, as far as the matrix clauses are concerned, we find a progressively lower number of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain. When compared against the OE sample and the sample from the Kentish Homilies, in fact, we can notice that the results can be placed within a continuum, in which we can see that the mapping in the pre-verbal domain progressively diminishes. This follows if it is the pre-verbal domain which hosts elements that need a special licensing, and not vice versa.

Table 9-11				
South East Midlands Subordinate Aux > V clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	74	43; 58,1%	31; 41,9%
	All heavy elements	69	17; 24,6%	52; 75,4%
IS value				
	All Given elements	85	45; 52,9%	40; 47,1%
	All New elements	35	4; 11,4%	31; 88,6%

The results for the subordinate clauses show that, whereas new and heavy elements present a similar distribution with respect to the matrix clauses, the amount of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain of subordinate clauses is higher. Finally, 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 present 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 or are governed by a verb with a given meaning.

Table 9-12	
South East Midlands	
Number of clauses	220
Matrix clauses	97
Pre-Aux pron	50; 51,5%
Pre-v pron	24; 24,7%
Post-v pron	23; 23,8%
Subordinate clauses	123
Pre-Aux pron	65; 52,8%
Pre-v pron	42; 34,1%
Post-v pron	16; 13,1%

We can see from this table that, as far as object pronouns are concerned, these texts are more innovative than the Kentish Homilies; in fact, we can find that circa 20% of the pronouns in the matrix clauses and slightly more than 10% of pronouns in the subordinate clauses are mapped in the post-verbal domain.

Table 9-13				
Lambeth Homilies matrix Aux > V clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	64	18; 28,2%	46; 71,8%
	All heavy elements	70	9; 12,8%	61; 87,2%
IS value				
	All Given elements	71	17; 23,9%	54; 76,1%
	All New elements	46	8; 17,4%	38; 82,6%

The matrix clauses of the Lambeth Homilies show a further progress in the distribution of constituents, if we compare them to the texts of the South East Midlands; in fact, almost all

types of elements are mapped in the post-verbal domain, even though the proportion of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain is higher than the proportion of the new and heavy elements in the pre-verbal domain. What we can notice from this text, then, is that the pre-verbal mapping is a residual strategy, which is in line with the prospected change scenario we have traced.

Table 9-14				
Lambeth Homilies Subordinate Aux > V Clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	58	20; 34,5%	38; 65,5%
	All heavy elements	46	10; 21,8%	36; 78,2%
IS value				
	All Given elements	64	25; 39,1%	39; 60,9%
	All New elements	30	1; 3,3%	29; 96,7%

In the subordinate clauses, the proportion of light and given elements in the pre-verbal domain is higher with respect to the matrix clauses, a situation which is similar to the subordinate clauses of the Kentish Homilies and the texts from the South East midlands area. As commented in chapter 4, in fact, subordinate clauses tend to present a more conservative word order.

Table 9-15	
The Lambeth Homilies	
Number of clauses	117
Matrix clauses	73
Pre-Aux pron	35; 48,00%
Pre-V pron	29; 39,70%
Post-V pron	9; 12,30%
Subordinate clauses	44
Pre-Aux pron	21; 47,7%
Pre-V pron	20; 45,5%
Post-V pron	3; 6,8%

The mapping of pronouns is not as innovative as the mapping of other types of constituents. In fact, the amount of post-verbal pronouns is much lower than the amount of post-verbal pronouns in the texts of the South-East Midlands. We will see that it is the higher number of

pre-verbal and pre-Aux pronouns that differentiates this text from the texts of the Katherine Group, which were composed in the same area.

In the text of the Peteborough Chronicle, direct, indirect and PP objects of verbs are all found in post-verbal position. Only object pronouns are mapped in the pre-verbal position.

Table 9-16		
Peterborough Chronicle matrix Aux > V clauses		
Pre-verbal elements		0
Arguments analysed for their weight		
	Light	-
	heavy	-
Arguments analysed for their IS value		
	Given	-
	New	-
Post-verbal elements		
Arguments analysed for their weight		8
	Light	2; 25%
	heavy	6; 75%
Arguments analysed for their IS value		5
	Given	3; 60%
	New	2; 40%

From this table one can notice that in the post-verbal domain, most of the constituents represent given information, but they are consist of a heavy constituent.

