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An Internal and External Syntax of Noun Phrases in the History of English

（英語史における名詞句内部と外部の統語論）

名古屋大学大学院文学研究科

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An Internal and External Syntax of Noun Phrases in the History of English

by

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"Ne magon þa eagan na geseon þæt þæt is healic."

— *Be þam lytlan æþelinge*, translated by Fritz Kemmler

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ABSTRACT

Word order variation in Old English has been one of the main issues in historical linguistics from both the descriptive and theoretical perspectives. Two competing patterns, the 'object-verb' order and the 'verb-object' order, have often been discussed in the literature. This thesis deals with word order patterns within the noun phrase and within clause structure in medieval English. From theoretical points of view, I am concerned with Case-licensing and argue that while the demise of morphological case inflection led to the use of prepositions for Case-licensing in some cases, it did not in others.

In Chapter 1, I describe the main purpose of this thesis and methodology employed to analyze syntactic phenomena in the history of the English language. This chapter also briefly reviews a chronological history of Case Theory, from the Government and Binding theory to the Minimalist Program. Case Filter, proposed by Chomsky (1981), plays a central role for discussion in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 2 discusses some syntactic properties of quantifiers in Old and Middle English, in comparison with those of present-day English. It is statistically shown that the quantifiers *all* in Old and Middle English have the 'floating' property in common with present-day English: they can be floated from their head nominals when they are subjects.

It is argued in Chapter 3 that objects in Old English can move leftward for three different reasons other than Topicalization to the Specifier position of the higher CP. First, syntactically, the EPP feature drives object movement and objects raise to the outer Specifier position of *v*P. Second, a relatively freer operation, Scrambling, raises objects to the Specifier position of the functional category projected above *v*P. Third, a discourse requirement causes objects to move to the Specifier position of the lower Topic Phrase, a variant of CP. In addition, following van Kemenade and Los (2006), the domain on the right of the lower Topic Phrase is regarded as the focus domain. This analysis is supported by the floating quantifier discussed in Chapter 2. When the quantifier is floated, the head pronoun occupies the Specifier of the lower Topic Phrase and the quantifier left behind occupies the focus domain.

This chapter further argues that leftward object movement is accepted only in languages whose basic word order is head-final; by contrast, rightward object movement is possible only in languages whose basic word order is head-initial. This optional movement is not allowed if the resultant order does not correspond to the basic word order (see Fukui (1995)).

In Chapter 4, I consider the Experiencer construction with *þyncan* 'seem' in Old English and with *semen* 'seem' in Middle English. The verb *þyncan* is of Germanic origin, and *semen* of Old

Norse origin; *semen* superseded the Germanic *þyncan* during Middle English. These two verbs, which have different origins, could take dative-marked Experiencer arguments. After the case distinction between dative and accusative became obsolete, those arguments came to be accompanied by the preposition *to*. This chapter argues that dative-marked Experiencers are licensed lexically by the lexical verb and prepositional Experiencers are licensed structurally. It is also shown that the first person Experiencer pronoun tends to occupy the preverbal position, and later it incorporates into the verb, resulting in *methinks* or *meseems*.

Chapter 5 deals with the loss of nonstructural Case and its syntactic effects. I assume with Woolford (2006) that there are three kinds of Case: structural, inherent and lexical Cases. Each Case is assigned in different ways. After the demise of morphological case endings, inherent and lexical Case are no longer manifested morphologically on noun phrases, and then their functions are carried over to the other Case: structural Case assigned by the verb or preposition. It should be noted here that whereas dative nominals are replaced by prepositional phrases in the *seem* construction, they finally do not resort to the preposition in double object and dative verb constructions. I propose that this difference in the development can be attributed to the different VP-shell structures.

Chapter 6 summarizes and concludes all the discussion in this thesis. It also addresses some residual issues for future research.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Here is the list of the abbreviations used throughout this dissertation.

a	*ante* 'about' [within 25 years before]
Acc	accusative case
Adj	adjective
Aux	auxiliary
BT	Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*
c	*circa* 'approximately' [within plus or minus 25 years]
C(P)	complementizer (phrase)
Dat	dative case
Det	determiner
DO	direct object
Erg	ergative case
Gen	genitive case
IO	indirect object
INTJ	interjection
KDEE	*Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Etymology*
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
ModE	Modern English
NEG	negative particle
Nom	nominative case

OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
O	object
ON	Old Norse
PE	present-day English
PPCME2	the second edition of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English
s.v.	*sub verbo* 'under the given word'
T(P)	tense (phrase)
V(P)	verb (phrase)
YCOE	the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Introduction: Aims and Method

This thesis is aimed at discussing the internal structure of noun phrases and the distribution of noun phrases in syntactic structure from the diachronic point of view. In particular, what I discuss mainly are (i) syntactic positions of quantifiers in noun phrases and quantifiers separated from their quantified noun phrases, (ii) syntactic positions of preposed objects in clause structure, (iii) the development from dative to prepositional Experiencer arguments in the *seem* construction, (iv) the demise of the so-called inherent Case and its syntactic effects observed in a number of constructions. I will provide quantitative and qualitative analyses of these phenomena.

The analyses in this thesis are based largely on data retrieved from historical corpora: the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (Taylor et al. (2003)), the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second edition (Kroch and Taylor (2010)), the Innsbruck Prose Corpus (Markus (2008)), and the Dictionary of Old English Corpus (diPaolo Healey (2000)). In order to collect examples from the first two corpora, which are syntactically-annotated, I used CorpusSearch 2, created by Beth Randall (2005–2010).

As for a way of dealing with historical data, there seem to be two different approaches: philological and linguistic approaches. This thesis takes a linguistic approach, and provides syntactic accounts to the phenomena mentioned above within the framework of generative grammar, particularly the minimalist program. As stated below, however, the thesis does not depend on a single specific version of the minimalist program. Linguistic or theoretical approaches to historical English syntax are sometimes criticized. The author of *Old English Syntax*, Bruce Mitchell, states that:

(1) I have to state categorically my opinion that, on the evidence so far available to me, the techniques of the various forms of linguistics fashionable today have little to offer students of OE syntax. They depend on a knowledge of intonation patterns and a supply of native informants, neither of which is available. (Mitchell (1985: lxii))[1]

Mitchell's criticism may be right to the point from the theoretical perspective as well. The lack of native informants of medieval English, as he points out, is one of the critical issues diachronic generative syntax encounters and can hardly overcome. This shortcoming might be complemented with the modern techniques of corpora.[2] Use of corpora will make it possible for us to handle numerous examples at one time. This technology may be appropriate to our purposes of capturing a general tendency in syntactic phenomena and diachronic changes. We will deduce a generalization from language facts collected. In achieving our purposes, there would be left some exceptions unexplained.

As is often pointed out, frequency and grammaticality does not necessarily correspond to each other; Nor does infrequency and ungrammaticality (cf. Divjak (2008)). It may be true, however, that high frequency words or expressions can be determinants for language change or stability of such change (cf. Krug (2003)). In order to show that the frequencies or ratio

obtained are significant or that some word order patterns cannot be distributed by chance, statistics may be a useful tool for decision.[3]

The analyses in this thesis is basically conducted within the framework of the minimalist program. It was advocated by Chomsky (1993) and has been still developing with continuous revisions and modifications (Chomsky (1995, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2013, and 2014)). Thus, there are a number of versions of the minimalist framework: checking theory, phase theory, probe-goal valuation, and so on. I, however, am not stacked to a specific version of it. This is mainly because the purpose of this thesis is to focus on the descriptive perspective of history of the English language more than the development of linguistic theory and because even if a framework has been altered, the nature of language would not be changed.

1.2. Case Theory – Chronological Overview

Case is one of the issues to which much attention has been paid both empirically and theoretically. Empirical aspects of case include the relationship between case morphology and semantic/grammatical functions, and the correlation between the loss of case distinction and its syntactic effects. It is generally assumed that after the morphological case distinction became obsolete, the rigid word order patterns were established and prepositions came to be used to reinforce the weakened meanings of case endings.[4]

As for theoretical aspects of case, it would be useful to review historical development of Case Theory, widely accepted in generative grammar. It is probable that since the 1980's case has played an important role in generative grammar. Every time the so-called Chomskyan revolution in linguistics happened, a main framework was refined and reconstructed, insufficient conditions were relinquished and new concepts and conditions were introduced. Even after the revolution, the theory of Case is still there in different forms.[5]

Since the era of the Government and Biding Theory (Chomsky (1981)), it has been assumed that Case is required to license NPs (or DPs) in various forms and it is formulated as the Case Filter in (2).[6]

(2) Case Filter

*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case. (Chomsky (1981[1993]: 49))[7]

It functions to filter out sentences as ungrammatical if any one of the NPs in the sentences remains without Case.[8] In the Government and Binding Theory, Case is assigned under the notion of government. Chomsky (1981) formulates the fundamental properties of Case-assignment as in (3).

(3) a. NP is nominative if governed by AGR

b. NP is objective if governed by V with the subcategorization feature: –NP (i.e., transitive)

c. NP is oblique if governed by P

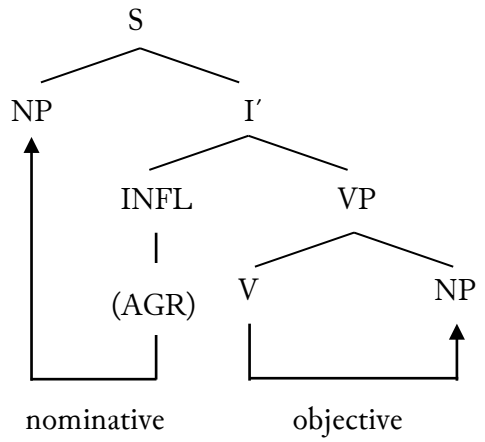
d. NP is genitive in $[_{NP} - \overline{X}]$

e. NP is inherently Case-marked as determined by properties of its [–N] governor

(Chomsky (1981[1993]: 170))

The Case-assignment under government is illustrated in (4).

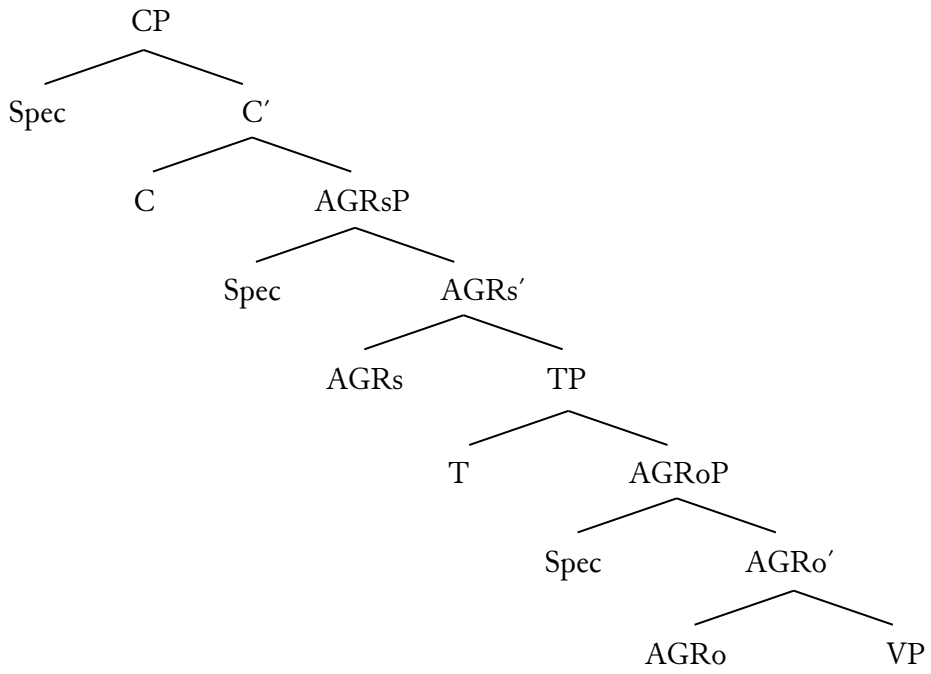
(4)



With the detailed definition of government omitted, the NP under S is governed and assigned nominative Case by AGR in INFL, while the NP, the sister of the V, is governed and assigned objective Case by the V. The notion of government would make it possible to provide a unified analysis to different types of Case-assignment. Viewed from the opposite perspective, it may be said that Case-assignment must be a uniform mechanism, but it remains heterogeneous due to the notion of government.

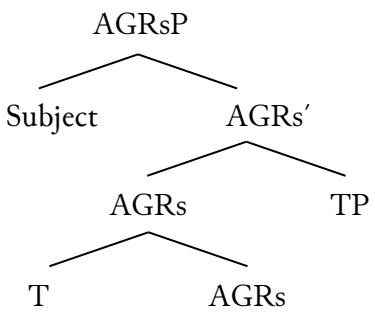
In early Minimalist Program (Chomsky (1993)), incorporating Pollock's (1989) concept of split IP and abandoning the notion of government, which has no conceptual necessities, a new Case licensing mechanism was introduced: checking theory. Under the checking theory, unlike the Government and Binding Theory, both subjects and objects are Case-licensed in the same configuration, the Spec-Head relation. As a result, the Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM) was no longer 'exceptional' since ECM objects are Case-marked in the same way as normal objects are. The basic structure of the clause Chomsky (1993) employed would be like (5).

(5)

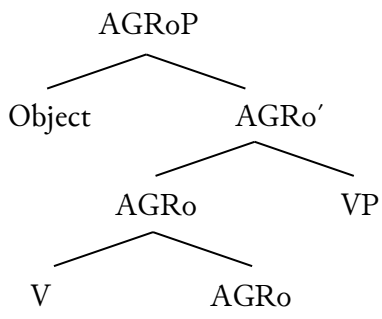


In (5) the Specifier of TP and Negative Phrase are omitted. AGRs and AGRo are informal mnemonics to differentiate the two functional roles of AGR. Both subjects and objects are Case-licensed through the same configuration in one of the AGRPs: the Spec-Head configuration in (6).

(6) a.



b.

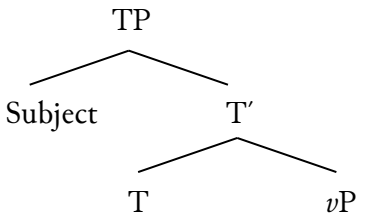


Suppose that Case properties correlate to T and V, Chomsky (1993) assumes that T raises to AGRs and V raises to AGRo, forming the complex T-AGRs and V-AGRo, respectively. In (6a)

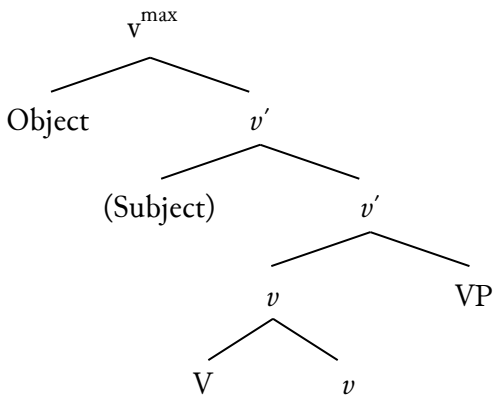
the subject is Case-checked in the Spec-Head relation to the complex T-AGRs, and in (6b) the object is Case-checked in the Spec-Head relation to the complex V-AGRo.

As the Minimalist Program went one step further, the split IP structure was renounced (Chomsky (1995)), since Agreement projections (AGRsP and ARGoP above) included in the split TP structure were not conceptually motivated. Therefore, the checking configuration was reframed: subjects are Case-checked in the domain of TP, whereas objects are Case-checked in the domain of *v*P. Both T and *v*, unlike agreement projections, are independently motivated. The little *v* is a lexical-functional category which assigns a θ-role and checks the Case feature. This category plays a crucial role in the development of double object constructions in English (see Chapter 5). The checking configurations in (6) were superseded with the new configurations in (7).

(7) a.



b.

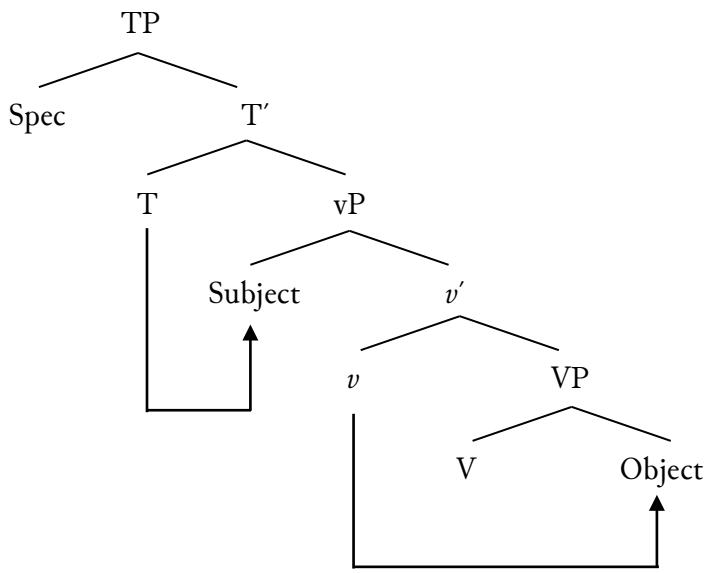


A difference between (7a) and (7b) is that whereas the configuration in (7a) is established in overt syntax, the one in (7b) is in covert syntax, after Spell-Out.

It seems that this new checking theory had been pervasive but it was also replaced with the probe-goal theory, because of its drawback. Chomsky (2001) introduces the new operation called Agree. This is a downward operation. T and *v* with φ-features (person, number and gender) work as probe and seek downward an active local goal, an NP with an unvalued Case

feature. After the probe finds the active goal, i.e. they enters into an Agree relationship, the φ-features of the probe are valued through those of the goal NP; the unvalued Case of the goal NP is also valued: if T enters into an Agree relationship with an NP, the NP is valued as nominative; if *v* enters into an Agree relationship with an NP, the NP is valued as accusative.

(8)



Under the probe-goal theory, Case-valuation via Agree and movement into the Specifier position of TP (the EPP requirement) are distinct operations. An EPP feature (or an Edge feature) is optionally assigned to a functional head such as T and *v* to raise the relevant local element.

All the aforementioned mechanisms of Case-licensing involve structural Case. As for inherent Case, it would seem that there has not been so much discussion. It is generally assumed that inherent Case is closely related to a (specific) θ-role, as Chomsky (1981:171) presumed.[9] He also supposes, as in (3e), that noun phrases are inherently assigned Case by the [–N] governor. Moreover, Amano (2000: 338) points out that only lexical categories can assign inherent Case, but functional categories cannot. This seems trivial, but it is crucial to discussion in the following chapters. He goes on to argue that inherent Case can be defined as Case

determined by some lexical contents inherent to the Case-assigner; therefore it cannot be that functional categories without lexical contents assign inherent Case.[10]

In an early checking-theory, in contrast to the Spec-Head configuration to license structural Case, the Head-Comp configuration was suggested in order to license inherent Case. Chomsky (2000: 102) supposes that "[n]either T nor *v* assigns inherent Case; other light verbs may." As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, I propose that a light verb can assign inherent Case, unlike the general assumption a light verb assigns structural Case.

1.3. Organization of This Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter has stated the aims and methodology, and chronologically overviewed Case Theory, dating back to the Government and Binding Theory in the 1980's. In doing so, I emphasized the crucial role of the Case Filter, formulated in Chomsky (1981). It appears that this filter still exists in the spirit of the Minimalist Program. In addition, the chapter briefly reviewed the theoretical framework on which the analyses in the following chapters are based.

In Chapter 2 I discuss the distribution of quantifiers in Old and Middle English in comparison with those of present-day English. The quantifiers in Old English to be discussed are *eall* 'all,' *begen* 'both,' *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some.' On the basis of data collected from the historical corpus, the YCOE, it will be shown that the universal quantifiers *eall* 'all' and *begen* 'both' can float from their associated nominative pronouns in Old English as well as they do in present-day English. In contrast to these universal quantifiers, the existential quantifiers *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some' can hardly float.

It is argued in Chapter 3 that there are three types of Object Movement available in Old English: the syntactically-driven Object Movement, freely-applied Object Movement (usually called Scrambling) and discourse-driven Object Movement. They are applied to objects at different syntactic domains: the *v*P domain, the TP domain and the CP domain. The syntactically-driven Object Movement is caused by an EPP feature optionally assigned to the head of *v*P. The freely-applied Object Movement, as it is so called, takes place costlessly in the TP domain. The discourse-driven Object Movement is caused by a discourse requirement. In this respect, the discourse-driven Object Movement is similar to Topicalization in that the latter raises a constituent as a primary topic into the Specifier of the higher CP and causes a subject and finite verb inversion, whereas the former raises another constituent as a secondary topic into the Specifier of the lower CP head by the discourse marker *þa* 'then.' An interesting instance is shown there: when a subject raises leaving its associated quantifier behind, these two elements are separated by the discourse marker *þa* 'then' and the quantifier remains in the focus domain immediately after the marker *þa*. This means that quantifier float is a kind of emphatic movement for the sake of contrast (Takami (2001) and Ryu (2004)).

Chapter 4 considers the Experiencer construction with the *seem*-type verb. During the Old English period the word of Germanic origin *þyncan* 'seem, appear' was used with a dative-marked Experiencer. This Experiencer argument, if present, could appear at the clause-initial position or after the main verb. In Middle English, while the Old English verb *þyncan* was still in use, a new verb was borrowed from Old Norse: *semen* 'seem.' Both verbs coexisted in Middle English, but later in Middle English period, the verb of Old Norse origin superseded the Germanic one, due in part to the morphological and semantic merger of personal *thencan* and impersonal *thyncan*. The Old Norse originated verb *seem* could also take a dative-marked Experiencer, but the Experiencer came to be accompanied by the preposition *to* after the case distinction between dative and accusative became obsolete.

Chapter 5 is concerned with language change and unchange, taking the demise of non-structural Case and the use of prepositions as an example. The constructions to be discussed there are double object constructions, Experiencer constructions and dative verb constructions. They all involve dative elements in earlier English. It is generally assumed that after dative and genitive cases had been no more marked, and non-structural Cases (inherent and lexical Case) were lost, prepositions came to be used to take over the function that the morphological case distinction had carried. This may be both correct and incorrect. As I will argue in Chapter 5, once dative case had been unavailable, prepositions came in use in place of case morphology in the above mentioned constructions. Later, however, even if they were under the same syntactic environment, some prepositional phrases had retained their prepositional status, but others had abandoned them with recourse to an alternative method for Case-licensing. Looking only at the inception and the end of language history, it would be suggested that there was no change happening in double object and dative verb constructions.[11] However, taking intermediate stages into consideration, it would be implied that those constructions once went through a phase where a preposition was utilized.

Chapter 6 summarizes and concludes all the discussion and provides some residual issues and consideration for future research.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

[1] It is sooth that no native speakers of medieval English survived. Interestingly enough, however, two translations of *Le Petit Prince* 'The Little Prince' were published: *Be þam lytlan æþelinge* in Old English (Anglo-Saxon) by Fritz Kemmler and *The litel prynce* in Middle English (Chaucer's English) by Walter Sauer. If competence is regarded as language faculty to produce new grammatical sentences, these authors could be counted as native speakers of medieval English. Analyses of 'newly' written works in Old and Middle English are beyond the scope of this thesis, though it might be an interesting topic.

In addition, Jennings (1966) wrote in some issues of the magazine *Punch*, a 'winning' (not *victory* in French word) of the Guth of Hastings 'Battle of Hastings' in an English that would have developed if English people had won Normans at the Battle of Hastings.

[2] It should be noted that only positive evidence is available and no negative or *ungrammatical* examples are ever found in corpora. ungrammatical examples might be necessary to construct a grammar or to ascertain the viability of analyses.

[3] At the same time, it could be a double-edged sword, though. There are some cases where the ratio of two given expressions appears to be clearly distinguished, but it is not statistically significant. It might cause an aporia, an internal contradiction or logical disjunction. This was pointed out by Manfred Markus (p.c.).

[4] The opposite cause-and-effect relation may also be possible. In fact Gordon (1996: 26) takes this position as follows:

> (i) Position as well as case identified the subject and the object. Position was probably the more important; certainly this rigid structural pattern, established so early in the language, goes a long way towards explaining how inflexions could weaken without resultant loss of meaning. It is usually assumed that a fixed word-order took over the

> task of the lost inflexions. The truth is more likely to be the other way round. The fixed word-order made the inflextional endings redundant. They were losing their force before the end of the Old English period. (Gordon (1966: 26))

This seems to be an 'egg or chicken paradox' and it may be an everlasting question. This issue is left open for future research, and this thesis follows the 'general' assumption that the demise of morphology caused some syntactic phenomena including a fixed word order and use of prepositions (see Chapters 4 and 5).

[5] See Markman (2010) for a more detailed and extensive historical overview of Case Theory.

[6] In the Principles and Parameters approach, 'while Abstract Case is a principled, invariant property of language, whether or not Case gets realized morphologically is subject to parametric variation' (Markman (2010: 850)).

[7] This filter is only applied to overt NPs, and then empty categories such as traces and PRO may escape the Case Filter (Chomsky (1981[1993]: 49)). There is a possibility that in Icelandic PROs can also be Case-marked (see Sigurðsson (2008)). Floating quantifiers in Icelandic agree with their quantified NPs in gender, number and case. This is illustrated in (i).

(i) a. Bræðurnir voru ekki **báðir** kosnir í stjórnina.
brothers.the.NOM.M.PL were not both.NOM.M.PL elected to board.the
'The brothers were not both elected to the board.'

b. Bræðrunum var **báðum** boðið á fundinn.
brothers.the.DAT.M.PL was both.DAT.PL invited.DFT to meeting.the
'The brothers were both invited to the meeting.' (Sigurðsson (2008: 410))

In (ia) the quantifier *báðir* 'both' agrees with the subject *bræðurnir* 'the brothers' in masculine,

plural and nominative; in (ib) the quantifier *báðum* 'both' agrees with the subject *bræðrunum* 'the brothers' in plural and dative. When the quantifier is embedded in infinitival constructions with PRO, it shows up in the same agreement patterns observed in the corresponding finite clauses as in (i).

(ii) a. Bræðrunum líkaði illa
brothers.the.DAT.M.PL liked ill
[að PRO vera ekki **báðir** kosnir].
to NOM be not both.NOM.M.PL elected
'The brothers disliked not being both elected.'

b. Bræðurnir æsktu þess
brothers.the.NOM.M.PL wished(for) it
[að PRO vera **báðum** boðið].
to DAT be both.DAT.PL invited
'The brothers wished to be both invited.' (Sigurðsson (2008: 410))

In (ii) the quantifiers semantically correspond to the subjects of the main clauses, but morphologically do not agree with them, but with the PROs, if any. In the same constructions, any other forms of the quantifier are not possible, as indicated in (iii).

(iii) a. . . . að vera ekki **báðir**.NOM/*báða.ACC/*báðum.DAT/*beggja.GEN kosnir

b. . . . að vera ekki **báðum**.DAT/*báðir.NOM/*báða.ACC/*beggja.GEN boðið

In addition, Chomsky (1981) extends the Case Filter in (2) in the text to the Extended Case

Filter in (iv) to cover the case of *wh*-phrases.

(iv) *[$_{NP}$ α] if α has no Case and α contains a phonetic matrix or is a variable.

(Chomsky (1981[1993]: 175))

The Case Filter requires the *wh*-phrase to have Case, but if the variable it binds has no Case, it will not be able to inherit Case. Therefore, this variable must have Case.

[8] Chomsky (1981) distinguishes Case from case. Case is used for abstract Case, and case for morphological case. The introduction of the concept of abstract Case may be innovative for syntactic theory: it was made possible to treat noun phrases in non case-marking languages like English and those in case-marking languages like Icelandic in the same way.

[9] I follow this standard assumption, but the θ-related Case is divided into two separate categories, inherent Case and lexical Case, in accordance with the Case distinction of Woolford (2006). These Cases together with structural Case play an important role in discussion of Chapters 4 and 5.

[10] This may be true, but I assume more than the lexical/functional dichotomy, following Fukui (1995: 338n3). He supposes that categories in the lexicon can be divided into subtypes with combinations of two distinctive features [±F(unctional)] and [±L(exical)].

(i) a. [+F, –L]: 'pure' functional elements
b. [+F, +L]: functional elements with lexical nature
c. [–F, +L]: lexical categories (substantive elements)
d. [–F, –L]: 'minor categories' (particles, etc.) (Fukui (1995: 338n3))

Elements specified as [+F, +L] have, to varying degrees, both functional and lexical properties.

In accordance with this categorization, Amano's distinction can be restated as follows: elements specified as [+F, +L] or [–F, +L] can assign inherent Case, but those specified as [+F, –L] or [–F, –L] cannot. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, some little *v*'s belong to the category with [+F, +L], since they can assign both a θ-role (a lexical property) and structural Case (a functional property).

[11] Here, double object constructions refer to those with the 'dative-accusative' order pattern. Constructions with the 'accusative-dative' order pattern, which were also observed in OE, would correspond to prepositional dative constructions in PE.

CHAPTER 2

DISTRIBUTION OF QUANTIFIERS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH*

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the distribution of quantifiers in the history of English, especially in Old and Middle English. The quantifiers to be discussed are *eall* 'all,' *begen* 'both,' *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some.' I will show how different and similar these quantifiers in Old English (OE) and present-day English (PE) are in distribution. The research was conducted through a study of the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE; Taylor et al. (2003)) and the second edition of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2; Kroch and Taylor (2010)), by using a Java-based searching program CorpusSearch 2.[1]

Let us begin by reviewing some properties of the quantifier *all* in PE. It is well-known that the quantifier *all* can occur at various positions in PE, as shown in (1) and (2).[2] Here and what follows quantifiers are in boldface and their modifying elements are in italics.

