

Verb Particles and OV/VO in the History Of English

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- CLAIMS OF THE PAPER: ① verb particles = intransitive prepositions = (optionally) projecting secondary predicates
 ② position of verb particles ≠ diagnostic for OV/VO order
 ③ OV order with DP-objects in EME ⇒ highly discourse-sensitive and derived by scrambling

ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER:	§1 ✨ Status of verb particles in the history of English §1.1: verb particles = intransitive prepositions §1.2: verb particles = (optionally) projecting secondary predicates §1.3: verb particles ⇒ not prosodically light
	§2 ✨ Position of verb particles and OV/VO word order in the history of English §2.1: analysis of OE and EME word order (rebuttal to Pintzuk (1997, 2002) and Kroch & Taylor (2000a))
	§3 ✨ Discourse-sensitive scrambling in ME
	§4 ✨ Conclusion

1. THE STATUS OF VERB PARTICLES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

[I] ELENBAAS (2006, 2007) & LOS ET AL. (2012)

1.1. VERB PARTICLES ARE INTRANSITIVE PREPOSITIONS

[II] VERB PARTICLE = SUBCATEGORY OF THE CATEGORY P = INTRANSITIVE PREPOSITION

- i. verb particles & prepositions ⇒ homophonous (e.g. *up, out, off, over*)
- ii. syntactic behavior ⇒ different ---> (1)

(1) VERB PARTICLE

- a. She dug up a secret.
- b. She dug a secret up.
- c. *She dug up it.
- d. She dug it up.

PREPOSITION

- a'. He climbed up a ladder.
- b'. *He climbed a ladder up.
- c'. He climbed up it.
- d'. *He climbed it up.

[II] SVENONIUS (2003): DIFFERENCE IN SEMANTIC TYPES OF THE NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

- i. complement of prepositions ⇒ a Figure & a Ground / a Ground ---> (2a)
- ii. complement of verb particles ⇒ a Figure ---> (2b)

GROUND: The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site, or orientation is characterized.
FIGURE: The Figure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue.
(Talmy (2000: 312); cf. Talmy (1978: 627))

(2) a. PREPOSITION

He took the hat [_{PP} off his head].
 FIGURE GROUND

b. VERB PARTICLE

He took the hat [_{Pr} off].
 FIGURE

[III] 'PARTICLE' ✨ DISTRIBUTIONAL TERM ---> (3)

(3) WORD-ORDER ALTERNATION

- a. *Adj*: He wiped the table clean. / He wiped clean the table.
- b. *N*: She brought the stray cat home. / She brought home the stray cat.