Table 9-17				
Peterborough Chronicle Subordinate Aux > V clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	15	1; 6,7%	14; 93,3%
	All heavy elements	26	0; 0%	26; 100%
IS value				
	All Given elements	26	1; 4%	24; 96%
	All New elements	10	0; 0%	10; 100%

In the subordinate clauses, we can still find one referent mapped in pre-verbal domain, whose syntactic weight is light and has given reference; this finding again confirms our postulation that the pre-verbal mapping of constituents has become a residual strategy in the Early Middle English texts examined.

Table 9-18	
The Peterborough Chronicle	
Number of clauses	12
Matrix clauses	3
Pre-Aux pron	2; 66,7%
Pre-V pron	1; 33,3%
Post-V pron	0
Subordinate clauses	9
Pre-Aux pron	1; 11,10%
Pre-V pron	3; 33,30%
Post-V pron	5; 55,60%

As we have seen in chapter 8, we do not have post-verbal pronouns in the matrix clauses of this text, 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.

Table 9-19				
Katherine Group Matrix Aux > V clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	31	9; 29,1%	22; 70,9%
	All heavy elements	35	4; 11,4%	31; 88,6%
IS value				
	All Given elements	34	7; 27,5%	27; 72,5%
	All New elements	22	0; 0%	22; 100%

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. Again, we can observe how the results can be placed within a continuum which has its roots in the OE period.

Table 9-20				
Katherine Group Subordinate Aux > V clauses				
Arguments			Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Weight value				
	All light elements	18	8; 44,4%	10; 55,5%
	All heavy elements	13	3; 23,1%	10; 76,9%
IS value				
	All Given elements	20	10; 50%	10; 50%
	All New elements	8	0; 0%	8; 100%

In the subordinate clauses of these texts we can notice that the amount of light and given elements is higher with respect to the matrix clauses, as was noticed moreover for the subordinate clauses of the other texts. The subordinate clauses generally depict a stage which is more conservative.

Table 9-21	
Number of clauses	86
Matrix clauses	54
Pre-Aux pron	7; 12,9%
Pre-V pron	9; 16,7%
Post-V pron	38; 70,4%
Subordinate clauses	32
Pre-Aux pron	9; 28,1%
Pre-V pron	9; 28,1%
Post-V pron	14; 43,8%

In these texts 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 matrix clauses.

Concluding, we have seen that the distribution of constituents in the Aux > V matrix 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 lowers, 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 4.

9.2 On the mapping of DPs

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**	**lechures**	**þe**	**on**
	for	she	wants	please	all	the	adulterers	that	on
	hire	**lokeð.**							
	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**	**middeneard**	eft		aræren	on
For	he	wanted	the	perished	Middle-Earth	again		build	on

þan	ylcan	dæiġe,	þe	he		ærst	ġetimbrod	wæs.
the	same	day	that	he		first	built	was

'For he wanted to build again the mortal Earh on the same day, in which it was built.'

[CMKENTHO-M1,144.260]

(3)

Ac	þa	mænn	þe	habbeđ	pine	on	þyssen	middenearde,
But	the	men	that	have	torment	on	this	Middle-Earth

[…]	heo	sculen	habben	**þa**	**heofenlice**	**selen.**
[…]	thy	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[78].

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**	**Miracle**.
Now	you	have	heard	the	miracle

'Now you have heard the miracle.' [CMKENTSE-M2,217.83]

(5)

Þet	holi	godspel	of	to-dai	us	telþ.	þet	ure
The	holy	gospel	of	today	us	tells	that	our

lord	ihesus	crist.	ase	he	hedde	iyue	**þo**	**newe**
Lord	Jesus	Christ	as	he	had	given	the	new

laghe.	[…]

'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]

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[78] 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.

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 hielde synne. he wolde **þe**
    and if he that held sin he would the
    dede wiđtien.
    deed 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** **ouelete** to fleis.
    therefore may God's word turn the bread to flesh
    […]
    […]

'Therefore God's word may turn the sacramental bread to flesh.'

[CMTRINIT-MX1,99.1317]

Among the matrix 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 đurh scadwisnesse þu scalt skilien **đe** **euele** fram
    and through discernment you shall distinguish the evil from
    đe 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 đe lærđ godd đat tu scule **đe** **woreld**
    Hier you teaches God that you shall the world
    forlaten đine aġenes þankes […]
    leave your own will […]

'Here God teaches you that you shall leave the world on your own will.'