(1) a. **All** *the students* have finished the assignment.

b. *The students* have **all** finished the assignment. (Bobaljik (2003: 107))

(2) a. *The children* **all** would have been doing that.

b. *The children* would **all** have been doing that.

c. *The children* would have **all** been doing that.

d. *The children* would have been **all** doing that. (Baltin (1995: 211))

The PE quantifier *all* can occupy the pre-nominal position, as in (1a) and the post-nominal position, as in (2a). It can also occupy a position between two verbal elements: the one between the finite verb and the infinitive in (2b), the one between the infinitive and the past participle in (2c), and the one between the past participle and the present participle in (2d). These types of quantifiers are called 'floating' quantifiers in the generative literature, and it is generally assumed that the quantifiers separated from their modifying nominals mark the intermediate subject positions (cf. Sportiche (1988)). Thus, the quantifier cannot occupy the post-verbal position of unergative verbs, as in (3b). This is because that position is neither the initial nor an intermediate position of the moved subject.

(3) a. **All** *our team* played well.

b. **Our team* played **all** well. (Quirk et al. (1985: 126))

Just like the quantifier *all* in (4), *both* can also occur at the pre-nominal position, as in (5a) and between two verbal elements, as in (5b).

(4) a. **All** *the boys* will be there.

b. *The boys* will **all** be there. (ibid.)

(5) a. **Both** *my parents* are working.

b. *My parents* are **both** working. (ibid.)

Quirk et al. (1985) classify quantifiers into several categories depending on their positions and functions. This is illustrated in (6) with slight modifications.

(6) a. **All** *students* were accepted. [determiner]

b. **All** *the students* were accepted. [predeterminer]

c. **All** of *the students* were accepted. [pronoun]

d. *The students* were **all** accepted. [floating]

e. **All** were accepted. [pronoun]

f. **All** of *them* were accepted. [pronoun]

g. *They* were **all** accepted. [floating]

h. ?*They* **all** were accepted. [postmodifier]

(adapted from Quirk et al. (1985: 258–259))

The difference between (6a) and (6b) is the presence of the determiner *the*. Although Quirk et al. (1985) call the quantifiers in (6d), (6g) and (6h) 'pronouns,' I will term the quantifiers in (6d) and (6g) 'floating quantifiers' and the one in (6h) 'postmodifier,' following Bobaljik (2003) and Fischer and van der Wurff (2006).

We now turn to quantifiers used with objects. In contrast to quantifiers modifying subjects, quantifiers exhibit different behavior when they are associated with objects. For example, they usually cannot follow object noun phrases, as shown in (7). This contrasts with (2a). Moreover, they cannot float from their modifying object noun phrases.

(7) a. *Mary hates *the students* **all**.

b. *I like *the men* **all**.

c. *I saw *the men* **all** yesterday.

If the objects are pronominalized, however, the sentences become grammatical, as shown in (8).

(8) a. Mary hates *them* **all**.

b. I like *them* **all**.

c. I saw *them* **all** yesterday.

This 'pronoun-quantifier' order is the rule in the case of subjects as well. To put it differently, whether a pronoun is a subject or an object, the 'quantifier-pronoun' order is not grammatical. This is illustrated in (9) and (10).

(9) a. *Jack saw **all** *them*/**all** *us*/**all** *you*.

b. Jack saw *them* **all**/*us* **all**/*you* **all**. (Brisson (1998:228))

(10) a. ***All** *they*/**all** *we*/**all** *you* left.

b. *They*/*you*/*we* **all** left. (ibid.)

We can summarize the distributional properties of the PE quantifier *all* as in (11).[3] These properties may be true of the quantifier *both*.

(11) distributional properties of the PE quantifier *all*

a. The quantifier can float from the quantified noun phrase when the noun phrase is a subject.

b. The 'noun-*all*' order is generally unacceptable when the quantified noun phrase is an object.

c. When a subject or an object is pronominal, only the 'pronoun-*all*' order is acceptable.

With respect to functional slots within the noun phrase and the order of these slots, Fischer and van der Wurff (2006) drew up Table 2.1 below. They state that when the head noun, which is the central element, is a common noun, it may be accompanied by some modifying elements and that these elements usually occur in a fixed order in PE. The quantifiers just reviewed, *all* and *both*, are in the outermost position, which is called 'predeterminer' as in Quirk et al. (1985). They can also occupy the 'postmodifier' position, as in (2a), although it is marked with a question mark in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Element order within the NP in PE

Predeterminer	Determiner	Postdeterminer	Premodifier	Modifier	**Head**	Postmodifier
all, both, half	articles	other	adverbials	adjectives	**Noun**	prep. phrase
	demonstrative	quantifiers,	adjectives	adjuncts*	**Pronoun**	(some adj.)
	possessive	numerals				(quantifiers?)
	interrogative					relative
	and relative					clause
	pronouns					
	quantifiers					
	genitives					

* 'adjuncts' here refers to the use of nouns as modifiers (attributive nouns), as in 'a stone wall,' and to denominal adjectives, as in 'Chomskyan linguistics,' [and] 'criminal law.'

(Fischer and van der Wurff (2006: 114))

An OE version of the table corresponding to Fischer and van der Wurff's was drawn up by Carlton (1963) for the prose as in Table 2.2, and by Mitchell (1985) for the poetry as in Table 2.3.[4]

Table 2.2. Six-position arrangement of the modifiers in the OE prose

6th Position (*eall, sum, manig)*	5th Position (pron.)	4th Position (numeral)	3rd Position (*oþer*)	2nd Position (adj. and part.)	1st Position (noun in gen. case)	Head word (noun)
	þære			geættredan	deofles	lare
		an	oþer	healf		gear
		ænne		blacne		stedan
	þæm	þriim				dælum
	min	twa				wergeld
	þa		oþoro			lond
mænig			oþer	god		man
allum	þæm					halgum
ealle	his			leofan		halgan
sum	þæt					lond
ealle	mine					freondum
			oþrum	sue miclum		ladne

(Carlton (1963: 780); see also Mitchell (1985: §143))

Table 2.3. Six-position arrangement of the modifiers in the OE poetry*

6th Position (*eall, sum, manig)*	5th Position (dem. and/or poss.)	4th Position (numeral)	3rd Position (*oþer*)	2nd Position (adj./ptc.)	1st Position (noun in gen. case)	Head word (noun)
	min			yldra		fæder
	þin agen					bearn
					godes agen	bearn
	se			halga |	heahengla	god
	min se			swetesta |	sunnan	scima
		twelfe . . . |		tireadige		hæleð
	þa	þry				naman
	be þissum	|| feawum				forðspellum
	þa		oðre			fynd
manigu			oðru			gesceaft
sum						woðbora
eall	þæt					maþ þumgestealdd
ealne				yrmenne		grund

* The examples quoted occupy the same half-line unless the symbols | or || appear.

(Mitchell (1985: §149))

In both Tables 2.2 and 2.3, the OE *eall* 'all' occupies the outermost position, the 6th position or the predeterminer position, just like the PE *all*. In addition *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some' can

occupy the same slot as well, as indicated in Tables 2.2 and 2.3. Later I will show that *begen* 'both' in OE can also occur in this slot, just as in PE.[5]

Furthermore, Fischer and van der Wurff (2006) sum up the diachronic syntactic change in the position of quantifiers as in Table 2.4. They say that whereas in OE the position of quantifiers was relatively free, it has been fairly fixed in Modern English. As will be made clear, this depends on the quantifiers.

Table 2.4. Syntactic change in the position of quantifiers

Change in	Old English	Middle English	Modern English
position of quantifiers	relatively free	more restricted	fairly fixed

(adapted from Fischer and van der Wurff (2006: 111))

The organization of this chapter is as follows: in the following section I provide actual examples of predeterminer and postdeterminer uses of the four quantifiers in OE, i.e. *eall* 'all,' *begen* 'both,' *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some,' retrieved from the YCOE. Section 2.3 shows floating quantifiers. Section 2.4 provides a syntactic account of quantifiers in OE. In Section 2.5 some comments will be made on the distribution of the quantifier *all* 'all' in ME. In Section 2.6 we conclude the discussion in this chapter.

2.2. Quantifiers as Predeterminers and Postmodifiers in OE

There are two syntactic environments to be examined to show the distribution of quantifiers in this section: (i) one where quantifiers are placed before nouns or pronouns and (ii) the other where quantifiers are placed after nouns or pronouns. The former is called 'predeterminer,' and

the latter 'postmodifier' (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 258–259)).[6] A third syntactic environment, where quantifiers and nouns/pronouns are not adjacent, will be discussed in Section 2.3.

2.2.1. *Eall* 'All'

Let us first take examples with *eall* 'all.' Its distribution is summarized in Table 2.5 below. In the case of nominative nouns, 1,390 examples show that the quantifier is placed before noun phrases, i.e. the '*all*-noun' order, while 58 examples show the opposite order, the 'noun-*all*' order. This indicates that 96.0% is the '*all*-noun' order. The examples of both orders are given in (12) and (13). Likewise, accusative noun phrases are almost always placed after the quantifier *eall* 'all'; 96.4% of the total occurrences show the '*all*-noun' order. Some examples of accusative noun phrases are given in (14) and (15).

Table 2.5. Distribution of the quantifier *eall*

	all-noun	noun-*all*	*all*-pronoun	pronoun-*all*
nominative	1390 (96.0%)	58 (4.0%)	103 (22.3%)	359 (77.7%)
accusative	2235 (96.4%)	84 (3.6%)	3 (1.8%)	164 (98.2%)

(12) nominative '*all*-noun' order

a. Hit ne mihte **eall** *mancyn* gedon gif he sylf nolde;
it NEG might all mankind do if he self not-would
'All mankind could not have done it, if he himself had not willed it;'
(ÆCHom I 343.238)

b. and **ealle** *ða* *godas* grundlunga suncon into þære eorðan.
and all the gods utterly sunk into the earth

'and all the gods sunk utterly into the earth' (ÆLS (George) 141)

(13) nominative 'noun-*all*' order

a. his neb bið gerifod. ⁊ *his leomu* **ealle** gewæhte;
his face is wrinkled and his limbs all afflicted
'his face [is] wrinkled, and his limbs all afflicted;' (ÆCHom I 528.113)

b. Ða forleton *his leorningcnihtas* **ealle** hine and flugon;
then forsook his disciples all Him and fled
'Then all his disciples forsook Him and fled.' (Mk (WSCp) 14.50)

(14) accusative '*all*-noun' order

a. we habbað **ealle** *ðing* mid þam ælmihtigan drihtne.
we have all things with the Almighty God
'we possess all things together with Almighty God.' (ÆLS (Eugenia) 177)

b. ond mid hine genom **ealle** *þa Scottas*, þa he on Lindesfarena ea
and with him took all the Scots that he on Lindisfarne
gesomnade, swelce eac þritig monna of Ongolþeode.
assembled such also thirty men of English people
'and took with him all the Scots, whom he had assembled at Lindisfarne, as well as thirty men of English race' (Bede 4:4.272.19)

(15) accusative 'noun-*all*' order

a. *Ðas ðing* **ealle** þa farisei gehyrdon þa ðe gifre wæron.
these things all the Pharisees heard who greedy were
'The Pharisees, who were greedy, heard all these things' (Lk (WSCp) 16.14)

b. Þa het hieu him to gebringan *þæra æðelinga heafdu* **ealle**
then ordered Jehu them to bring the princes' heads all
þæs on mergen

the on morrow

'Then Jehu ordered them to bring all the heads of the princes on the morrow'

(ÆLS (Book of Kings) 365)

In contrast to nouns, nominative pronouns occur before the quantifier *eall* more frequently than after it. The ratio of the nominative 'pronoun-*all*' order is 77.7% and that of the accusative 'pronoun-*all*' order is 98.2%. In the case of accusative pronouns, the 'pronoun-*all*' order is strictly preferred. The examples with nominative pronouns are provided in (16) and (17), and those with accusative pronouns in (18) and (19).

(16) nominative '*all*-pronoun' order

a. **Ealle** *we* cumað to anre ylde. on þam gemænelicum æriste;
all we come to one age on the common resurrection
'We shall all come to one age at the common resurrection,' (ÆCHom I 220.114)

b. **Ealle** *hi* gehyrdon þæs hælendes word
all they heard the Savour's words
'They all heard the Savour's words' (ÆLS (Forty Soldiers) 49)

(17) nominative 'pronoun-*all*' order

a. ⁊ *hi* **ealle** anmodlice ræddon þæt ealle his gesetnyssa
and they all unanimously resolved that all his decrees
aydlode wæron;
annulled were
'and they all unanimously resolved that all his decrees should be annulled'
(ÆCHom I 207.32)

b. and *hi* **ealle** herodon þonne hælend mid wuldre

and they all praised the Saviour with glory

'and they all praised the Saviour with glory' (ÆLS (Eugenia) 255)

(18) accusative '*all*-pronoun' order

a. ac wentst abuton þæt ðu **ealne** *hine* geseo;

but turnest about that thou all it see

'but turnest it about, that thou mayest see it all' (ÆCHom I 341.170)

b. Ond **ealle** *hy* Scottas lustlice onfengon

and all them Scots gladly took

'And the Scots gave a welcome to all' (Bede 3:19.242.5)

(19) accusative 'pronoun-*all*' order

a. and ic for cristes lufe forlæt *eow* **ealle**.

and I for Christ's love abandoned you all

'and I, for Christ's love, abandoned you all' (ÆLS (Eugenia) 240)

b. and he *hi* **ealle** geworhte,

and he them all wrought

'and he wrought them all' (HomS 14 (BlHom 4) 51.22)

We can see from Table 2.5 above that when nouns are used, whether nominative or accusative, the '*all*-noun' order is dominant; when pronouns are used, by contrast, the 'pronoun-*all*' order is much more frequent.

2.2.2. *Begen* 'Both'

Let us go on to a second quantifier *begen* 'both.'[7] In contrast to the great number of the occurrences of *eall* 'all,' the number of *begen* 'both' is quite small. There are 126 instances found in the corpus. The distribution of *begen* 'both' is summed up in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. Distribution of the quantifier *begen*

	both-noun	noun-*both*	*both*-pronoun	pronoun-*both*
nominative	10 (37.0%)	17 (63.0%)	2 (3.6%)	53 (96.4%)
accusative	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)	0 (0.0%)	23 (100.0%)

It should be noted here that unlike the quantifier *eall* 'all,' the quantifier *begen* 'both' tends to follow nominative noun phrases (about two-thirds of the examples); when noun phrases are accusative, however, *begen* 'both' tends to precede those noun phrases. The examples showing these word order patterns are given in (20) through (23).

(20) nominative '*both*-noun' order

a. Æfter ðan ðriddan dæge þa þa hi fornean wæron adydde.
after the third day when they almost were destroyed
ða comon **begen** *þa* *apostoli*.
then came both the apostles
'After the third day, when they were almost destroyed, came both the apostles'
(ÆCHom II 284.144)

b. forðam þe him burston ut **butu** *his* *eagan*,
because him burst out both his eyes
'because that both his eyes burst out of him' (ÆLS (Alban) 120)

(21) nominative 'noun-*both*' order

a. ac *ða apostoli* **begen** hi astrehton æt þæs ealdormannes fotum.
but the apostles both them stretched at the general's feet
'but both the apostles stretched themselves at the general's feet'

(ÆCHom II 281.43)

b. Ða sealdon ⁊ gefon *þa cyningas* **begen** þæm biscope
then gave and took the kings both the bishop
eardungstowe ⁊ biscopseðl on Dorcotceastre.
dwelling and episcopal at Dorchester
'Then the kings both made over and gave to the bishop a dwelling and episcopal seat at Dorchester-on-Thames' (Bede 3:5.168.7)

(22) accusative '*both*-noun' order

a. and het lædan **buta** *þa halgan* togædere to anum sandpytte
and commanded bring both the saints together to a sandpit
'and commanded men to bring both the saints together to a sandpit'

(ÆLS (Chrysanthus) 324)

b. and forsearedum him **begen** *dælas* forbrecan and forbærnan
and dried-up them both parts break and burn
'and, being dried up, (I will) break both parts in pieces and burn them up.'

(LS 20 (AssumptMor (BlHom 13)) 151)

(23) accusative 'noun-*both*' order

a. ⁊ geworhte *þa burga* **buta** on ægþere healfe eas ær
and built the forts both on either half water before
he þonon fore;
he thence departed
'and built both the forts on either side of the water, ere he departed thence'

(ChronA 918.27)

b. and *þa sar* **butu** wundurlice gehæleþ.
and the pains both wonderfully heals
'and wonderfully heals both the pains' (Lch I (Herb) 132.3)

On the other hand, when the quantifier *begen* 'both' is used with a pronoun, the quantifier is placed after the pronoun with only two exceptions, as indicated in Table 2.6. Examples of pronouns and *begen* 'both' are shown in (24) through (27).

(24) nominative '*both*-pronoun' order

a. **Begen** *hi* sind men. on middanearde acennede.
bot they are men on world born
'They are both men born in the world' (ÆCHom II 187.223)

b. **Begen** *hi* mæssiað
both they say-mass
'They both say mass' (ÆLet 2 (Wulfstan 1) 113.168)

(25) nominative 'pronoun-*both*' order

a. and beon *hi* **begen** beworpene mid wuda wiðneoðan.
and be they both surrounded with wood beneath
'and they both be surrounded with wood beneath' (ÆLS (Book of Kings) 104)

b. ⁊ *hi* **begen** wæron Norðhymbrum to biscopum gehalgode.
and they both were Northumbria to bishops consecrated
'and they were both consecrated as bishops for Northumbria' (BedeHead 3.16.19)

(26) accusative '*both*-pronoun' order

no example

(27) accusative 'pronoun-*both*' order

a. oððe ic *inc* **begen** ofslea.
or I you-two both slay
'or I must slay you both' (ÆLS (Agnes) 404)

b. and adræfde *hi* **butu** of neorxnawange.
and drove them both from Paradise
'and drove them both from Paradise' (ÆCHom I 183.142)

Whether nominative or accusative, the quantifier *begen* 'both' as well as the quantifier *eall* 'all' tends to precede the pronoun with which it is associated. Furthermore, the quantifier *begen* 'both' more clearly exhibits its tendency to prefer the 'pronoun-quantifier' order over the 'quantifier-pronoun' order than the quantifier *eall* 'all' does.

2.2.3. *Mænig* 'Many'

We next pick up a third quantifier *mænig* 'many.'[8] As Table 2.7 shows, there is only one example with a pronoun found in the corpus. From this finding, it can be concluded that *mænig* 'many' was not compatible with nominative or accusative pronouns in OE.

Table 2.7. Distribution of the quantifier *mænig*

	many-noun	noun-*many*	*many*-pronoun	pronoun-*many*
nominative	283 (97.3%)	8 (2.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100.0%)
accusative	267 (97.1%)	8 (2.9%)	0 ---	0 ---

As for the case of nouns, the ‘*many*-noun’ order is much more frequent than the ‘noun-*many*’ order, regardless of whether the nouns are nominative or accusative. This is the same behavior as the quantifier *eall* ‘all’ exhibits. Examples (28) though (31) are the ones with the quantifier *mænig* ‘many’ and nouns.

(28) nominative ‘*many*-noun’ order

a. ac **manega** *ðing* sind fram ðam anum;
but many things are from the one
‘but many things are from that one’ (ÆCHom II 256.46)

b. Ge eac **monige** *weallas* mid seofon ⁊ fiftegum torran gehruron
INTJ also many walls with fifty-seven towers collapsed
⁊ gefeollan:
and fell
‘Also many walls along with fifty-seven towers collapsed and fell’ (Bede 1:11.48.14)

(29) nominative ‘noun-*many*’ order

a. *Þa Romaniscan mædenu* **manega** eac ðurhwunodon on clænum
the Roman maidens many also continued in clean
mægðhade for Cristes lufe, æfter Agnes gebysnunga þe þær
virginity for Christ’s love after Agnes example who there
bebyrged is.
buried is
‘Likewise many of the Roman maidens continued in pure virginity for the love of Christ after Agnes’ example, who is there buried.’ (ÆLS (Agnes) 293)

b. Þær wæron *swa mære biscopas* **manege** on ðam synoðe
there were so famous bishops many in the synod

'There were so many famous bishops in the synod.' (ÆLet 1 (Wulfsige Xa) 7.9)

(30) accusative '*many*-noun' order

a. Þu wurðast **manega** *godas* and **manega** *gydenan*;
thou worshippest many gods and many goddesses
'Thou worshippest many gods, and many goddesses;' (ÆLS (Sebastian) 227)

b. ge eac **monig** *oðer* *þing* þære ciriclican annisse heo
and also many other things the ecclesiastical unity they
ungelice ȝ wiðerword hæfdon.
unlike and contrary had
'and they had also many other observances dissimilar and contrary to the unity of the church' (Bede 2:2.98.20)

(31) accusative 'noun-*many*' order

a. and se cyng genam scipa and wæpna and *sceattas* **manega**.
and the king took ships and weapons and treasures many
'and the king took their ships, and weapons, and many treasures' (ChronE 1071.11)

b. and *oþre* *wundro* **manega** wyrcean
and other marvels many work
'and work many other marvels' (LS 32 (PeterandPaul (BlHom 15)) 177.106)

About the 'noun-*many*' order, a comment is in order. According to the *OED* (s.v. *many*), this order is marked as poetic and archaic and the earliest occurrence is cited from a work in circa 1220 in (32a) below. Examples (32) are taken from the *OED*.

(32) Placed after the noun. poetic and archaic

a. In ðe se senden *selcuðes* **manie**.

in the sea are wonders many

'In the sea are many wonders' (c1220 Bestiary 556/OED s.v. *many* A.2.c)

b. As there be *goddes* **many** and *lordes* **many**.

as there are gods many and lords many

'as there are many gods and many lords'

(1526 Tindale 1 Cor. viii. 5/OED s.v. *many* A.2.c)

It seems, however, that the present study shows that earlier instances exist: example (29) is from the work written between 950–1050, and (31) is from the one in 1150 at latest.

2.2.4. *Sum* 'Some'

The last quantifier to be considered is *sum* 'some.'[9] The results of the data retrieved from the corpus is summed up in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8. Distribution of the quantifier *sum*

	some-noun	noun-*some*	*some*-pronoun	pronoun-*some*
nominative	968 (99.0%)	10 (1.0%)	49 (53.8%)	42 (46.2%)
accusative	548 (97.3%)	15 (2.7%)	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)

It can be seen from Table 2.8 that the '*some*-noun' order is much more frequent than the 'noun-*some*' order, regardless of their case, nominative or accusative. It could be said that the '*some*-noun' order is the rule. This is common to the quantifiers *eall* 'all' and *mænig* 'many,' but not to the quantifier *sum* 'some.' Each word order pattern of *sum* 'some' and a noun is exemplified in (33) through (36).

(33) nominative '*some*-noun' order

a. Þa geseah Sebastianus hu **sume** *þa cristenan* woldon awacian
then saw Sebastian how some the Christians would lapse
for ðam ormætum witum,
for the exceeding tortures
'Then Sebastian perceived how some of the Christians were ready to lapse because of the exceeding tortures' (ÆLS (Sebastian) 21)

b. Þær hine gestod **sumu** *untrymnis*,
there him attacked some illness
'He was there attacked by an illness' (Bede 4:1.256.23)

(34) nominative 'noun-*some*' order

a. Betwux ðam ascuton *þa awyrigedan gastas* **sume** of þære nywelnysse
between the shut the accursed spirits some of the abyss
wiþ min. mid byrnendum eagum.
towards me with burning eyes
'In the meanwhile some of the accursed spirits shut up towards me from the abyss, with burning eyes' (ÆCHom II 200.49)

b. Swylce eac in ða ilcan tid cwom *oðer mon* **sum**:
such also in the same time came other man some
'At that time also there came another man' (Bede 3:8.180.12)

(35) accusative '*some*-noun' order

a. **Sume** *ðas race* we habbaþ getrahtnod on oðre stowe.
some this narrative we have expounded in another place
'Some of this narrative we have expounded in another place.' (ÆCHom II 151.34)

b. Læde mon hider to us **sumne** *untrumne mon*;
let man here to us some sick man
'Let them bring here to us some sick man' (Bede 2:2.98.30)

(36) accusative 'noun-*some*' order

a. and siððan *his apostolas* **sume** eac adyddon;
and afterwards his apostles some also destroyed
'and afterwards also destroyed some of his apostles' (ÆCHom II 173.125)

b. ðæt we *ða wundur* **sumu** in ðysse baec gemyndgode
that we the marvels some in this book recorded
'that we recorded some of these marvels in this book.' (Bede 5:2.388.1)

In contrast, when the quantifier *sum* 'some' is used with a nominative pronoun, both the '*some*-pronoun' and 'pronoun-*some*' orders are observed with almost the same frequencies. This contrasts with the other quantifiers, which tend to prefer the 'pronoun-quantifier' order. Examples of *sum* 'some' are given in (37) and (38).

(37) nominative '*some*-pronoun' order

a. **Sume** *hi* gelyfdon on þone lyfigendan God
some they believed in the living God
'Some of them believed in the living God' (ÆLS (Book of Kings) 39)

b. **Sume** *hi* gelæhton þa bydelas
some they seized the messengers
'some of them seized the messengers' (ÆCHom I 479.94)

(38) nominative 'pronoun-*some*' order

a. and *hi* **sume** gesawon englas instæppende.

and they some saw angels entering

'and some of them saw angels entering' (ÆCHom II 315.170)

b. Þa noldon hi sume gelyfan þæt he soð God wære,
the would-not they some believe that he very God was
'then would not some of them believe that He was Very God'

(ÆLS (Maccabees) 520)

To sum up Section 2.2, with regard to word order of nouns and quantifiers, the three quantifiers *eall* 'all,' *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some' share a common distributional property: the 'quantifier-noun' order is dominant. Only *begen* 'both' indicates a different distribution: the '*both*-noun' order is more frequent when it modifies an accusative noun; the 'noun-*both*' order is more frequent when it modifies a nominative noun. In contrast to the high frequency of the 'quantifier-noun' order, the 'quantifier-pronoun' order is quite low in frequency. The opposite order is by far more frequent instead. In the case of *sum*, however, both of the orders occur with almost the same frequencies when pronouns are nominative.

2.3. Floating Quantifiers

So far we have seen the examples in which the quantifiers are adjacent to noun phrases or pronouns. This section makes a few comments on non-adjacent, or floating, quantifiers.[10]

First we found 248 instances of the quantifier *eall* 'all' which floats from nominative nouns or pronouns, and 50 examples are ones of accusative nouns or pronouns. The results are summarized in Table 2.9 and some examples are given in (39) and (40).

Table 2.9. Distribution of the floating quantifier *eall*

	noun	pronoun	total
nominative	49 (19.8%)	199 (80.2%)	248 (83.2%)
accusative	23 (46.0%)	27 (54.0%)	50 (16.8%)

(39) nominative floating quantifier *eall* 'all'

a. and ðeah *hi* ne magon beon **ealle** gegaderode;
and though they NEG may be all gathered
'and though they may not all be gathered' (ÆCHom II 14.77)

b. þi *we* sceolon **ealle** beon on gode gebroþru.
therefore we should all be on God brothers
'therefore should we all be brothers in God' (ÆCHom I 327. 47)

(40) accusative floating quantifier *eall* 'all'

a. god *hi* gesceop **ealle** gode.
God them created all good
'God created them all good' (ÆCHom I 179.27)

b. 7 crist *hi* gebrincð **ealle** to anre eowde, on ðam ecan life;
and Christ them bring all to one fold in the eternal life
'and Christ will bring them all to one fold in eternal life' (ÆCHom I 316.86)

c. and *his æhta* him **ealle** forgeald be twyfealdum;
and his possessions him all repaid by twofold
'and repaid him all his possessions by twofold' (ÆCHom II 266.198)

In the examples the quantifier *eall* 'all' is apart from the pronouns and occupies the position between two verbal elements, just like the sentences in (2), repeated here as (41).

(41) a. *The children* **all** would have been doing that.

b. *The children* would **all** have been doing that.

c. *The children* would have **all** been doing that.

d. *The children* would have been **all** doing that. (Baltin (1995: 211))

In addition Table 2.9 shows that the quantifier *eall* 'all' floats from nominative pronouns more easily than from accusative pronouns.[11]

Next, as can be seen from Table 2.10 below, the quantifier *begen* 'both' as well as *eall* 'all' floats from nominative pronouns most frequently. Examples are given in (42).

Table 2.10. Distribution of the floating quantifier *begen*

	noun	pronoun	total
nominative	6 (9.8%)	55 (90.2%)	61 (93.8%)
accusative	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	4 (6.2%)

(42) nominative floating quantifier *begen* 'both'

a. *Hi* ðа ***begen*** þone apostol gesohton: his miltsunge biddende.
they then both the apostle sought his compassion praying
'Then they both sought the apostle, praying for his compassion'
(ÆCHom I 214.239)

b. *Hi* feollon ða **butu** mid flowendum tearum to Maures fotum
they fell then both with flowing tears to Maurus' feet
'Then they both fell with flowing tears at Maurus' feet' (ÆLS (Maur) 22)

c. *Hi* eodon þa **begen** on þære bricge togædere,

they went then both on the bridge together

'They then went both on the bridge together' (ÆLS (Exalt of Cross) 59)

d. *Hi* comon þa **begen** mid bliðum andwlitum and ansundum
they came then both with blithe faces and wholly-sound
lichamum to þam geleafleasan deman;
bodies to the unbelieving judge
'Then came hey both with blithe faces and wholly-sound bodies, to the unbelieving judge' (ÆLS (Vincent) 59)

In examples (42b, c, d) the unaccusative or mutative verbs are used and the quantifier *begen* 'both' appears to occupy the postverbal position of the main verbs *feollon* 'fell,' *eodon* 'went' and *comon* 'came.'[12]

Finally, compared to the ample examples of *eall* 'all' and *begen* 'both,' there are few occurrences of *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some' found in the corpus. The distributions of the two quantifiers are shown in Tables 2.11 and 2.12.

