Verb Particles and OV/VO in the History Of English
Marion Elenbaas & Ans van Kemenade

Studies Linguistica 68.1 (2014) 140–167

Claims of the Paper: ① verb particles = intransitive prepositions = (optionally) projecting secondary predicates
② Verb Particles are intransitive prepositions
③ Verb particles ≠ diagnostic for OV/VO order
④ 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

1.1. Verb particles are intransitive prepositions

1.2. Verb particles are (optionally) projecting secondary predicates

1.3. Verb + Verb Particle expressing a complex event

1.4. Verb Particle = secondary predicate

Claims of the Paper: Verb particles = intransitive prepositions = (optionally) projecting secondary predicates
(4) **VERB PARTICLE WITH A LITERAL, DIRECTIONAL MEANING**

a. **LOE**
   
   Donne Moyes his handa up ahof...
   
   then Moses his hands up raised
   ‘When Moses raised his hands,...’

   (O3; coetest, 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 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 the skull. (BNC, ACV 815)

(5) **VERB PARTICLE WITH A NON-LITERAL MEANING**

**LME**

pen shalt thou with suche a pouder help be 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 in 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**
   
   & spewen hit þer per
   
   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 pudding 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; MERRYTAL-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**
   
   Nuber he aheæs...
   
   down he fell
   ‘He fell down...’

   (O3; coelative, ÆLS [Martin]: 315.6159)

b. **VERB PARTICLE MODIFIED**
   
   On ale healfe þes mynstres was an ormate clif ascoren aduno...
   
   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; coelative, ÆLS [Martin]: 315.6159)

(8) **LME**

a. **VERB PARTICLE TOPICALIZED**
   
   ...that downe he fell in a sowge to the ground.
   
   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 noumber of
   
   and the books of the Old Testament that are not among Hebrews and are-not of the number of
   
   holy writ, omen to be cast far 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, 12.74)
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.

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

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

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

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<td>11 91.7</td>
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PREDOMINANCE OF POST-VERBAL PARTICLES IN EME

INCREMENT IN SYNTACTIC UNITY BETWEEN THE VERB AND VERB PARTICLE --->

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)

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<th>PARTICLE</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-DP-PRT</td>
<td>given information</td>
<td>focus position ➤ phrasal status</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[IX] SUMMARY
i. secondary predicate status of verb particles: constant throughout the history of English
ii. syntactic status of verb particles: obligatorily projecting ⇒ optionally projecting (since EME) <--- [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 ---> (10) & (11)
ii. VERB PARTICLES APPEARING IN A RHYMING POSITION IN END-RHyme POETRY ---> (12)

(10) OE
a. / Sie sio bar gearo, / be the byre ready
   geard, / ponne we cymen / speedily made when we out come
   ‘Let the byre be made ready, speedily wrought, when we come out’

b. / Fyrst forth gewat; / fota waes on ydhum,
   time forth fled ship was on waves
   / hat under George./
   boat beneath cliff
   ‘Time passed on; the ship was on the waves.’

(11) ME
Thanne fette flavel forth florins 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 flour
for when he spoke, he was at once overcome
with hende Nicholas and Alison.
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)) ---> (13)& [XIII]

There is enough evidence to suggest that the assumption that verb particles are a diagnostic for OV/VO order is too strong.
⇒ 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
2.1. An Analysis of Old English and Early Middle English Word Order

Biberauer & Roberts (2005): Analysis of OE and ME word order patterns from a Kaynean (and Chomskyan) viewpoint

1. 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

2. Movement driven by an EPP feature
   a. movement of a minimal projection (non-pied-piping) ---→ (14a)
   b. movement of a maximal projection (pied-piping) ---→ (14b)

   a. abstract ADENODE ⇒ Adj
   b. BE operator ⇒ establishing a semantic relation between the Theme argument and the secondary predicate
   c. CAUSE operator ⇒ establishing a semantic relation between the Agent and BE predication

4. Lexical decomposition of the particle verb *upadenian ‘to lift up’*

5. Moses *adened his gyrde upp,*
   ‘Moses lifted his staff up.’
   (O3; cootest, Exod: 9.23.2720)
WORD ORDER PATTERNS OF V, PRT AND OBJ AND THEIR FREQUENCY \( \rightarrow \) (16') & Tables 3 & 4

A. Obj-Prt-V
B. Prt-V-Obj ↓ LOW
C. V-Obj-Prt ↓ LESS FREQUENT (FREQUENTLY ATTESTED WITH PRONOMINAL OBJ)
D. V-Prt-Obj ↓ DRAMATIC INCREASE
E. Obj-V-Prt ↓ LOW
(F. Prt-Obj-V ↓ SYSTEMATICALLY ABSENТ IN GERMANIC LANGUAGES (FN.11))