[CMVICES1-M1,111.1320]

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The remaining three are spelled-out in post-verbal position, as the following example shows:

(10)   'Hlauerd,'   cwađ   he,   ' hwat   mai   ic   don   đat   ic

           Lord   said   he   what   may   I   do   that   I

           mihte   hauen   **đat**   **eche**   **lif? '**

           might   have   the   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 higher 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**   **sunne**   for-   leten

           Now   though   he   wanted   the   evil   sins   leave

           Ne   mei   he   for   þan   deoflan.

           not   may   he   for   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   almihtin   iheren   bute   he

           Sinful   man's   prayers   not-want   God   Almighty   hear   but   he

           wulle   forleten   **þa**   **sunne**   and   gan   to   bote.   he

           will   leave   the   sins   and   go   to   penance   he

'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 matrix clauses, we can find 6 pre-verbal DPs and 12 post-verbal DPs with a definite reference; two examples are given in the following:

'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	iloġen	**þan**	**halie**	**gaste;**
and	you	have	lied	the	Holy	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	hæfde	forlæten
and	said	that	he	had	left
þone	**mynstre**	mid	ealle		
the	monastery	with	all		

'And [he] said that he had left the monastery altogether.' [CMPETERB-M1,52.324]

As was commented in chapter 4, the reference of the monastery of Peterborough is 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	**þe**	**leome**
But	little	while	I	might	endure	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.

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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. Turning to the Katherine Group, we have seen that 70% of the object pronouns in the matrix 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 objects other than pronouns 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 Old English period, I briefly commented in chapter 6, section 6.1.2, 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 matrix 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	wearð	belocen	**on**	**anre**	**lytlan**	mid	hwonlicum
and	I	was	locked	in	a	little	with	little
fultume,	and	we	feohtan	ne	dorston	ongean	ðone	ormætan
help	and	we	fought	not	durst	against	the	overwhelming
here,	he	hæfde	**þa**	**burh**	beseten.			
army	that[79]	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]

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[79] The original version presents a personal pronoun, but Skeat interprets it as an error for a relative marker.

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   wearđ se   halga heap **þam** **hælende** geoffrod.

     Then   was   the   holy   host the   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   willađ eow   secgan **þæt** **gastlice** **andgyt**

     and   we   also   want   you   say   the   spiritual   meaning

'And we also want to tell you the spiritual meaning.'

[coaelhom,ÆHom_2:59.280]

9.3 Discussion

I discussed in chapter 5 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, Ms. A. However, the study presented in chapter 5 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 Early Middle English period where we witness a coherent use of the determiner with uniquely identifiable referents. Moreover, the split between the definite determiner *þe* and the distal demonstratives *þis* and *þæt* is complete in the Early Middle English period (cf. chapter 5 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 our own empiric work presented in chapter 5. 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 both 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 3.

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 with the demise of the *þ/s* system delineated by van Kemenade and Los, which takes place in the transition from the OE to the EME period. This system was essential for the discourse configurationality 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 *þ/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 3, 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 of 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.

10. Towards an 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 Position;

        b.   Licensing movement of verb particles into the specifier of a low Aspect position;

        c.   Licensing movement of predicative elements into a Predicative phrase;

Let us observe our prospected architecture of the clause (cf. chapter 3):