Table 2.11. Distribution of the floating quantifier *mænig*

	noun	pronoun
nominative	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)
accusative	0 ---	0 ---

Table 2.12. Distribution of the floating quantifier *sum*

	noun	pronoun
nominative	10 (41.7%)	14 (58.3%)
accusative	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)

(43) Him comon eac *mys* to, **manega** geond þat land
them came also mice to many throughout the land
'Many mice also came to them throughout the land' (ÆHom 22:240)

To sum up this section briefly, OE, just like PE, exhibits quantifier float. Among the OE quantifiers, only 'universal' quantifiers, *eall* 'all' and *begen* 'both,' can be floated from nominal elements, whereas 'existential' quantifiers, *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some,' cannot. This is true of PE. As for other universal quantifiers, *each* and *every*, a few comments will be made in Section 5.

2.4. Syntactic Account of OE Quantifiers[13]

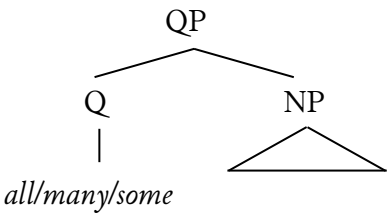
This section provides a syntactic account of quantifiers in OE. I discuss the internal syntactic position of quantifiers in nominal phrases in Section 2.4.1. Second some syntactic properties of the floating quantifier are discussed in Section 2.4.2.

2.4.1. Internal Structure of Quantifier Phrase

As we saw in Section 2.3, the quantifiers except *begen* 'both' almost always precede the noun phrase they are associated with, regardless of whether they are nominative or accusative. On the

basis of this fact, we can safely assume that the 'quantifier-noun' order is the basic word order, and then the clause structure of the quantifier phrase would be like (44).[14]

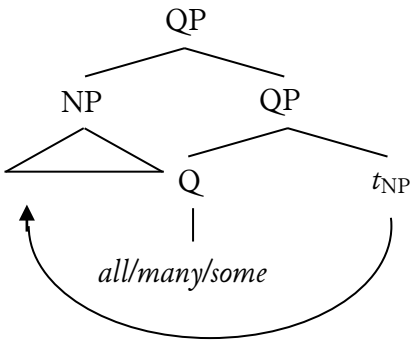
(44)



In (44) the quantifier is the head of Quantifier Phrase (QP) and it takes a noun phrase (NP) as its complement. Given the structure in (44), the inverted order, i.e. the 'noun-quantifier' order, will be derived by moving the NP across the quantifier and adjoining to a higher position. For the adjoining position, here are two possible options: the head of the QP and the QP itself. Which option is chosen depends on the status of the quantifier's syntactic category: a head or a maximal projection.

We begin with movement of the maximal projection. If an NP is adjoined to QP in (44), then we would obtain the structure in (45).[15]

(45)



This operation is theoretically possible, but there is one constraint on adjunction: if the target QP is in the argument position, adjunction of the NP to the QP is prohibited (cf. Chomsky (1986a) and Bošković (1997), among others). The idea behind this prohibition of adjunction is

that adjunction to an argument interferes with the θ-role assignment. We also assume with Bošković (2004) and Stepanov (2001) that adjunction is applicable to the structure in the counter-cyclic way. The conditions on adjunction are summed up in (46).

(46) Conditions on adjunction

a. Adjunction to arguments interferes with θ-role assignment.

b. Adjunction can be applied to the structure acyclically.

(cf. Chomsky (1986); Bošković (1997))

Given these together, we are now in the position to account for the contrast between (2a) and (7a), repeated as (47a) and (47b). (47a) involves the quantified subject, and (47b) the quantified object.

(47) a. *The children* **all** would have been doing that.

b. *Mary hates *the students* **all**.

In both cases, the NP is adjoined to the QP headed by the quantifier *all*. This operation has taken place in the subject position, which is not a θ-position. Therefore, it does not violate the conditions on adjunction of (46).

By contrast to this, the adjunction operation in (47b) has taken place in the θ-position, i.e. in the complement of the verb *hates*. This violates the conditions of (46), rendering the sentence ungrammatical, as the θ-role assignment is blocked.

Let us now turn to OE examples. As pointed out in Yanagi (2008a) and shown above, some cases involve the accusative 'noun-quantifier' order, which is derived by adjoining an NP to QP. We take example (48) for expository purposes.

(48) Hwæt ða siððan se sigefæsta cempa. *þone eard* **ealne**.
thereupon the victorious champion the country all
emlice dælde. betwux twelf mægðum. þæs æðelan mancynnes.
equally divided between twelf tribes of the noble race
'Thereupon the victorious champion equally divided all the country among the twelve tribes of the noble race' (ÆCHom II 122.409/Yanagi (2008a: 119))

In this example, the quantified object *þone eard ealne* 'all the country' is considered to be obtained through the adjunction of the NP *þone eard* to the QP, as illustrated in (45). If this object were in the θ-position, i.e. the complement of the VP headed by *dælde* 'divided,' the sentence would be ungrammatical. It should be noted here, however, that that quantified object moves out of the VP up to a higher position crossing the adverb *emlice* 'equally.' The derivation is schematically illustrated in (49).

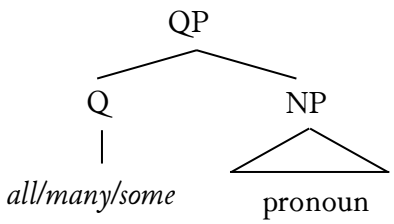
(49) a. [$_{VP}$ emlice [$_{VP}$ [$_{QP}$ ealne þone eard] dælde]
b. [$_{QP}$ ealne þone eard] [$_{VP}$ emlice [$_{VP}$ *t* dælde]
c. [$_{QP}$ þone eard ealne *t*] [$_{VP}$ emlice [$_{VP}$ *t* dælde]
(Yanagi (2008a: 119))

The quantified object is base-generated in the complement to the VP headed by *dælde* 'divided' as in (49a). This object may be scrambled to a higher position as in (49b).[16] Since the landing site of the moved object is not a θ-position, the NP *þone eard* 'the country' can be left-adjoined to the QP, as in (49c), without violating the conditions on adjunction in (46).

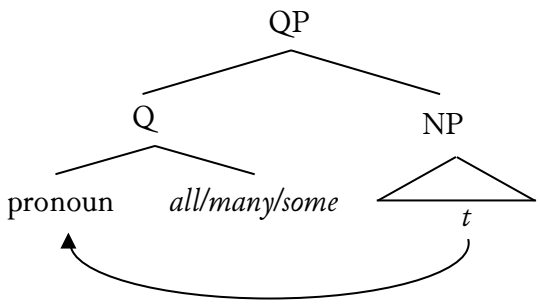
In some examples the objects may move out of the θ-position skipping adverbs and in others there may not be clear evidence of such object movement since there is no intervening element between the objects and their governing verbs. The latter case appears to be a violation of the condition of (46), if the 'noun-quantifier' order is derived. As a result, in order to escape a 'superficial' violation of the conditions of (46), the frequency of the 'noun-quantifier' order is quite low.

We next consider head movement. Unlike adjunction to maximal projections described in (45), head-adjunction is possible even in θ-positions. This is because the head-adjunction takes place within an NP and it has no effect on θ-role assignment. The head movement within an NP is illustrated in (50).

(50) a.



b.



The head-adjunction in (50) may be driven by the clitic property of pronouns (cf. van Kemenade (1987), Koopman (1990), and Pintzuk (1996), among others). The higher frequency of the 'pronoun-quantifier' order than the 'noun-quantifier' order can be attributed to this property of pronouns. It seems that pronouns even in PE have kept the clitic status: pronouns must precede quantifiers, whether they are subjects or objects, as shown in Section 2.1.[17]

Unlike adjunction to the maximal projection described in (45), adjunction to a head does not interfere with θ-role assignment. The head-adjunction can take place without a violation of the conditions of (46), no matter where the QP in (44) occurs.

2.4.2. Floatability of Floating Quantifiers

In the previous section I have argued that whereas an NP cannot be adjoined to the QP in θ-positions, a pronoun can be adjoined to the head of the QP even in θ-positions. This section is involved in floating quantifiers, especially floating of the quantifier *eall* 'all.'[18]

As shown in Section 2.3, floating quantifiers are much more frequent with nominative than with accusative. In the case of *eall* 'all' 248 out of 298 instances are nominative floating quantifiers (83.2%); in the case of *begen* 'both' 61 out of 65 tokens are nominative floating quantifiers (93.8%). From these facts, we can conclude that in OE, as in PE, quantifiers tend to be floated from nominative elements.

Next we consider which syntactic positions floating quantifiers can occupy. Yanagi (2008a) claims based on the data retrieved from the YCOE that *eall* 'all' appears between two verbal elements in OE, just as in PE. Some relevant examples are cited in (51).

(51) a. Gelyfst ðu þæt *we* sceolon **ealle** arisan mid urum lichaman
believe thou that we shall all arise with our bodies
on domes dæge togeanes criste.
on doom's day towards Christ
'Believest thou that we shall all arise with our bodies on doom's day before Christ?'
(ÆCHom II 27. 281)

b. and ðeah *hi* ne magon beon **ealle** gegaderode;
and though they NEG may be all gathered
'and though they may not all be gathered' (ÆCHom II 14.77)

c. þi *we* sceolon **ealle** beon on gode gebroþru.

therefore we should all be on God brothers

'therefore should we all be brothers in God' (ÆCHom I 327. 47)

(Yanagi (2008a: 120))

In (51a) the quantifier occurs immediately before the bare infinitive *arisan* 'arise.' This preverbal position corresponds to the base-generated position of subject. This is because unaccusative verbs like *arisan* 'arise' in OE had the head-final VP structure and the subject was base-generated in the complement of the VP. In the same vein, the quantifier occupies the object position of the past participle *gegaderode* 'gathered' in (51b). The sentence is passive, and the surface subject *hi* 'they' is raised out of that object position, leaving the quantifier behind. In (51c) the quantifier occupies the position between the finite verb *sceolon* 'should' and the infinitive *beon* 'be,' which can be assumed to be an intermediate subject position, as in (2), repeated here as (52).

(52) a. *The children* **all** would have been doing that.

b. *The children* would **all** have been doing that.

c. *The children* would have **all** been doing that.

d. *The children* would have been **all** doing that. (Baltin (1995: 211))

We can conclude that the quantifier *eall* 'all' (and *begen* 'both') marks intermediate subject positions between two verbal elements, just like the quantifiers in PE.

Let us next consider the accusative floating quantifier. Two relevant examples are repeated here as (53).

(53) a. god *hi* gesceop **ealle** gode.

God them created all good

'God created them all good' (ÆCHom I 179.27)

b. 7 crist *hi* gebrincð **ealle** to anre eowde, on ðam ecan life;
and Christ them bring all to one fold in the eternal life
'and Christ will bring them all to one fold in eternal life' (ÆCHom I 316.86)

In these examples, the accusative quantifiers are followed by the predicative complements, *gode* 'good' in (53a) and *to anre eowde* 'to one fold' in (53b). In OE as well as PE, the floating quantifier is possible only if it is followed by a predicative complement. As sentences (54) show, the quantifier cannot occupy the clause-final position.

(54) a. *Mary hates *the students* **all**.
b. *I like *the men* **all**.
c. *I saw *the men* **all** yesterday.

Before closing this section, a comment is in order about genitive adverbial quantifiers like the one in (55). Because of their existence, one might argue against a floating (or stranding) analysis of the OE quantifier, like the one presented in this thesis.

(55) On þisum geare wæs þ gafol gelæst ofer eall Angel cynn
in this year was that tax paid over all English people
þ wæs **ealles** lxxii þusend punda
that was all 72 thousand pounds
'In this year the tax was rendered over all England: that was in all 72 thousand pounds'
(ChronE 1018.1)

The quantifier *ealles* 'all' is used adverbially in (55), and it does not agree with a head (pro)noun, if any. Carlson (1978: 307) argues that this type of sentence cannot be analyzed through a floating approach and that the adverb *ealles* 'all' must be treated as a true adverb, morphologically derived.

It may be true that genitive quantifiers like *ealles* 'all' in (55) are genuine adverbs. In turn, however, an adverbial approach cannot account for the agreement fact observed between a quantifier and the head (pro)noun, as shown in (56).

(56) Þeo deaþ-berende uncyst *us* is **eallum** to onscunienne, þe læs hit
this deadly vice us is all to shun lest it
us besencean on helle grund.
us sin in hell's abyss
'This deadly vice is to be shunned by us all, lest it sink us into hell's abyss.'
(HomS 17 (BlHom 5) 65.13)

In this sentence the dative quantifier *eallum* 'all' and the head noun *us* 'us' show agreement and they are separated by the copula *is* 'is.' I do not argue that all kinds of floating quantifier can be accounted for through a floating analysis. There is a subcategory of true adverbial quantifier in OE, like the one in (55), where there is no genitive nominal in agreement with the genitive adverbial quantifier.[19]

There is an indirect piece of evidence to suppose two kinds of floating quantifier. In German the quantifier *all* 'all' agrees with a nominal element it modifies.

(57) a. der Lehrer hat *die* *Schüler* wahrscheinlich **alle** gelobt

	the	teacher	has	the	students	probably		all	praised
b.	der	Lehrer	hat	*den*	*Schülern*	wahrscheilich	**allen**	ein	Buch gegeben
	the	teacher	has	the	students	probably	all	a	book given

(Giusti (1990: 141))

In (57a) the quantifier *alle* 'all' agrees with the noun phrase *die Schüler* 'the students,' and the quantifier *allen* 'all' with the noun phrase *den Schülern* 'the students.'

There is another form of the quantifier *all* 'all' in German: the neuter singular quantifier *alles* 'all.' It does not only refer to a neuter singular noun phrase, but to noun phrases with other features. Such phenomena include infinitival imperatives, as in (58a), copular constructions, as in (58b), and *wh*-constructions, as in (58c).

(58) a. **Alles** aussteigen, bitte!
all get off please

b. Das sind **alles** arme Leute
that are all poor people

c. Wer ist heute abend **alles** da?
who is tonight all here? (Giusti (1991b: 327))

It is important here that there is no elements with which the quantifier *alles* 'all' is associated in these constructions. Example (55) above can be regarded as a copula construction, just as (58b) is. This is because the neuter pronominal subject þ 'that,' which roughly corresponds to the German neuter pronoun *das* 'that,' appears in (55). Given these facts, we could safely say that in OE, the genitive quantifier *ealles* 'all' was used by default where there was no nominal element with which it is associated.

2.5. Distribution of the Quantifier *All* in ME[20]

The previous section showed that floating quantifiers indicate the same syntactic properties both in OE and in PE. This section briefly sketches the distribution of the quantifier *all* 'all' in ME. The reason why the analysis here is limited to the syntax of *all* 'all' is that although the distribution of *both* 'both' is very similar to that of *all* 'all,' it presents some differences. Since we discussed in the previous sections for the OE universal quantifier *ealle* 'all,' it is easy to compare and contrast the OE and ME universal quantifiers *all*. Moreover, existential quantifiers such as *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some' and their PE counterparts fall under a different kind of distribution, as generally assumed.

Yanagi (2012a), through a study of the PPCME2, reveals that the quantifier *all* 'all' in ME distributes like this: the quantifier almost always precedes the head noun, regardless of whether they are subjects or objects. In contrast, the quantifier can scarcely precede pronouns when they are objects, whereas it can either precede or follow them when they are subjects, with approximately the same frequency.

2.5.1. *All* and Its Associated Noun Phrase

Let us first consider syntactic environments where the subject *all* 'all' and a noun phrase with which it is associated are adjacent. Examples of the quantifier preceding the head noun are found 1,125 times, whereas there are only six tokens of the quantifier following the head noun. In other words, only 0.5% of all the occurrences exhibit the 'noun-*all*' order and the remaining 99.5% are of the '*all*-noun' order. It can be concluded that the '*all*-noun' order is quite dominant in ME as well as OE. Examples of each type are given in (59) and (60).

(59) subject '*all*-noun' order

a. "This is opene and cler," quod sche, "that **alle** *othere thinges*
this is open and clear said she that all other things
beon referrid and brought to good ..."
are referred and brought to good (CMBOETH,433.C2.212)

b. and **alle** *these xij. smale prophetis* ben o book, and in this ordre.
and all these 12 minor prophets are on book and in this order
(CMPURVEY,I,1.45)

(60) subject 'noun-*all*' order

a. and *his ofspring* **al**, þrowude on synne, and on unmihte and on wowe ...
and his ofspring all suffered in sin and in weakness and in woe
(CMTRINIT,35.472)

b. *Þa kingess* **alle** forenn ham, ...
those kings all went house (CMORM,I,261.2118)

Similar to the subject quantifier, the object quantifier also exhibits the same distribution of the two word order patterns. There is a total of 1,372 tokens found in the PPCME2. 99.3% of the tokens are of the '*all*-noun' order, as in (61), just like the subject quantifier. The opposite order, the 'noun-*all*' order, as in (62), is very rare in the corpus.

(61) object '*all*-noun' order

a. And **alle** *thise thynges* sholde man suffre paciently, ...
and all these things should man suffer patiently
(CMCTPARS,303.C2.631)

b. and schal turne **alle** *the cursis* on her enemyes;
and shall turn all the curses on her enemies
(CMPURVEY,I,7.247)

(62) object "noun-*all*" order

a. and so þai des-comfited *his enemys* **alle**, ...
and so they defeated his enemies all (CMBRUT3,64.1929)

b. and binom him *þese mihtes* **all**:
and deprived him these powers all (CMTRINIT,35.470)

To sum up this section, we could safely say that from OE though ME (and probably to PE) the '*all*-noun' order is the strict rule to follow in the grammar.

2.5.2. *All* and Its Associated Pronouns

In contrast to the strict fixed word order pattern of the '*all*-noun' order, pronominal subjects and objects differ from each other in their distribution in ME. As for object pronouns, they always precede the quantifier *all* 'all,' just as in OE and PE; there is only one exceptional order pattern. Here are two examples of the pronoun-*all*' order.

(63) object 'pronoun-*all*' order

a. and he gretys *you* **all** well
and he greetes you all well (CMMALORY,193.2876)

b. and giue *us* **alle** on heuene eche erdingstouwe.
and give us all in heaven eternal dwelling-place
(CMTRINIT,173.2361)

On the other hand, the subject quantifier can either precede or follow the pronoun with which it is associated. 80 of 170 tokens exhibit the 'pronoun-*all*' order, and the remaining 90 instances the '*all*-pronoun' order. Two examples of each pattern are given in (64) and (65).

(64) subject '*all*-pronoun' order

a. and **alle** *þai* comen at þe kynges commandement, as þai were
and all they came at the king's commandment as they were
commandede.
commanded (CMBRUT3,66.1966)

b. And when they sawe sir Gaherys, **all** *they* thanked hym, ...
and when they saw Sir Gaheris all they thanked him
(CMMALORY,193.2872)

(65) subject 'pronoun-*all*' order

a. And *they* **all** seyde nay, they wolde nat fyght with hym, ...
and they all said nay they would not fight with him
(CMMALORY,61.2058)

b. and of the plente of hym *we* **alle** han takun, and grace for grace.
and of the plenty of them we all have taken and grace for grace
(CMNTEST,I,1.32)

About the distributional property of the subject pronoun and quantifier, Yanagi (2012a) examined what factor(s) may affect the choice between the two word order patterns, and I concluded that dialects (i.e. Northern, West and East Midlands, Kentish, and Southern) have no or little effect on the decision over the quantifier word order pattern. What I next considered is

diachrony. Between 1150 and 1250 (M1) both patterns are frequent at the same rate; there may be no difference between them. Between 1250 and 1420 (M2 and M3), the '*all*-pronoun' order is more frequent than the 'pronoun-*all*' order (60.0% vs. 40.0%), whereas between 1420 and 1500 (M4), the 'pronoun-*all*' order is higher in frequency than the '*all*-pronoun' order (63.9% vs. 36.1%). It may be true that there was a small preference in each period, but I concluded that statistically there is no significant difference between the two word order patterns.

A third factor I investigated is the grammatical person of the subject: third person vs. non-third person.[21] Yanagi (2012a) showed that the distribution by grammatical person is statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level, and drew a conclusion that grammatical person is a factor that influences the order of subject quantifier and pronoun.

The final classification I made in Yanagi (2012a) is clause type. Excluding a small number of clauses, such as absolute constructions, imperatives, and small clauses, I calculated and found that while in main clauses the quantifier *all* 'all' tends to precede the pronoun, the quantifier tends to follow the pronoun in subordinate clauses.

2.5.3. Quantifier Float in ME

In ME as well as OE and PE, the quantifier *all* 'all' could be separated from the nominal element it is associated with. The preference of the subject quantifier float is more clearly attested in ME than in OE. Among the 298 floating cases in the OE period, 248 (83.2%) are subject quantifier float, and 50 (16.8%) object quantifier float. In ME, on the other hand, there are 150 floating quantifiers found in the PPCME2. Among them only 2 instances indicate the object quantifier float. This is only 1.3%. The remaining 98.7% (148 tokens) involve the subject quantifier float. Below are examples of the subject floating quantifier.

(66) floating quantifier and subject noun

a. and *the schippis* ben **al** to-broken

and the ships are all broken-into-pieces (CMPURVEY,I,23.1126)

b. and the custom þere is such þat *men and wommen* gon **all** naked.

and the custom there is such that men and women go all naked

(CMMANDEV,118.2895)

(67) floating quantifier and subject pronoun

a. but in helle shul *they* been **al** fortroden of develes.

but in hell shall they be all trampled to death of devils

(CMCTPARS,291.C2.149)

b. for by one knyght *ye* shall **all** be overcom ...

for by one knight you shall all be overcome

(CMMALORY,649.4248)

Yanagi's (2012a) findings about the quantifier in ME are summarized in (68).

(68) a. The '*all*-noun' order is prominent whether the quantified noun is a subject or an object.

b. Both the '*all*-pronoun' and 'pronoun-*all*' orders are almost equally observed when the pronoun is a subject.

c. The object pronoun always precedes the quantifier with only one exception.

d. The quantifier can be floated from the head nominal when it is a subject.

(cf. Yanagi (2012a: 147))

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, on the basis of the data retrieved from the YCOE, I obtained a distributional overview of the four quantifiers (*eall* 'all,' *begen* 'both,' *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some') in OE, and showed the following five points:

(69) a. *Eall* 'all' and *begen* 'both' can float from nominative pronouns they modify.

b. *Eall* 'all,' *mænig* 'many' and *sum* 'some' tend to exhibit the 'quantifier-noun' order rather than the 'noun-quantifier' order; by contrast, *begen* 'both' shows almost the same frequencies of both orders.

c. *Eall* 'all' and *begen* 'both' tend to follow pronouns regardless of their case; *mænig* 'many' is rarely used with pronouns; and *sum* 'some' can either precede or follow pronouns with almost the same frequencies.

d. Quantifier floating can be considered to be a property of subjects in OE as well as in PE.

e. The position of the quantifiers seems to be relatively fixed in OE.

The point of (69e) is apparently a different suggestion from the one made by Fischer and van der Wurff (2006) (see Table 2.4). Rather, the positional variation of the quantifiers has not drastically been altered from free to fixed in the history of English.

It was further shown that the distributional properties of the quantifier *all* 'all' had basically been unchanged in ME, but as for the subject, the two word order patterns of the quantifier and pronoun are attested with almost the same frequencies. I claimed that this distribution may be attributed to the difference in the grammatical person and the clause type rather than the dialectal and diachronic distinction.

The distributional properties of the quantifier *all* 'all' in ME can be summarized as in the following:

(70) a. The quantifier *all* 'all' can float from the head nominal when it is a subject.

b. The quantifier *all* 'all' prefers the '*all*-noun' order whether the quantified noun is a subject or an object.

c. The quantifier *all* 'all' can either precede or follow a subject pronoun with which it is associated with almost the same frequencies.

d. With an object pronoun, it always precedes the quantifier *all* 'all' with only one exception.

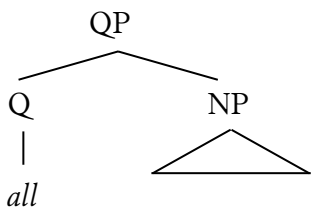
e. Quantifier floating can be considered to be a property of subjects in ME as well as in OE and PE.

f. The position of the quantifier seems to be relatively fixed in ME, just as in OE, though there are two word order patterns available with the subject pronoun (cf. (70c).

The property of (70f) is also somehow against the quantifier property described in Fischer and van der Wurff (2006) (see Table 2.4).

I also proposed the clause structure in which the quantifier phrase (QP) dominates the noun phrase (NP), as in (71).

(71)



The NP can be adjoined to the QP when the QP is not in a θ-position. If it is, the adjunction to the QP results in the interference of θ-role assignment, yielding an ungrammatical sentence.

In the case of a pronoun, adjunction takes place within the QP; thus, a pronoun can be adjoined to the head of the QP even if the QP is in a θ-position. Rather, it can be said that the adjunction of a pronoun is obligatory throughout the history of English: the 'pronoun-quantifier' order has dominantly been observed in OE and ME as well as in PE.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[*] This chapter is based on the paper presented at the 24th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, held at University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland on 25–27 August 2010, and a revised and expanded version of Yanagi (2012a).

[1] CorpusSearch 2 was created by Beth Randall (2007). It is downloadable at <http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net/>.

[2] In (1)–(10) italics and boldfaces are mine.

[3] For synchronic studies of the PE quantifier *all*, see Bobaljik (2003), Bošković (2004), Brisson (1998), Doetjes (1997), Fitzpatrick (2006), Giusti (1991), Hogg (1977), McCloskey (2000) and Maling (1976).

[4] See also Carlson (1978), Heltveit (1977) and Lightfoot (1979) for diachronic analyses of quantifiers in general. For the quantifiers *each* and *every*, see especially Kahlas-Tarkka (1987). *Each* and *every* are not dealt with in this thesis because of their syntactic complexities and peculiarities, in comparison with the quantifiers discussed in this chapter.

[5] According to Carlton, *eall* 'all' always precedes all other modifiers of the head word and is not preceded by other modifiers. However, as pointed out by Mitchell (1985: §145), there are some exceptions to this. An example is given in (i).

(i) *þine* **ealle** gebann (Latin: *omnia mandata tua*)
thy all commands
'all thy commands' (PPs 118.86/Mitchell (1985: §145))

Sentences like (i) are not touched upon in this chapter for their rarity.

[6] In OE quantifiers was sometimes used with noun of partitive genitive, such as *sum hund scipa* '(lit.) a hundred of ships' and *fela tacna* '(lit.) many of signs' (cf. Quirk and Wrenn (1994: 62)).

The present study pays attention to the combination of the quantifier and the noun/pronoun with the same case, i.e. nominative or accusative.

[7] The paradigm of *begen* is the following:

Table i. Declension of *begen* 'both'

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom. Acc	bēġen	bā	bā, bū
Gen.		bēġra, bēġ(e)a	
Dat.		bǣm, bām	

(Campbell (1959: 283))

Campbell (1959: 283) states that '[f]or *bā* and *bū* W-S [West Saxon] has frequently the compound *bātwā*, *būtū* (*būta*).' Here these compounds consist of the quantifier *begen* 'both' and the cardinal number *twegen* 'two.' According to the *OED* (s.v. *both*), the simpler form *bo* in OE existed side by side with *both* of the Old Norse origin until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the OE form died out.

[8] OE has another quantifier the meaning of which is 'many': *fela*. Since it has been obsolete and has no PE descendant, it is excluded from the current research.

[9] Here again, I focus on the quantifier-(pro)noun combination with the same case. Although instances of partitive case are out of the topic of this chapter, it should be noted that 'even during the OE period, some of these relationships were coming to be expressed by *of* (with the dative) instead of by the genitive' (Quirk and Wrenn (1994: 63)), as in (i).

(i) sume of ðām cnihtum
'some of the men' (Quirk and Wrenn (1994: 63))

[10] Since what floats is not a quantifier but a nominal element, the term 'floating' may be misleading. In fact, under the recent generative framework, the term 'floating' should be replaced by 'stranded.' I, however, still use the conventional term. Note that there are some cases where quantifiers 'take off' on their own from nominal elements in OE. See note 11.

[11] There are some instances where the quantifier itself moves up to an upper position rather than the noun with which it is associated. Below are two examples.

(i) a. Hwa mæg æfre. **ealle** gereccan. *þa mihtigan tacna*.
who may ever all relate the mighty miracles
ðises halgan weres.
of this holy man
'Who may ever relate all the mighty miracles of this holy man?'
(ÆCHom II 90.304)

b. and he **ealle** gefæstnode *heora fet* to eorðan
and he all fastened their feet to earth
'and he fastened all their feet to the earth' (ÆCHom II 292.156)

Examples like those in (i) are intriguing in two respects: (a) quantifier float of this kind is not attested in PE and (b) the quantifier is separated not from a nominative noun, but from an accusative one. Similar phenomena are observed in French and Icelandic, as shown in (ii) and (iii), respectively.

(ii) J'ai **tous** voulu *les* voir
I-have all wanted them see

'I wanted to see them all' (Doetjes (1997: 202))

(iii) a. **Allar** hafa *þessar ungu stúlkur* lært málvisindi.
all have these young girls studied linguistics
'These young girls have all studies linguistics.'

b. **Allar** hafa *þær* lært málvisindi.
All have they studied linguistics
'They have all studied linguistics' (Thráinsson (2007: 127))

In (ii) the quantifier *tous* 'all' moves leftward leaving its associated object *les* 'them' behind. Unlike (i) and (ii), sentences (iii) involve the quantifier *allar* 'all' that 'takes off' on their own from the head nominals *þessar ungu stúlkur* 'these young girls' and *þær* 'they.'

Due to the small amount of relevant data found in the corpus, however, this is left open for future research.

[12] In these examples the quantifier *begen* 'both' follows the adverb *þa* 'then.' I argue that this word order is not derived by chance. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, on the basis of the assumption that this adverb is a discourse marker and the position behind it is an emphasis domain.