1.2. VERB PARTICLES ARE (OPTIONALLY) PROJECTING SECONDARY PREDICATES

[IV] VERB + VERB PARTICLE ✨ EXPRESSING A COMPLEX EVENT ---> (4) & (5): VERB PARTICLE = SECONDARY PREDICATE

- (4) VERB PARTICLE WITH A LITERAL, DIRECTIONAL MEANING
- a. *LOE*
 Donne Moyses **his handa** up ahof,...
 when Moses his hands up raised
 ‘When Moses raised his hands,...’ (O3; cootest, Exod: 17.11.3063)
- b. *EME*
 Ha hackede of **his heaued**
 they cleaved off his head
 ‘They cleaved off his head’ (M1; CMANCRIW, II.220.3190)
- c. *EModE*
 ... and tooke up **a brick-bat which lay there by**
 ‘... and picked up a brickbat that lay near there’ (E2; ARMIN-E2-P2, 38.267)
- d. *PDE*
 Recovering slightly from the terror of a moment ago, he wondered whether he dared pick up **the skull**. (BNC, ACV 815)
- ☞ VERB PARTICLES EXPRESSING DENOTING THE END-STATE OF THE ACTION EXPRESSED BY THE VERB
- (5) VERB PARTICLE WITH A NON-LITERAL MEANING
- LME*
 þen schalt þou with suche a pouder help up **þe wounde**.
 then shall you with such a powder heal up the wound
 ‘Then, with such a powder you shall heal up the wound.’ (M3; CMHORSES, 125.394)
- [V] VERB PARTICLE SEPARATED FROM THE VERB ---> (6)
- (6) a. *LOE*
 þa het he niman Claudium and lædan to sæ, and wurpan **hine** ut mid anum weorcstane.
 then ordered he take Claudius and lead to sea and throw him out with a hewn stone
 ‘then he ordered Claudius to be taken and led to the sea and thrown in with a hewn stone.’ (O3; coelive, ÆLS [Chrysanthus]: 222.7458)
- b. *EME*
 & speowen **hit** ut þer
 and spit it out there
 ‘and spit it out there’ (M1; CMANCRIW, II.69.778)
- c. *EModE*
 And with that worde spekyng as he dyd cast **his armys** out to make his con~tenau~ce there fell a podynge out of his sleue
 which he hymself had stole~a lytel before in y=e= same alehous
 ‘And with that word, speaking as he did, threw his arms out to make his countenance, there fell a pudding out of his
 sleeve which he himself had stolen a while before in the same alehouse’ (E1; MERRY TAL-E1-P2, 121.264)
- d. *PDE*
 Despite this, in most areas we are continuing to hold **our rates** down. (BNC, AYP 1517)
- [VI] VERB PARTICLE = SYNTACTICALLY INDEPENDENT ELEMENT
- i. position: predominantly pre-verbal to predominantly post-verbal
 ii. projecting a phrase ---> (7) & (8)
- (7) *LOE*
- a. VERB PARTICLE TOPICALIZED
Niðer he ahreas...
 down he fell
 ‘He fell down...’ (O3; cocathom1, ÆCHom I, 11:270.111.2078)
- b. VERB PARTICLE MODIFIED
 On ane healfe þæs mynstres wæs an ormæte clif ascoren rihte adune,...
 on one side of-the monastery was a huge rock cut right down
 ‘A huge rock was cut right down on one side of the monastery,...’ (O3; coelive, ÆLS [Martin]: 315.6159)
- (8) *LME*
- a. VERB PARTICLE TOPICALIZED
 ...that downe he felle in a sowghe to the grounde.
 that down he fell in a swoon to the ground
 ‘... that he fell down to the ground in a swoon.’ (M4; CMMALORY, 206.3390)
- b. VERB PARTICLE MODIFIED
 ...and the bookis of the olde testament, that ben not anentis Ebreies, and bennot of the noumbre of
 and the books of the old testament that are not among Hebrews and are-not of the number of
 holy writ, owen to be cast fer away;
 holy scriptures have to be cast far away
 ‘... and the books of the Old Testament that are not among Hebrews, and that are not of the number of the Holy Scriptures,
 have to be thrown far away;’ (M3; CMPURVEY, I,2.74)

[VII] THE ADJACENT V-PRT ORDER MUCH MORE FREQUENT THAN THE NON-ADJACENT V...PRT ORDER FROM EME ONWARD
 ---> Tables 1a, 1b, 2a & 2b (M1 (1150-1250) & M2 (1250-1350))

Table 1a. The position of verb particles with respect to the finite verb in M1 (1150–1250) and M2 (1250–1350) main clauses.

Main	Pre-verbal						Post-verbal				Total V _f +prt main		
	prt-V _f		prt...V _f		Total Pre		V _f -prt		V _f ...prt			Total Post	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%
M1	0	0.0	1	0.9	1	0.9	68	58.6	47	40.5	115	99.1	116
M2	3	5.6	0	0.0	3	5.6	45	83.3	6	11.1	51	94.4	54

Table 1b. The position of verb particles with respect to the non-finite verb in M1(1150–1250) and M2 (1250–1350) main clauses.

Main	Pre-verbal						Post-verbal				Total V _{nf} +prt main		
	prt-V _{nf}		prt...V _{nf}		Total Pre		V _{nf} -prt		V _{nf} ...			Total Post	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%
M1	8	23.5	1	2.9	9	26.5	21	61.8	4	11.8	25	73.5	34
M2	2	9.1	0	0.0	2	9.1	19	86.4	1	4.5	20	90.9	22

Table 2a. The position of verb particles with respect to the finite verb in M1 (1150–1250) and M2 (1250–1350) embedded clauses.

Sub	Pre-verbal						Post-verbal				Total V _f +prt sub		
	prt-V _f		prt...V _f		Total Pre		V _f -prt		V _f ...prt			Total Post	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%
M1	12	12.5	0	0.0	12	12.5	59	61.5	25	26.0	84	87.5	96
M2	2	10.5	1	5.3	3	15.8	13	68.4	3	15.8	16	84.2	19

Table 2b. The position of verb particles with respect to the non-finite verb in M1 (1150–1250) and M2 (1250–1350) embedded clauses.