(2)
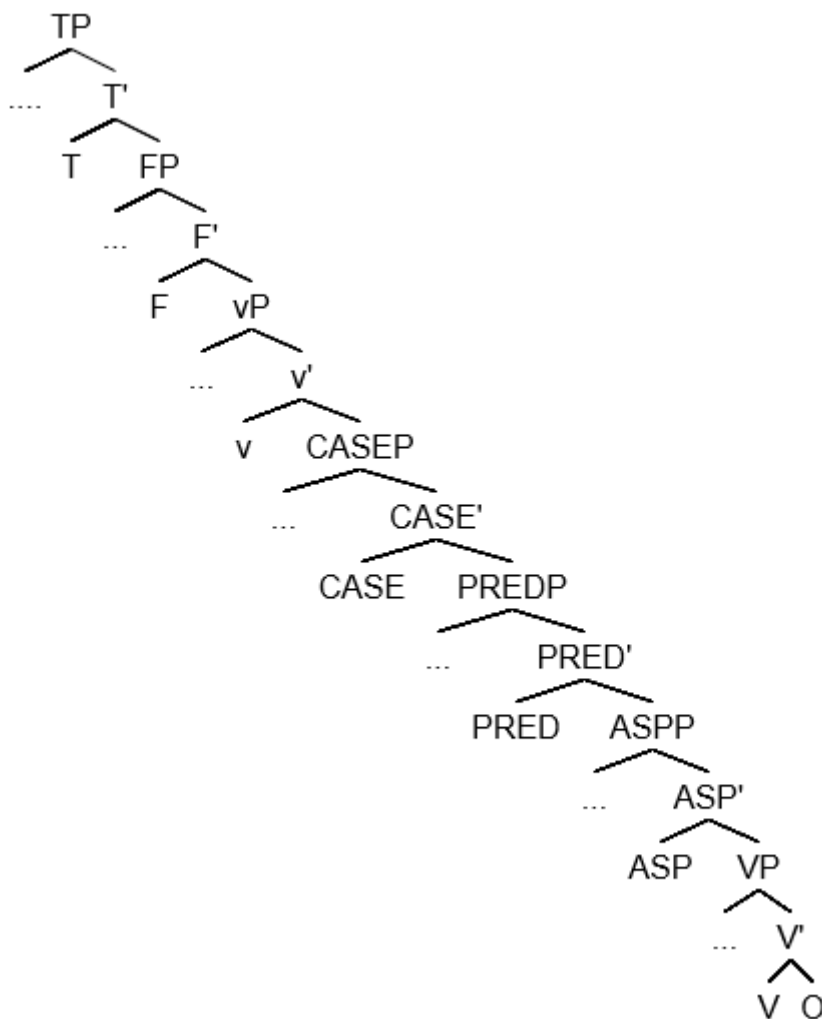
In this structure, I labelled FP the projection above the vP shell that hosts adverbials; moreover, for the sake of exposition I represent auxiliaries and modals as directly merged in the TP, but I am aware of the fact that they have not been grammaticalized yet as functional elements, and that a bi-clausal 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 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 3. Moreover, I argued in chapter 3 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 mechanics of the licensing movements of objects work (cf. Chapter 3):

(4)

        a. [$_{vP}$[$_{CASEP}$ O [CASE]][$_{PREDP}$ [PRED]][$_{ASPP}$ [ASP]][$_{VP}$ [V Θ]]]
        Licensing movement of the object to the [Spec, CASEP] 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 weight condition and the Givennes Transparency condition collide 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 3, 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.

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**	**Sune**	swingan	ne
Not	shall	no more	the	Jews	her	son	flog	nor

cwellen.
kill.

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

[CMKENTHO-M1,138.127]

b.

hu	his	bređre	Peada	&	Wulfhere
words	how	his	brethren	Peada	and Wulfhere
&	se	abbot	Saxulf	heafden	wroht	**an**
and	the	abbott	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.	[...]	&	aðes	swor	on	halidom		þet,	gif
	[...]	and	oaths	swore	on	sacred relic		that	if
	he	moste	Engleland	secen,	þet	he	scolde	begeton	
	he	must	England	seek	that	he	shall	give	
	hem	**đone**	**mynstre**	**of**	**Burch**,	[...].			
	them	the	minster	of	Peterborough	[...].			

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

<div align="right">[CMPETERB-M1,53.363]</div>

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. [$_{vP}$[$_{CASEP}$ ~~đone mynstre of Burch $_{heavy}$~~ [CASE]][$_{PREDP}$ [PRED]][$_{ASPP}$ [ASP]][$_{VP}$ [V begeton (hem) **đone mynstre of Burch** $_{heavy}$]]]
Spell-out of the lower copy due to the prosodic mapping condition.

We have seen in our dataset that our predictions are met, but we have noticed already in the OE sample that we can find also light and given elements in the post-verbal domain; on the one hand, this 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) have argued. On the other hand, this could be taken as an indication that the progressive spell-out of non-pronominal objects was becoming the unmarked option.

However, 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:

(7) [VP [[Ve [VP Obj 1[V Obj 2]]

<div align="right">(cf. Larson 1988:342)</div>

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[80], 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.

Another possible phenomenon at play when a given and light object is spelled-out in post-verbal position might be the given meaning conveyed by the verb, which would exempt the given and light element from being mapped on a weaker branch than the verb. Cf, in fact the metric representation of a constructed sentence given in example (16), chapter 3, and repeated here as (9):

---

[80] Cf. In fact the following sentence:

þæt	he	hæfð	**us**	gerymed	**rihtne**	**weg**	**to**	**ecan**	**life**
that	he	has	us	manifested	right	way	to	eternal	life

‚That he has shown us the right way to the eternal life.'