[13] The discussion in this section is in part based on Yanagi (2008a).

[14] A structure similar to the one in (44) is proposed in Giusti (1991a) and Yanagi (2008a, 2012a) as well. See also Bošković (2004) for an alternative analysis.

[15] The inverted order may be rare enough to be ignored, though.

[16] Scrambling in OE is discussed together with two other types of Object Movement in more detail in Chapter 3.

[17] This theis distinguishes two kinds of cliticization: one is 'short-distance' cliticization, which is observed in the QP, and the other is 'long-distance' cliticization, which takes place at the

clause-level.

[18] This thesis takes a floating (or stranding) approach to floating quantifiers. This is one of the two major approaches to the phenomenon. For the stranding (or floating) analysis, see Sportiche (1988), McCloskey (2000), Bošcović (2004), and others. The other approach is called the adverbial analysis. See Williams (1982), Baltin (1995), Torrego (1996), and others. See also Bobaljik (2003) for an extensive overview of floating quantifiers. In addition, for a diachronic study of the quantifier *all* and other quantifiers such as *each, many*, and *some*, see Carlson (1978) and Lightfoot (1979). For discussion on OE quantifiers, see Heltveit (1977) and Bartnik (2011).

[19] For a historical study of the adverb *all*, consult Buchstaller and Traugott (2006).

[20] The discussion in this section is in part based on Yanagi (2012a).

[21] See Alcorn (2009) for a syntactic effect of grammatical person on the placement of pronouns. She argues that grammatical person is responsible for the specially placed object of prepositions. There is a tendency for third-person pronouns to precede their governing prepositions. Another syntactic effect of grammatical person on the pronominal placement is discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

THEE TYPES OF OBJECT MOVEMENT IN OLD ENGLISH

3.1. Introduction

It is well-known that Old English (OE) has a relatively freer syntax than present-day English (PE), and word order variation has been one of the central issues in historical linguistics. For example, objects could either precede or follow their governing verbs; thus, numbers of attempts have been made to explain two word order patterns, the 'object-verb' order and the 'verb-object' order (e.g. van Kemenade (1987), Pintzuk (1999) and Roberts (1993), among others).[1]

This chapter, however, pays attention to word order variations observed in OE from a different point of view. While focusing only on the 'object-verb' order, I argue that objects move for some reasons. In particular, it is proposed that there are three types of object movement in OE and that each operation causes objects to move to the Specifier position of different functional categories. Note that topicalization leading to a normal V2 sentence is not dealt with in this chapter. This is simply because it is widely analyzed as common operation.

In what follows I will analyze the following three kinds of movement:

(A) syntactically-driven object movement taking place in the *v*P domain

(B) relatively freer Scrambling-type object movement taking place in the TP domain

(C) discourse-driven object movement taking place in the CP domain –

The discourse marker *þa/þonne* functions as boundary in the CP domain; the left portion to the marker is the topic domain, and the right one the focus domain (see van Kemenade and Los (2006)).

Clause structure can be divided into three domains, *v*P, TP and CP. This thesis proposes that in each of the three functional domains objects can be raised by different driving forces. In particular, in the *v*P domain objects move to meet a syntactic requirement; in the TP domain objects are scrambled relatively freely as well as non-nominal elements; and in the CP domain object movement takes place for the discourse requirement.

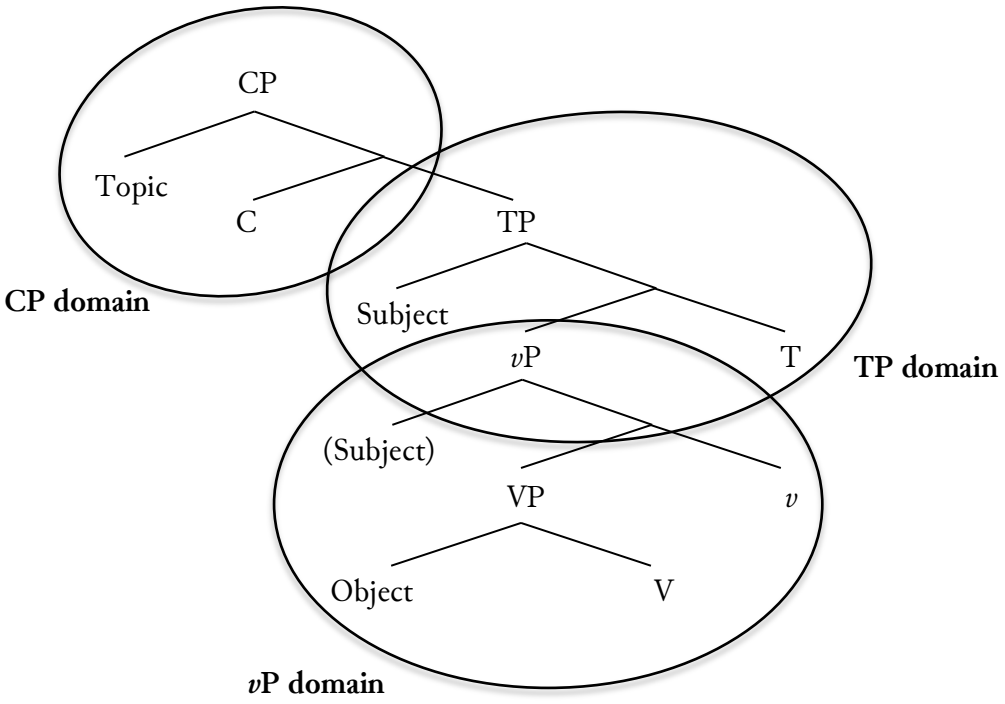


Figure 3.1. Three domains in clause structure

3.2. Object Movement in the *v*P Domain

3.2.1. Two Word Order Patterns in Ditransitive Constructions

Suppose that OE has an underlying OV structure, it is not clear whether an object overtly moves or not, if there is no intervening element between the object and the verb. Thus, in order to see if object movement takes place in the *v*P domain I make use of ditransitive verbal constructions, which involve two objects, dative and accusative objects. Here are examples of ditransitive verbs.

(1) double object construction in OE

a. þæt he andette his scrifte (DAT) ealle his synna (ACC)
that he confesses his confessor all his sins
'that he confesses all his sins to his confessor'
(HomS35 (Trist 4) 150/Koopman (1990b:226))

b. forþan ðe Drihten behæt þone heofenlice beah (ACC)
because God promised the heavenly crown
þam wacigendum (DAT)
to those who keep watch (HomS11.1 (Belf 5) 84/Koopman (1990b:226))

In (1a) the dative object *his sacrifte* 'his confessor' precedes the accusative object *ealle his synna* 'all his sins.' In (1b), by contrast, the accusative object *þone heofenlice beah* 'the heavenly crown' precedes the dative object *þam wacigendum* 'those who keep watch.'

On the basis of Koopman's statistics, both word order patterns, the 'dative-accusative' order in (1a) and the 'accusative-dative' order in (1b), are frequent to almost the same extent. His results are summarized in Table 3.1 with some small calculations added.

Table 3.1. Word order of nominal dative and accusative objects[2]

	V-DAT-ACC	V-ACC-DAT	total
main clause	**43** (47.3%)	**48** (52.7%)	**91** (100.0%)
	DAT-ACC-V	ACC-DAT-V	
subordinate clause	**20** (48.8%)	**21** (51.2%)	**41** (100.0%)
total	**63** (47.7%)	**69** (52.3%)	**132** (100.0%)

(adapted from Koopman (1990b: 229))

Koopman (1990a: 186) examines the frequencies of both word order patterns in more detail, and concludes that in early OE (the Alfredian period) the 'dative-accusative' order is more frequent than the 'accusative-dative' order. In total, the incidence of the former is 61% (164 exx), and that of the latter is 39% (104 exx).[3] He also examines the frequency of the two patterns in late OE (Ælfric's period) and makes a conclusion that the 'accusative-dative' order (54%) is slightly more frequent than the 'dative-assuasive' order (46%).

He further investigates what causes the two word order patterns. A criterion he used is *definiteness*. There are four combinations supposed: both objects are definite or indefinite, and an object is definite and the other is indefinite. Below are examples of each combination.

(2) definite dative and accusative objects

þe	ðam	wyrtum	þone	cræft	forgeaf
who	those	herbs	that	power	gave

'who has given those herbs that power' (ÆCHom I.31.476.6)

(3) indefinite dative and accusative objects

þonne he mannum fæsten scrifeð

when he men fast prescribes

'when he prescribes people a fast' (Conf 2.1(SpindlerA-Y)36)

(4) definite dative and indefinite accusative objects

þæt he angelcynne sume lareowas asende

that he England some teachers sent

'that he would send some teachers to England' (ÆCHom II.9.74.81)

(5) indefinite dative and definite accusative objects

þæt he mannum þæt rihtteste ne secge

that he men that most permissible not says

'that he would send some teachers to England' (ÆCHom II.9.74.81)

(Koopman (1990a: 196–197))

Koopman's analysis is based on the idea that a definite object always precedes an indefinite object. His expectation is not correct, but he only concludes that there is a tendency for a definite object to precede an indefinite object. Table 3.2 below shows his results.

Table 3.2. Word order variation according to definiteness[4]

	DAT-ACC-V	ACC-DAT-V	total
both definite	**27** (39.7%)	**41** (60.3%)	**68** (100.0%)
both indefinite	**13** (92.9%)	**1** (0.71%)	**14** (100.0%)
definite DAT/indefinite ACC	**26** (63.4%)	**15** (36.6%)	**41** (100.0%)
indefinite DAT/definite ACC	**15** (79.0%)	**4** (21.0%)	**19** (100.0%)
indeterminate	**1** (25.0%)	**3** (75.0%)	**4** (100.0%)

total	**82** (56.1%)	**64** (43.8%)	**146** (100.0%)

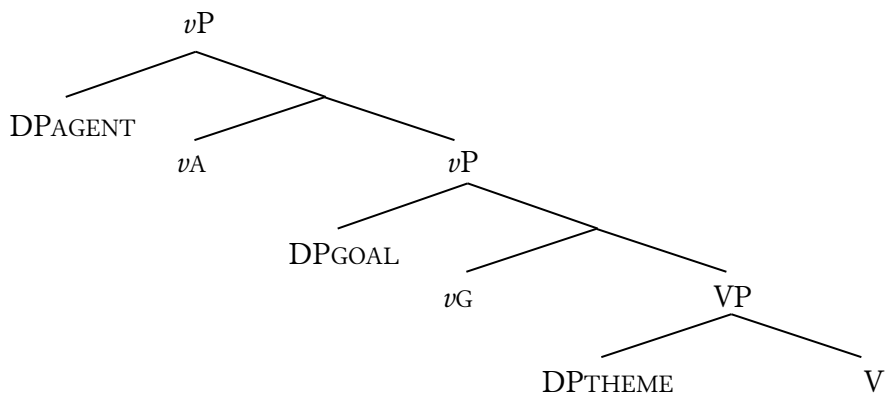
(adapted from Koopman (1990a: 197))

It is intriguing that when both objects are indefinite, the 'dative-accusative' order is dominant and that when a dative object is indefinite and an accusative is definite, too, the 'dative-accusative' order is dominant. This might be a reflection of basic word order before object movement. Keeping this much in mind, therefore, I argue that the two word order patterns in ditransitive verbal constructions are free variation and that the 'accusative-dative' order is derived from the 'dative-accusative' order through a syntactic operation, which can be freely applied.

3.2.2. Syntactically Driven Object Movement

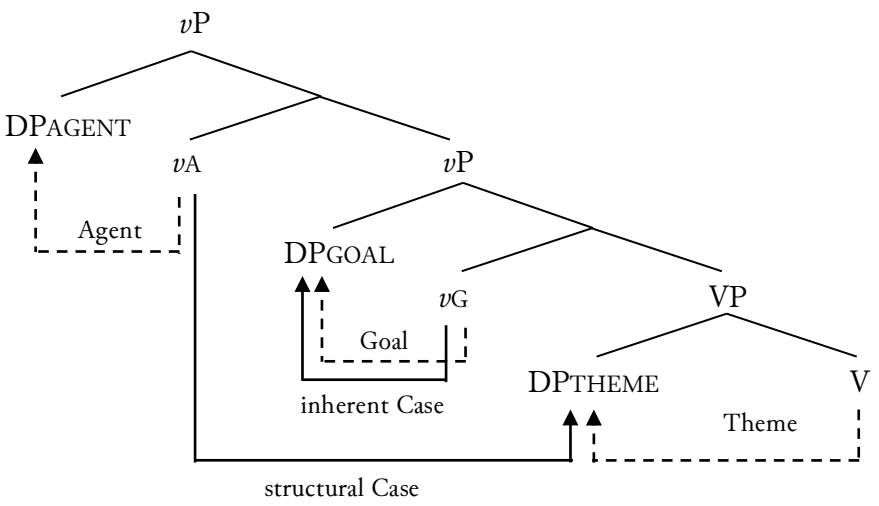
Before going into discussion of object movement in the *v*P domain, we present the *v*P structure adopted in this thesis. As will be argued in Chapters 3 and 4, I assume the tripartite Case distinction proposed by Woolford (2006). On the basis of her Case distinction, the *v*P structure of ditransitive verbs would be (6).

(6)



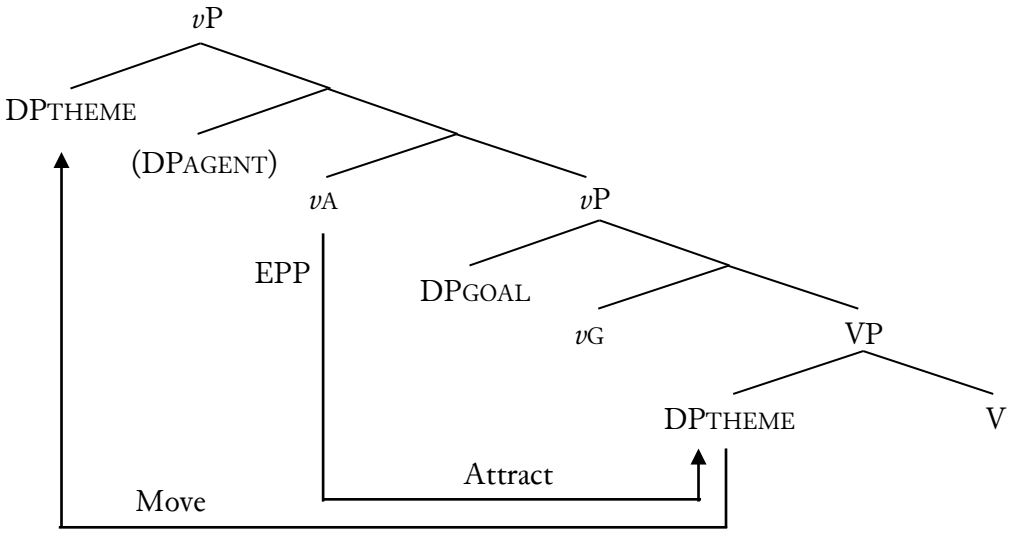
What is important here is that *v*G inherently assigns Case to DPGOAL and *v*A structurally assigns Case to the lowest argument DPTHEME. This is represented in (7).

(7)



Following the minimalist assumption, I assume that an EPP feature is optionally assigned to a functional head. In (7) the EPP feature is assigned to *v*A, which assigned Case to the lowest argument via Agree. The optionally assigned EPP feature raises the valuated DP in its outer Specifier position. Thus, DPTHEME is raised to the outer Specifier position of *v*P, as illustrated in (8). This operation yields the 'accusative-dative' order from the 'dative-accusative' order.

(8)



3.3. Object Movement in the TP Domain[5]

3.3.1. Object Movement in Subordinate Clauses

Let us now turn to the second type of object movement, scrambling within the TP domain. Here are two syntactic environments to be investigated for the possibility of object movement: subordinate clauses and modal constructions. In these two constructions the sentence brackets are formed by finite verbs and complementizers or infinitives. In what follows the domain that is enclosed by the sentence brackets is called the *Mittelfeld* (middle field) for ease of reference.[6] The phenomenon to be discussed in this section is the one taking place in the *Mittelfeld*. We begin with the case of subordinate clauses, and then go on to the other case of modal constructions.

On the basis of the data retrieved from the YCOE, Yanagi (2008) shows that objects can move across adverbs in OE subordinate clauses. Some examples are provided in (9). In each example, the object and adverb are marked in boldface and italics, respectively; the complementizer such as *þæt* 'that,' *hwi* 'why,' and *se* or *þe* 'that' is underlined; an the finite verb at the end of the clause is in a box.

(9) the 'adverb-noun' order

a. Þa axode hine. seo eadige fæmne. <u>hwi</u> he *swa* *hrædlice*.
the asked him the blessed female why he so quickly
his **gereord** forlete.
his meal left
'The blessed female then asked him why he so quickly left his meal?'

(ÆCHom II 10.89.294)

b. Wæs þy feorðan geare Osredes rices þæt Cenred, se Myrcna
was the fourth year Osred reign that Cenred who Mercia
rice æþelice sume tide fore wæs, ⁊ *micle æþelicor*
realm nobly some time for was and much more nobly
þæt anweald þæs rices forlet.
the authority the kingdom let
'In the fourth year of the reign of Osred, Cenred, who for some time nobly ruled over the realm of Mercia, much more nobly resigned the authority over his kingdom.' (Bede 5.17.448.21)

Given that the basic word order of OE is head-final, in (9) the finite verbs *forlete* 'left' and *forlet* 'let' remain at the base-generated position (or at the *v* head), and the objects *his gereord* 'his meal' and *þæt anweald þæs rices* 'the authority of the king' stay in the complement to their verbs. These objects immediately follow the adverbs *hrædlice* 'quickly' and *micle æþelicor* 'much more nobly.' Since there is no movement operation in the structure, this 'object-verb' is called the basic OV order in this thesis.

In contrast, the 'object-verb' order in (10) below is derived by moving the objects. Then, this type of OV order is named the derived OV order. In those examples the objects *ða ælmessan* 'the alms' and *ða stowe* 'the place' are raised up to a higher projection by skipping over the adverbs *gewunelice* 'usually' and *gelomlice* 'frequently,' respectively.

(10) the 'noun-adverb' order

a. and wæron for ði þa gebytlu on ðam dæge swiðost geworhte.
and were therefore the building on the day chiefly made

ðe he **ða ælmessan** *gewunelice* dælde;

that he the alms usually distributed

'and therefore was the building chiefly made on the day on which he usually distributed alms.' (ÆCHom II 23.203.123)

b. Wæs his gewuna þæt he **ða stowe** *gelomlice* sohte for intingan

was his habit that he the place frequently visit for matter

stilnesse ⁊ his deagolra gebeda,

stillness and his secret prayer

'He was wont often to visit the place for the sake of retirement and prayer in secret' (Bede 3.14.202.11)

The contrast between (9) and (10) is also found in the pronominal examples in (11) and (12). Examples (11) exhibit the basic OV order just like that in (9). In (11a) the pronominal object *hine* 'him' stays between the finite verb *clypode* 'called' and the adverb *wiðutan* 'without.'

(11) the 'adverb-pronoun' order

a. and filigde Criste. for ðan ðe he mid ungesewenlicere onbryrdnysse

and followed Christ because he with invisible stimulation

his mod lærde. swa swa he mid his worde. *wiðutan* **hine** clypode;

his mind instructed as he with his word without him called

'and followed Christ, because with invisible stimulation he instructed his mind, as he with his word called him from without.' (ÆCHom II 37.273.30)

b. ⁊ þa ongunnan ærest wið heora fynd feohtan, þa þe

and then began first against their enemies fought who

monige gear *ær* **hi** onhergedon ⁊ hleoðedon.

many years before them wasted and spoiled

'Then for the first time they began to resist their enemies, who now for many years had wasted and spoiled them.' (Bede 1.11.48.22)

In (12), on the other hand, the pronouns are followed by the adverbs, yielding the derived OV order, just as in (10).

(12) the 'pronoun-adverb' order

a. Þa arn se ceorl geond ealle ða stræt. dæges and nihtes. dreorig
then ran the churl through all the street day and night dismally
hrymende. oð þæt ða heafod men **hine** *hetelice* swungon. æne.
crying until the chief men him severely scourged one
and oðre siðe. oð þæt ða ban scinon.
and other time until the bones appeared

'Then the churl ran through all the street, day and night, dismally crying, until the chief men severely scourged him, once and a second time, until the bones appeared;' (ÆCHom II 18.173.118)

b. We asetton, swa swa usser Drihten Hælende Crist in menniscum
we set as our Lord Saviour Christ in human
lichoman sealde his discipulum, ða ðe **hine** *ondweardlice*
body delivered his disciples who him present
gesegon ⁊ gehyrdon his word.
saw and heard his words

'We set down, as our Lord and Saviour Christ, being in a human body, delivered to his disciples, who there saw him face to face, and heard his words.'

(Bede 4.19.310.25)

The frequencies of the 'adverb-object' and the 'object-adverb' orders, as reviewed just above, are summarized in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Frequencies of the 'adverb-object' and 'object-adverb' orders

	adverb-object	object-adverb	total
noun	**266** (48.1%)	**287** (51.9%)	**553** (100.0%)
pronoun	**37** (8.8%)	**385** (91.2%)	**422** (100.0%)
total	**303** (31.1%)	**672** (68.9%)	**975** (100.0%)

(χ^2 = 172.884; d.f. = 1; p < 0.001) (Yanagi (2008: 174))

As can be seen in Table 3.3, pronouns much more frequently precede adverbs than nouns. Nouns can either precede or follow adverbs with almost the same frequency, though the 'object-adverb' order is a little dominant.

Yanagi (2008) further examines what factor causes object movement in OE subordinate clauses, and categorizes the examples collected depending on their clause types and the 'definiteness' of objects. Among the clause types involving object movement, the three most frequent ones are adverbial, relative and *þæt* clauses. The results are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4. Classification according to clause type

	adverb-object	object-adverb	total
adverbial clause	**68** (52.3%)	**62** (47.7%)	**130** (100.0%)
relative clause	**35** (41.2%)	**50** (58.8%)	**85** (100.0%)
þæt clause	**37** (44.6%)	**46** (55.4%)	**83** (100.0%)

(adapted from Yanagi (2008: 175))

According to Table 3.4, the 'adverb-object' order is a little dominant in adverbial clauses, whereas the 'object-adverb' order is a little dominant in relative and *þæt* clauses. There seems to be a small tendency, but statistically each distribution is not significant. Therefore, clause type is not a factor to cause object movement in the *Mittelfeld*.

Let us turn to the definiteness effect on the word order variation. The classification made according to the definiteness of objects is given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Classification according to definiteness of object in subordinate clause

	adverb-object	object-adverb	total
definite	**100** (42.4%)	**136** (57.6%)	**236** (100.0%)
indefinite	**166** (52.4%)	**151** (47.6%)	**317** (100.0%)
total	**266** (48.1%)	**287** (51.9%)	**553** (100.0%)

(χ^2 = 5.412; d.f. = 1; $p < 0.05$) (Yanagi (2008: 177))

'Definiteness' can be taken as syntactic or semantic notion. Here, the syntactic definition of 'definiteness' is employed. What is counted as definite are nouns with determiners, nouns with possessives, and proper nouns. Determiners include *se* 'the, that' and *þes* 'this,' and inflected

forms of these. Although pronouns can be considered to be definite, they are excluded from the calculation. This is because pronouns are intrinsically definite and they much more frequently precede adverbs than nouns, as shown in Table 3.3.

It can be seen from Table 3.5 that definite objects are more likely to precede adverbs than to follow them and that indefinite objects are less likely to precede adverbs than to follow them. Relevant examples are given in (13) and (14). (13) are of definite objects, and (14) of indefinite ones.

(13) definite object

a. Se þe **ðas** **ðing** *gecneordlice* begæð. he gegrypð untwylice
he who these things sedulously performs he seized undoubtedly
þæt behatene rice mid gode ⁊ eallum his halgum;
the promised kingdom with God and all his saints
'He who sedulously performs these things, seizes undoubtedly the promised kingdom with God and all his saints.' (ÆCHom I 25.385.181)

b. ⁊ cwæð. Eala ðu cniht. þe ðurh þines flæsces luste
and said O thou youth who through thy flesh's lust
hrædlice **þine** **sawle** forlure;
early thy soul lost
'and said "O thou youth, who through thy flesh's lust hast early lost thy soul;"'
(ÆCHom I 4.211.138)

(14) indefinite object

a. þonne fylge we Drihtnes swæþe, þæt is gif we **oþre** **men** *teala*
then follow we Lord's footsteps that is if we other men well
læraþ, & hie be urum larum rihtlice for Gode libbaþ,

teach and they about our lore rightly for God live

'then follow we the Lord's footsteps, that is, if we teach other men well, and they rightly after our lore live to God;' (HomS 21 [BlHom 6] 75.160)

b. Se færð to his tune ⁊ forsihð godes gearcunge. se
he goes to his farm and neglects God's preparation who
þe*ungemetlice* **eorðlice teolunge** begæð to þan swiþe þæt
immoderately earthly pursuits attends to the strong that
he his godes dæl forgymeleasað;
he his God's portion neglects

'He goes to his farm and neglects God's preparation, who immoderately attends to earthly pursuits to that degree that he neglects God's portion.'

(ÆCHom I 35.478.84)

In the (a) examples of (13) and (14) the objects precede the adverbs in the *Mittelfeld*, whereas in the (b) examples of (13) and (14) the objects follow the adverbs in the same domain. This distribution is statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level, but the definiteness would not be a conclusive factor to invoke object movement.[7]

3.3.2. Object Movement in Modal Constructions

Let us next explore the possibility of object movement in the *Mittelfeld* of modal constructions. As in the subordinate clauses just discussed, in modal constructions the sentence brackets are formed with the modal and the infinitive, which are marked with underline and a box. The objects and the adverbs are in boldface and italics. Some examples are taken from

Yanagi (2010). (15) and (16) are of the 'adverb-object' order and the 'object-adverb' order, respectively.

(15) the 'adverb-object' order

a. ne dorste ic *swa ðeah* **nan ðing** wiðcweðan;
NEG durst I nevertheless nothing oppose
'though I durst not say anything to the contrary' (ÆCHom II 202.99)

b. God wolde *þa* *git* **his wundra** geswutelian þurh þæt anræde
god would then yet his wonders manifest through the constant
wif,
woman
'God would even yet manifest His wonders in that constant woman'
(ÆLS [Ash-Wednesday] 231)

c. ⁊ se awyrigeda gast ne mihte *na leng* **hi** dreccan.
and the accursed spirit NEG could no longer her torment
'and the accursed spirit could no longer torment her'
(ÆCHom I 441.66/Yanagi (2010: 425))

(16) the 'object-adverb' order

a. We mihton **þas** **halgan** **rædinge** *menigfealdlicor* trahtnian
we might this holy text elaborately expound
æfter Augustines smeagunge:
after Augustine's interpretation
'We might more elaborately expound this holy text, according to the interpretation of Augustine' (ÆCHom I 495.282)

b. On ðam getelde hi sceoldon **þa** **godcundan** **lac**

on the tabernacle they should the divine offerings
symle geoffrian. for ðan ðe hi ne mihton on ðære
constantly offer because they NEG could on the
fare cyrcan aræran;
traveling church raise

'In that tabernacle they were constantly to offer the divine offerings, because they could not on their journeying raise a church.' (ÆCHom II 114.160)

c. Þa wolde se man-fulla **hi** *mislice* getintregian,
then would the wicked them variously torture

'Then desired the wicked one variously to torture them'

(ÆLS [Julian and Basilissa] 396/Yanagi (2010: 425-426))

Just like the distribution observed in the subordinate clauses, the distribution of these two word order patterns in the modal constructions is not statistically significant. Also the incidence of the 'adverb-object' order is 68.3%, and the one of the 'object-adverb' order is 31.7%, when the object is nominal.

Now we consider the definiteness effect on the word order variation. The classification arranged according to the definiteness of objects is summarized in Table 3.6. Here again, the syntactic definition of definiteness is employed for classification. Also pronouns are excluded from the calculation for the same reason mentioned above.

Table 3.6. Classification according to definiteness of object in modal constructions

	adverb-object	object-adverb	total
definite	**48** (69.6%)	**21** (30.4%)	**69** (100.0%)
indefinite	**49** (69.0%)	**22** (31.0%)	**71** (100.0%)
total	**97** (69.3%)	**43** (30.7%)	**140** (100.0%)

(χ^2 = 0.005; d.f. = 1; ns)

The distribution is not statistically significant. In this case, objects tend to follow adverbs, whether they are definite or indefinite. Some examples of definite and indefinite objects are given in (17) and (18), respectively.

(17) definite object

a. Ne sceole we *þeah* **þa þwyran** to ure ehtnysse gremian:
NEG should we yet the perverse to our persecution irritate
'Yet should we not irritate the perverse to persecute us' (ÆCHom I 494.245)

b. He na to ðæs hwon ne mihte **þone romaniscan**
he NEG on any account NEG could the Roman
biscopstol *eallunge* forlætan.
episcopal see altogether forsake
'He could not on any account altogether forsake the Roman episcopal see'
(ÆCHom II 77.166)

(18) indefinite object

a. ⁊ þa cwædon þa Scottas. we eow magon *þeah hwaðere*
and then said the Scots we you may however

ræd gelæron.

advice give

'and then the Scots said: We can, however, give you good advice'

(ChronE (Plummer) 0.8.9)

b. Nu wylle we **sum ðing** *scortlice* eow be him gereccan.

now will we somthing briefly you about him relate

'We will now briefly relate to you something concerning him' (ÆCHom II 72.9)

There seems no definiteness effect on word order variation in modal constructions. Furthermore in this circumstance objects move up over adverbs less frequently in subordinate clauses.

We now compare the distributions of object and adverb between main and subordinate clauses. In OE syntax, finite verbs usually occupy the clause-final position in subordinate clauses. With modal, however, a finite modal and an infinitive often form the sentence brackets, and an object and adverb occur between them. This may be called the 'embedded main clause' or embedded topicalization (van Kemenade (1997) and Ohkado (2001)). Two examples of embedded topicalization are provided in (19).

