

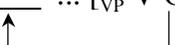
## OBJECT MOVEMENT IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

- (1) HISTORICAL PERIODS OF ENGLISH:
- |    |                               |           |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------|
| a. | Old English (OE):             | 700-1100  |
| b. | Early Middle English (EME):   | 1100-1300 |
| c. | Late Middle English (LME):    | 1300-1500 |
| d. | Early Modern English (EModE): | 1500-1700 |

- (2) [CP [TP ...        ... [VP V Obj ] ] ] ]  


- (3) Object movement was lost in the course of the development of English.
- What drove the object movement? --- §3
  - When and how did this change take place? --- §2
  - Why did this change happen? --- §4

#### 1.1. OV Order as a Diagnosis of the Object Movement

- (4) a. In earlier English, the object could precede the (lexical) verb, which is impossible in present-day English. --- (5) - (7)  
 b. English changed from an OV language to a VO language. --- (8)

#### (5) OLD ENGLISH

ond he **his feorh** *generede*, ond þeah he was oft gewundad  
 and he his life saved and yet he was often wounded  
 ‘and he saved his life, although he was often wounded’

(*ChronA* (Plummer) 755.38 / Fischer et al. (2000: 138))

#### (6) EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

Hi hadden him **manred** *maked* and **athes** *sworen*, ac hi nan treuthe ne holden  
 they had him homage done and oaths sworn but they no truth NEG kept  
 ‘They had done him homage and sworn oaths of allegiance to him, but they did not keep their word’  
 (*ChronE* (Plummer) 1137.11 / Fischer et al. (2000: 138))

#### (7) LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH

If so be that thou ne mayst nat **thyn owene conseil** *hyde*, how darstou preyen any oother  
 if so be that you NEG can not your own counsel hide how dare-you ask any other  
 wight **thy conseil** secretly to *kepe*?  
 person your counsel secret to keep  
 ‘If it is the case that you cannot hide your own counsel, how could you dare to ask anyone else to keep your counsel secret?’  
 (Chaucer *Melibee* 1147 / Fischer et al. (2000: 138))

(8) DECLINE OF OV ORDER

	c.1000	c.1200	c.1300	c.1400	c.1500
OV	52.5%	53.7%	40+%	14.3%	1.87%
VO	47.5%	46.3%	60-%	85.7%	98.13%

(Fries (1940: 200) cited in 中尾 (1972: 382))

(9) DERIVING OV ORDER FROM VO BASE ORDER: AN ARGUMENT FROM FISCHER ET AL. (2000)

a. *OV Approach vs. VO Approach*

i. OV order = OV base order

VO order = OV base order + rightward movement

⇒ Pintzuk & Kroch (1989), Kroch & Taylor (2000a) among others

ii. OV order = VO base order + leftward movement

VO order = VO base order

⇒ Roberts (1995, 1997), Wurff (1997, 1999) among others

b. *Drawbacks of the OV Approach*

Some constituents may be postverbal (i.e. (full) nominal object & PPs).

--- OPTIONAL RIGHTWARD MOVEMENT (= POSTPOSING) OF HEAVY CONSTITUENTS?

i. Light constituents can also be postposed. --- (10a)

ii. Several constituents can be postposed in a clause. --- (10b)

(10) OLD ENGLISH

a. *Pu hafast gecoren þone wer*

you have chosen the man

‘You have chosen the man’

(*ApT* 34.23 / Fischer et al. (2000: 148))

b. *þæt he nolde niman [mancyn] [neadunga] [of ðam deofle]*

that he NEG-would take mankind forcibly from the devil

‘that he would not have taken mankind forcibly from the devil’

(*ÆCHom* I, 14.1.216.4 / Fischer et al. (2000: 149))

(11) ASSUMPTION 1 (FOLLOWING FISCHER ET AL. (2000) AMONG OTHERS)

The OV order in earlier English is derived by leftward (obligatory/optional) movement from the VO base order. (cf. Kayne (1994))

**1.2. A Secondary Diagnosis: the Position of the Object vis-à-vis *Not***

(12) In earlier English, the pronominal object (and the verb) could precede the negative marker.