[cowulf,WHom_6:185.365]

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(9)
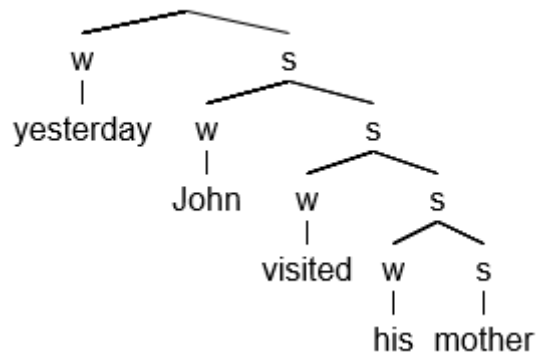
(Hinterhölzl 2014:354, example 29)

According to this metrical structure, in fact, the leftward member of a binary construction is weaker than the rightward member; when an object is given, our Givenness Transparency condition requires it to be spelled-out on a weaker branch than the branch onto which the verb is spelled-out. However, when also the verb represents given information, a given object would not need to be spelled-out on a weaker branch than the verb. We have seen that this last property is not always met, however.

We have also seen, moreover, that we can find pronominal and non-pronominal objects scrambled across a temporal adverbial; cf. the following example:

(10) &   tu   hauest **Mi   freondschipe** *inoh*   *swiđe*   of-   seruet.
      and   you   have   my   friendship   enough exceedingly   earned

'and you have earned my friendship well enough.'

[CMJULIA-M1,107.194]

In the following, I will implement our proposal by devising a position for scrambling.

Petrova and Speyer present compelling evidence for contrastive focus movement to the left periphery of the Old English clause, so it seems reasonable to assume a Split CP *à la Rizzi* (1997) for Old English. We have to keep in mind, moreover, that Van Kemenade (2012) argues that the finite verb in the Old English and in the Early Middle English period can target two positions in the left periphery; in her clausal structure, she devises a high CP projection and a "non-committal" FP projection above TP. Her data show that the finite verb and the subject in the OE and Early Middle English periods can target both these positions, and the trigger is purely syntactic in the case of the CP projection, and information structural in the case of the FP projection. It is important to bear in mind that the subject and the finite verb can target two different position, and, moreover, that subjects can be mapped in their VP internal position in

the OE and EME stages. We can translate this approach by assuming that the lower targeted position corresponds to the FinP projection, and that the higher position targeted corresponds to the ForceP projection. However, assuming that scrambled objects target a Topic Phrase in the extended left periphery does not enable us to account for sentences like the following:

(11) For   he   wolde   **þone** **forwordene** **middeneard** *eft*   aræren on
     For   he   wanted the   perished   Middle-Earth   again   build   on

     þan   ylcan dæiġe, þe   he   ærst   ġetimbrod wæs.
     the   same   day   that   he   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]

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:

(12)

```
CP
├─ ...
└─ C'
   ├─ C
   └─ TP
      ├─ ....
      └─ T'
         ├─ T
         └─ ΣP
            ├─ ...
            └─ Σ'
               ├─ Σ
               └─ FP
                  ├─ ...
                  └─ F'
                     ├─ F
                     └─ vP
                        ├─ ...
                        └─ v'
                           ├─ v
                           └─ CASEP
                              ├─ ...
                              └─ CASE'
                                 ├─ CASE
                                 └─ PREDP
                                    ├─ ...
                                    └─ PRED'
                                       ├─ PRED
                                       └─ ASPP
                                          ├─ ...
                                          └─ ASP'
                                             ├─ ASP
                                             └─ VP
                                                ├─ ...
                                                └─ V'
                                                   ├─ V
                                                   └─ O
```
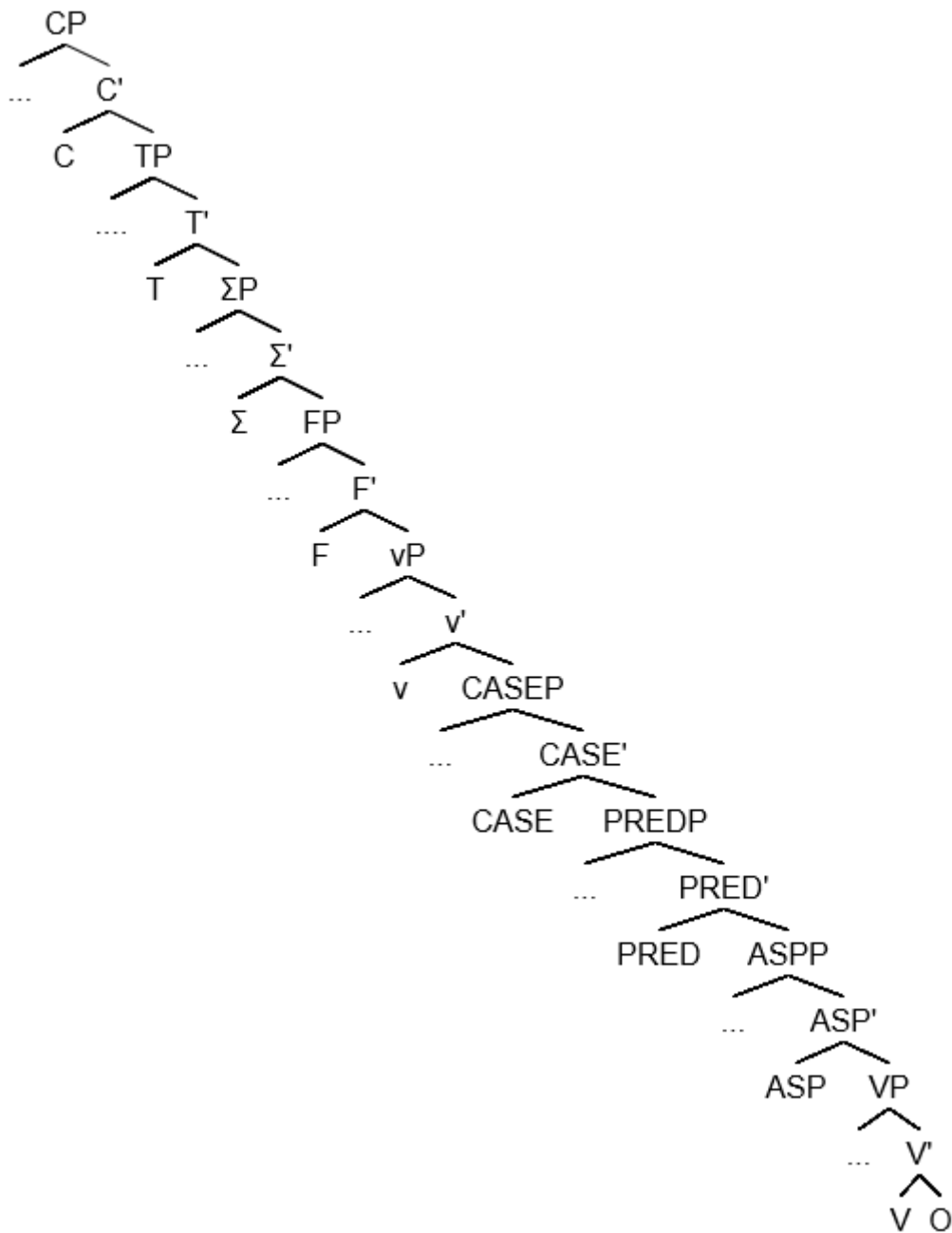
For the sake of exposition, I have not presented a Split CP in this structure, but that does not mean I exclude a split CP in our clausal architecture. I dubbed the position between the TP and the FP as ΣP, building on van Kemenade (2009). Note, however, that the [ΣP] presented here is not to be associated 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, ΣP], triggered by discourse.

Example (11) above receives the following analysis:

(13) a. [TP [T][ΣP [Σ]] [FP eft [F]] [vP [v [CASEP **þone** **forwordene middeneard** [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]] [ASPP [ASP]][VP [V aræren ~~þone forwordene middeneard~~]]]

Licensing movement to [Spec, CASEP] to check case features.

b. [TP [T][ΣP **þone forwordene middeneard** [Σ]] [FP eft [F]] [vP [v [CASEP ~~þone forwordene middeneard~~ [CASE]] [PREDP [PRED]] [ASPP [ASP]] [VP [V aræren ~~þone forwordene middeneard~~]]]

Scrambling to [Spec, ΣP]

Finally, recall that object pronouns can be found also before the inflected verb in both matrix 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 ΣP 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 ΣP proposed above as ΣP_2.

The architecture of the clause presented in (12) is integrated as follows:

(14) [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 8, 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:

(15)

Her	Ecgbriht	cing	forðferde,	7	**hyne**	hæfde	ær	Offa
Here	Egbert	king	died,	and	him	had	previsouly	Offa
Mircna		cing	7	Brihtric	Wessexena			cing
Mercians'		king	and	Bertric	West-Saxons'			king
aflymed		.iii.	gear	of	Angelcynnes			lande on
banished		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:

(16) a. [CP [C] [ΣP₁ [Σ]] [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 aflymed ~~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 aflymed ~~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.