(19) a. and cwæð þæt he ne mihte *swa* *hrædlice* **þone ealdan gewunan**

and said that he NEG could so hastily the old usage

ðe he mid Angelcynne heold forlætan.

which he with English people observed forsake

'and said that he could not so hastily forsake the old usage, which he with the English nation observed' (ÆCHom II 78.199)

b. Þa undergeat se preost þæt he ne mihte **ðone halgan wer**

then perceived the priest that he NEG could the holy man

lichamlice acwellan.

bodily kill

'When the priest perceived that he could not bodily kill the holy man'

(ÆCHom II 96.153)

In both sentences, the embedded clauses are introduced by *þæt* 'that,' followed by the pronominal subject *he* 'he' and the modal verb *mihte* 'could.' In these cases, both word order patterns are observed, and the distribution of them is summarized in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7. Distributions in main and subordinate clauses (noun)

	adverb-object	object-adverb	total
main clause	**97** (69.3%)	**43** (30.7%)	**140** (100.0%)
subordinate clause	**61** (49.6%)	**62** (50.4%)	**123** (100.0%)
total	**158** (60.1%)	**105** (39.9%)	**263** (100.0%)

It can be seen from this table that objects tend to stay at the original position in main clauses and in subordinate clauses objects occur either before or after adverbs. There seems no strong tendency of one word order pattern over the other in both main and subordinate clauses.

3.3.3. Object Shift, Scrambling or Object Movement

This section compares and contrasts object movement discussed in the previous sections with Scrambling and Object Shift. These are similar phenomena widely observed in Scandinavian languages and Germanic languages. Scrambling is a relatively freer operation than Object Shift. It may affect noun phrases, as in (20), and other constituents such as prepositional

phrases. It is important here that Scrambling is also an independent operation, in that it can take place even if there is no overt verb movement of main verbs.

(20) a. Der Student hat *nicht* **das Buch** gelesen.
the student has not the book read
b. Der Student hat **das Buch**$_i$ *nicht* t_i gelesen.
'The student hasn't read the book.' (German/Thráinsson (2001: 148))

The noun phrase *das Boch* 'the book' can either follow *nicht* 'not,' as in (20a), or precede *nicht* 'not,' as in (20b).

On the other hand, Object Shift can only affect nominal elements, i.e. nouns and pronouns, depending on languages. In Icelandic, both nominal and pronominal objects can be shifted as in (21) and (22). In Danish (and Swedish and Norwegian), on the other hand, only pronominal objects can be shifted as in (23), but nominal objects cannot be as in (24).[8]

(21) a. Nemandinn las *ekki* **bókina**.
student-the read not book-the
b. Nemandinn las **bókina**$_i$ *ekki* t_i
'The student didn't read the book.' (Icelandic/Thráinsson (2001: 148))
(22) a. *Nemandinn las *ekki* **hana**.
b. Nemandinn las **hana**$_i$ *ekki* t_i
'The student didn't read it.' (Icelandic/Thráinsson (2001: 150))
(23) a. *Studenten læste *ikke* **den**.
b. Studenten læste **den**$_i$ *ikke* t_i
'The student didn't read it.' (Danish/Thráinsson (2001: 150))

(24) *Studenten læste **bogen**$_i$ *ikke* t_i

student-the read book-the not

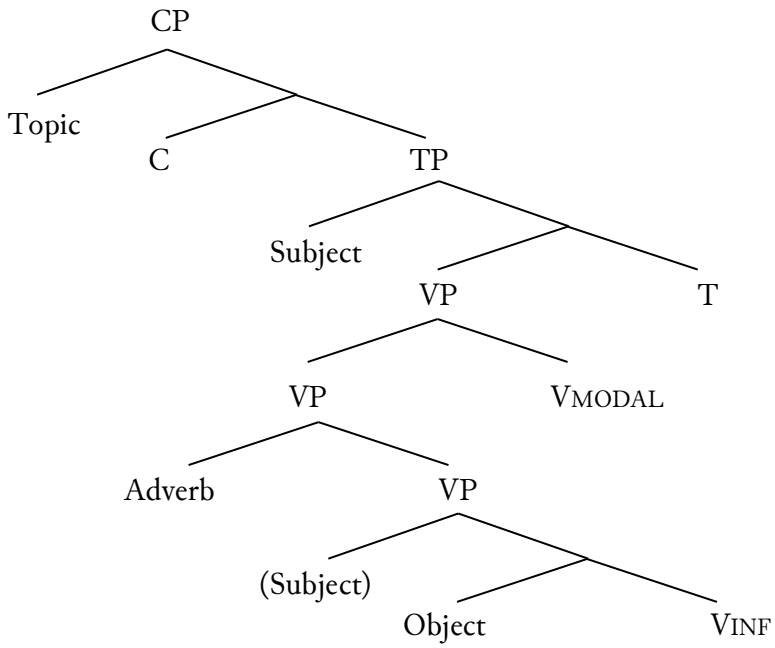
'The student didn't read the book.' (Danish/Thráinsson (2001: 150))

It is often argued that Object Shift can take place only if a main verb moves out of the VP. This correlation between overt verb movement and Object Shift is called Holmberg's Generalization (see Holmberg (1986, 1999)).

Object Movement, used as a neutral term, takes place even in subordinate clauses and modal constructions. These syntactic environments are constructions where a lexical verb does not move to C. Therefore, there is no relation between object movement and verb movement in subordinate clauses and modal constructions. It can be thus concluded that Object Movement observed in OE is not a type of Object Shift, but a type of Scrambling. Next we briefly consider the landing site of moved objects.

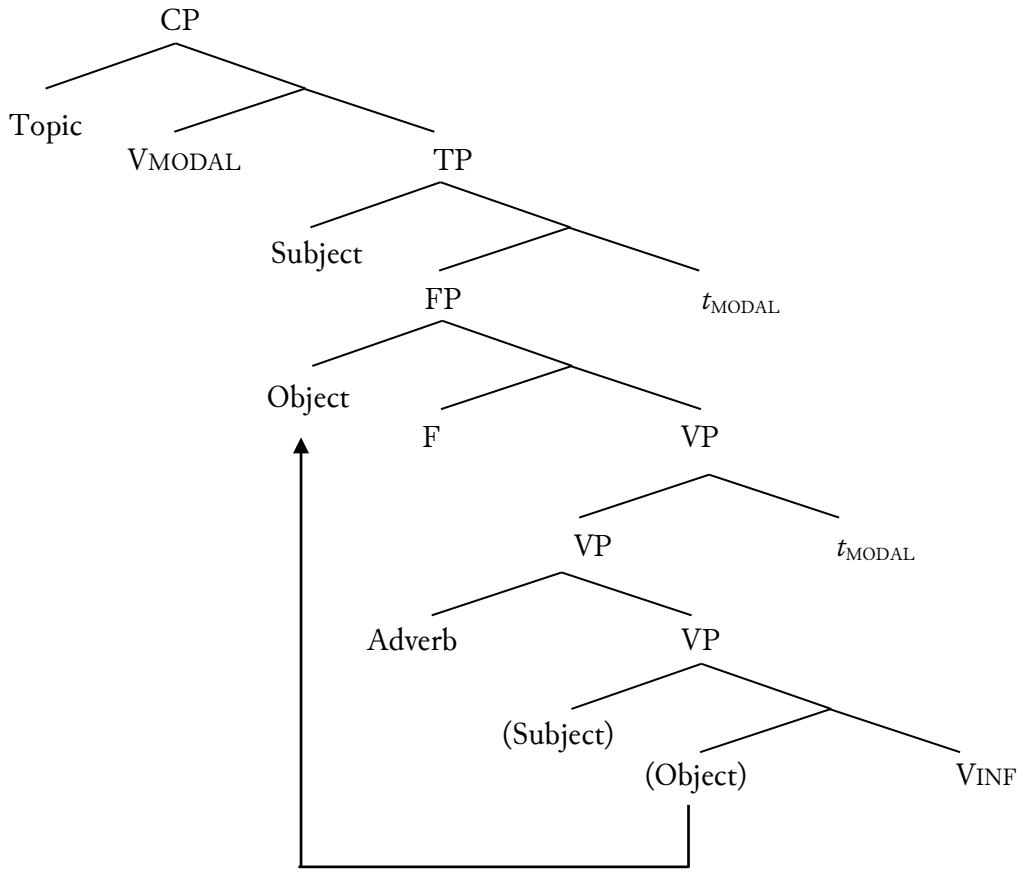
Recall the clause structure proposed in Section 3.1, repeated here as (25).

(25)



In (25) VMODAL moves up to C through T, creating the verbal complex at C. This verbal complex and VINF form the sentence brackets. The object moves over the adverb, but does not skip over the subject, as shown in (17b). Therefore, the landing site of the moved object is located somewhere between the TP and the lower VP. We then introduce a functional projection, called FP, above the higher VP. The structure would be (26).[9]

(26)



Unlike the syntactically motivated movement discussed in Section 3.2, Scrambling more freely takes place, which means that Scrambling is neither feature-driven nor discourse-driven as will be discussed in Section 3.5. Otherwise, Scrambling might be a hypernym covering a number of various syntactic movements.

3.4. Particles and Clause Structure in Gothic and Old English

3.4.1. Discourse Markers in Old English

In classifying the data into two word order patterns, there are some adverbs found in both patterns. Adverbs used in the *Mittelfeld* are summarized in (27), though they are not exhaustive.

(27) a. adverbs preceding nominal objects

ða 'then,' ***eac*** 'also,' ***nu*** 'now,' *gyt* 'yet,' *æne* 'once,' *ærest* 'first,' *eft* 'again,' *foreaðe* 'very easily,' *heononforð* 'henceforth,' *seldhwænne* 'seldom'

b. adverbs following nominal objects

ða, ***eac***, ***nu***, *eallunge* 'altogether,' *rihtlicor* 'more properly,' *sc(e)ortlice* 'briefly,' *swiðor* 'more exceedingly' (Yanagi (2010: 429, 431))

The first three adverbs are used before and after objects: *ða* 'then,' *nu* 'now,' and *eac* 'also.'[10] These adverbs happen to correspond to what Ferraresi (2005) groups into 'discourse particles' in Gothic, *þan* 'then', *nu* 'now' and *auk* 'also,' which will be reviewed in Section 3.5. Although OE and Gothic belong to different language families (West and East Germanic language, respectively), they seem to share some common properties of discourse particles/markers.[11]

These adverbs, which will be called discourse markers, play a critical role in the analysis to be provided in Section 3.5. Before going on to discuss the last type of Object Movement, the discourse-driven Object Movement, it is reasonable to review, in the next section, the function of Gothic particles including the ones just mentioned.

Let us review Ferraresi's (2005) consideration of Gothic particles with respect to their syntactic distribution and function. Van Kemenade and Los (2006) make an argument in part on the basis of Ferraresi's analysis of Gothic particles. Ferraresi classifies particles into first position particles and second position particles for the reason of simplicity. In Gothic, complementizers almost always take the first position to satisfy the sentential properties of a main verb and to specify the clause type. In addition to complementizers, some other particles take the fist position in interrogative sentences.

3.4.2. Particle *-u*

We begin with a particle *-u*, one of the first position particles. This particle syntactically marks polar (*yes/no*) and non-polar (*wh*) questions. It is cliticized onto any constituent occurring in the first position, as in (28), direct questions, and as in (29), indirect questions.[12] Of these instances, (28c) involves its cliticization to *wh*-word, and the others involve the cliticization to the finite verb.

(28) direct question

a. magut**su** driggkan?
   can-*u* drink?
   'can you drink?' (Mar 10:38)

b. wileiz**u** ei qiþaima?
   want-*u* that command?
   'do you want us to command?' (Luk 9:54)

c. hva**uþþan** habais þatei ni namt?
   what-*u-uh-þan* have that not receive?

'what do you have that you did not receive?' (1 Cor 4:7)

(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 148))

(29) indirect question

a. let ei saihvam, qimai**u** Helias

let that see comes-*u* Elias

'let us see whether Elias will come' (Mat 27:49)

b. ni**u** þankeiþ, sia**u** mahteigs

not-*u* thinks, is-*u* able

'does he not consider whether he is able' (Luk 14:31)

(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 148))

Besides the finite verbs in (28) and (29), a pronoun as in (30a), an adjective as in (30b), a preposition as in (30c) and an adverb as in (30d) can also be a host of the clitic *-u*.

(30) a. ik**u** fram mis silbin rodja [pronoun]

I-*u* of myself speak

'whether I speak of myself' (Joh 7:17)

b. Þau ainz**u** ik jah Barnabas ni habos waldufni . . . ? [adjective]

or alone-*u* I and Barnabas not have power?

'or I only and Barnabas, have not we power (to forbear working)?' (1 Cor 9:6)

c. ab**u** þus silbin þu þata qiþis þau anþarai þus quþun

of-*u* you self you that say or others you told

bi mik [preposition]

of me?

'do you say this of yourself or did others tell it you of me?' (Joh 18:34)

d. swa**u** andhafjis þamma reikistin gudjin? [adverb]
so-*u* answer the high priest
'is that the way to answer the High Priest?' (Joh 18:22)
(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 148-149))

In all the examples cited so far in this section, the particle *-u* occupies the 'second' position, the so-called Wackernagel Position, in clause structure. It is important here that this small element marks the clause type, interrogatives in this case.

3.4.3. Particles *þan* 'then', *nu* 'now' and *auk* 'also'

Gothic has another type of particle, second position particles, which can work as organizing the discourse by emphasizing an element or contrasting it with other elements (Ferraresi (2005: 150)). Among those Gothic particles, I will pick up three, *þan* 'then,' *nu* 'now' and *auk* 'also,' because they have some syntactic and discourse properties in common with the OE counterparts, the target elements in this chapter. Therefore, we look into them in a little more detail. These three particles are grouped together, and they exhibit some common syntactic behavior. Ferraresi shows four common properties, as demonstrated in (31) through (34).

(31) managai **þan** þizos manageins hausjandans þizewaurde qeþun . . .
some *þan* of-the people hearing these words said
'some of the people who heard these words said . . .' (Joh 7:40)

(32) anþara **þan** skipa qemun us Tibairiadu nehva þamma stada
other *þan* ships came from Tiberias near the place
'other ships from Tiberias landed near the place' (Joh 6:23)

(33) hva **auk** boteiþ mannan . . . ?
what *auk* profit man . . .
'what use is it to a man . . . ?' (Mar 8:36)[13]

(34) biþeh **þan** usþwoh fotuns ize
after *þan* washed feet their
'so after he had washed their feet' (Joh 13:12)

(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 162–163))

In (31) the particle *þan* 'then' occupies the second position and it is preceded by the pronoun *managai* 'some.' It can also split a constituent, as in (32), where the particle *þan* 'then' splits *anþara skipa* 'other ships' apart. In direct questions like (33) the particle immediately follows the *wh*-element, just like the first position particle described in the previous section. Also, it immediately follows the complementizer in subordinate clauses, as in (34).

The three particles *þan* 'then,' *nu* 'now' and *auk* 'also' have their lexical counterparts. For example, *þan* 'then' can be a complementizer, an adverb and a second position particle (Ferraresi (2005: 164)).[14] These three items can be distinguished according to their syntactic positions. The second position particle, as it is so called, occupies the second position, as in (31)–(34), and the complementizer, in its nature, occupies the first position, as in (35). The adverb can occur in any position without restrictions, as in (36).

(35) aþþan qimand dagos **þan** gairneiþ ainana þize dage
but come days *when* long one of-the days
sunaus mans gasaihwan
of-son of-man see
'the time will come when you will long to see one of the days of the Son of Man'

(Luk 17:22)

(36) jah afar þamma hlaiba **þan** galaiþ in jainana Satana
and after the bread *þan* went into him Satan
'and after he had taken the bread, Satan entered him' (Joh 13:27)

(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 164–165))

As a particle *þan* 'then' always takes the second position, as illustrated in (37). Elements that the particle immediately follows are various: the finite verb in (37a) and the DP in (37b) and a prepositional phrase or a complementizer is also possible.

(37) a. galiþun **þan** þai andbahtos
came *þan* the servants
'then the servants came' (Joh 7:45)

b. Iudaieis **þan** . . . iddjedunuh
Jews *þan* . . . went
'the Jews then went' (Joh 11:31)

(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 165))

In some cases the particle *þan* 'then' occupies the second position, together with another particle *-uh*, as in (38).

(38) fram**uh** **þan** þaim dagam Iohannis þis daupjaddins
from-*uh* *þan* the days John's the Baptist
'and from the days of John the Baptist (Mat 11:12)

(Gothic/Ferraresi (2005: 165))

Here, the prepositional phrase *fram þaim dagam* 'from the days' is torn apart by the particle complex *-uh þan*. Ferraresi makes a comment about the use of the second position particle as in (39).

(39) The constituent which is attached to *-uh* (*þan*) has already been mentioned previously in the discourse and is thus presupposed. [. . .] The particle *þan* signals that what follows is a sort of comment (backgounding). (Ferraresi (2005: 165–166))

She further points out that the Gothic particles *þan* 'then,' *nu* 'now' and *auk* 'also' are similar to German 'modal particles.' In a similar way to German modal particles, the particle *þan* 'then' marks the sentence as comment, and 'introduces a secondary narration segment which is not in the time line of the narrative' (Ferraresi (2005: 174)).

She counts up and classifies all the occurrences of the particle *þan* 'then.' There are 314 tokens in total where the particle appears by itself. Among them, 75 examples involve a complementizer, all taking the first position. The second position particle occurs 238 times, 226 of which occupies the second position (Ferraresi (2005: 166)).[15]

3.4.4. Primary and Secondary Topic Domains

Following and adapting van Kemenade and Los's (2006) idea that the discourse particle divides the topic and the focus domains, this section proposes that there are two topic domains, primary and secondary, in the clause with *þa/þonne* occupying the clause-internal position

Ferraresi's idea that the first position particles mark clause type such as interrogative, negative, and declarative, is adapted by van Kemenade and Los (2006). As shown in Section 3.4.1, her idea is that questions are marked by one of the first position particles *-u*, which can be

cliticized onto any constituent in the first position (see (31)–(34)).[16] Van Kemenade and Los continue and mention the interesting historical scenario that Ferraresi summarizes:

(40) [W]hen these clause-typing particles [TY: the interrogative particle *-u*, the coordination particle *-uh*, and the relative clause particle *-ei* in Gothic] were lost, presumably as the result of erosion of inflection, this gave rise to V-movement to C (in the absence of any other lexical filler), which should accordingly be viewed as a periphrastic strategy to mark clause type.

(van Kemenade and Los (2006: 230)/cf. Ferraresi (1997))

In addition, they adopts Kiparsky's (1995) hypothesis:

(41) [M]ovement of the finite verb to C in questions and negatives (with accompanying subject-finite inversion) arose as a strategy for making main clauses in the development from dominant parataxis to dominant hypotaxis.

(van Kemenade and Los (2006: 229)/cf. Kiparsky (1995))

They combine these ideas, and suppose that the loss of clause-typing particles (e.g. *-u* for questions) and the increase of hypotasxis might lead to new morphosyntactic procedure. They then conclude the scenario as in (42), though they would admit that it is speculative.

(42) a. In contexts where V-movement did take place, *þa/þonne* in clause-initial position, followed by the finite verb, was reanalyzed as a main clause, parallel to questions and negative-initial clauses.

b. Where V-movement did not take place, *þa/þonne* itself was reanalyzed as a subordinating conjunction. (van Kemenade and Los (2006: 230))

They then discuss the use of the discourse markers *þa/þonne* 'then' in clause-internal position, and argue that pronominal subjects appear on the left of *þa/þonne,* whereas nominal subjects occur on the right. This is illustrated in (43) and (44).

(43) Pronominal subject + pronominal object preceding *þa/þonne*

He	ne mihte	swaþeah	æfre	libban,	þeah	ðe	he	hine *þa*
he	not-could	nevertheless	ever	live,	though	that	they	him then

ut alysde

released

'Nevertheless, he could not live forever, though they then released him'

(ÆLS [Ash.Wed] 119:2763/van Kemenade and Los (2006: 231))

(44) Pronominal object preceding *þa/þonne*, nominal subject following *þa/þonne*

Gif	him	*þonne*	God	ryhtlice	and	stræclice	deman wile.
If	him	then	God	justly	and	strictly	judge will

'if God will then justly and strictly judge him'

(CP.5.45.20/van Kemenade and Los (2006: 231))

In (43) both the pronominal subject and object precedes *þa* 'then,' while in (44) the pronominal object precedes the discourse marker and the nominal subject follows it. Table 3.8 below shows the distribution of subject types (nominal or pronominal) over the two subject positions in subclauses.

Table 3.8. Order of subject and *þa/þonne* subclauses in OE[17]

	DP subject	Pro subject	total
Subject-*þa/þonne*	**129** (36.0%)	**1116** (99.6%)	**1245** (84.2%)
þa/þonne-subject	**229** (64.0%)	**5** (0.4%)	**234** (15.8%)
total	**358** (100.0%)	**1121** (100.0%)	**1479** (100.0%)

They argue that constituents preceding *þa/þonne* are interpreted as discourse-given. The following types of constituents may appear on the position to the left of *þa/þonne*: personal pronouns (subject and optional object), indefinite pronouns, impersonal pronouns (the subject *man* 'one'), demonstrative pronouns (independently used subjects and, optionally, objects), and some definite DPs (van Kemenade (2011: 85)).

Their approach entails that morphosyntax encodes discourse relations in OE. According to them, *þa/þonne*, which is a focus particle, separates the topic domain from the focus domain. Here, the topic domain is regarded as the potion of the clause encoding given information and the focus domain contains new information (van Kemenade and Los (2006: 232–233)).

Suppose that the domain on the left of a finite verb in verb-second sentences is the topic domain, I propose that there are two topic domain when the *þa/þonne* appear clause-internally. A particular proposal is that a constituent occurring in the domain on the left of a finite verb is a 'primary' topic, and the one in the domain on the left of *þa/þonne* is a 'secondary' topic. The domain on the right of *þa/þonne* is the focus domain. Given this, I assume that movement of an object to the 'secondary' topic domain is discourse-driven.

3.5. Object Movement in the CP Domain

Based on the discussion in the previous section, this section provides an analysis of object movement in the CP domain. Recall that the domain on the left of a finite verb is the primary topic domain and that the clause-internal *þa/þonne* separate the secondary topic domain and the focus domain. This is schematically illustrated in (45).[18]

(45) $[_{TopP}$ XP V_{finite} $[_{TopP}$ YP **þa/nu** $[_{FP}$ ZP F $[_{TP}$

In this structure, the upper Topic Phrase is headed by a finite verb, and the lower Topic Phrase is headed by a discourse marker such *þa* 'thne' and *nu* 'now.' Furthermore, XP is the primary topic, and YP the second one; ZP is a focus element. Some examples are given below.

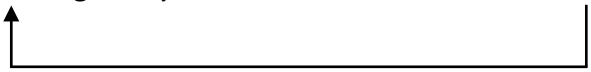
(46) a. Ic wolde **ðine** **ðenunge** sylf *nu* gearcian
I would your refection self now prepare
'I would now prepare your refection myself' (ÆCHom II 82.36)

b. Þonne magon we *nu* **an wundor** secgan, þe he sægde
then may we now a wonder say which he said
betweoh oðer monego.
between other many
'So we may now relate one miracle, which he mentioned among many others.'
(Bede 3.11.190.7)

In (46a) the definite NP (or DP) *ðine ðenunge* 'your refection' occupies the secondary topic domain; in (46b) the pronominal subject *we* 'we' appears in the topic domain. These elements

are raised to that position from their base-generated position in the VP. Part of the structure of (46a) would be like (47).

(47) [$_{TopP}$ ic wolde [$_{TopP}$ **ðine ðenunge** sylf *nu* [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$



As shown in (48), indefinite NPs may not raise to the clause-internal topic domain, or they may raise there, as shown in (49).

(48) Æðeldryð wolde *ða* **ealle** **woruld-þincg** forlætan
Æthelthryth would then all world-things forsake
'Æthelthryth desired to forsake all worldly things' (ÆLS [Æthelthryth] 31)

(49) Þær mihte **wundor** *ða* geseon, se ðe wære gehende,
there might wonder then see who was at hand
hu se wind and se lig wunnon him betwinan,
how the wind and the flame strove them between
'Then might he who was at hand see a miracle, how the wind and the flame strove between them;' (ÆLS [Martin] 434)

In (48) the indefinite NP *ealle woruld-þincg* 'all world-things' stays at the complement to the infinitive; in (49) the indefinite NP occupies the topic domain on the left of *ða* 'then.' Please note that the clause-initial element in (49) is the expletive *þær* 'there.'

There is a piece of evidence to support the argument that the discourse marker separates the topic domain and the focus domain. It comes from floating quantifiers (see Chapter 2). Let us examine Japanese examples (50) and (51), cited from Takami (2001).

(50) a. Gakusei-ga hon-o katta.
students books.INDEFINITE bouht
'Students bought books.'

b. Gakusei-ga sore-o/sono-hon-o katta
students them/the-books.DEFINITE bought
'Students bought them/the books.' (Takami (2001: 138))

(51) a. ?*Gakusei-ga hon-o yo-nin katta.
students books.INDEFINITE four bought
'Four students bought books.'

b. Gakusei-ga sore-o/sono-hon-o yo-nin katta.
students them/the-books.DEFINITE four bought
'Four Students bought them/the books.' (Takami (2001: 139))

According to him, when in (50a) both the subject *gakusei-ga* 'students' and the object *hon-o* 'books' are indefinite, the object is interpreted as a focus element, because it occurs in front of the verb. In (50b), on the other hand, the subject *gakusei-ga* 'students' is indefinite, but the objects *sore-o/sono-hon-o* 'them/the books' are definite. Thus, these objects are regarded as a focus element, more important than the indefinite subject. In addition, an element can be interpreted as a focus element if it occupies the position immediately before a verb. In (51a) since the numeral expression *yo-nin* 'four (people)' occurs before the verb *katta* 'bought,' it can be counted as a focus element. Since he object *hon-o* 'books' is indefinite, it carries important information. As a result, the sentence has two important phrases, and then it became unacceptable or unnatural. By contrast, in (51b) *sore-o* 'them' or *sono-hon-o* 'the books' is definite, and it is interpreted as less important than *yo-nin* 'four (people),' which is focused.

On the basis of Takami's discussion, Ryu (2001) investigates the function of floating quantifiers in OE. Let us review her analysis, by using examples (52) and (53).

(52) ⁊ *Pirruses* *heres* wæs **xx** **m** ofslagen ⁊
and Pyrrhus' of-army was twenty thousand killed and
his guðfona genumen
his military-standard seized
'and twenty thousand of Pyrrhus' army were killed and his military standard was seized.' (Or 85.20-21/Ryu (2004: 68))

(53) a. *þiss* wæron **ealle** Creca leode
these were all of-the-Greeks countries
'these were all countries of the Greeks' (Or 55.31–32/Ryu (2004: 69))

b. for þon þe he *him* wæs ær **bæm** lað
because he them was before both hateful
'because he was hateful for both of them before' (Or 139.19-20/Ryu (2004: 69))

Example (52) involves the numeral expression *xx m* 'twenty thousand,' and examples (53) involve the floating quantifiers, *ealle* 'all' and *bæm* 'both.'

Ryu (2004) examines quantifiers found in *Orosius* (an OE prose written in the late 9th century). She points out that in *Orosius* there are many examples where a verbal element intervenes between a genitive nominal and a numeral expression, as in (52). She puts examples like (52) into the category of floating quantifiers. Quantifiers, too, are separated from the associated nominals by verbal elements, as in (53) (see discussion in Chapter 2). She supposes that floating quantifiers like the numeral in (52) and those in (53) are thought to be focus elements.

Keeping this in mind, let us consider examples where quantifiers are separated from the pronominal associates by the discourse marker.[19]

(54) Ac he gebohte *us* **þa** **ealle** mid his deorwurðan blode of
but he redeemed us then all with his precious blood of
helle wite
punishment
'but he redeemed us then all with his precious blood of punishment'

(WHom 13:45.1242)

If Takami's and Ryu's analyses are on the right track, the quantifier in boldface, which occupies the position immediately after the discourse marker, is also thought to be a focus element. Suppose that the finite verb has the same function as the discourse marker *þa*, it can be safely concluded that example (54) has two topic elements, one is before the finite verb *bebohte* 'redeemed' and the other is before the discourse marker, as indicated above. Therefore, we can say that object movement crossing the discourse marker is discourse-driven.

3.6. A Few Comments on Difference between OE and PE

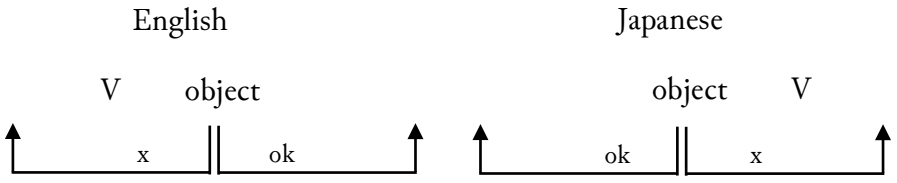
The analyses in this chapter has been applied only to object movement observed in OE, but a few comments are in order about parametric change of optional movement in the history of English. It is often said that OE is a discourse-oriented language (van Kemenade and Los (2006), van Kemenade (2001) and so on). On the other hand, present-day English (PE) is a subject-prominent language, and then topicalization with a subject-verb (or subject-auxiliary) inversion is quite restricted.