--- (13) & (14)

(13) LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH

a. *þerfore I do it nouit*

therefore I do it not

‘therefore I don’t do it’

(*Cloud of Unknowing* 125.20 / Wurff (1997: 488))

b. *& 3it he 3euiþ not þis grace*

and yet he gives not this grace

‘and yet he does not give this grace’

(*Cloud of Unknowing* 69.12 / Wurff (1997: 489))

(14) EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

if you *knew* **them** not

(1580 John Lyly / Roberts (1995: 274))





- b. *Pronominal Object*  
 me ssel **hine** lokey and ureþie zo holyliche  
 one must it observe and honour so religiously  
 ‘one must observe and honour it so religiously’ (Ayenb. 7.22 / Fischer et al. (2000: 162))

(23) TYPE ① (OBJ-V<sub>FINITE</sub>-V<sub>NON-FINITE</sub>)

- a. *Full Nominal Object*  
 And Absolon **his gyterne** hath ytake  
 and Absolon his guitar has taken  
 ‘And Absolon has taken his guitar’ (Chaucer *Miller’s Tale* 3353 / Wurff (1997: 490))
- b. *Pronominal Object*  
 Ne he ne may habbe skele: þet he **him** mo3e excusi  
 nor he not may have reason that he him may excuse  
 ‘Nor may he have a reason to excuse himself’ (Ayenb. 7.1 / Fischer et al. (2000: 163))

(24) FISCHER ET AL. (2000) ⇒ same analysis as those of OE & EME (cf. (4’), (5’) & (17’))

(25) WURFF (1997)

- a. analysis of derivations --- similar to Fischer et al. (2000)  
 b. OS: optional --- following Kitahara (1995)

(25’) THE DERIVATION OF OVERT OS IS ECONOMICALLY EQUAL TO THAT OF COVERT OS.

- a. *Covert V-Movement & Covert OS* --- 3 steps  
 (I) overt projection of AgrOP without Spec  
 (II) covert V-to-AgrO movement  
 (III) covert OS to (the simultaneously created) Spec AgrOP
- b. *Overt V-Movement & Overt OS* --- 4 steps  
 (I) overt V-to-AgrO movement  
 (II) overt projection of AgrO with Spec (filled by Obj)  
 (III) PF deletion of V-trace (i.e. V-copy)  
 (IV) PF deletion of Obj-trace (i.e. Obj-copy)
- c. *Overt V-Movement & Covert OS* --- 4 steps  
 (I) overt V-to-AgrO movement  
 (II) overt projection of AgrOP without Spec  
 (III) covert OS to (the simultaneously created) Spec AgrOP  
 (IV) PF deletion of V-trace (i.e. V-copy) (Wurff (1997: 494-495))

## 2.5. The 15th Century (Late Middle English)

(26) The OV order in the 15th century is restricted to the negated object, which is restricted further to the context where a finite auxiliary verb and a non-finite lexical verb appear.

--- (27) ⇒ NEG-CRITERION MOVEMENT (Ingham (2000))

(27) for I may **no leysour** haue  
 for I may no leisure have (PL 182.48 / Ingham (2000: 21))

(28) NEG-CRITERION

A Neg head must be in a Spec-head relationship with a Neg operator and vice versa.  
 (Ingham (2000: 24), cf. Haegeman (1995))