Table 3. Particle verb + object patterns in late Old English and early Middle English main clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O3 (950–1050)</th>
<th>M1 (1150–1250)</th>
<th>M2 (1250–1350)</th>
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<tr>
<td>B. DP-Prt-Vnon-fin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Vfin-DP-Prt</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Vfin-Prt-DP</td>
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<td>22 66.7</td>
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<td>E. DP-Vfin-Prt</td>
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</table>

⇒ AN ACCOUNT REQUIRED \( \rightarrow \) [XVII]-[XXI]

Table 4. Particle verb + object patterns in late Old English and early Middle English embedded clauses.

<table>
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<td>E. DP-Vfin-Prt</td>
<td>8 5.3</td>
<td>14 21.5</td>
<td>3 25.0</td>
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</table>

ANALYSES OF PATTERN (16'A) & PRT-V: (17) & (18)

i. Pintzuk (1997, 2002), Kroch & Taylor (2000a) [henceforth, PKT] \( \rightarrow \) I-final & OV (cf. (13c))

ii. this paper [henceforth, EK] \( \rightarrow \) (17b)

(17) a. PATTERN (16'A): OBJ-PRT-V

\[ \text{he \ done cwelmbæran hlaø \ aweghere.} \]

that he carries away the deadly loaf of bread.

(O3; cacothom2, ÆCHom II, 11:96.146.1988)

b. i. ADJ-TO-V-TO-V RAISING
\[ [_{\text{VP}} \text{bare+V+V} \text{VP \ done cwelmbæran hlaø \ aweghere.}] \]

ii. VP-TO(INNER) SPEC VP MOVEMENT (=SATISFACTION OF EPP OF V)
\[ [_{\text{VP}} \text{he \ done cwelmbæran hlaø \ aweghere.}] \]

iii. MERGER OF THE SUBJECT IN THE TOPMOST SPEC VP
\[ [_{\text{VP}} \text{he \ done cwelmbæran hlaø \ aweghere.}] \]

iv. (MERGER OF T &) V-TO-T RAISING
\[ [_{\text{TP}} \text{bare+V+V+T \ he \ done cwelmbæran hlaø \ aweghere.}] \]

v. VP MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP (=SATISFACTION OF EPP OF V)
\[ [_{\text{TP}} \text{he \ done cwelmbæran hlaø \ aweghere.}] \]
(18) PRT-V
... and ic seier astah.
and I down descended
‘... and I descended.’
⇒ same derivation as (17a)

[XIII] ANALYSES OF PATTERN (16B): (19) & (20)
i. PKT ---⇒ OV structure + postponing of heavy (or discourse-new) Obj
ii. Ek ---⇒ remnant VP movement to inner Spec vP + Obj stranded in its base position ♦ IMPOSSIBLE? ---⇒ (19')

(19) PATTERN (16B): PRT-V-OBJ
And þæ he žähr[4] þæ deofolseocnesse þæ sprec se dumba, and when he out-cast the demoniacal possession then spoke the dumb
‘And when he had cast out the devil, the dumb man spoke’
⇒ Obj = discourse-old

(20) PATTERN (16B): PRT-V-OBJ
a. ... and het æt[4] ærldice Danihel, and þæ in awurpan þæ hine wregdon ær.
and ordered out pull quickly Daniel, and then in throw who him accused before
‘and ordered to pull out Daniel, and, and to throw in those who had accused him before.’
⇒ Obj = heavy
b. Da was se hælend[4] sune deofolseocnysse, then was the Lord out-driving - a devil-sickness
‘Then the Lord was driving out a demoniacal possession’
⇒ Obj = contextually-given
c. ðæðe wilt ðæ, la, ðæ apytan ure eagan?
or want you lo out put our eyes
‘Or do you, lo, want to put out our eyes?’
⇒ Obj = contextually-given

d. þæ ongan he sendan þyllice steme mid hluddre clypunga wendep
then began he forth send such a voice with loud clamour weeping
‘then he began to send forth such a voice, weeping with loud clamour’
(O3; comary, LS 23 [MaryoEgypt]; 189.123)
⇒ Obj = heavy
⇒ PROBLEMATIC TO PKT’S ANALYSIS

[XIX] ANALYSES OF PATTERN (16C): (21)
i. PKT ---⇒ OV structure + ?
ii. Ek ---⇒ (15b’)