It would seem that head-parameter is virtually abandoned, given the conception of set Merge. This thesis assumes, however, that head-parameter is still available and it plays an important role to explain the availability of object movement, or more generally optional movement. Fukui (1995) discusses this respect by comparing and contrasting Japanese and English, and he proposes:

(55) one specific measure to compute the cost of rule application, the parameter-value preservation (PVP) measure, which states that a grammatical operation (movement, in particular) that creates a structure which is inconsistent with the parameter-value for a language is costly in the language, whereas one which produces a structure consistent with the parameter-value is costless (Fukui (1995: 358))[20]

Simply stated, in an OV language such as Japanese, leftward object movement is costless but rightward object movement is costly; whereas in a VO language such as English rightward object movement is costless but leftward object movement is costly. This is schematically illustrated in (56).

(56) Distribution of optional movement



(Fukui (1995: 359))

There are two differences between OE and PE: OE is a discourse-oriented language and PE is a subject-prominent language; and OE is a head-final language and PE is a head-initial

language. If Fukui's argument is on the right track, it can be analyzed that object movement became unavailable once the OVA order was taken over by the VO order in English. As for the discourse-driven object movement in the CP domain, the movement became obsolete as well, when the V-to-C movement became unavailable.

3.7. Conclusion

It has been argued that there are three kinds of object movement available in OE and that each operation is driven for the different requirement, and then raises objects to the Specifier position of different functional categories. In particular, I proposed for the three types of object movement:

(i) In the *v*P domain, syntactically-driven object movement takes place for the syntactic requirement – the EPP feature. This operation is applied to an accusative object, e.g. in double object constructions. If it is applied, from the 'dative-accusative' order was derived the 'accusative-dative' order.

(ii) In the TP domain, Scrambling-type object movement takes place. This operation is relatively freely applied to noun phrases as well as to prepositional phrases. If it is applied to an object, the object moves up to a higher functional projection across an adverb, yielding the 'object-adverb' order.

(iii) In the CP domain, discourse-driven object movement takes place for the discourse requirement. This operation is applied to an object by discourse markers such as *þa* 'then' and *nu* 'now.' These discourse markers separate the topic domain (the left periphery of the marker) and the focus domain (right-hand side to the discourse marker).

With discourse-driven object movement, it was proposed that there can be two topic domains created in clause structure if the discourse marker appears clause-internally: one is the primary topic domain on the left of a finite verb and the other is the secondary topic domain on the left of the discourse marker. I also demonstrated the viability of the present analysis, by applying it to the floating quantifier construction. In the construction, the associated nominal or pronominal element is raised to the (secondary) topic domain, and the quantifier left behind occupies the focus domain on the right of the discourse marker. This argument is based on Takami's (2001) and Ryu's (2004) analyses of floating quantifiers in Japanese and OE.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1] Within generative grammar, a number of attempts have been made to examine whether the underlying structure is head-initial or head-final or both. This issue has not been addressed in this dissertation because the underlying structure does not matter for the present purposes. For detailed discussion consult van Kemenade (1987), Roberts (1993), and Pintzuk (1999), among others.

[2] The χ^2 test applied shows that the distribution is not statistically significant ($p = 0.87$). Compared with the distribution, the one shown in Table 3.4 is statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level.

[3] The texts he consulted are: *Pastoral Care*, *Orosius*, *Gregory's Dialogues*, *Boethius* and *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Comparing the two word order patterns in each text, we would have the same preference, the 'dative-accusative' order is more frequent.

[4] The incidences are added to the token numbers of each combination.

[5] This section is a revised and expanded version of Yanagi (2008, 2010).

[6] This term *Mittelfeld* is often used in German linguistics. In addition the domain to the left of the sentence bracket, e.g. a finite verb and complementizer, is called the *Vorfeld* 'pre-field' and the domain to the right of the sentence bracket, e.g. an infinitive and a finite verb in a subordinate clause, is called the *Nachfeld* 'post-field.' In terms of generative grammar, the *Vorfeld* corresponds to the Specifier of CP.

[7] See Section 3.2 for the definiteness effect on word order of dative and accusative objects in double object constructions.

[8] Precisely, pronominal Object Shift tends to be obligatory in Scandinavian languages (see Thráinsson (2001: 150)). See Thráinsson (2001) and Vikner (2006) and references therein for extensive discussion on Object Shift and Scrambling.

[9] Subordinate clauses would have the structure in (i).

(i) [$_{CP}$ Topic *þæt* [$_{TP}$ Subject [$_{FP}$ Object F [$_{VP}$ Adverb [$_{VP}$ (Subject) [$_{V'}$ (Object) t_{inf}]]]] VINF]]

A main difference between (26) in the text and (i) is what occupies the C head: the verbal complex in (26) and the complementizer in (i).

As for embedded topicalization shown in (19), the whole structure would involve a CP-recursion. This does not necessarily mean that this thesis follows the cartographic approach.

[10] In the case of pronominal objects we found the adverbs in the *Mittelfeld* in (i), though they also are not exhaustive.

(i) a. adverbs preceding pronominal objects

ða, *þærrihte* 'immediately,' *neadunge* 'forcibly,' *oftost* 'most often,' *sona* 'soon,' *wurðlice* 'worthily'

b. adverbs following pronominal objects

eft 'again,' *mislice* 'diversely,' *næfre* 'never,' *sceortlicei* 'briefly,' *soðlice* 'truly,' *syððan* 'afterwards' (Yanagi (2010: 430, 432))

It might be accidental, but there is no adverb used in both word order patterns.

[11] OE (and it offspring present-day English) is a West Germanic language, whereas Gothic is a North Germanic language, which was already extinct.

[12] In these examples and others taken from Ferraresi, the original sentences from the Greek Bible are left out in this thesis for brevity's sake, although she adds them to the Gothic translations.

[13] No example of this type with *þan* 'then' is provided in Ferraresi (2005).

[14] The first two usages are obviously true of the OE particle *þa/þonne* 'then.'

[15] By adding up the numbers in her Table (a), the total number would be 323, which is different from the number mentioned in the caption. It should be mentioned here that the overwhelming majority of the occurrences of the second position particle occupies the second position and all the instances of the complentizer takes the first position.

[16] Two other particles van Kemenade and Los (2006) cite are the coordinating particle *-uh* as in (i) and the relativizing particle *-ei* as in (ii). The latter particle may be encliticized to the antecedent of the relative clause.

(i) þata rodida Iesu zu-*uh*-hof augona seina du himina
thus spoke Jesus, and-up-lifted eyes his to heaven
'Thus spoke Jesus, and lifted up his eyes to heaven'
(John 17.1, Eythórsson (1995: 121)/van Kemenade and Los (2006: 230))

(ii) þo*ei* ni skulda sind
those-which not permitted are
'those which are not permitted'
(1 Tim 5.13, Eythórsson (1995: 118)/van Kemenade and Los (2006: 230))

[17] This table is based on van Kemenade (2011: 84). She notes that the numbers are lower than those in van Kemenade and Los (2006: 231) because root clause questions, the IP-level of which is also coded as a subclause, are excluded at this time.

[18] The discussion in Section 3.5 is limited to *þa* 'then,' but it might be true of the other particles *nu* 'now' and *eac* 'also.'

[19] Flaoting quantifiers separated from subjects also occupy the focus domain, as in (i).

(i) a. *Hi* ða **begen** þone apostol gesohton: his miltsunge biddende.
they then both the apostle sought his compassion praying

'Then they both sought the apostle, praying for his compassion'

(ÆCHom I 4:214.239)

b. *Hi* feollon ða **butu** mid flowendum tearum to Maures fotum
they fell then both with flowing tears to Maurus' feet
'Then they both fell with flowing tears at Maurus' feet' (ÆLS [Maur] 22)

c. *Hi* eodon þa **begen** on þære bricge togædere,
they went then both on the bridge together
'They then went both on the bridge together' (ÆLS [Exalt_of_Cross] 59)

(Yanagi (2012: 314))

The quantifiers in boldface follow the discourse marker þa 'then,' just as in (54).

[20] A recent more 'minimalistic' version of this rule is proposed as 'cyclic linearization' in Fox and Pesetsky (2005).

CHAPTER 4

FROM DATIVE-MARKED EXPERIENCERS TO PREPOSITIONAL EXPERIENCERS*

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses experiencer constructions observed in Old and Middle English, in particular, constructions with *þyncan* 'seem' and *semen* 'seem.' In Old English (OE), *þyncan* 'seem' could be used with a dative experiencer in sentences. In such sentences subjects, if any, are marked with nominative case, and experiencer nominals are marked with dative case. In early Middle English (ME), *þincen* (or *thinken*) was decreasing in frequency of use, while a new verb, *semen* 'seem' was introduced into English in those days. *Semen* 'seem' was first used with dative-marked experiencers, but later, it began to be used with a prepositional experiencer. In those sentences subjects are marked with nominative case and experiencers are accompanied by the preposition *to*. In what follows the *seem* construction is used as a general term to cover any kind of construction with *þyncan* or *semen* unless otherwise specified.

The corpora used for the current study are the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE; Taylor et al. (2003)), the second edition of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2; Kroch and Taylor (2010)) and William Caxton's texts

included in the Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose (Innsbruck Corpus; Markus: (2008)).[1] In order to collect data from these corpora, I utilized CorpusSearch 2 created by Beth Randall and the grep-featured editor called *mi*, created by Daisuke Kamiyama.[2]

Let us now review a brief history of the experiencer constructions to be considered in this chapter. The first type is the dative-marked experiencer construction available in OE, as illustrated in (1). In the examples and others, the verbs taking Experiencer argument, *þyncan* and *semen*, are in italics and the Experiencer arguments are in boldface.

(1) dative-marked experiencer in OE (*þyncan* 'seem, appear')

a. Þis godspel *ðincð* **dysegum** **mannum** sellic.
this gospel seems foolish men extraordinary
'This gospel will to foolish men seem extraordinary.' (ÆCHom II 271.103)

b. *Þinceð* **him** to lytel þæt he lange heold
seems him too little that he long hold
'It seems to him too little what he rules too long.'
(Beo 1748/*OED* s.v. †*think*, v.[1] B.2.a)

c. ðær **him** foldwegas fægere *þuhton*
there them paths beautiful seemed
'where the paths seemed beautiful to them' (Beo 866/Denison 1993: 221)

The verb *þyncan* 'seem,' phonetically reduced to *thinken*, had still been used in ME, as in (2).[3] Here the Experiencer arguments are marked with dative case. While *þyncan* was available during the early thirteenth century, a new verb *semen* was borrowed from Old Norse (ON). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), the date goes back to around 1200. The example is given in (3).

(2) dative-marked experiencer in ME (*thinken* 'seem')

a. for **hem** *þincheð* þat godes hese heuieliche semeð.
for them seems that God's behests heavily weigh
'for it seemeth to them that God's behests weigh heavily'
(a1225 CMTRINIT,93.1244)

b. Hit *þincheð* **hire** let.
it seems her tedious
'it [the time] seems tedious to her' (a1225 CMTRINIT,183.2524)

(3) ȝ te bitæche icc off þiss boc, Heh wikenn alls itt
and thee entrust I of this book, lofty duty as it
semeþþ, Al to þurrhsekenn illc an ferrs.
seems all to examine each an verse
(a1200 Ormin Ded. 66/*OED*, s.v. *seem*, v.[2] I.1.a)

The *OED* explains that the ON form is *sœma* 'to honor.' The meaning in the early thirteenth century was 'to be suitable to,' 'befit,' and 'beseem.' Later, it acquired the meaning of 'to appear, to seem.' It is probable that the meaning of *seem* in present-day English was affected by the French loan verb *semblen* 'to resemble, seem.'[4] An example from the early thirteenth century is given in (4).

(4) [. . .] þet hit *þuhte* [*v.r.* *semde*] read blod
that it seemed [seemed] red blood
'that it appeared to be red blood' (a1225 *Ancr. R.* 112/*OED*, s.v. *seem*, v.[2] II.3.a)

As indicated in (4), the two verbs with the different origins but the same meaning, *þuhte* and *semde*, vary depending on manuscripts.

Just like *þyncan* 'seem' in (1), *semen* 'seem' started to take dative-marked Experiencer arguments in the late fourteenth century, as illustrated in (5). The earliest instances in (5a), taken from the *OED*, is the one from around 1400.

(5) dative-marked experiencer in ME (*semen* 'seem')

a. Right so the synful man that loueth his synne, **hym** *semeth*,
right so the sinful man that loves his sin him seems
that it is to him moost sweete of any thyng.
that it is to him most sweet of any thing
(c 1386 Chaucer *Pars. T.* ℙ123 / *OED* s.v. *seem*, v.[2] II.8.a)

b. The Emparovr sayde: 'In tymys **me** *semyth* I may well loue þis mane.
The Emparour said in times me seems I may well love this mane
(c1500 CMSIEGE,90.631)

Furthermore, during almost the same period, prepositional Experiencers, accompanied with *to*, were also observed, as in (6).

(6) prepositional experiencer in ME (*semen* 'seem')

a. And hit *semeþ* **to manye men** þat alle þese sectis synnen þus,
and it seems to many men that all these faith sin thus
(c1400 CMWYCSER,294.1213)

b. And righte as it *semethe* **to us**, that thei ben undre us,
and right as it seems to us that they are under us

righte so it *semethe* **hem**, that wee ben undre hem.
right so it seems them that we are under them
(c1400 Mandeville (1839) xvii. 184/*OED* s.v. *seem*, v.[2] II.7.a)

c. This *seimes* **to me** ane guidlie companie.
this seems to me an goodly company
(a1513 Dunbar *Poems* lxxxi. 13/*OED* s.v. *seem* v.[2] II.3.b.)

It is also noted in (6) that the expletive *it* comes to be used in the *seem* construction. A correlation between the use of the expletive and the syntactic position of Experiencer argument will be discussed in Section 4.5.

In order to explain this historical change, I adapt Woolford's (2006) Case distinction, which I will return to in Section 4.6, and propose the following two points:

(i) dative-marked experiencer nominals were licensed lexically by the lexical verb;
(ii) after the distinction between accusative and dative cases became obsolete, experiencer nominals came to be licensed structurally by the preposition *to*.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.2 reviews a syntactic analysis of the *seem* construction proposed in Elmer (1981). In Section 4.3 I show examples of three types of Experiencer construction retrieved from historical corpora: preverbal and postverbal Experiencer constructions and prepositional Experiencer constructions. Section 4.4 discusses Caxton's English for the comparison with a general Middle English. He is well-known as printer, writer and translator. Section 4.5 examines which syntactic positions Experiencer arguments occupy in clause structure and how the difference in grammatical person of Experiencer arguments affects their distribution. Section 4.6 argues historical change of the *seem* construction, adapting and

making use of the tripartite Case theory proposed in Woolford (2006). Section 4.7 concludes this chapter.

4.2. Elmer (1981)

This section briefly reviews Elmer's (1981) analysis of the *seem* construction. His publication is one of the seminal works on a diachronic study of subjectless constructions: not only the *seem* construction but also other typical subjectless constructions such as ones with *rue*, *please/desire*, *behove*, and *happen*.

In particular, about the *seem* constructions reviewed in the previous section, Elmer (1981: 133–135) states that from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, three kinds of *semen* construction were used. The three constructions are exemplified in (7) through (9).[5]

(7) what *semeth* **the** to be the resoun of this so wrongful a confusioun
what seems thee to be the reason of this so wrongful a confusion
(?a1425(c1380) Chaucer *Bo.* 4.pr.5.26-7)

(8) it scholde *seme* **to som folk** that this were a merveile to seien
it should seem to some people that this were a marvel to see
(?a1425(c1380) Chaucer *Bo.* 4.pr.2.188-9)

(9) the wikkide men *semen* to be bareyne
the wicked men seem to be barren
(?a1425(c1380) Chaucer *Bo.* 4.pr.2.169)

What is a difference between (7) and (8) on the one hand and (9) on the other is the presence of the Experiencer argument. A difference between (7) and (8) is that (7) is a construction without

the expletive *it* and (8) is one with the expletive *it*. Elmer names constructions like (7) 'type S' and constructions like (8) '*it* constructions.'[6] In addition sentences like (9) are called 'personal constructions.'

According to him, the OE verb *þyncan* 'seem' is used syntactically only in the type S construction. It is only in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries when the *it*-construction comes to be used with *þyncan*. This is exemplified in (10).

(10) a. And tah hit *þunche* **oþre men** þat ha drehen hearde
and tough it seems other men that he did hard
(?c1200 (c1225) *HMaid* 9.76)

b. Vor hit **him** *þingþ* þet . . .
for it him seems that (1340 *Ayenb* 135.19)

c. Thanne is it wysdom, as it *thynketh* **me** to maken vertu of necessitee
then is it wisdom as it seems me to make virtue of necessity
(c1385 *KnT* 2183)
(Elmer (1981: 133))

From the thirteenth century *semen* 'seem' was borrowed from ON, as stated above. At that time, a generic Experiencer is semantically present, but it is not syntactically expressed, as in (11).

(11) his grisliche teþ *semden* of swart irn
his horrible teeth seemed of black iron
(c1225(?c1200) *St.Marg* 20.24/Elmer (1981: 133))

Later, specified experiencers come into use marked with dative case, as in (12).

(12) **hym** *semeth* the nombre IX so holy . . .
him seems the number 9 so holy
(c1400(?a1425) *Mandev* 164.22/Elmer (1981: 134))

Putting the aforementioned data together, Elmer summarizes the history of the syntactic valency (roughly equivalent to subcategorization) of *semen* and *þinken*, as in the following:

Table 4.1. History of the syntactic valency of *semen* and *þynken*

	12c.	13c.	14c.	15c.	16c.	17c.	18c.	19c.
semen		– –	●○□	●○□	●○□	●○□	●○□	●○□
thinken	●□	●○□	●○□	●□	●□	●□	●□	●□

(•: Type S; ○: *it*-construction; □: personal construction) (adapted from Elmer (1981: 134))

As can be seen from Table 4.1, *semen* 'seem' was used in the three ways from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century. *Thinken*, by contrast, lost one of the three way patterns, the *it*-construction, in the fifteenth century onwards.

He further suggests that constructions of type S had been productive after the sixteenth century onwards, and that 'the close association of first person experiencer with this syntactic form [i.e. type S in (7)] ensures that *methinks* (often indeed conceived of as one form) remains the indigenous rendering of OE *me þynceþ* ['methinks']' (Elmer (1981: 133)). On the other hand, second and third person Experiencers were preferably used in the *it* construction as in (8) (cf. Elmer (1981: 134–135)). Here are additional examples provided.

(13) "Certes **me** *semeth*," quod I, "that Y see hem ryght as thoughe
certainly me seems said I that you see them right as though
it were thurw a litil clyfte, but me were levere knowen hem more
it were through a little cleft but me were dear known them more
opynly of the."
openly of thee (?a1425(c1380) Chaucer *Bo.* 3.pr.9.12-5)

(14) that if it ne *seme* nat **to men** that some thingis han certeyn
that if it NEG seem not to men that some things have certain
and necessarie bytydynges
and necessary occurrences (?a1425(c1380) Chaucer *Bo.* 5.pr.5.81-3)

In (13), which is a type S construction, the first person Experiencer argument *me* 'me' is used at the preverbal position of *semeth* 'seems.' In contrast, the third person Experiencer argument *to men* 'to men' appears postverbally in (14), which is an *it* construction. The contrast in position of Experiencer argument by grammatical person, like the one between (13) and (14) will be discussed in more detail on the basis of data retrieved from the corpora in Section 4.5.

4.3. Dative-Marked and Prepositional Experiencer Constructions

4.3.1. Dative-Marked Preverbal Experiencers

This section and the following two sections provide a number of data collected from the YCOE and the PPCME2 to reinforce and supplement Elmer's (1981) analysis. Let us begin with OE examples. In the YCOE, I found about 200 instances of dative experiencer constructions with *þyncan*, like the ones in (1). Dative-marked Experiencer arguments, whether they were

nominal or pronominal, could occupy either the preverbal or postverbal position in OE. Among all the examples, 150 indicate that dative-marked Experiencers were used preverbally. Some examples are given in (15) through (19).

(15) **Sumum menn** wile *þincan* syllic þis to gehyrenne, forþan þe
some men will seem strange this to hear because
ylpas ne comon næfre on Engla lande.
elephants NEG came never on England
'To some men it will seem strange to hear this, because elephants have never come to England.' (ÆLS (Maccabees) 564)

In (15) the Experiencer argument *sumum menn* 'some men' occupies the clause-initial position in the main clause. In (16) below the Experiencer pronoun *him* 'him' appears immediately after the complex complementizer *þeah þe* 'though,' and it occupies the clause-initial position in the subordinate clause.

(16) ac bið open sott þeah þe **him** swa ne *ðince*.
but is open sot though him so NEG seem
'but such an one is an open sot, though it seem not so to himself'
(ÆLS (Pr Moses) 132)

An Experiencer argument can appear immediately after a nominative subject, as in (17). Here the Experiencer pronoun *eow* 'you' follows the nominative subject in the subordinate clause headed by *þy læs þe* 'lest.'

(17) Nelle we ðas race na leng teon. þy læs þe hit
not-will we this narrative NEG longer extend lest it
eow æþryt *ðince*:
you tedious seem
'We will not longer extend this narrative, lest it may seem tedious to you'

(ÆCHom I 223.183)

In main clauses, likewise, an Experiencer argument can occur between a topic element and a finite verb. Example (18) involves the dative noun phrase *ælcum ænlipium men* 'each individual man' occurring between the topic *on ðam micclum dome* 'on the great doom' and the finite verb *ðincð* 'seems.' Examples (19) are pronominal counterparts to (18): the dative Experiencer pronouns *me* 'me' in (19a) and *us* 'us' in (19b) are used.

(18) Soðlice on ðam micclum dome. **ælcum ænlipium men** *ðincð* to lytel
verily on the great doom each individual man seems too little
his agen ingehyd him to gewitnysse. þeah ðe he ne
his own understanding him to witness though he NEG
sceole oðrum to gewitnysse beon;
should others to witness be
'Verily, at the great doom, to each individual man his own understanding will seem to him too little for a witness, though he should not be as a witness to others.'

(ÆCHom II 332.150)

(19) a. Ða cwæð se ealdorman; Wundor **me** *ðincð* eower ðingræden
then said the general wonder me seems your intercession
'Then said the general, "Your intercession seems to me a wonder"'

(ÆCHom II 281.49)

b. Nu **us** *ðincð* swiðe teart wite þæt an ure fingra on fyr becume.
now us seems very severe torment that an our figures on fire comes
'Now it seems to us a very severe torment if one of our fingers comes into the fire'
(ÆCHom II 343.272)

As have been reviewed, preverbal Experiencer arguments can occur at various positions to the left of the finite verb in main and subordinate clauses. In the following section postverbal Experiencer constructions are provided.

4.3.2. Dative-Marked Postverbal Experiencers

In contrast to the preverbal Experiencer construction, the postverbal Experiencer construction was found 52 times. Some examples are given in (20) through (22). As shown in these examples, when the Experiencer is used postverbally, it tends to immediately follow the main verb.

(20) Þonne *ðincð* **þam** **arleasum** swylce hi æfre motan libban
then seems the wicked such they ever might live
'For it seemeth to the wicked, as if they might live for ever' (ÆLS (Pr Moses) 300)

In (20) the Experiencer phrase *þam arleasum* 'the wicked' immediately follows the finite verb *ðincð* 'seems' and precedes the embedded clause.

Examples (21) are adjectival constructions. The adjectival predicates are preceded by the Experiencer noun *ungelæredum mannum* 'unlearned men' or *eow* 'you.'

(21) a. Hit *þincð* **ungelæredum mannum** dyslic to gehyrenne:
it seems unlearned men foolish to hear
'To unlearned men it seems foolish to hear' (ÆCHom I 226.84)

b. Mine gebroðra ne *ðince* **eow** to hefigtyme. þæt ge ðas
my brother NEG seem you too tedious that you this
godspellican lare gehyron;
evangelical lore heard
'My brothers, let it not seem too tedious to you that ye have heard this evangelical lore.' (ÆCHom II 234.138)

In (22), too, the adjectival predicates are contained: *sellic* 'extraordinary' and *to menigfeald* 'too complex.' What differentiates (22) from (21) is the presence of the lexical nominative subjects in (22). These lexical subjects may be considered to move out of the small clauses headed by the adjectival predicates.

(22) a. Þis godspel *ðincð* **dysegum mannum** sellic.
this gospel seems foolish men extraordinary
'This gospel will to foolish men seem extraordinary.' (ÆCHom II 271.103)

b. Gif we deoplicor ymbe ðis sprecað. þonne wene we þæt
if we more deeply about this speak then ween we that
hit wile *ðincan* **ðam** **ungelæredum** to menigfeald;
it will seem the unlearned too complex
'If we speak more deeply concerning this, then ween we that to the unlearned it will appear too complex.' (ÆCHom II 339.131)

Compared with the distribution of preverbal Experiencers, that of postverbal Experiencers is not so diverse. They are likely to just follow main verbs, and unlikely to be separated from the main verbs toward the end of the clause.

4.3.3. Prepositional Experiencers

The last type of Experiencer construction is the one where the Experiencer is accompanied with the preposition *to*. The examples in (23) through (25) are taken from the PPCME2. It is important here that the use of the preposition *to* in the *seem* construction started in ME

(23) for certes, somthyng that somtyme *semeth* **to yow** that it is good
for certainly something that sometime seems to you that it is good
for to do, another tyme it *semeth* **to yow** the contrarie.
for to do another time it seems to you the contrary
(CMCTMELI,222.C2.208)

(24) This lange pynnynge *semede* **to me** as he hadde bene a seuen
this large pinning seemed to me as he had been a seven
nyght dede, allewaye sufferande payne.
night deed always suffering pain (CMJULNOR,53.113)

In (23) and (24) the prepositional Experiencers are placed immediately before the embedded clauses. Examples (25) also contain the embedded clauses, and the prepositional Experiencers are between the main verbs and the embedded clauses. The difference between (23)/(24) and

(25) is that in (25) the expletive *hit* or *it* 'it' is used referring the *that*-clauses at the end of the clauses.

(25) a. And hit *semeþ* **to manye men** þat alle þese sectis synnen þus,
and it seems to many men that all these faith sin thus
(c1400 CMWYCSER,294.1213)

b. Of þe þou3tes of his herte, to refreyne hem, he was so busy
of the thoughts of his heart to refrain them he was so busy
and so curious þat it wolde haue *semed* **to manye** þat
and so curious that it would have seemed to many that
he hadde ipassed mesure.
he had passed measure (CMAELR3,32.164)

This section overviews syntactic positions of the three types of Experiencer arguments. Their distributions will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.5.

4.4. English of William Caxton[7]

This section provides some more examples of *seem* constructions attributed to a single ME author, William Caxton, for comparison with the general tendency in ME obtained from the PPCME2, as already shown in the previous sections. William Caxton is the first English printer and his influence on English is well-known as described in (26).

(26) [William Caxton] used the current speech of London in his numerous translations, and the books that issued from his press and from the presses of his successors gave a

currency to London English that assured more than anything else its rapid adoption.

(Baugh and Cable (1993: 195))

In the investigation of the Caxton's works included in the Innsbruck Corpus, there are 225 *seem* constructions found. Among them, 131 instances contain any form of the Experiencer argument. Since this chapter focuses on the syntactic properties of Experiencer arguments and their transition in the history of English, the 94 occurrences without dative-marked or prepositional Experiencer arguments were excluded from the following discussion.[8]

Among the 131 tokens, there are 96 instances where an Experiencer argument appears at the preverbal position of the verb *seem*. Some examples are provided below, type by type. Sentences like (27) below were found 54 times, and account for the majority of the data retrieved.

(27) Syr, **me** *semeth* that ye ought not to angre your selfe so sore
sir me seemth that you ought not to anger yourself so sore
(CAXTAYM1 17/32-3)[9]

In this sentence the verb *semeth* 'seemth' takes a *that*-clause as its complement. Example (28) below is similar to (27) in that they both take finite clauses as their complements. In (28), however, the conjunction *that* is omitted. There were 11 instances of this type in the corpus.

(28) but **me** *semeth* ye seke none other but your deth
but me seems you seek no other but your death
(CAXTAYM2 412/18-9)

In translating (27) and (28) into PE, regardless of the presence of the conjunction, the expletive *it* is obligatorily required to be used. In the corpus consulted, however, such examples were found only once. (29) is a solitary instance.

(29) thenne **me** *semeth* it requisite & necessarye that I sette in
then me seems it requisite and necessary that I set in
folowing the said book
following the said book (CAXTPRO1 45/10-1)

In (29) the expletive *it* 'it' is used immediately after the finite verb *semeth* 'seems.' While the expletive and the finite verb are inverted, the Experiencer argument *me* 'me' occupies the preverbal position.

As well as the finite clause complements in (27)–(29), non-finite clause complements were found in the *seem* construction, as illustrated in (30). It is one of the three instances found in the corpus.

(30) and scornfully she saide that **hym** *semed* beter to be a mynstrell
and scornfully she said that him seemed better to be a minstrel
thanne a kinge
than a king (CAXTKNI 98/7-8)

So far we have *semen* constructions with verbal complements. Below are examples of non-verbal complements. (31) contains a nominal predicate and (32) contains an adjectival predicate. It should be noted in (32) that the prepositional Experiencer is followed by the finite verb. This is a rare case.

(31) And **hym** *semed* the most fayre and most riche cyte that
and him seemed the most fair and most rich city that
euer he sawe
ever he saw (CAXTBLAN 45/16-7)

(32) to lyue after the manere of theyr countre, whiche **to hym** *semed*
to live after the manner of their country which to him seemed
more honest and aggreable than his owne
more honest and agreeable than his own (CAXTENEY 33/9-11)

The last type of preverbal Experiencer construction is (33), which involves an expression (*as*) *me semeth* '(as) it seems to me.'

(33) and as **me** *semeth*, ye oughte well to helpe & defende me
and as me seems you ought well to help and defend me
ayenst all men
against all men (CAXTAYM1 76/12-3)

Let us next review postverbal Experiencer constructions. Examples (34) contains the expletive *it* 'it' and its referring *that*-clause, which is preceded by the Experiencer pronoun *theym* 'them,' and example (35) contains the expletive *it* 'it' and its referring infinitival clause, which is preceded by the Experiencer pronoun *hym* 'him.'