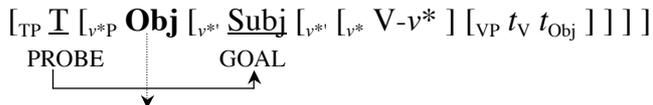
- (40) SUBJECT EXTRACTION EFFECT
- a. The special prosecutor questioned two aides of a senator during each other's trial.  
 ⇒ ANAPHOR BINDING --- OVERT OS
  - b. ??Which senator did the special prosecutor question [two friends of *t*] during each other's trials? ⇒ SUBJECT EXTRACTION EFFECT --- OVERT OS
  - c. Which senator did the special prosecutor question [two friends of *t*] during the president's trial? ⇒ NO SUBJECT EXTRACTION EFFECT --- NO OVERT OS  
 (Lasnik (2001b: 110-111))
- (40') a. ?\*Who was [a picture of *t*] selected?  
 b. Who did you select [a picture of *t*]?  
 ↓  
 Movement creates a chain, which is, by hypothesis, a set of copies. Typically, all but the highest are ultimately deleted. But if extraction has taken place out of a high copy, it will no longer be identical to the lower ones it left behind. Reasonably, deletion 'under identity' will now fail.  
 (Lasnik (2001b: 109-110), cf. Takahashi (1994))
- (41) V-OBJ-PART VS. V-PART-OBJ
- a. Mary called up friends of John.
  - b. ?Mary called friends of John up.
  - a'. Who did Mary call up friends of *t*?
  - b'. \*Who did Mary call friends of *t* up?  
 (Lasnik (2001b: 111))
- (42) SCOPE AMBIGUITY IN *MAKE-OUT* CONSTRUCTIONS
- a. The mathematician made [every even number] out not to be the sum of two primes.  
 ⇒ MATRIX CLAUSE BEHAVIOR (∀ > ¬)
  - b. The mathematician made out [every even number] not to be the sum of two primes.  
 ⇒ EMBEDDED CLAUSE BEHAVIOR (∀ > ¬ / ∀ < ¬)  
 (Lasnik (2001b: 113))
- (42') a. It seems that everyone isn't there yet. (∀ > ¬ / ∀ < ¬)  
 Everyone seems [*t* not to be there yet]. (∀ > ¬)  
 (Lasnik (2001b: 112))
- (43) OPTIONALITY OF OVERT OS
- a. If Agr has no strong feature, then PF considerations, at least, give no reason for it be present at all, and LF considerations do not seem relevant... Agr exists only when it has strong features. (Chomsky (1995b: 350-351))
  - b. ... [T]he optionality of raising is the optionality of AgrO. (Lasnik (2001b: 119))
- (44) PROPOSAL 2: DERIVING OPTIONALITY OF OS  
 Assignment of an EPP-feature to MV is impossible unless it has an effect on outcome.  
 ⇒ DEFECTIVE  $\phi$ -FEATURES (= ONLY [PERSON]?) & AN OPTIONAL EPP-FEATURE
- (45) PROPOSAL 3: CLAUSE STRUCTURE & vP-INTERNAL OS
- $[_{vP} \text{Subj } [_v [_{MV} \text{V-MV}]^{-v}] [_{MVP} \text{Obj } [_{MV'} t_{MV} [_{VP} t_V t_{Obj}]]]]]$
- OS
- (cf. Koizumi (1993, 1995), Lasnik (1999a, 1999b, 2001a, 2001b, in press))

(46) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROPOSAL 3 AND THE SPLIT VP HYPOTHESIS

	PROPOSAL 3	SPLIT VP HYPOTHESIS
LOCUS OF CASE-AGREEMENT	$v$	AgrO
FURTHER A-MOVEMENT	Spec MVP --- possible	Spec AgrOP --- impossible
OPTIONALITY OF OS	availability of EPP-feature	availability of AgrO

3.2. OS + Further Movement

(47) FREE APPLICATION OF OS (AGREE/MERGE) BOTH IN [+OS] AND [-OS] LANGUAGES



INDUCE INTERVENTION EFFECT  $\Rightarrow$  OBJ MUST BE VACATED. --- (48)

(48) Then Icelandic, for example, also excludes OS without further raising of the object, either A'-movement or DISL. (Chomsky (2001a: 30))

(49) ... [+OS] languages have a dislocation rule DISL that raises OS to a higher position, possibly a phonological rule similar to English TH/EX. (Chomsky (2001a: 30))

(50) POSSIBILITY OF OS (I)

- a. [+OS] languages
  - i. OS + A'-movement
  - i'. OS + DISL
  - ii. OS w/o any further movement --- IMPOSSIBLE
- b. [-OS] languages
  - i. OS + A'-movement
  - ii. OS w/o any further movement --- IMPOSSIBLE

(51) HOLMBERG'S GENERALIZATION: OS is contingent on V-raising (out of VP).

(52) a. UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE 1

$v^*$  is assigned an EPP-feature only if that has a(n) (semantic) effect on outcome.

b. UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE 2

The EPP position (i.e. phonological edge) of  $v^*$  is assigned INT.

c. PARAMETER

At the phonological border of  $v^*P$ , XP is assigned INT'. (Chomsky (2001a: 35))

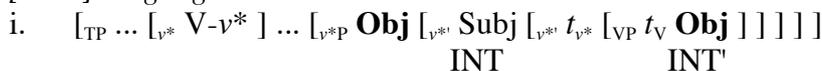
(53) INT is an interpretive complex which consists of specificity/definiteness, new information, focus, etc.; this is the semantic interpretation that the shifted object receives.