Finally, I would like to underline that in our approach, prosodic interface conditions interact with the weight of the constituents, on the one hand, and impose licensing requirements for the mapping of pronouns onto special heads or phonologic words, as argued for in chapters 8 and 9.

Let us now turn to the structure of V > Aux clauses; the framework provided in chapter 3 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 3, example 5):

(17)
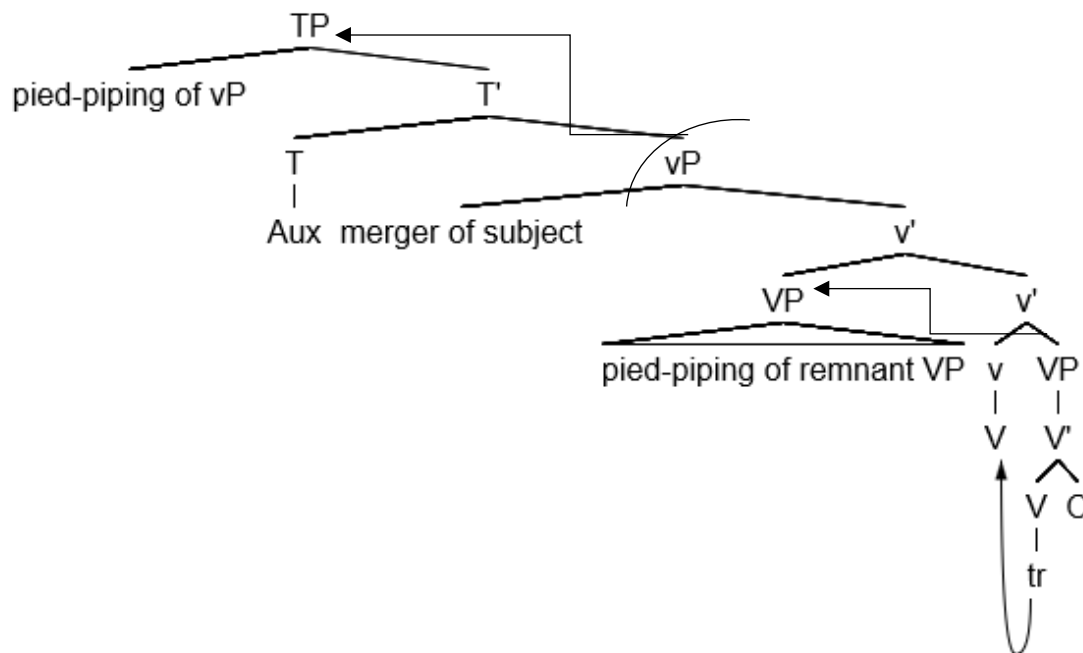
Biberauer and Roberts' (2005) structure would derive examples like the following:

(18) &   þa   he   þis   gecweden hæfde   […].

      and   when   he   this   said   had   […].

'And after he had said this, […].'
    [coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BlHom_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 of 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 6). 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 3, 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 (18) above; the representation is given in the following (cf. example 7 in chapter 3):

(19)
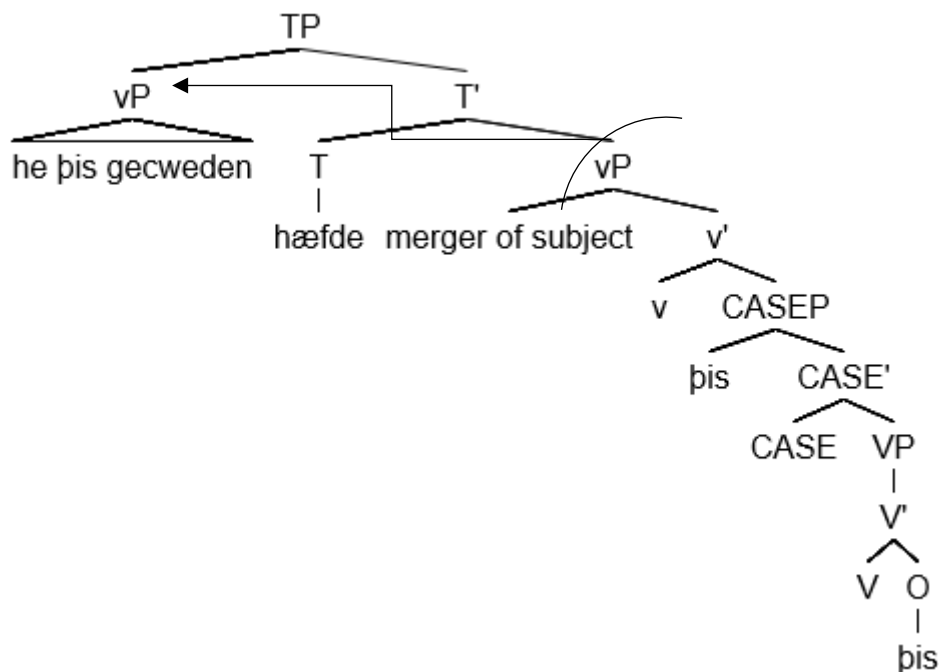
After the licensing movement of the object has taken place, the defocusing operation triggers the movement of the vP to the [Spec, TP] in order to derive the word order attested.