(34) for it *semed* **theym** that they were assured from their enmyes
for it seemed them that they were assured from their enemies

(CAXTAYM1 149/18-9)

(35) it *semed* **hym** for the beste to calle thre of hys knyghtes
it seemed him for the best to call three of his knights

(CAXTENEY 65/10-1)

Unlike (34) and (35), examples (36) and (37) contain the nominative subjects, and the prepositional Experiencers are used instead of the bare pronouns.

(36) Sith that this counseyll *semeth* **to you** goode, we shall doo it to nyghte
since that this counsel seems to you good we shall do it tonight

(CAXTAYM1 119/2-3)

(37) For there is many oon *semyth* **to vs** right good and yet ayenst
for there is many one seems to us right good and yet against
God happely ar right nought
God happily before right naught (CAXTQUAT 52/8-10)

Now we pick up the prepositional Experiencer construction in Caxton's works. The prepositional Experiencer, unlike the nominal Experiencer, follows a main verb, as shown in (38) through (41). This positioning seems to be obligatory, though there is only one exception. It is already shown in (32).

(38) that it *semed* **to Reynawde** that he was more ioyouse & more mery
that it seemed to Reynard that he was more joyous and more merry
than he had be of all the daye
than he had been of all the day (CAXTAYM1 109/6-8)

(39) hit *semith* **to som men** that ye tweyne haue merueil
it seems to some men that you two have wonderful
of a thyng lyght
of a thing light (CAXTULLE 4/14-5)

(40) whiche *semyth* **to som men** to be light and commune
which seems to some men to be light and common
(CAXTULLE 65/1-2)

(41) and of his vois resowned a melodie so swete that it *semed*
and of his voice resound a melody so sweet that it seemed
to alle them that herde it that it had ben the vois of an angel.
to all them that heard it that it had been the voice of an angel
(CAXTDOC 128/22-3)[10]

To sum up the distribution of Experiencer arguments in Caxton's works, we obtain the following table:

Table 4.2. Distribution of Experiencer argument in Caxton's works

Experiencer	position	preverbal	postverbal		total
	category	(pro)noun	(pro)noun	prepositional	
Caxton's works		96 (73.3%)	20 (15.3%)	15 (11.5%)	131 (100.0%)

(adapted from Yanagi (2013: 8))

4.5. Distribution of Experiencer Argument

This section summarizes the syntactic positions of Experiencer arguments considered in Section 4.3, and clarifies the overall picture of the distribution. The distribution of Experiencers in Caxton's works has been summarized in Table 4.2 in the previous section. Putting the data in Section 4.2 and the results in Yanagi (2013: 8) together, we would obtain Table 4.3 for the distribution of Experiencers in OE and ME.

Table 4.3. Distribution of Experiencer argument in YCOE and PPCME2[11]

Experiencer	position	preverbal	postverbal		total
	category	(pro)noun	(pro)noun	prepositional	
OE		150 (74.3%)	52 (25.7%)	---	202 (100%)
m23		0 (0%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
m3, m34		10 (32%)	7 (23%)	14 (45%)	31 (100%)
m4		12 (71%)	3 (18%)	2 (12%)	17 (100%)

Compiling all the data of the distribution of Experiencers, the graph would be plotted as in Figure 4.1 below.

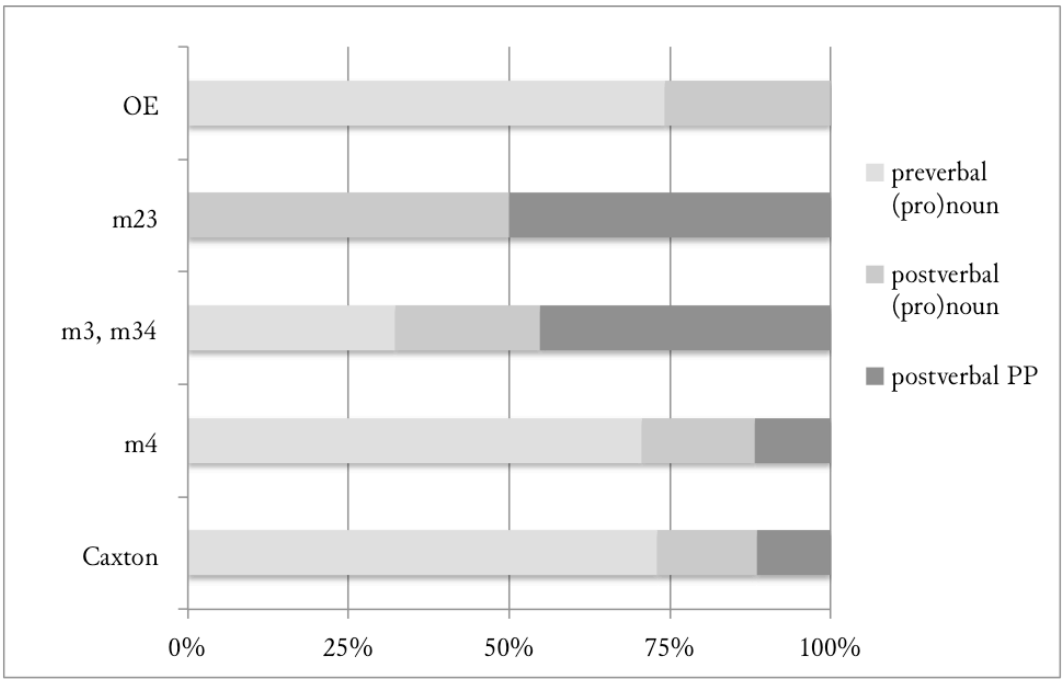


Figure 4.1. Distribution of Experiencer argument in OE and ME

As is clear in Table 4.3, Experiencer elements in OE predominantly occupy the preverbal position, but they shift to occupy the postverbal position in the periods M2 and M3 (1250–1420), and in M4 (1420–1500) they come back to the situation similar to that of OE. It should be noted here that the verbs considered are different between OE and ME. Since Caxton's works were published in around 1485, they fall under the M4 period (1420–1500). Yanagi (2013) argues that Caxton's use of Experiencers is reflected by the general tendency during that period, rather than a single author.

Recall that among the 202 examples with *þyncan* 'seem,' 150 are preverbal and 52 are postverbal in OE. 75.3% of the tokens contain pronouns in preverbal Experiencer constructions. The tendency of Experiencers to preverbally appear may probably be attributed to the 'clitic' property of pronouns in OE. This type of cliticization is called 'long-distance' cliticization in this thesis (see note 17 of Chapter 2).

Moreover, Elmer (1981: 135) argues that the first person Experiencer tends to occur preverbally while the second and third person Experiencer is likely to occupy the postverbal position in *it*-construction. The classification of the data into first person and second/third person is summarized in Table 4.4, which is taken from Yanagi (2013: 11).

Table 4.4. Syntactic position of Experiencer according to period and person (PPCME2)

Experiencer	position	preverbal	postverbal		total
	category	(pro)noun	(pro)noun	prepositional	
m23		0 / 0	0 / 1	0 / 1	0 / 2
m3, m34		6 / 4	2 / 5	4 / 10	12 / 19
m4		4 / 8	1 / 2	0 / 2	5 / 12
m2–m4		10 / 12	3 / 8	4 / 13	17 / 33
total		22	11	17	50

(1st person/2nd and 3rd person) (Yanagi (2013: 11))

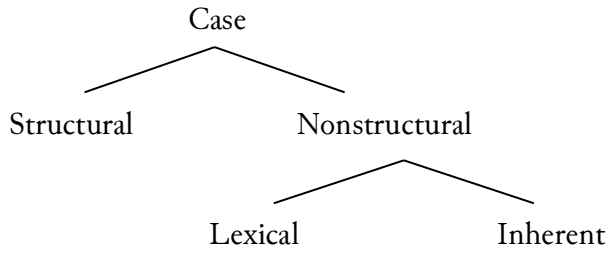
In each cell the left-hand number is of the first person Experiencer, and the right-hand number of the second and third person Experiencers. As can be seen from Table 4.4, the tendency observed in Elmer was also found in the PPCME2. The overall data collected from the PPCME2 show that 10 out of 17 instances of the first person Experiencer were used preverbally (58.8%) and that 21 out of 33 of the second and third person Experiencers were used postverbally, whether they were dative-marked or prepositional (63.6%).

4.6. Theoretical Discussion

4.6.1. Three Types of Case (Woolford (2006))

In the generative framework, two cases are generally assumed: structural Case and inherent Case. This thesis, however, follows the tripartite Case distinction proposed in Woolford (2006). She divided nonstructural case (her term for 'inherent' Case) further into lexical Case and inherent Case.

(42)



(Woolford (2006: 111))

Lexical and inherent Cases are grouped in the same category in that they are both Cases related with θ-roles, unlike structural Case. They are also different from structural Case under standard diagnostics, such as Case preservation under A-movement. However, there are two differences between the two types of nonstructural Case. One is predictability, and the other the θ-positions each Case is associated with (Woolford (2006: 112)).

Lexical Case is truly idiosyncratic and unpredictable. It is lexically selected by an individual verb. One such example is the dative selected by the verb *hvolfa* 'capsize' in Icelandic, as in (43).

(43) Bátnum hvolfdi
boat-the-DAT capsized
'The boat capsized.' (Levin and Simpson (1981: (1b))/Woolford (2006: 112))

On the other hand, inherent Case is much more regular and predictable. It is inherently associated with θ-marking. A typical example is the dative assigned to the Goal argument of the ditransitive verb in Icelandic, as in (44).

(44) Þeir gáfu konunginum ambáttina.
they-NOM gave king-the-DAT slave-girl-the-ACC
'They gave the king the slave-girl.' (Maling (2002: (44a))/Woolford (2006: 112))

As Woolford (2006:112) states, the datives in (43) and (44)—idiosyntactic dative and predictable dative—are not the same kind of Case licensed in the same way.

The other difference between the two nonstructural Cases is related to the θ-position with which each Case is associated. Lexical and inherent Cases may be in complementary distribution.

(45) Complementary distribution of lexical and inherent Case
Lexical Case may occur on themes/internal arguments, but not on external arguments, or on (shifted) DP goal arguments.
Inherent Case may occur on external arguments and on (shifted) DP goal arguments, but not on themes/internal arguments. (Woolford (2006: 113))

She further proposes that lexical Case is licensed by lexical heads, while inherent Case is licensed by semi-functional head, light *v*.

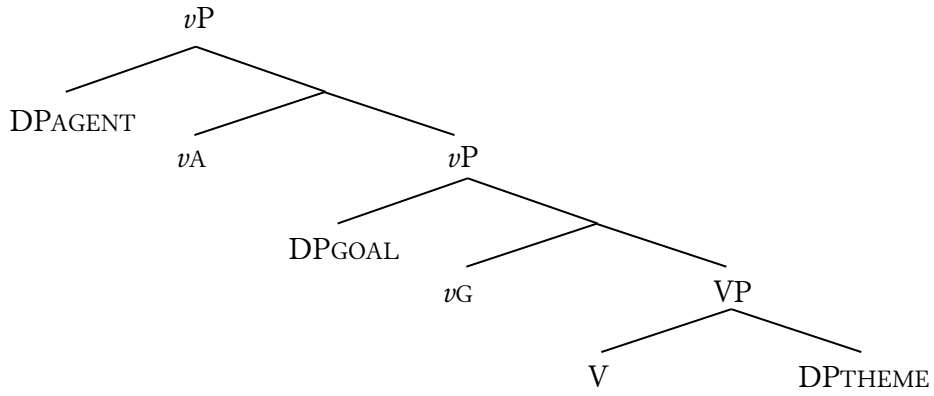
(46) Nonstructural Case licensing

a. Lexical Case is licensed only by lexical heads (e.g., V, P).

b. Inherent Case is licensed only by little/light *v* heads. (Woolford (2006: 117))

As for the VP structure, I follow Ura (2000) and Woolford (2006) and assume, with some slight modifications, the three-layered structure, as illustrated in (47).

(47)



Here, *v*A and *v*G are both little/light *v*'s that assign Agent and Goal to arguments in the Specifier, respectively. V assigns Theme to its Complement.

Let us take the examples in (48) for explaining the tripartite Case assignment system.

(48) a. Ég skilaði henni peningunum.
I returned her-DAT the money-DAT

b. Ég skilaði peningunum til hennar.
I returned the money-DAT to her-GEN

(Zaenen, Maling, and Thráinsson (1985: (42a), (43a))/Woolford (2006: 114))

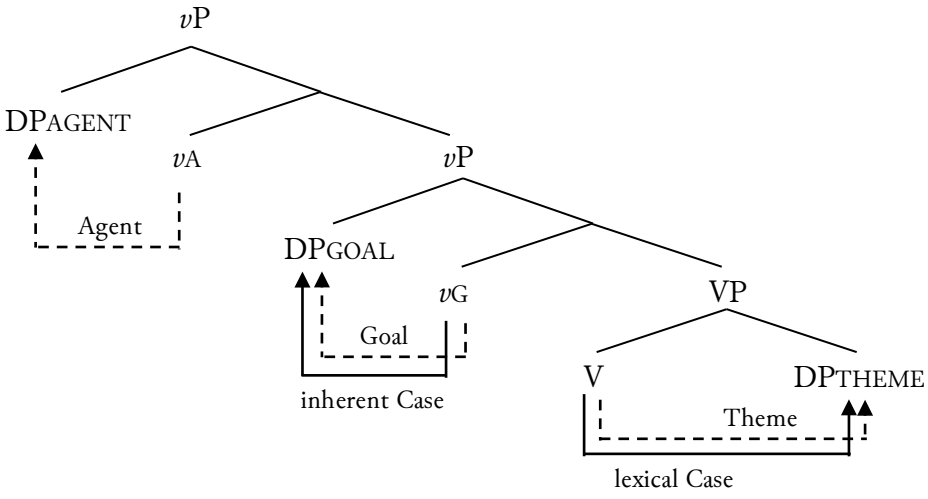
In (48a) the Theme argument *peningunum* 'the money' is idiosyncratically selected and licensed by the verb *skilaði* 'returned' and assigned lexical dative Case (see Woolford (2006: 114n2)). At

the next step, the VP consisting of the verb *skilaði* 'returned' and *peningunum* 'the money' is merged with the little/light *v*G. This little/light verb selects the Goal argument *henni* 'her' in the Specifier position and assigns inherent dative Case and the Goal *θ*-role simultaneously. In the course of building the VP structure, the lower *v*P is merged with the little/light *v*A and *v*A selects the Agent argument, *ég* 'I.' This Agent argument cannot be assigned any Case within the *v*P, and then it is assigned structural nominative Case by the finite T as the derivation proceeds.

Example (48b) may be derived in the same way as that of (48a), except that the Goal argument inside the PP is not realized in dative, but in genitive. This is because this particular preposition *til* 'to' governs the specific case, *genitive* in this case, to assign to its object. Thus, the genitive element *hennar* 'her' is not licensed by the verb *skilaði* 'returned,' as in (48a), but by the preposition *til* 'to.'

It should be noted here that nonstructural Case is licensed at a level prior to structural Case licensing, as mentioned in Woolford (2006: 116), and that between the nonstructural Cases, lexical Case is licensed before inherent Case is licensed. Given the VP structure in (47), Case assignment takes place in the bottom-up way. This is described in (49).

(49)



Here, the solid line arrows indicate Case assignment and the broken line arrows indicate θ-role assignment. Nonstructural Case assignment is closely associated with θ-role assignment, while structural Case assignment happens independently of θ-role assignment.

Moreover, Woolford argues that although dative Case is closely related to Goal arguments, it is neither the only Case assigned to Goal nor the Case assigned only to Goal. As seen above, prepositional Goal arguments in Icelandic are marked not with dative Case, but with genitive Case. The relevant example is repeated here as (50).

(50) Ég skilaði peningunum til hennar.
I returned the money-DAT to her-GEN
(Zaenen, Maling, and Thráinsson (1985: (43a))/Woolford (2006: 123))

Besides, in Basque and Icelandic, arguments with other thematic roles than Goal can be marked with dative Case. The thematic roles include Benefactive, Experiencer, and (lexically dative-marked) Theme. Examples (51) and (52) are of Basque and Icelandic, respectively.[12]

(51) Ni-ri zure oinetako-a-k-ø gustatzen zaizkit.
I-DAT your shoes-DET-NOM like AUX
'I like your shoes.' (Austin and López (1995: 12)/Woolford (2006: 123))

(52) Þeir skiluðu Maríu bókinni
they returned Mary-DAT the book-DAT
'They returned the book to Mary.' (Jónsson (1996: 137)/Woolford (2006: 123))

In (51) the dative Case is assigned to the Experiencer argument *ni-ri* 'I-DAT' and it is assigned to the Theme *bókinni* 'the book' in (52).[13]

4.6.2. Case Licensing of Experiencer Argument

In the previous section I have reviewed Woolford's three-part Case theory and shown that dative Case is divided into inherent dative and lexical dative Case. This section applies her Case theory to Experiencer constructions in the history of English, provided in Sections 4.4 and 4.5. As shown there, Experiencer arguments are marked with dative Case in earlier examples of the construction under consideration. It is obvious that in early English dative Case is a nonstructural Case, but it is not clear whether it is a lexical or inherent Case. This thesis proposes that the dative Case in Experiencer constructions of Old and Middle English is a lexical Case.

Recall the complementary distribution of lexical and inherent Case in Woolford (2006: 113), given below again. It states that lexical Case may occur on internal arguments and inherent Case may occur on external arguments.

(53) Complementary distribution of lexical and inherent Case

Lexical Case may occur on themes/internal arguments, but not on external arguments, or on (shifted) DP goal arguments.

Inherent Case may occur on external arguments and on (shifted) DP goal arguments, but not on themes/internal arguments. (Woolford (2006: 113))

There is one diagnosis to distinguish two types of verb: one has an internal argument and the other has an external argument. It is 'perfect auxiliary selection.' It is well-known that in Old English unaccusative verbs selected *beon/wesan* 'be' as a perfect auxiliary, as in (54), whereas transitive and unergative verbs selected *habban* 'have,' as in (55). The former type of verb only

has an internal argument as subject, and the latter type an external argument. Here are examples representing perfect auxiliary selection.

(54) a. oþþæt wintra bið | þusend urnen
until winters is thousand run
'until a thousand years have passed' (Phoen 363/Denison (1993: 359))

b. On þæm swicdome wearþ Numantia duguð gefeallen.
in that treachery became Numantines' nobility fallen
'By that treachery the flower of the Numantines died.'
(Or 117.11/Denison (1993: 344))

(55) a. Ic hæbbe gebunden ðone feond þe hi drehte
I have bound the enemy who they vexed
'I have bound the enemy who they vexed.'
(ÆCHom I 458.18/Mitchell (1985:§712))

b. Hraðe heo æþelinga anne hæfde | fæste befangen
quickly she nobles one had fast seized
'Quickly she grasped firmly one of the nobles.' (Beo 1294/Denison (1993: 347))

In (54) *beon* 'be' and *weorþan* 'become' are used as perfect auxiliaries, and the past participles *urnen* 'run' and *gefeallen* 'fallen' are unaccusative verbs which take internal arguments only. In (55), on the other hand, *habban* 'have' is used as a perfect auxiliary, and the past participles *drehte* 'vexed' and *befangen* 'seized' are transitive verbs taking both an internal and an external argument.

With the above fact in mind, let us consider which perfect auxiliary the verb *þyncan* 'seem' takes. An example is shown in (56).

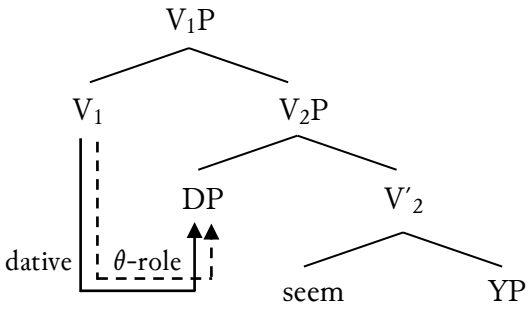
(56) and me is nu geþuht þæt Godes arfæstnyss þone gylt aclænsige,
and me is now seemed that God's justice the guilt cleanse
'and now me thinketh that God's justice may cleanse my guilt'

(ÆLS (Æthelthryth) 57)

As can be seen in (56), the verb *geþuht* 'seem' takes *is* 'is' as an auxiliary, just like the unaccusative verbs in (54). If the analysis here is on the right track, dative-marked arguments like *me* 'me' in (56) are internal arguments, and therefore, they can be classified into lexical Case, not inherent Case (cf (53)).

Given the above discussion, we propose the following VP-shell structure for *seem*-type verbs:[14]

(57)



(cf. Chomsky (1995: 305))

In (57) YP indicates a small clause or a finite clause. The Experiencer argument of *þyncan* or *seem*, the DP in the structure, is merged with the V projection to form V_2P. Then V_1 is merged with V_2P to form V_1P. After V_1P has been built, the lexical head V_1 assigns θ-role to the Experiencer argument, the DP in (57), in the Specifier position of the lower VP.

This process will be explained taking (1a) as an example, repeated here as (58). The VP-shell structure after merging V_1 and V_2P is (59). In this configuration, the lexical head V_1 assigns the Experiencer *θ*-role to the argument of *ðincð* 'seems': *dysegum mannum* 'foolish men.' Simultaneously, lexical dative Case is also assigned to the Experiencer argument to license this argument.

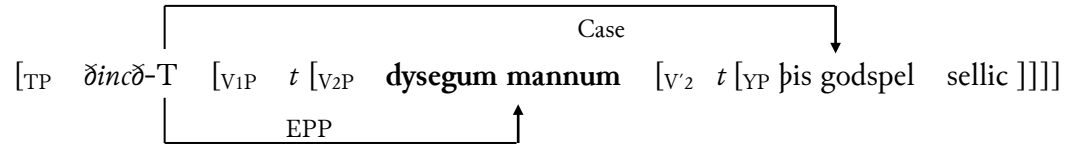
(58) Þis godspel *ðincð* **dysegum mannum** sellic.
this gospel seems foolish men extraordinary
'This gospel will to foolish men seem extraordinary.' (ÆCHom II 271.103)

(59) [$_{V1P}$ V_1 [$_{V2P}$ **dysegum mannum** [$_{V'2}$ *ðincð* [$_{YP}$ þis godspel sellic]]]]
θ-role/dative

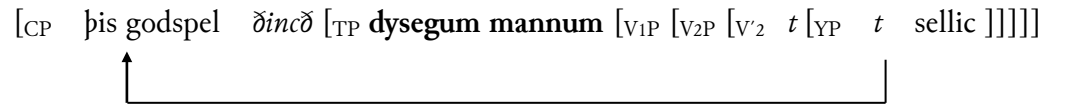
The derivation further proceeds. T merges with V_1P and the finite verb *ðincð* 'seems' moves up to T. After that, T searches to a DP for Agree. The closest candidate for the goal is the Experiencer argument *dysegum mannum* 'foolish men.' It, however, has been already assigned Case lexically by V_1. Therefore, the DP will be ignored and T further searches lower in clause structure. In (58) the next candidate for the goal is the subject of small clause, *þis godspel* 'this gospel.' This element is assigned nominative Case structurally by T.

On the other hand, T has the EPP feature, which attracts the closest nominal element. The candidate is the dative-marked DP *dysegum mannum* 'foolish men.' There is no intervening element between T and this DP, so this Experiencer argument will move into the Specifier of TP to satisfy the EPP. This is illustrated in (60).

(60)



Furthermore, OE is a Verb Second language. The finite verb moves up to C and its Specifier position will be occupied by a topic element. In (58) the topic would be *þis godspel* 'this gospel,' the subject of the small clause. Each lexical item moves to its own expected location. We now have the structure of (61) with some parts omitted.

(61) 

Then, what happened when the case distinction between dative and accusative became obsolete? I assume that *seem* (or *thyncan*) has the same VP-shell structure in the history of English, but the function of lexical heads may be different. Let us consider the skeletal structure of (62).

(62) 

In late ME, V_1 still has the ability to assign a θ-role to the argument in the Specifier of the lower V_2P. Unlike V_1 in OE, however, the ME V_1 cannot assign lexical dative Case to the Experiencer. This is simply because dative Case fails to be manifested on the nominal element.

In accordance with the Case Filter, every argument NP must be assigned Case for its licensing. If the Experiencer in (62) is not assigned any Case, the derivation will crash for the reason of Case Filter, resulting in the ungrammatical sentence. In order o save this situation, then, the preposition is introduced to assign Case structurally to the Experiencer argument.

(63) $[_{V1P}$ V_1 $[_{V2P}$ Experiencer $[_{V'2}$ seem $[_{YP}$]]]]

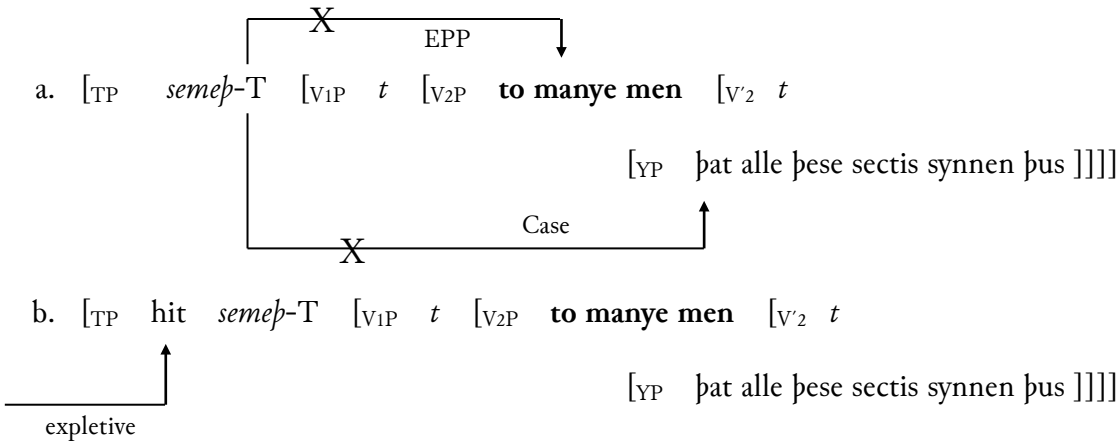
preposition

Now consider the proceeding derivation with example (6a), repeated here as (64). T merges with V_1P and T attracts the closest nominal element, but there is no such element available in the structure. Unlike (60), the Experiencer in (64) below is a prepositional, not nominal, element. Likewise, there is no lexical item to be assigned nominative Case by T. In order to satisfy these two requirements, the expletive *hit* is inserted into the Specifier of TP.

(64) And hit *semeþ* **to** **manye men** þat alle þese sectis synnen þus,
and it seems to many men that all these faith sin thus
(c1400 CMWYCSER,294.1213)

This derivation is illustrated in (65).

(65)



According to Fischer et al. (2000), finite verbs ceased to move up to C around 1400. Example (64) is of circa 1400, and then the finite verb *semeþ* 'seems' cannot move forward, say to C, and no topic element is raised above the TP.

In addition to the introduction of the preposition *to*, there is another mechanism available to Case-license Experiencer argument after nonstructural Case became obsolete: Incorporation. Let us elucidate the mechanism by taking examples (66) and (67).

(66) Syr, **me** *semeth* that ye ought not to angre your selfe so sore
sir me seems that you ought not to anger yourself so sore
(CAXTAYM1 17/32-3)

(67) and scornfully she saide that **hym** *semed* beter to be a mynstrell
and scornfully she said that him seemed better to be a minstrel
thanne a kinge
than a king (CAXTKNI 98/7-8)

These examples are cited from Caxton's works. As already discussed in Section 4.4, Caxton uses both dative-marked and prepositional Experiencer arguments in the *seem* construction. It should be noted here that the pronominal arguments, *me* 'me' and *hym* 'him,' occupy the preverbal position, unlike prepositional Experiencer arguments, as in (68), which are likely to occur postverbally. Here the pronoun *you* 'you' is assigned Case structurally by the preposition *to* 'to,' just as discussed above.

(68) Sith that this counseyll *semeth* **to you** goode, we shall doo it to nyghte
since that this counsel seems to you good we shall do it tonight
(CAXTAYM1 119/2-3)

During the Caxton's period, *seem*-type verbs were getting lost their Case-assigning ability, and the preposition instead came to be used in the construction. Since there is no Case assigner in examples (66) and (67), these sentences would be expected to be ungrammatical as a violation of any version of Case Filter as in (69). However, they are not.

(69) Case Filter
*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case. (Chomsky (1981[1993]: 49))

One way to avoid such a violation is to incorporate the pronoun into the verb. Baker (1988) argues that the Case Filter is satisfied by Incorporation. Consider the examples of Southern Tiwa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language spoken in Southwest of the United States, in (70).

(70) a. Ta-**'u'u**-wia-ban hliawra-de.
1s:A/A-**baby**-give-PAST woman-SUF

'I gave the woman the child.'

b. *Ta-wia-ban hliawra-de 'u'u-de.
1s:A/A-give-PAST woman-SUF baby-SUF
'I gave the woman the child.' (Baker (1988: 194))

As implied in (70b), three-place verbs cannot take two objects, the Goal, *hliawra-de* 'woman,' and the Theme, *'u'u-de* 'baby.' According to Baker (1988), when the Goal appears as a direct object in the sentence with a triadic verb, incorporation of the Theme is obligatory. In order to escape the Case Filter, the Theme must incorporate into the verb, as in (70a).

In the same way, the pronouns must incorporate into the verb in (66) and (67) so that the Case Filter may be satisfied. Interestingly enough, the corpus study shows that while pronominal Experiencers tend to precede the verb, prepositional Experiencers tend to follow the verb (see Section 4.5). This contrast may be explained in the terms of the Case Filter. Since prepositional Experiencers are assigned Case within their own projection, they do not have to incorporate into the verb; however, Incorporation must take place with pronominal Experiencers to meet the Case Filter.