Sub	Pre-verbal						Post-verbal				Total V _{nf} +prt sub		
	prt-V _{nf}		prt...V _{nf}		Total Pre		V _{nf} -prt		V _{nf} ...prt			Total Post	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%
M1	9	11.5	1	1.3	10	12.8	56	71.8	12	15.4	68	87.2	78
M2	1	8.3	0	0.0	1	8.3	10	83.3	1	8.3	11	91.7	12

⇓

PREDOMINANCE OF POST-VERBAL PARTICLES IN EME

✂ INCREASE IN SYNTACTIC UNITY BETWEEN THE VERB AND VERB PARTICLE ---> [VIII]

[VIII] The predominance of post-verbal particles in EME formed a trigger for language learners to analyze verb particles as optionally projecting heads.

i. NON-PROJECTION (ECONOMICAL) ✂ default

ii. PROJECTION

✂ triggered by a restricted set of linguistic factors

a. modification (syntactic factor) ⇒ to host the modifier

b. information structure (discourse factor)

	DP OBJECT	PARTICLE
V-PRT-DP	new information	
V-DP-PRT	given information	focus position ⇒ phrasal status

[IX] DISTRIBUTION OF VERB PARTICLES MORE AND MORE RESTRICTED IN THE COURSE OF THE ME PERIOD

i. verbs and verb particles less separable

ii. adverb modification of verb particles restricted

✂ syntactic bond between verbs and verb particles closer: EModE examples ---> (9)

- (9) *EModE*
- a. V-PRT-DP
 ... and **tooke** **up** **a brick-bat which lay there by**
 ‘... and picked up a brickbat that lay near there.’ (E2; ARMIN-E2-P2, 38.267)
heaviness of the object
- b. V-DP-PRT
 For his dissimulation onelye, **kepte** **all that mischyeffe** **vppe**.
 ‘For his dissimulation only, kept all that mischief up.’ (E1; MORERIC-E1-P2, 46.77)
the discourse-old status of the object
- c. V-NEG-PRT(-DP)
 ... taking good heede that thou **stirrest** **not** **vp** **furious pleasures**,
 ‘... taking good heed that you do not stir up furious pleasures, ...’ (E1; TURNER-E1-P2, F6V.152)
V-to-I movement
- d. V-ADV-PRT
 hee **riseth** **right** **vppe**
 ‘he rises right up’ (E2; BLUNDEV-E2-P2, 160V_misnumbered_as_157V.368)
verb particle modified by a restricted set of adverbs
- e. TOPICALIZATION
 But **downe** they **burst** the windows for ayre,
 ‘But down they broke the windows for air, ...’ (E2; ARMIN-E2-P2, 40.300)
topicalization of the verb particle

[X] SUMMARY

- i. secondary predicate status of verb particles: constant throughout the history of English
 ii. syntactic status of verb particles: obligatorily projecting \Rightarrow optionally projecting (since EME) \leftarrow [IX]

1.3. THE PROSODIC WEIGHT OF VERB PARTICLES

- [XI] Verb particles are not prosodically light at any historical stage in English.
 (contra Kroch & Taylor (2000a), Pintzuk (1997), Pintzuk & Taylor (2006))
- i. VERB PARTICLES APPEARING IN AN ALLITERATING POSITION IN ALLITERATIVE POETRY \rightarrow (10) & (11)
 ii. VERB PARTICLES APPEARING IN A RHYMING POSITION IN END-RHYME POETRY \rightarrow (12)

- (10) *OE*
- a. / Sie sio bær gearo, |
 be the byre ready
 ædre geæfneð, / þonne we **ut** cymen |
 speedily made when we out come
 ‘Let the byre be made ready, speedily wrought, when we come out’ (Beowulf, 3105-6)
- b. | Fyrst **fordh** gewat; / flota waes on ydhum,
 time forth fled ship was on waves
 | **bat** under **beorge**. /
 boat beneath cliff
 ‘Time passed on; the ship was on the waves.’ (Beowulf, 210-211)

- (11) *ME*
 Thanne **fette** **favel** **forth** floryns ynowe
 then fetched Flattery forth florins enough
 ‘So Flattery produced a great supply of florins’ (ca 1370-1385; *Piers Plowman*, B, II)

- (12) *ME*
 For whan he spak, he was anon bore **doun**
 for when he spoke, he was at once overcome
 with hende Nicholas and Alisoun.
 by pleasant Nicholas and Alison
 ‘For when he spoke, his testimony was at once contradicted by pleasant Nicholas and Alison.’
 (ca 1387-1400; *The Miller’s Tale*, 3831-3832)