(Chomsky (2001a: 31))

(54) The phonological border of a phrase is a position not c-commanded by phonological material in that phrase. (Chomsky (2001a: 34))

(55) POSSIBILITY OF OS (II)

a. [+OS] languages



PHONOLOGICAL EDGE      PHONOLOGICAL BORDER









(69) TRANSITION OF OBJECT MOVEMENT RECONSIDERED

	TYPE OF OBJECTS	TYPE OF MOVEMENT	LANDING SITE
14C	any	OS + DISL	?
	negated/quantified	OS + NM/overt QR	Spec NegP/Spec ShareP
	any	OS + Topicalization	Spec TopP
15C	pronominal	OS + DISL	?
	negated/quantified	OS + NM/overt QR	Spec NegP/Spec ShareP
	any	OS + Topicalization	Spec TopP
16C	pronominal	OS + DISL	?

(cf. (35))

(69') I-LANGUAGE CHANGE

- a. 14C: change in the nature of DISL  
     ⇒ DISL restricted to unstressed light elements (i.e. weak pronominals)
- b. 15C: loss of NM, overt QR & Topicalization in coordinated/relative clauses  
     ⇒ loss of P-feature on Neg, Share & Top in coordinated/relative clauses
- c. 16C: resetting of parameter (52c)  
     (NOT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF LOSS OF (FINITE) VERB MOVEMENT --- (73b))

↓

WHAT KIND OF E-LANGUAGE CHANGE CAUSED THESE CHANGES? --- TO BE WORKED OUT

- (70) a. (69'b) and (69'c) occurred at the stage of language acquisition.  
     --- FEATURE RECOMPOSITION & PARAMETER RESETTING
- b. (69'a) also occurred at the stage of acquisition? --- ???

**5. RESIDUAL ISSUES**

**5.1. (13b) vs. (23a)**

- (71) a. absence of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{full nominal}}$ -*Not* order
- b. existence of  $\text{Obj}_{\text{full nominal}}$ -Aux-V order  
     ⇒ AN ACCIDENTAL GAP RATHER THAN A SYSTEMATIC GAP?  
     OR  
     (23A) IS A MARKED CASE, SINCE THIS TYPE IS INFREQUENT?

**5.2. Difference between Matrix and Embedded Clauses**

- (72) a. SVO: dominant in the matrix clause
- b. SOV: dominant in the embedded clause  
     ⇒ DUE TO THE AVAILABILITY OF V2 IN THE MATRIX CLAUSES?

- (72') a. TYPE 1  
 In most main clauses or the first of a set of coordinates, if the underlying sentence is a saying, promise, or prediction, and if the proposition is affirmative, the order is:  
*Subj (Aux) V (Obj) ...*
- b. TYPE 2  
 In main clauses if the underlying sentence is a command to answer (interrogative), or if the proposition is negative, or certain adverbs of time and place occur, the order is:  
*(X) V/Aux Subj ...*
- c. TYPE 3  
 In subordinate clauses or any coordinated clause except the first, the order is:  
*Subj (Obj) ... V (Aux)*
- (Traugott (1972: 107), cf. 中尾・児馬 (1990))

- (73) a. LOSS OF V2
- i. sharp decline in the late 14th & early 15th centuries
  - ii. further decline in the 15th century
  - iii. revival in the 16th century --- percentage different among texts ⇒ STYLISTIC
  - iv. final decline in the 17th century ⇒ STYLISTIC
  - v. loss in the 18th century?
- (cf. Fischer et al. (2000), Ishikawa (2001), Kemenade (1987))
- b. LOSS OF V-TO-I MOVEMENT: THE RISE OF *DO*-SUPPORT
- i. sharp rise in affirmative/negative questions in the late 15th century
  - ii. sharp rise in negative declaratives in the early 16th century
  - iii. sharp rise in negative imperatives in the late 16th century
  - iv. replacement completed in the 18th century
- (cf. Ellegård (1953), Han (1998, 2000), Kroch (1989))

### 5.3. Change in Frequency

- 🍏 How can the decline of OV order be explained in minimalist terms? (cf. (8))