(21) PATTERN (16C): V-OBJ-PRT
a. ... and man ne mihte swa ðealh macian hi healfe [4]
... and one not could so however make them half up
‘... and even in this way not half of them could be put up’
(O3; ÆLS(Swithun) 431)

b. þæ wolde seo Sæxburh æfter syxtyne gearum don hire swustor ban of ðære byrgene [4]
then wanted the Saxburg after sixteen years do of her sister bones from the burial-place up
‘After sixteen years Sexburch desired to take up her sister’s bones from their burial-place’
(O3; ÆLS(Ethelthryth) 73)
c. Gyf hit þonne madencild ware þone sceolde heo hi forhabban fram ingange godes huses
if it then maiden child were then should she herself abstain from entry God’s house
hundeahtig dagæ eac fram hire gebeddan & æfter þam fyrstæ gan mid lace to Godes huse &
eighty days also after her (child) bed and after that period go with gift to God’s house and
beræn þætæt child foræt mid þære lace: bring the child forth with the gift...
‘if it should be a girl, then should she refrain from going to church for eighty days after the birth, and after that period go to church with a gift, and bring the child forth with the gift’
(O3; ÆCHom I, 9:249.8.1571)

[X] ANALYSES OF PATTERN (16D): (22)
i. PKT ---⇒ I-medial & VO (cf. (13b))
ii. Ek ---⇒ V + Prt = syntactic unit ---⇒ (23’) & (22)
(22) **Pattern (16D): V-PRT-Obj**

Se ðælend ahoft [v[pp his eagan
the saviour lifted up his eyes

‘The Saviour lifted up his eyes’  (O3; cowsgosp, Jn [WSCp]: 11.41.6747)

(23) \[ [Adj [Adj+Prt]]

(24) **Pattern (16E): OBJ-V-PRT**

a. Gif þonne for folkes synnum gesceot, 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 mege þæt drincgemett bringan [forð, ne on wine, ne on boere, 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 

ealð,...

‘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,...’  (O3; codhrul, ChroD R 1.6.28.167)

b. ... & þonne he his agene sceap let [t] he gæð before 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) \[ [T ne mege [L, þæt drincgemett [L bringanv]v+v ... [VP tþæt drincgemett [L bringan]v [AdjP bringan [Popl forð]]]]]]

\* DP OBJ MOVEMENT TO (INNER) SPEC VP

NO V-TO-T MOVEMENT

(25) **Pattern (16D): V-PRT-Obj**

Ha hackede [t] his heaued 

they cleaved off his head

‘They cleaved off his head’  (M1; CAMANCRIW, II.220.3190) (= (4b))

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

\[ [L, hackede [t]v+v [VP his heaued [v hackede ofV]v [AdjP hackede of]]]

ii. DP OBJ MOVEMENT TO (INNER) SPEC VP

\[ [L, his heaued [L hackede [t]v+v [VP his heaued [v hackede ofV]v [AdjP hackede of]]]

iii. MERGER OF THE SUBJ IN THE TOPMOST SPEC VP

\[ [L, Ha [L, his heaued [L hackede [t]v+v [VP his heaued [v hackede ofV]v [AdjP hackede of]]]

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


v. DP SUBJ MOVEMENT TO SPEC TP

\[ [TP Ha [T, hackede [t]v+v+T [L, his heaued [L hackede ofV]v [VP his heaued [v hackede ofV]v [AdjP hackede of]]]

\* The particle does not project a phrase.

(26) **Pattern (16E): OBJ-V-PRT**

a. ... & efsones he let him ut þurhc wærse red, to þat forewarde þat 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 iuuen [vp].

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)

[XX] **Analyses of Pattern (16E):** (24)

1. PKT ---› VO structrue + non-negative/non-quantified DP object \* IMPOSSIBLE

2. EK ---› DP Obj movement to (inner) Spec Vp without v-to-T movement

[XX] **Analyses of Pattern (16D) in EME:** (25a)

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

\[ [TP ne mege [L, þæt drincgemett [L, bringan]v+v ... [VP tþæt drincgemett [L bringan]v [AdjP bringan [Popl forð]]]]]]

\* DP OBJ MOVEMENT TO (INNER) SPEC VP

NO V-TO-T MOVEMENT

[XX] **Pattern (16B) and (16E) in EME ---› (27) & (26) \* BOTH PROBLEMATIC TO PKT’S ANALYSIS**
b. ... *swich fulde* spīt D in anī 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; CMANCRWI, II.66.707)

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

... þat hie mihte nexein and mealten and sanden sumtear.