2. THE POSITION OF VERB PARTICLES AND OV/VO WORD ORDER

- [XII] In the transition from OE to ME, verb particles shifted from pre-verbal position to post-verbal position.

linked to the loss of OV word order (Pintzuk (1997, 2002), Kroch & Taylor (2000a)) \rightarrow (13) & [XIII]

There is enough evidence to suggest that the assumption that verb particles are a diagnostic for OV/VO order is too strong.
 \Rightarrow NO ONE-TO-ONE CORRESPONDENCE: (A) BETWEEN PRT-V SURFACE WORD ORDER AND AN UNDERLYING OV GRAMMAR
 OR
 (B) BETWEEN V-PRT SURFACE WORD ORDER AND AN UNDERLYING VO GRAMMAR

- (13) PHRASE STRUCTURE COMPETITION BETWEEN BASE ORDERS AT THE LEVEL OF VP AND AT THE LEVEL OF IP
- I-MEDIAL & OV: [IP subject [I [VP O V]]]
 - I-MEDIAL & VO: [IP subject [I [VP V O]]]
 - I-FINAL & OV: [IP subject [I [VP O V] I]]
 - I-FINAL & VO: [IP subject [I [VP V O] I]] ⇒ NON-EXISTENT ACROSS THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

[XIII] DIAGNOSTICS FOR OV AND VO GRAMMARS

- personal pronouns
 - verb particles
 } ⇒ LIGHT ELEMENTS ⇒ {
 - PRE-VERBAL ✗ PRODUCT OF AN OV GRAMMAR
 - POST-VERBAL ✗ PRODUCT OF A VO GRAMMAR

pre-verbal particle & VO order ✗ PRODUCT OF AN OV GRAMMAR (WITH POSTPOSING OF A DP OBJECT)

- leftward scrambling of a non-negative/non-quantified DP object ⇒ IMPOSSIBLE IN A VO GRAMMAR
OV order with a non-negative/non-quantified DP object ✗ PRODUCT OF AN OV GRAMMAR

⇓
DUBIOUS

2.1. AN ANALYSIS OF OLD ENGLISH AND EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH WORD ORDER

[XIV] BIBERAUER & ROBERTS (2005):

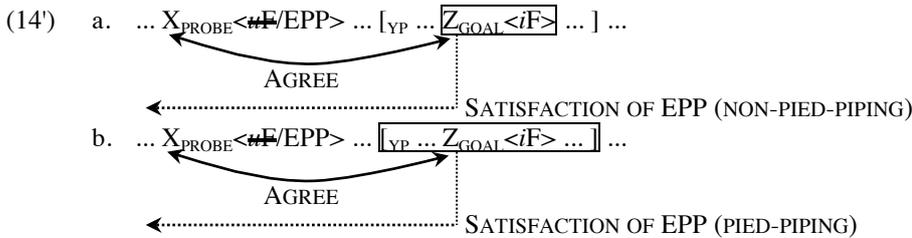
ANALYSIS OF OE AND ME WORD ORDER PATTERNS FROM A KAYNEAN (AND CHOMSKYAN) VIEWPOINT

i. Probe-Goal system

[T]here is a relation Agree holding between probe P and goal G, which deletes [= values] uninterpretable features if P and G are appropriately related. (Chomsky (2004: 113); brackets mine)

ii. movement driven by an EPP feature

- movement of a minimal projection (non-pied-piping) ---> (14'a)
- movement of a maximal projection (pied-piping) ---> (14'b)