#### APPENDIX 1: TEXTS IN THE PPCME2

- (74) *THE PENN-HELSINKI PARSED CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH* 2ND ED. (KROCH & TAYLOR (2000B))
- a. MX1 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1150-1250)
    - i. *Lambeth Homilies*
    - ii. *Trinity Homilies*
  - b. M1 (1150-1250)
    - i. *Kentish Homilies*
    - ii. *Peterborough Chronicle*
    - iii. *The Ormulum*
    - iv. *Lambeth Homilies*
    - v. *Vices and Virtues*
    - vi. *Katherine Group (Sawles Warde, Hali Meidhad, St. Katherine, St. Juliana, St. Margaret)*
    - vii. *Ancrene Riwe*
  - c. M2 (1250-1350)
    - i. *Kentish Sermons*
    - ii. *Ayenbite of Inwyt*
    - iii. *Earliest Prose Psalter*
  - d. M23 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1350-1420)
    - i. *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum (Vernon ms.)*

- e. M24 (comp. date 1250-1350; ms. date 1420-1500)
  - i. *Richard Rolle's Prose Treatises*
  - ii. *Richard Rolle's Epistles*
- f. M3 (1350-1420)
  - i. *John of Trevisa's Polychronicon*
  - ii. *The New Testament (Wycliffe)*
  - iii. *Purvey's General Prologue to the Bible*
  - iv. *Mirrore of St. Edmund (Vernon ms.)*
  - v. *The Parson's Tale*
  - vi. *Tale of Melibee*
  - vii. *The Equatorie of the Planets*
  - viii. *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*
  - ix. *English Wycliffite Sermons*
  - x. *Boethius*
  - xi. *The Old Testament (Wycliffe)*
  - xii. *The Cloud of Unknowing*
  - xiii. *Mandeville's Travels*
  - xiv. *The Rule of St. Benet*
  - xv. *Treatise on the Astrolabe*
  - xvi. *A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses*
- g. M34 (comp. date 1350-1420; ms. date 1420-1500)
  - i. *Mirror of St. Edmund (Thornton ms.)*
  - ii. *Dan Jon Gaytridg's Sermon*
  - iii. *Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*
  - iv. *The Book of Vices and Vertues*
  - v. *Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love*
  - vi. *Middle English Sermons, Royal ms.*
  - vii. *Mirk's Festial*
- h. MX4 (comp. date unknown; ms. date 1420-1500)
  - i. *The 'Liber de Diversis Medicinis' in Thornton ms.*
- i. M4 (1420-1500)
  - i. *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum (Bodley ms.)*
  - ii. *Life of St. Edmund*
  - iii. *The Book of Margery Kemp*
  - iv. *Capgrave's Sermon*
  - v. *Capgrave's Chronicle*
  - vi. *Malory's Morte Darthur*
  - vii. *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*
  - viii. *Gregory's Chronicle*
  - ix. *Caxton's History of Reynard the Fox*
  - x. *Fitzjames' Sermo die Lune*
  - xi. *In Die Innocencium*
  - xii. *The Siege of Jerusalem*

## APPENDIX 2: QUERY AND RESULTS

(75) query: (NP-OB\* anyPrecedes V\*|MD\*|HV\*|HA\*|BE\*|BAGIDA\*|DO\*)

## (76) RESULT OF (75)

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
MX1	2489	1607	4484
M1	7268	4723	12099
M2	2433	1598	10857
M23	388	286	1053
M24	886	623	1958
M3	7870	6009	26945
M34	2543	1749	6018
MX4	73	65	674
M4	5092	4043	19425

- (76') a. hits found  $\Rightarrow$  object-verb order found  
b. tokens containing hits  $\Rightarrow$  sentences containing object-verb order  
c. total tokens searched  $\Rightarrow$  total sentences searched

## (77) MX1

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmlambx1	866	581	1410
cmtrinit	1623	1026	3074
TOTAL	2489	2607	4484

## (78) M1

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmmarga	307	214	639
cmlamb1	277	185	526
cmkathe	356	235	544
cmjulia	314	217	568
cmhali	328	206	511
cmpeterb	182	147	647
cmancriw	1497	1102	3559
cmvives1	1372	858	1893
cmsawles	162	113	276
cmorm.po	2300	1321	2638
cmkenth	173	125	298
TOTAL	7268	4723	12099

## (79) M2

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmayanbi	1870	1128	2757
cmkentse	130	79	231
cmearlps	433	391	7869
TOTAL	2433	1598	10857