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

[XIII] 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 ineñered niðer into helle grunde alle ðe modi ðe hier on liue ðe dieule folgyden,

just as he has cast down into hell’s ground all the proud who here in life the devil followed

alswa he hauð ihergæd alle ðo ðe Cristes eadmodnesse habbeð ðeœued 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 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 habben, bute he hit wel ilieue and soðliche luiee.

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.’

\$ ðese eadi hope = ða eadi hope in the previous line ---\$ (28'b)

c. ... for nan attri þing nemei þe ʒimstan nachþyn.

for no poisonous thing not-can the gemstone approach

‘... for no poisonous thing can approach the gemstone.’

(M1; CMANCRWI, II.108.f55v: 15)

\$ þe ʒimstan = ʒimstan two lines up ---\$ (28c)

d. Meschal leoue sustren þeose storiend tellen eft ou.

one-shall dear sisters these stories tell afterwards you

‘One shall tell you these stories afterwards, dear sisters.’

\$ þeose storiend = biblical stories that are the topic of the paragraph ---\$ (28'd)

(28') a. And þo ðe swo ne willeð, hie seǐð þiet forðer: Dispersit superbos mente cordis sui, et exsultavit humiles, ‘Alles ðe bieð modi and michel læteð of hem seluen ducht ðe þanc of here hierte, bute hie hem seluen noðerien ar ðanne hie of ðese liue faren: al (swa soðliche) swa sainte Marie hit sade mid hire haile mude, swa soðliche scal goddalmihti hes forhiesned, mid saule and mid licheam, al swo ðo ðe bieð æpehe him and dieule folgiðeð, ðo wolde hie seluen hergæn.’ Ac he brohte hie seluen swiðe noðer in to helle, and alle his folgeses. Þiet. hie seǐð furðer: Et exsultavit humiles,

b. Pat is se ilk ðe sanctu Paulus us takð on his pistiles, and þus seǐð. Aparuit gratia dei omnibus hominibus erudientes nos, ‘Godes grace,’ he seǐð, þat he clepede her, ‘godes sune hine sceawede alle mannen, and he us tahet ðat we scolden

forsaken ða unwraste ileue of hæðen-dome, and all wereildlicches euele lustes, and maðliche libben, and rihtliche, and arfastiche, anbinderde ða eadi hope and ðane to-cyme of ðe eele blisses of Cristes, goderes sune, þanne he champ

eftsnowes to sceawien him seluen, and to þielden alle ðo behotes ðe he us behet, pat is, þat he wile þane licheam of ure e(a)modnesse in to michele brightnesse wanden, ðat hie scalien swa briht swa sunne, emlich ðo angiles mid gode eure

mo on merhpe and on blisse.’

c. Ofdumbe beastes leorne wisdom & lare. the earen deð inhis nest andeorewurðe ʒimstan, achate hatte.

d. Egressus est ysac ad meditantum inagro quod ei fuisse creditur consuetudinarium. ysac ðe patriarche, forto þeneche deopliche, sochte anli stude & wende bi him ane ase genesis tellðe. & swa he imette wið þe eacle rebeda þi isiwðe godes grace. rebecca enim interpretatur, Multum dedit & quicquid habet preuentrix gratia donat. Alswa þe eaci iacob, þoa ure lauerd schwæde him de adweorðe nebscheft & þef him his blesceunge & wende his nome betere. he wes iflowen him ane awei from monie. neauerȝete i monne floc ne cachte he swich bizete. bi moyzen & elie godes freont is sute & scene hu dreful lif is cauer imong brunge. & hu godd were to priuetse. heschwead to þeo þe beðd priuement ham ane. [Meschal leoue sustren þeose storiend 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embedded clauses in M1 (1150–1250)</th>
<th>Definite DP objects</th>
<th>Indefinite DP objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OV</td>
<td>VO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPObjct − Vfin</td>
<td>143 (21.5%)</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPObjct − Vnon-fin</td>
<td>47 (44.8%)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embedded clauses with definite object in M1 (1150–1250)</th>
<th>Obj-VF</th>
<th>VF-Obj</th>
<th>VF-Obj-Vn</th>
<th>VF-Vn-Obj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong demonstrative pronoun</td>
<td>83 (58.0%)</td>
<td>125 (24.0%)</td>
<td>24 (51.1%)</td>
<td>21 (36.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relic weak demonstrative pronoun</td>
<td>35 (24.4%)</td>
<td>187 (36.0%)</td>
<td>8 (17.0%)</td>
<td>17 (29.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>he</em></td>
<td>14 (27.6%)</td>
<td>208 (42.0%)</td>
<td>15 (31.9%)</td>
<td>20 (34.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4. **CONCLUSIONS**