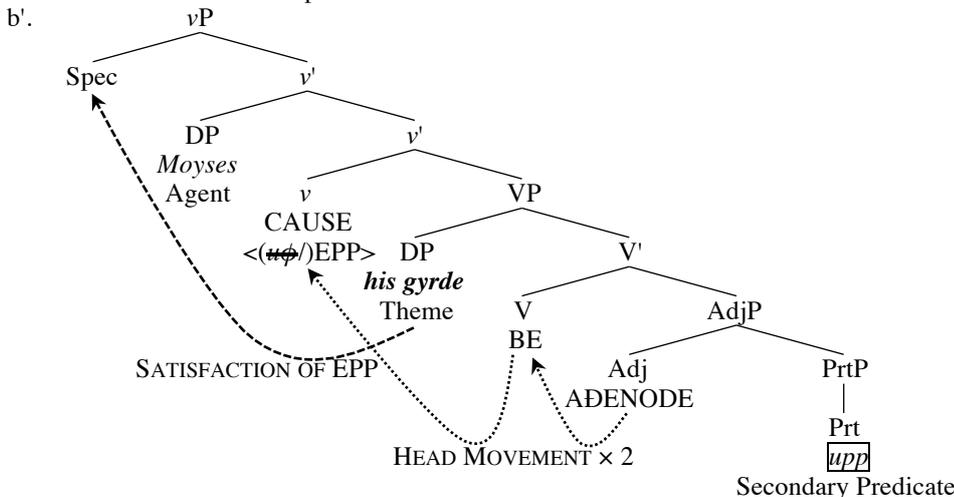
[XV] BAKER (2003): LEXICAL DECOMPOSITION ANALYSIS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS ---> (15)

✗ lexical decomposition of the particle verb *upaðenian* 'to lift up'

- abstract AENODE ⇒ *Adj*
- BE operator ⇒ *establishing a semantic relation between the Theme argument and the secondary predicate*
- CAUSE operator ⇒ *establishing a semantic relation between the Agent and BE predication*

- (15) a. *Moyses aðenode his gyrde upp.*
 Moses lifted his staff up
 'Moses lifted his staff up.'

(O3; cootest, Exod: 9.23.2720)



- (22) PATTERN (16'D): V-PRT-OBJ
 Se hælend ahof upp his eagan
 the saviour lifted up his eyes
 'The Saviour lifted up his eyes' (O3; cowsgosp, Jn [WSCp]: 11.41.6747)

(23') [_{AdjP} [_{Adj} Adj+Prt]]

- (22') [_{TP} Se hælend [_T T [_{VP} t_{Se hælend} [_v ahof upp]+V+v ... [_{VP} his eagan [_v t_{ahof upp+v} [_{AdjP} t_{ahof upp}]]]]]]]]
 ✂ NO OBJ DP MOVEMENT NOR REMNANT VP MOVEMENT TO (INNER OR OUTER) SPEC VP
 NO V-TO-T MOVEMENT

[XXI] ANALYSES OF PATTERN (16'E): (24)

- i. PKT ---> VO structure + non-negative/non-quantified DP object ✂ IMPOSSIBLE
 ii. EK ---> DP Obj movement to (inner) Spec vP without v-to-T movement

(24) PATTERN (16'E): OBJ-V-PRT

- a. Gif þonne for folces synnum gesceote, swa hit oft gescyt þæt unwæstmbernys on eard becymð,
 if then for people's sins happen as it often happens that barrenness on earth befalls
 þæt ma ne mæge þæt drincgemett bringan forð, ne on wine, ne on beore, ne on mede, ne on
 so that more not may the measure of drink bring forth not in wine nor in beer nor in mead nor in
 ealoð, ...
 ale

'If it happens, as it often does on account of people's sins, that barrenness befalls the earth, so that it can no longer provide the measure of drink, in wine, beer, mead or ale,...' (O4; cochdrul, ChrodR 1:6.28.167)

- b. ... & þonne he his agene sceap læt ut he gæð beforan him
 and when he his own sheep leads out he goes before them
 '... and when he leads out his own sheep, he goes before them' (O3; cowsgosp, Jn [WSCp]: 10.4.6600)

✂ UNDERIVABLE UNDER PKT'S ANALYSIS

- (24') a. [_{TP} ___ [_T ne mæge [_{VP} þæt drincgemett [_v bringan]+V+v ... [_{VP} t_{þæt drincgemett} [_v t_{bringan+v} [_{AdjP} t_{bringan} [_{PrtP} forð]]]]]]]]]
 ✂ DP OBJ MOVEMENT TO (INNER) SPEC VP
 NO V-TO-T MOVEMENT

[XX] ANALYSES OF PATTERN (16'D) IN EME: (25a)

V-Prt predominates in ME: The OE preverbal particle patterns have become a minority. ---> (25b')