## (80) M23

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmaelr3	388	286	1053

(81) M24

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmrolltr	374	264	956
cmrollep	512	359	1002
TOTAL	886	623	1958

(82) M3

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmctmeli	453	312	860
cmotest	135	115	810
cmntest	219	181	1152
cmastro	94	71	404
cmboeth	259	183	567
cmbrut3	1183	902	4114
cmcloud	352	240	827
cmpolych	629	519	3794
cmpurvey	650	507	2368
cmmandev	779	618	3312
cmhorses	133	109	422
cmctpars	639	469	1674
cmwycser	1290	1019	3910
cmequato	69	60	341
cmedvern	346	240	936
cmbenrul	640	464	1454
TOTAL	7870	6009	26945

(83) M34

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmmirk	1262	902	3709
cmgaytry	180	89	199
cmvices4	244	151	364
cmjulnor	167	120	334
cmedthor	425	297	795
cmroyal	158	118	399
cmhilton	107	72	218
TOTAL	2543	1749	6018

(84) MX4

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmthorn	73	65	674

(85) M4

	HITS FOUND	TOKENS CONTAINING HITS	TOTAL TOKENS SEARCHED
cmsiege	182	154	733
cmkempe	1757	1248	3853
cmaelr4	287	223	766
cminnoce	74	55	208
cmedmund	60	48	300
cmmalory	1208	1053	4997
cmfitzja	116	74	228
cmreynes	120	98	703
cmreynar	202	162	740
cmgregor	276	240	2631
cmcapchr	778	660	4175
cmcaser	32	28	91
TOTAL	5092	4043	19425

(84') REAL OV TOKENS IN MX4

	REAL OV TOKEN	HITS	SENTENCES	TOTAL SEARCHED
cmthorn	4 (5.5%)	73	65	674

- (86) a. & **þe** sall *mende* with schort tymm, & þu vse it. (CMTHORN 6.32)  
 b. & **þe blak slaes of þe wode & wormode** *do þer*-with (CMTHORN 11.251)  
 c. Mynt & porret, **þat swages** *werke* in wondes. (CMTHORN 71.585)  
 d. **Thies herbis stampe** *wele* with a pounce of schepe talghe & a pounce of olyue (CMTHORN 73.654)

(87) A few instances of OV order with non-quantified/non-negated nominals in non-relative/non-coordinated contexts are attested in Foster & Wurff (1995, 1997), Koma (2001), Moerenhout & Wurff (2000) and Wurff & Foster (1997).

⇒ OS + DISL STILL SURVIVED IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES?

### APPENDIX 3: OUTPUT EXAMPLES (MX4)

HEADER:

source file: cmthorn.mx4.psd

& +te sall mende with schort tyymm, & +tu vse it.

(CMTHORN,6.32)

1 IP-MAT: 4 NP-OB1, 6 MD sall

1 IP-MAT: 4 NP-OB1, 7 VB mende

1 IP-MAT: 4 NP-OB1, 21 VBP vse

(0

(1 IP-MAT (2 CONJ &

(3 NP-SBJ \*pro\*))

(4 NP-OB1 (5 PRO +te))

(6 MD sall)

(7 VB mende)

(8 PP (9 P with)

(10 NP (11 ADJ schort) (12 N tyymm)))

(13 , ,)

(14 PP (15 P &

(16 CP-ADV (17 C 0)

(18 IP-SUB

(19 NP-SBJ (20 PRO +tu))

(21 VBP vse)

(22 NP-OB1 (23 PRO it))))))

(24 E\_S .))

(ID CMTHORN,6.32))

& +te blak slaes of +te wode & wormode do +ter-with

(CMTHORN,11.251)

1 IP-IMP: 3 NP-OB1, 17 DOI do

(0

(1 IP-IMP (2 CONJ &

(3 NP-OB1

(4 NP (5 D +te) (6 ADJ blak) (7 NS slaes))

(8 PP (9 P of)

(10 NP (11 D +te) (12 N wode)))

(13 CONJP (14 CONJ &

(15 NP (16 N wormode))))))

(17 DOI do)

(18 PP (19 ADV+P +ter-with)))

(ID CMTHORN,11.251))

Mynt & porret, +tat swages werke in wondes.