11. 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 2, I 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 section 2.3 I suggested that the trigger for the OV/VO alternation is information structural on the one hand, and prosodic on the other hand.

In chapter 3, 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 antisymmetic 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 3.2 and 3.3 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 3.4, 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 chapter 4, 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 matrix 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 5, 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 Early Middle English 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 matrix clause, and partition the subordinate clause into a domain containing discourse linked information, and a domain containing new information.

In chapter 6, I investigated the explorative OE sample. I concluded that in both matrix 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 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 *þ/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 progressive spell-out of all non-pronominal objects in post-verbal position.

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). 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 7, the main objective of the research is presented; I investigated matrix 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 matrix and subordinate clauses from the Ormulum. The different texts show generally a more advanced syntax in the matrix 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 matrix 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, which are predominantly light. 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 8, 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 notived 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 matrix 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; in fact, they are co-referential with the topic of the passage. 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 fas 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 3. 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, the 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 information structural interface conditions governing the syntax of OE 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 9, 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 10 I implemented the analysis provided in chapter 3, 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 rooted in the Old English period.

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Estratto per riassunto della tesi di dottorato

L'estratto (max. 1000 battute) deve essere redatto sia in lingua italiana che in lingua inglese e nella lingua straniera eventualmente indicata dal Collegio dei docenti.

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Studente: Chiara De Bastiani _____ matricola: 827015 _____

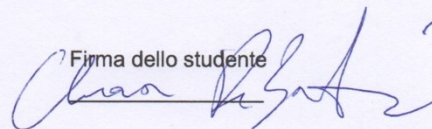Dottorato: Lingue, Culture, Società Moderne e Scienze del Linguaggio_____

Ciclo: XXXI _____

Titolo della tesi: An Interface Based Account for the grammaticalization of the VO word order in the history of English _____

Abstract:

In questo lavoro viene presentato uno studio empirico sull'ordine relativo di verbo e oggetto in antico e medio inglese, che ha alla base la postulazione di condizioni di interfaccia di natura prosodica e pragmatica. Il cambiamento linguistico avvenuto tra i periodi antico e medio inglese viene analizzato come conseguenza della perdita delle condizioni di interfaccia di natura pragmatica, causata dalla grammaticalizzazione del determinante definito e dalla perdita di un ricco sistema di elementi deittici, che avevano diverse funzioni di organizzazione dell'enunciato. Lo studio si concentra principalmente su testi chiave del periodo medio inglese, provenienti da diverse aree dialettali ed evidenzia come le cause del cambiamento sintattico affondino le loro radici nel periodo antico inglese, ridimensionando l'importo del contatto linguistico nella storia dell'inglese.

In this work, an empiric study about the relative oder of object and verb in Old and Middle English is presented. In the framework adopted, pragmatic and prosodic interface conditions are postulated; the language change is analyzed as the loss of the pragmatic interface conditions, due to the grammaticalizazion of the definite determiner, on the one hand, and to the demise of a rich system of deictic elements, which had a key role in the organization of discourse. The study concentrates mostly on a selection of Early Middle English texts, coming from different dialectal areas and shows how the premises for the language change had their roots in the Old English period, weakening the role of language contact in the language change process.

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residente a _TARZO (TV)_ in _VIA INTROVIGNE_, n. _19_

Matricola (se posseduta) _827015_ Autore della tesi di dottorato dal titolo:

AN INTERFACE BASED ACCOUNT FOR THE GRAMMATICALIZATION
OF THE VO WORD ORDER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Dottorato di ricerca in _LINGUE, CULTURE, SOCIETA MODERNE E SCIENZE DEL LINGUAGGIO_

(in cotutela con _BERGISCHE UNIVERSITÄT WUPPERTAL_)

Ciclo _XXXI_

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