(25) a. PATTERN (16'D): V-PRT-OBJ

Ha hackede of his heaued
 they cleaved off his head
 'They cleaved off his head' (M1; CMANCRIW, II.220.3190) (= (4b))

b'. i. ADJ-TO-V-TO-V RAISING

[_{VP} hackede of]+V+v [_{VP} his heaued [_v t_{hackede of+v} [_{AdjP} t_{hackede of}]]]]]

ii. DP OBJ MOVEMENT TO (INNER) SPEC vP

[_{VP} his heaued [_v t_{hackede of}]+V+v [_{VP} t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of+v} [_{AdjP} t_{hackede of}]]]]]]]

iii. MERGER OF THE SUBJ IN THE TOPMOST SPEC vP

[_{VP} Ha [_v t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of}]+V+v [_{VP} t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of+v} [_{AdjP} t_{hackede of}]]]]]]]]]

iv. (MERGER OF T &) V-TO-T RAISING

[_{TP} hackede of]+V+v+T [_{VP} Ha [_v t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of+v+v} [_{VP} t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of+v} [_{AdjP} t_{hackede of}]]]]]]]]]]]

v. DP SUBJ MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

[_{TP} Ha [_T hackede of]+V+v+T [_{VP} t_{Ha} [_v t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of+v+v} [_{VP} t_{his heaued} [_v t_{hackede of+v} [_{AdjP} t_{hackede of}]]]]]]]]]]]]]

✂ The particle does not project a phrase.

[XXIII] PATTERN (16'B) AND (16'E) IN EME ---> (27) & (26) ✂ BOTH PROBLEMATIC TO PKT'S ANALYSIS

(26) PATTERN (16'E): OBJ-V-PRT

- a. ... & efsones he let him ut þurhc wæse red, to ðat forwarde ðat he suor on halidom &
 and afterwards he let him out on worse advice to the condition that he swore on Holy relics and
 gysles fand þat he alle his castles sculde iiuen up.
 hostages gave that he all his castles should give up
 '... and soon after, on worse advice, let him out, on condition that he gave hostages and swore on holy relics to yield up all his castles.' (M1; CMPETERB, 58.571)

- b. ... þt **swich fulðe spit** ut in ani ancre earen. me schulde dutten his muð. Naut mid
 who such filth spits out in any anchoress's ears one should shut his mouth not with
 scharpe sneates ach mid harde fustes.
 sharp rebukes but with hard fists
 '... who spits out such filth in any anchoress's ears, one should shut his mouth. Not with sharp rebukes, but with strong fists.'
 (M1; CMANCRIW, II.66.707)

(27) PATTERN (16'B): PRT-V-OBJ

- ... þat hie mihte nexxin and mealten and ut-sanden **sume tear**.
 that they might soften and melt and out-send some tears
 '... that they might soften and melt and send out some tears.'
 (M1; CMVICES1, 145.1815)

3. DISCOURSE-SENSITIVE SCRAMBLING IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

[XXIII] The distribution of DP objects in EME fully supports the idea that OV orders may be derived by discourse-sensitive scrambling from a VO base.