(CMTHORN,71.585)

1 IP-MAT: 7 NP-OB1, 10 VBP werke

(0

(1 IP-MAT

(2 NP-SBJ (3 N Mynt) (4 CONJ &) (5 N porret))

(6 , .)

(7 NP-OB1 (8 D +tat) (9 NS swages))

(10 VBP werke)

(11 PP (12 P in)

(13 NP (14 NS wondes)))

(15 E\_S .))

(ID CMTHORN,71.585))

Thies herbis stampe wele with a pounce of schepe talghe & a pounce of olyue

(CMTHORN,73.654)

1 IP-IMP: 2 NP-OB1, 5 VBI stampe

(0

(1 IP-IMP

(2 NP-OB1 (3 D Thies) (4 NS herbis))

(5 VBI stampe)

(6 ADVP (7 ADV wele))

(8 PP (9 P with)

(10 NP

(11 NP (12 D a)

(13 N pounce)

(14 PP (15 P of)

(16 NP (17 N schepe) (18 N talghe))))

(19 CONJP (20 CONJ &)

(21 NP (22 D a)

(23 N pounce)

(24 PP (25 P of)

(26 NP (27 N olyue))))))))))

(ID CMTHORN,73.654))

#### FOOTER

source file: cmthorn.mx4.psd

hits found: 73

tokens containing the hits: 65

total tokens searched: 674

SUMMARY: regular output file.

command file: np-ob.q

output file: np-ob(mx4).out

source files, hits/tokens/total

cmthorn.mx4.psd 73/65/674

grand total hits : 73

grand total tokens containing hits: 65

grand total tokens searched: 674

#### APPENDIX 4: PART-OF-SPEECH AND SYNTACTIC LABELS

##### A

ADJ	adjective
ADJP	adjective phrase
ADJP-LOC	locative adjective phrase
ADJP-SPR	adjective phrase secondary predicate
ADJR	adjective, comparative
ADJS	adjective, superlative
ADJX	adjectival constituent, ambiguous level (ADJ, ADJ', or ADJP)
ADV	adverb
ADVP	adverb phrase
ADVP-DIR	directional adverb phrase
ADVP-LOC	locative adverb phrase
ADVP-LOC-LFD	left-dislocated locative adverb phrase
ADVP-TMP	temporal adverb phrase
ADVR	adverb, comparative
ADVS	adverb, superlative
ADVX	adverbial constituent, ambiguous level (ADV, ADV', or ADVP)
ALSO	the words ALSO (except when = AS) and EKE

##### B

BAG	present participle BE
BE	infinitive BE
BED	past BE (including past subjunctive)
BEI	imperative BE
BEN	perfect participle BE
BEP	present BE (including present subjunctive)

##### C

C	complementizer
CODE	non-text material
CONJ	coordinating conjunction
CONJP	conjunction phrase
CP-ADV	adverbial clause
CP-CAR	clause-adjoined relative
CP-CLF	it-cleft
CP-CMP	comparative clause
CP-DEG	degree complement
CP-EOP	empty operator complementizer phrase
CP-EXL	exclamation
CP-FRL	free relative
CP-QUE	question (direct or indirect)
CP-QUE-ADV	adverbial WHETHER question
CP-QUE-LFD	left-dislocated indirect question
CP-QUE-SBJ	indirect question subject
CP-REL	relative clause
CP-THT	that clause
CP-THT-LFD	left-dislocated that clause
CP-THT-SBJ	that clause subject
CP-TMC	tough-movement complement

<b>D</b>	
D	determiner
DAG	present participle DO
DAN	passive participle DO (verbal or adjectival)
DO	infinitive DO
DOD	past DO (including past subjunctive)
DOI	imperative DO
DON	perfect participle DO
DOP	present DO (including present subjunctive)
<b>E</b>	
ELSE	the word ELSE (in the collocation OR ELSE)
E_S	end of sentence (parsed files)
EX	existential THERE
<b>F</b>	
FOR	infinitival FOR
FOR+TO	cliticized FOR TO
FP	focus particle
FRAG	sentence fragment
FRENCH	French text
FW	foreign word
<b>G</b>	
GREEK	Greek text
<b>H</b>	
HAG	present participle HAVE
HAN	passive participle HAVE (verbal or adjectival)
HEBREW	Hebrew text
HV	infinitive HAVE
HVD	past HAVE (including past subjunctive)
HVI	imperative HAVE
HVN	perfect participle HAVE
HVP	present HAVE (including present subjunctive)

<b>I</b>	
ID	sentence identification
INTJ	interjection
INTJP	interjection phrase
IP-ABS	absolute clause
IP-IMP	imperative
IP-INF	complement infinitive
IP-INF-ABS	infinite absolute
IP-INF-ADT	adjunct infinitive
IP-INF-DEG	degree infinitive
IP-INF-LFD	left-dislocated infinitive
IP-INF-PRP	purpose infinitive
IP-INF-SBJ	infinitival subject
IP-MAT	declarative matrix clause
IP-PPL	participial clause
IP-PPL-SBJ	participial clause subject
IP-SMC	small clause
IP-SUB	subordinate clause
<b>J</b>	
<b>K</b>	
<b>L</b>	
LATIN	Latin text
LB	line break
-LFD	added to a left-dislocated constituent
<b>M</b>	
MAN	indefinite subject pronoun (ME, MAN)
MD	modal verb
MDO	untensed modal verb

<b>N</b>	
N	noun
N\$	possessive noun
NEG	negation
NODE	printed in output when nodes_only is true
NP	noun phrase
NP-ADT	adjunct noun phrase
NP-ADV	noun phrase adverb
NP-COM	noun phrase complement
NP-DIR	directional noun phrase
NP-DPS	dative of possession
NP-LFD	left-dislocated noun phrase
NP-LOC	locative noun phrase
NP-MSR	measure noun phrase
NP-OB1	first object
NP-OB2	second object
NP-POS	possessive noun phrase
NP-PRN	parenthetical or appositive noun phrase
NP-RFL	reflexive noun phrase
NP-SBJ	noun phrase subject
NP-SPR	noun phrase secondary predicate
NP-TMP	temporal noun phrase
NP-VOC	vocative noun phrase
NPR	proper noun, singular
NPR\$	possessive proper noun
NPRS	proper noun, plural
NPRS\$	possessive plural proper noun
NS	common noun, plural
NS\$	possessive plural noun
NUM	cardinal number
NUM\$	genitive or possessive number
NUMP	number phrase
NX	nominal constituent, ambiguous level (N, N', or N)
<b>O</b>	
ONE	the word ONE (except as focus particle)
ONE\$	possessive ONE
OTHER	the word OTHER (except as conjunction)
OTHER\$	possessive nominal use of OTHER
OTHERS	plural nominal use of OTHER
OTHERS\$	possessive OTHERS
<b>P</b>	
P	preposition or subordinating conjunction
PP	prepositional phrase
PP-LFD	left-dislocated prepositional phrase
-PRN	added to an appositive or parenthetical constituent
PRO	personal pronoun
PRO\$	possessive pronoun

<b>Q</b>	
Q	quantifier
Q\$	possessive quantifier
QP	quantifier phrase
QR	quantifier, comparative (MORE, LESS)
QS	quantifier, superlative (MOST, LEAST)
QTP	quotation phrase
QX	quantifier phrase, ambiguous level (Q, Q', or QP)
<b>R</b>	
REF	reference
RP	adverbial particle
RRC	reduced relative clause
-RSP	added to a resumptive element
<b>S</b>	
-SPE	added to IPs and CPs to indicate direct speech
SUCH	the word SUCH
<b>T</b>	
TO	infinitival TO, AT, and TIL
<b>U</b>	
<b>V</b>	
VAG	present participle
VAN	passive participle (verbal or adjectival)
VB	infinitive, all other verbs
VBD	past (including past subjunctive)
VBI	imperative
VBN	perfect participle
VBP	present (including present subjunctive)
VP	verb phrase
<b>W</b>	
WADJP	wh- adjective phrase
WADV	wh-adverb
WADVP	wh- adverb phrase
WARD	the morpheme WARD
WD	wh-determiner
WNP	wh- noun phrase
WPP	wh- prepositional phrase
WPRO	wh-pronoun
WPRO\$	possessive wh-pronoun
WQ	WHETHER introducing indirect questions
WQP	wh- quantifier phrase
<b>X</b>	
X	unknown
<b>Y</b>	
<b>Z</b>	

## Symbols

,	non-final sentence punctuation
.	sentence-final punctuation (pos files only)
"	quotation mark
\$	possessive ending or clitic

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