✧ SCRAMBLING = DP OBJ MOVEMENT TO (INNER) SPEC VP ⇒ DISCOURSE-DRIVEN

i. indefinite DP Obj: VO order

ii. definite DP Obj: VO order

OV order ⇒ specific reference to an antecedent in the discourse

BASIC FACTS OF OV ORDER IN EME ✧ M1 (1150-1250) TEXTS IN THE PPCME2 --> (28) & Tables 5 & 6

- (28) a. 'All swa he hafð inēðered niðer into helle grunde alle ðe modi ðe hier on liue **ðe dieule folzeden**,
 just as he has cast down into hell's ground all the proud who here in life the devil followed
 alswa he hauēð iheizēd alle ðo ðe Cristes eadmodnesse habbeð zelued and ihelden, into
 so he has raised all those who Christ's meekness have loved and kept into
 heuene riches merhðe.'
 heaven's kingdom's joy
 'Just as he has cast down into the ground of hell all the proud who in this life followed the devil, so he has raised all those who have loved Christ's meekness and kept it, into the joy of the kingdom of heaven.'
 (M1; CMVICES1, 57.4)
 ✧ *ðe dieule* = *dieule* two lines up --> (28'a)
- b. Ne mai no man **ðese eadi hope hebben**, bute he hit wel ilieue and soðliche luuie.
 not may no man this blessed hope have, unless he it well believe and truly love
 'Nobody may have this blessed hope, unless he well believe it and love it truly.'
 (M1; CMVICES1, 31.351)
 ✧ *ðese eadi hope* = *ða eadi hope* in the previous line --> (28'b)
- c. ... for nan attri þing nemei **þe zimstan nachzin**.
 for no poisonous thing not-can the gemstone approach
 '... for no poisonous thing can approach the gemstone.'
 (M1; CMANCRIW, II.108.f55v: 15)
 ✧ *þe zimstan* = *zimstan* two lines up --> (28'c)
- d. Meschal leoue sustren **þeose storien tellen** eft ou.
 one-shall dear sisters these stories tell afterwards you
 'One shall tell you these stories afterwards, dear sisters.'
 (M1; CMANCRIW, II.122.f64v: 22)
 ✧ *þeose storien* = biblical stories that are the topic of the paragraph --> (28'd)
- (28') a. And þo ðe swo ne willeð, hie seið þiet forðer: Dispersit superbos mente cordis sui, et exaltauit humiles, 'Alles ðe bieð modi and michel læteð of hem seluen ðuch ðe þanc of here hierte, bute hie hem seluen nederien ær ðanne hie of ðese liue faren: al (swa soðliche) swa sainte Marie hit sade mid hire hali muðe, swa soðliche scal goddalmihti hes forliesen, mid saule and mid lichame, al swo ðo ðe bieð aþeanes him and **dieule** folzied, ðe wolde him seluen herzen.' Ac he brohte him seluen swiðe neðer in to helle, and alle his folzeres. ziet. hie seið forðer: Et exaltauit humiles,
 b. Þat is se ilke ðe san[c]tus Paulus us takð on his pisteles, and þus seið: Aparuit gratia dei omnibus hominibus erudiens nos, 'Godes grace,' he seið, þat he clepede her, 'godes sune hine sceawede alle mannen, and he us tahte ðat we scolden forsaken ða unwraste ileaue of hæden-dome, and alle woredliches euele lustes, and maðliche libben, and rihtliche, and arfastliche, anbidende **ða eadi hope** and ðane to-cyme of ðare michele blisse of Criste(s), gode(s) sune, þanne he cumþ eftsones to sceawien him seluen, and to zielden alle ðo behotes ðe he us behiet, þat is, þat he wile þane lichame of ure e(a)dmodnesse in to michele brihtnesse wanden, ðat he scal scinen swa briht swa sunne, emlich ðo aingles mid gode æure mo on merhþe and on blisse.'
 c. Ofdumbe beastes leorne wisdom & lare. the earen deð inhis nest andeorewurðe **zimstan**, achate hatte.
 d. Egressus est ysaac ad meditandum in agro quod ei fuisse creditur consuetudinarium. ysaac þe patriarche, forto þenche deopliche, sochte anli stude & wende bi him ane ase genesis telleð. & swa he imette wið þe eadie rebecca þ iswið godes grace. rebecca enim interpretatur, Multum dedit & quicquid habet preuentrix gratia donat. Alswa þe eadi iacob, þoa ure lauerd schawede him his deorewurðe nebscheft & zef him his blesceunge & wende his nome betere. he wes iflowen him ane awei from monie. neauerzete i monne floc ne cachte he swich biþete. bi moysen & elie godes freont is sutel & scene hu dredful lif is eauer imong prung. & hu godd is priuete. heshawed to þeo þe beoð priuement ham ane. Meschal leoue sustren þeose storien tellen eft ou for ha weren to longe to writen ham here.

Table 5. The distribution of definite and indefinite DP objects in the M1 period.

Embedded clauses in M1 (1150–1250)	Definite DP objects		Indefinite DP objects	
	OV	VO	OV	VO
DPObjekt – Vfin	143 (21.5%)	523	0 (0%)	644
DPObjekt – Vnon-fin	47 (44.8%)	58	0 (0%)	159
Total	190	581	0	803

Table 6. Types of definiteness markers of preverbal DP objects in the M1 period.

Embedded clauses with definite object in M1 (1150–1250)	Order			
	Obj–Vf	Vf–Obj	Vf–Obj–Vn	Vf–Vn–Obj
Strong demonstrative pronoun	83 (58.0%)	125 (24.0%)	24 (51.1%)	21 (36.2%)
Relic weak demonstrative pronoun	35 (24.4%)	187 (36.0%)	8 (17.0%)	17 (29.3%)
<i>þe</i>	14 (27.6%)	208 (42.0%)	15 (31.9%)	20 (34.5%)
Total	143	520	47	58

✳ strong demonstratives > relic weak demonstratives (relic uses of the OE *se* paradigm) & new definite determiner *þe*

4. CONCLUSIONS