There is one syntactic phenomenon to support this Incorporation analysis. These incorporated forms, *methinks* and *meseems*, have survived in present-day English.

4.6.3. Syntactic Positions of Experiencer Argument in Clause Structure

This section discusses syntactic positions of Experiencer arguments, both dative-marked and prepositional, in clause structure, and argues that those positions and the use of the expletive are closely related. First we assume the simple clause structure for a V2 sentence as in (71).

(71) $[_{CP}$ XP V_{finite} $[_{TP}$ Subject t_v $[_{VP}$ t_{subj} t_v (Object) . . .

In (71) the finite verb, V_{finite}, is located at the C after having moved from V through T. The subject is base-generated within the VP-shell of any kind, and moves up to the Specifier position of TP, due to the EPP requirement. A topic element, XP in (71), is inserted into the Specifier of CP, or it is raised there from the lower structure.

Let us next consider an Experiencer construction involving a small clause. Here are two examples in (72) and (73).

(72) Þis godspel *ðincð* **dysegum** **mannum** sellic.
this gospel seems foolish men extraordinary
'This gospel will to foolish men seem extraordinary.' (ÆCHom II 271.103)

(73) Ða cwæð se ealdorman; Wundor **me** *ðincð* eower ðingræden
then said the general wonder me seems your intercession
'Then said the general, "Your intercession seems to me a wonder"'
(ÆCHom II 281.49)

The syntactic structure of these sentences would be schematically illustrated in (74). Here, the head-parameter is ignored.[15]

(74) $[_{CP}$ XP C $[_{TP}$ T $[_{V1P}$ þyncan $[_{V2P}$ Experiencer $[_{SC}$ DP Pred]]]]]

The Experiencer argument, which is not an external argument, is base-generated in the Specifier position of the lower VP, as assumed in the previous section. The prepositional Experiencer argument is also base-generated in the same position. Since the Experiencer

argument is not a subject, it does not need to move into the Specifier of TP. Instead, the subject of the small clause, if any, moves up to that position, as shown in the example of present-day English.

(75) John$_i$ *seems* **to Bill** [t_i to be a genius] (Boeckx 2008: 130)

In (75) *John* is raised to the Specifier of TP crossing the intervening prepositional Experiencer. A similar movement is observed in OE, too. For example, (72) would have the structure in (76).

(76) [$_{CP}$ þis godspel$_k$ *ðincð*$_i$ [$_{TP}$ **dysegum mannum**$_j$ t_i [$_{V1P}$ t_i

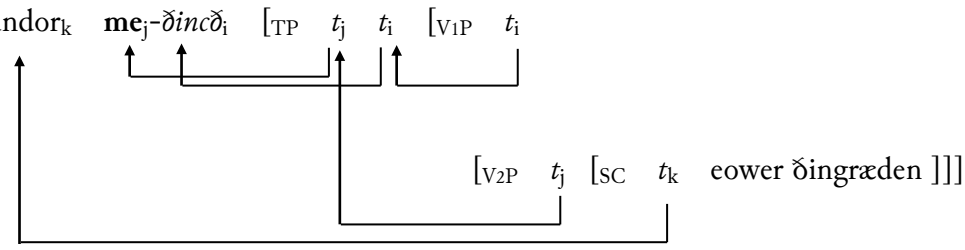
[$_{V2P}$ t_j [$_{SC}$ t_k sellic]]]]]

Provided that OE is a V2 language, as discussed in Section 4.6.2, the subject of the small clause moves into the Specifier of the CP. The EPP requirement of TP can be satisfied by any nominal element in OE. Thus, the closest element, *dysegum mannum* 'foolish men' in (76), would be attracted. The finite verb *ðincð* 'seems' moves out of the VP to the C, stopping at the T.

In the case of the pronominal Experiencer, the derivation is basically the same as in the case of the nominal Experiencer, as demonstrated just above. One difference between them is that the pronoun can be cliticized onto the finite verb. Part of the sentence in (73) would have the following structure:

(77) [$_{CP}$ wundor$_k$ **me**$_j$-*ðincð*$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t_j t_i [$_{V1P}$ t_i

[$_{V2P}$ t_j [$_{SC}$ t_k eower ðingræden]]]



The pronoun in OE is assumed to have the clitic property (van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1996, 1999), among others). Therefore, the pronoun *me* 'me' is raised into the Specifier of the TP to meet the EPP requirement, just like the movement in (76), and is further cliticized onto the finite verb *ðincð* 'seems.' This cliticization is different from Incorporation discussed in the previous section with respect to the driving force, although these two operations generate the same surface word order. Cliticization takes place on its own requirement, the clitic property to be adjoined to a host. Incorporation, by contrast, is implemented for satisfying the Case requirement. The pronoun in (73) is assigned lexical Case by the verb, whereas the pronouns in (66) and (67) are not assigned any Case by the verb, therefore incorporating into the verb, a Case assigner.

Let us return to the nominal Experiencer. Nominal Experiencer arguments can appear at the clause-initial position or at a clause-internal position. The former case is (78), repeated with irrelevant part omitted from (15). The structure of (78) would be like the one in (79).

(78) **Sumum menn** wile *þincan* syllic þis to gehyrenne

some men will seem strange this to hear

'To some men it will seem strange to hear this' (ÆLS (Maccabees) 564)

(79) [$_{CP}$ **sumum menn**$_j$ wile$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t_j t_i [$_{V1P}$ *þincan*

[$_{V2P}$ t_j [$_{SC}$ syllic þis to gehyrenne]]]]]

In (79) the Experiencer *sumum menn* 'some men' moves out of the VP to the Specifier of the CP through the Specifier of the TP.

Sentence (80) is a case where an Experiencer appear clause-internally. In the structure of (81) the Experiencer *ungelæredum mannum* 'unlearned men' stays at the base-generated position. The Specifier of the TP is occupied by the expletive *hit* 'it,' which is assumed to satisfy the EPP requirement, just like the dative Experiencer *sumum menn* 'some men' in (78).

(80) Hit *þincð* **ungelæredum mannum** dyslic to gehyrenne:
it seems unlearned men foolish to hear
'To unlearned men it seems foolish to hear' (ÆCHom I 226.84)

(81) [$_{CP}$ hit$_k$ *þincð*$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t_k t_i [$_{V1P}$ t_i
[$_{V2P}$ **ungelæredum mannum**$_j$ [$_{SC}$ dyslic to gehyrenne]]]]

It may not be uncontroversial whethr the expletive *hit* 'it' in OE is in the Specifier of TP or the Specifier of CP. As example (82) clearly shows, in ME the expletive *it* 'it' occupies the Specifier of TP.

(82) thenne **me** *semeth* it requisite & necessarye that I sette in
then me seems it requisite and necessary that I set in
folowing the said book
following the said book (CAXTPRO1 45/10-1)

Here, the adverb *thenne* 'then' causes inversion. The finite verb *semeth* 'seems' is in the head of CP, and then the expletive *it* 'it' is located below the CP.[16]

Unlike nominal or pronominal Experiencer arguments, prepositional Experiencer arguments are not so movable due to their intrinsic properties. Given that the EPP of T is only satisfied by nominal elements, the prepositional Experiencer is not eligible to do so. As a result, the prepositional Experiencer would remain at the base-generated position. A relevant example is repeated below as (83).

(83) that it *semed* **to Reynawde** that he was more ioyouse & more mery
that it seemed to Reynard that he was more joyous and more merry
than he had be of all the daye
than he had been of all the day (CAXTAYM1 109/6-8)

(83) is an embedded clause headed by *that* at C, and the expletive is considered to be in the Specifier of TP. The prepositional Experiencer *to Reynawde* 'to Reynard' is in the position below TP. This argument is supported by the statistical fact, as shown in Section 4.5. It says that throughout the ME period, the prepositional Experiencer arguments follow the *seem* verb, with only one exception in (32) above.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined what syntactic positions the Experiencer argument can occupy in the *seem* construction of Old and Middle English, and structurally demonstrated that the nominal Experiencer can appear in the Specifier of CP and TP and it can also stay at the base-generated position, the Specifier of the lower VP. On the other hand, pronominal Experiencer arguments are adjoined to the verbal host both in OE and in ME. The motivation for this adjunction differs between OE and ME, though. In OE, the pronominal Experiencer is

adjoined to the verb for the reason of its clitic properties, whereas in ME it is adjoined to for the Case requirement.

I also made the following three proposals about Case-licensing of the Experiencer argument:

(i) Dative Experiencer nominals were licensed lexically by the lexical head Verb.

(ii) After the distinction between accusative and dative cases became obsolete, Experiencer nominals were licensed structurally by the preposition *to*.

(iii) Pronominal Experiencers in ME incorporate into the verb to escape the Case Filter, and this incorporation process has lead to the amalgamated words *meseems* and *methinks*.

On the basis of the data retrieved from the three historical corpora, the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the Innsbruck Corpus, I reinforced and supplemented Elmer's (1981) seminal work. In particular, it was shown (i) that nominal Experiencers can appear either preverbally or postverbally, but prepositional Experiencers only occur postverbally; (ii) that when the Experiencer argument follows the finite verb, the expletive is used to satisfy the EPP requirement; (iii) that the first person Experiencer tends to occur preverbally while the second and third person Experiencer is likely to occupy the postverbal position in *it*-constructions.

Some comments were also made on Caxton's English. Paying special attention to this single author, I demonstrated that the general tendency obtained from the PPCME2 is true of Caxton's English as well.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[*] An earlier and shorter Japanese version of this chapter already appeared as Yanagi (2015). This chapter is based on the paper presented at the 17th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, held at University of Zurich, Switzerland on 20–25 August 2012.

[1] There are fourteen texts written or translated by William Caxton in the Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose. In what follows, these fourteen texts are taken as a single corpus and the assembled corpus is referred to as the Innsbruck Corpus for ease of reference, though the corpus is only part of the entire Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose.

[2] For more information on CorpusSearch 2, visit at <http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net>, and for download and more information on the editor *mi*, visit at <http://www.mimikaki.net/en/index.html>.

[3] In OE *þyncan* 'seem' and *þencan* 'think' were distinguished both semantically and morphologically. In ME both *þynkan* and *þenkan* phonetically reduced to the same morphological form *þinken/thinken*, resulting in the lost of their morphological distinction. Furthermore, semantically these two verbs were quite close to each other, which may lead to the morphological and semantic merger (cf. *KDEE* s.v. *think*).

[4] Interestingly enough, after the ON verb *sœma* was borrowed into English independently, it acquired a new meaning 'to seem,' affected by French, and lost its original meanings. Later it overrode the OE original verb *þyncan* or *thincen* 'to seem.' Moreover, ON had the cognate verb of the OE *þyncan*: *þykkja* 'seem.' Some examples are given in (i) and (ii) for reference.

(i) a. þotti honum skógar þar eigi fjarlægir
seemed.3S him.D woods.N there not distant.P.M.N
'It seemed to him that there were woods not far away.' (Eg 97.6)

b. því þykkir mér likastir menn þeir er
that.D seems.3S me.D best.P.M.N men.N those.M.N who

elska heim þenna

love.3P world.A this

'Therefore those men who love this world seem best to me' (Barl 49.10)

(Faarlund (2004: 202))

(ii) a. honum þótti Óláfr konungr koma at sér

him.D seemed Olaf.N king come to himself.D

'He thought that King Olaf came to him' (Hallfr 115.10)

b. þótti honum hon vel hafa gert

seemed him.D she well have done

'He thought that she had done well' (Hkr III.391.18)

(Faarlund (2004: 207)

(i) are examples where the verb *þykkja* 'seem' fails to agree with the nominative subject, and it is inflected instead as *þótti* 'seemed' in the third person singular by default. The postverbal nominal elements, *honum* 'him' and *mér* 'me,' are Experiencer arguments marked with dative case.

In (ii) *þótti* 'seemed' takes two arguments: a dative Experiencer *honum* 'him' and a non-finite clause, headed by the infinitives *koma* 'come' in (iia) and *hafa* 'have' in (iib). According to Faarlund (2004), the embedded subjects *Óláfr konungr* 'King Olaf' and *hon* 'she' are raised to the subject position of the matrix clauses through the embedded subject position of the non-finite clauses to receive nominative case. Another possible analysis is provided in Section 4.6.

As for the dative-marked Experiencer argument, in (iia) *honum* 'him' precedes the finite verb *þótti* 'seemed,' while it follows *þótti* 'seemed' in (iib).

[5] Examples (7)–(9) are cited from Benson (1987).

[6] The clause structure Elmer (1981) proposes for Type S is (i).

(i) [$_C$ NP [$_V$ V C]]

Here, C is a clause. He does not distinguish between finite and non-finite clauses, though. NP in (i) is equivalent to the Experiencer argument in our term. The clause structure I employ is elucidated in detail in Section 4.6.

[7] This section is in part based on Yanagi (2013).

[8] Sentences like (i) were also excluded, though it seems that there is an Experiencer argument in the sentence.

(i) To my *semyng* ye sholde forelose and take awaye out of your
to my seeming you should lose and take away out of your
herte all invtyle sorowfulnesse
heart all useless sorrowfulness (CAXTBLAN 53/5-7)

Under the entry *seeming* in the *OED*, *to my semying* means 'as it seems or appears to me, I think, in my opinion or judgement' (s.v. *seeming* vbl. n. 1.c). In addition to *to my semyng* 'to my seeming,' two other combinations were found in the Innsbruck Corpus: *to her semyng* 'to her seeming' (CAXTENEY 82/11) and *to his semying* 'to his seeming' (CAXTENEY 12/5).

Given that *semyng*(*e*) is a gerund, it is no surprise that it is accompanied with a genitive pronoun, *my, her* or *his* in the fixed expression. If the gerundive expression with a subject, however, is derived by converting a nominative subject of the verb into a genitive one, the expression like *my semyng* 'as it seems to me' might be unexpected. This is because the genitive pronoun in the expression corresponds to a dative pronoun in the finite clause. This unpredicted way of connection between dative and genitive elements may be intriguing. Due to the scarcity of relevant instances, however, this would be left open for future research.

[9] The file name system of the Innsbruck Corpus is employed in this thesis. See Markus (2008)

for the extensive list of the included text editions and their corresponding file names.

[10] This example may be interesting; the Experiencer pronoun *them* 'them' follows the quantifier *alle* 'all.' As discussed in Chapter 2, the quantifier *all* 'all' in ME is always followed by a pronoun when they are verbal objects, though the distribution of prepositional objects and quantifiers is beyond the topic of Chapter 2.

[11] The historical periods employed in the PPCME2 are as follows: M2 = 1250–1350; M23 = comp.date 1250–1350, ms. date 1350–1420; M3 = 1350–1420; M34 = comp. date 1350–1420, ms. date 1420–1500; M4 = 1420–1500.

[12] See also (48a).

[13] Another such case of nonstructural Case is ergative Case. With respect to ergative-absolutive languages, ergative Case marks external arguments, which include Causer as well as Agent. Let us take an example of Experiencer object constructions in Basque.

(i) Mikelek ni haserretu izan.
Michael-ERG I-NOM angry-PERF AUX
'Michael angered me.' (Manandise (1988: 118)/Woolford (2006: 124))

In (i) what causes me to get angry, *Mikelek* 'Michael,' is marked with ergative Case, and Experiencer, *ni* 'I,' is marked with nominative Case. Similarly, the Instrument argument can be an external argument in Basque, too.

(ii) Giltzak atea ireki zuen.
key-ERG door-NOM open AUX
'The key opened the door.' (Uriagereka n.d.: (30b)/Woolford (2006: 124))

[14] The structure in (55) may be in part supported by the analyses in Chomsky (1995, 2000). A

similar VP-shell structure for *seem* like the one illustrated in (57) is proposed in Chomsky (1995). The structure in (57) is different from Chomsky's in that V_1P dominates a V, not a little *v*. This is a reflection of Woolford's three Case distinction.

In Chomsky (2000: 105, 143n37) it is assumed that dative-marked Experiencer arguments are optionally located in the Specifier position of V headed by *seem* and that their prepositional counterparts also occupy the same syntactic position, though the prepositional phrase in the *seem* construction is sometimes described at the complement to the V head of VP.

See also Chapter 5 for extensive discussion of this and other VP-shell structure.

[15] The underlying structure of Old and Middle English has been one of the main issues in diachronic generative syntax, and three possibilities have since been proposed: the head-initial or the head-final approach and the double-base hypothesis. Since the head parameter may not be crucial for the discussion here, the head-initial structure is employed just for expository purposes.

[16] The pronoun *me* 'me' is incorporated into the verb *semeth* 'seems,' as discussed in the previous section.

CHAPTER 5

LOSS OF NONSTRUCTURAL CASE: SYNTACTIC CHANGE AND UNCHANGE*

5.1. Introduction

It is generally believed that the loss of morphological case endings leads to the use of prepositions.[1] In fact, so-called transitive adjectives could take dative or genitive objects without prepositions in Old English (OE), but in present-day English (PE) they need prepositions such as *of*, *on*, *from*, *in*, and so on.[2]

The constructions to be discussed in this chapter are double object constructions, Experiencer constructions and dative verb constructions. These three constructions are illustrated in (1)–(4). In the (a) examples the dative objects are in boldface, and the accusative objects, if any, are in italics.

(1) a. he sylþ **eow** *oðerne frefriend*

b. He shall give you another comforter.

(2) a. ic *hi* sylle **þe** ðonne oðrum men

b. I give her to thee than to another man

(3) a. Þis godspel ðincð **dysegum mannum** sellic.

b. This gospel will to foolish men seem extraordinary.

(4) a. hi sceoldan **Martine** gefultumian

b. They should help St. Martin.

The (a) examples and the (b) examples are of OE and of PE, respectively. Comparing each pair, it can be found that the dative objects in (2a) and (3a) are replaced by the prepositional phrases in (2b) and (3b); on the other hand, the dative objects in (1a) and (4a) are still used without prepositions in (1b) and (4b). Putting the loss of case morphology aside, it is apparent that while dative verb constructions are unchanged, Experiencer constructions have changed and that double object constructions have two ways of development.

However, if we look into intermediate stages of language development, all the dative objects given in (1)–(4) are shifted to prepositional phrases (temporally) between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. In this chapter I argue the development of dative objects, taking this temporal change in Middle English (ME) into account. Below I briefly overview the historical development of the three constructions.

(A) double object constructions

In OE indirect objects and direct objects were assigned dative case and accusative case, respectively. Only direct objects could be passivized, which is called direct passive. In early Middle English, indirect objects came to be accompanied with prepositions, and direct passive constructions were still available. As time went by, however, passive constructions developed from direct passive to indirect passive, in which indirect objects are passivized. Therefore, indirect objects no longer required prepositions in active constructions.[3]

(B) Experiencer constructions

In OE Experiencer arguments were assigned dative case. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, after the loss of case morphology, Experiencer arguments developed from dative marked to prepositional ones. In PE, the preposition is obligatorily required in this construction.

(C) dative verb constructions

In OE some verbs could take dative objects, which are called dative verbs. If those objects were passivized, their dative case retained in passive constructions. These constructions are called impersonal passive constructions. After the loss of the case distinction, dative case was merged with accusative case into objective case. When passivized, objective case is changed to nominative case. This type of passive construction is called the personal passive construction.

In the next section I trace back the diachronic development of each construction in more detail.

5.2. Distribution of Dative Arguments

5.2.1. Double Object Constructions

Let us first consider double object constructions, as exemplified in (5). In this type of construction, dative objects (or indirect objects) and accusative objects (or direct objects) are in boldface and italics, respectively.[4]

(5) double object construction in OE

a. þæt he andette **his** **scrifte** (DAT) *ealle* *his* *synna* (ACC)

that he confesses his confessor all his sins

'that he confesses all his sins to his confessor'

(HomS35 (Trist 4) 150/Koopman (1990b:226))

b. forþan ðe Drihten behæt *þone heofenlice beah* (ACC)

because God promised the heavenly crown

þam wacigendum (DAT)

to those who keep watch (HomS11.1 (Belf 5) 84/Koopman (1990b:226))

Example (5a) involves the 'dative-accusative' order and example (5b) involves the 'accusative-dative' order. These two word order patterns, as I discussed in Section 3.2.1, occur with approximately the same frequency, whether they are in main clauses or subordinate clauses.[5] A few more examples are provided in (6) for expository purposes.

(6) a. hi offrodon **Criste** gastlice *recels*, and noldon

they offered Christ.DAT spiritually frankincense.ACC and not-wished

him *gold* offrian

him.DAT gold.ACC offer

'they offered Christ frankincense spiritually and did not wish to offer Him gold'

(ÆCHom I 7.116.13/Denison (1993: 105))

b. þonne cyðe *hit* man **þam cyninge**

then tell.3.SG.SUBJ it.ACC one.NOM the king.DAT

'then let one tell it to the king' (WPol 2.1.1.49, §17/Denison (1993: 106))

In examples (5) and (6) the indirect objects, e.g. *his sacrifte* 'his confessor' in (5a) and *þam wacigendum* 'those who keep watch' in (5b), are assigned nonstructural Case. This is evident in the following examples involving passivization:

(7) direct passive in OE (the 'nominative-dative' order)

a. Þa wearð *se halga heap* **þam hælende** geoffrod
then was the holy company.NOM the Saviour.DAT offered
'Then was the holy company offered up to the Saviour'
(ÆLS (Julian and Basilissa) 123)

b. ȝ þær *heofonlic sige* **þam cinge** seald wæs
and there heavenly victory.NOM the king.DAT given was
'and there victory from heaven was given to the king' (Bede 3.1.156.8)

(8) direct passive in OE (the 'dative-nominative' order)

a. Soþlice ic eow secge, ne bið **þisse cneorisse**
truly I you say NEG be this generation.DAT
tacen geseald.
token.NOM given
'Truly I say to you, a token shall not be given to this generation.'
(Mk (WSCp) 8.12)

b. **Sumum men** wæs *unlybba* geseald.
some men.DAT was poison.NOM given
'Poison had been given to a man' (ÆCHom II 11:104.408)

These sentences are examples of direct passive, in which direct objects are passivized and assigned nominative case. The nominative subjects are in italics in (7) and (8). As is obvious

from their case forms, the indirect objects, *þæm hælende* 'the Saviour' in (7a) and *þam cinge* 'the king' in (7b), are not the target for passivization, and they retain the dative case, which are indicated in boldface as well.

With respect to word order patterns, in passive sentences as in (7) and (8) as well as active ones as in (5) and (6), two word order patterns are observed. As Yanagi (2010d) points out, the 'nominative-dative' order as in (7) is preferred over the 'dative-nominative' order as in (8) when both arguments are nominal. The incidence of the former word order is 62.2%, and that of the latter 37.8%. This contrasts with the incidence of two word order patterns of nominal dative and accusative objects. The incidence of 'accusative-dative' order is 52.3%, and that of the 'dative-accusative' order 47.7% (see Koopman (1990a, b) and Section 3.2.1).

With the loss of overt dative case morphology, indirect objects are in the common case, or they are in the objective case if they are pronouns. Examples (9) and (10) are of ME.

(9) God hatz geuen **vus** *his* *grace* godly for soþe
God has given us his grace graciously indeed
(c1400(?c1390) Gawain 920/Denison (1993: 106))

(10) a. and ure drihten þe him swo michel luuede 3af *leue* **þe deuel**
and our lord who him so much loved gave leave the devil
to binimende him his oref.
to take him his cattle
'And our lord, who loved him so much, gave the devil leave to take his cattle from him.' [*him* and *his* refer to Job] (CMTRINT 167.2272/McFadden(2002: 118))

b. ye sal for-giue **alle** **men** *ðaaire* *trespas* for ðe loue o gode.
you shall forgive all men their sins for the love of God
(CMBENRUL 19.639/McFadden (2002: 120))

c. Al þus was done, forto teche **yche cristen man** *his byleue*.
all this was done to teach each Christian man his belief
(CMMIRK 51.1450/McFadden (2002: 120))

In these examples the indirect objects (IOs) and the direct objects (DOs) are in boldface and italics, respectively. In (9) and (10b, c) the 'IO-DO' order is observed, and the 'DO-IO' order is found in (10a). In ME as well as OE, the two word order patterns are possible.

Furthermore, during ME, a new construction was created by introducing the preposition *to* to mark indirect objects. This is exemplified in (11)–(13) with two OE examples added.[6]

(11) a. Mani man . . . ȝevith *his douhter* **to a wiked blode**.
many man . . . gives his daughter to a wicked blood
(a1325 Proverbs of Hending (Varnhagen) 31/Visser (1963–1973: §687))

b. He tolde *his drem* Sire Gerion And **til thise other twelve**
he told his dream Sir Gerion and to these other twelve
(c1338 Rob. of Brunne, Chron. (Zetsche) 1412/Visser (1963–1973: §687))

(12) a. The fadir . . . schal ȝyue **to ȝou** *another counfortour*
the father . . . shall give to you another comforter
(c1382 Wyclif, John XIV, 16/Visser (1963–1973: §687))

b. he sylþ **eow** *oðerne frefriend*
he gives you another comforter
'he shall give you another comforter' (Jn (WSCp) 14.16)

(13) a. Beter is that Y ȝyue *hir* **to thee** than **to another man**
better is that I give her to thee than to another man
(c1382 Wyclif, Gen. XXIX, 19/Visser (1963–1973: §687))

b. Leofre me is þæt ic *hi* sylle **þe** ðonne **oðrum** **men**;
better me is that I her give thee than another man
'it is better that I give her to thee than to another man' (Gen 29.19)

In examples (11), the prepositional phrases *to a wiked blode* 'to a wicked blood' and *til thise other twelve* 'to these other twelve (people)' follow the direct objects *his douhter* 'daughter' and *his drem* 'his dream,' respectively. In (11b) the preposition of Old Norse origin *til* 'to' is used to mark the indirect object. Examples (12a) and (13a) are from the Early version of the *Wycliffite Bible*, a English Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate Bible.[7]

The ME-OE pairs of (12) and (13) are intriguing in two respects. One is that while the prepositional phrase *to ȝou* 'to you' is followed by the direct object *another counfortour* 'another comforter' in (12a), the prepositional phrase *to thee* 'to thee' is preceded by the direct object *hir* 'her' in (13a). The other point is that in the OE examples the dative objects without the preposition are used in both examples. *The West-Saxon Gospels* and the *Genesis* are also translated from the Latin Vulgate Bible. Therefore, it can be suggested that the use of the preposition is not due to the Latin influence, but it is required by the ME grammar.

McFadden (2002) summarizes the two word order patterns with or without *to* as in Table 5.1, to which a few small modifications are added. His data were collected from the PPCME2.

Table 5.1. Surface ordering of full nominal objects[8]

	Double objects			*to*-datives		
	IO-DO	DO-IO	total	IO-DO	DO-IO	total
M1	**109** (65.7%)	**57** (34.3%)	**166**	**3** (30.0%)	**7** (70.0%)	**10**
M2	**18** (81.8%)	**4** (18.2%)	**22**	**5** (9.6%)	**47** (90.4%)	**56**
M3	**85** (100.0%)	**0** (0.0%)	**85**	**33** (18.3%)	**147** (81.7%)	**180**
M4	**60** (100.0%)	**0** (0.0%)	**60**	**14** (31.8%)	**30** (68.2%)	**44**

(adapted from McFadden (2002: 113))

As can be seen from Table 5.1, the double object construction as in (9) and (10) and the prepositional dative construction as in (11) coexisted in early ME (M1 and M2). In late ME (M3 and M4), however, the 'DO-IO' order was available only in the prepositional dative construction.

Just as in OE, the direct passive remained a possible construction in ME, as in (14).

(14) direct passive in ME (without preposition)

a. *Þis scheld* is i3euen **us** a3ein alle temptatiuns
this shield is given us against all temptations
(c1230(?a1200) Ancr. 106a.6/Denison (1993: 109))

b. I have relikes and pardoun in my male, . . . *Whiche* were
I have relics and a-pardon in my bag which were
me yeven by the popes hond.
me given by the pope's hand
((c1390) Chaucer, CT.Pard. VI.920/Denison (1993: 109–110))

In addition to the type of direct passive in (14), another type was possible. It is a direct passive with the preposition. This is shown in (15). Here, the preposition *till* 'to' is used (see (11b)).

(15) direct passive in ME (with preposition *till* 'to')

Herodian . . . was . . . gifenn **till Herode King**

Herodian . . . was . . . given to Herode King

(?c1200 Orm 19827/*MED* s.v. *yeven*)

We now consider the ME-OE pair in (16).

(16) a. *Thi synnes* ben forȝouun **to thee**

thy sins are forgiven to thee

(c1380 Wyclif, Luke 5, 20/Visser (1963–1973: §1977))

b. **þe** synd *þine synna* forgyfene

thee are thy sins forgiven

'thy sins are forgiven to thee' (Lk (WSCp) 5.20)

Sentence (16a), which is from the Early version of the *Wycliffite Bible*, is a direct passive in ME, and it involves the prepositional dative phrase *to thee* 'to thee.' Its OE corresponding sentence (16b), which is taken from *The West-Saxon Gospels*, is the direct passive without the preposition. Here again, we can suggest that the use of the preposition is not affected by Latin (see (12) and (13)).

Afterwards, indirect passive came in use. According to Denison (1993), the earliest clear examples with verbs like *give* trace back to late fourteenth century; however, they remained rare

until late in the fifteenth century. Example (17) is one of the earliest examples of indirect passives.

(17) Item as for the Parke **she** is a lowyd Every yere *a dere and xx Coupull of Conyes and all fewell Wode* to her necessarye To be Takyn in a Wode callidde Grenedene Wode.
'Item: as for the park, she is allowed a deer each year and twenty pair of rabbits and all fuel wood [= firewood] necessary for her, to be taken in a wood called Grenedene Wood' ((1375) *Award Blount* in *ORS 7* 205.30/Denison (1993: 110))

Unlike the direct passive sentences so far, (17) involves the human subject *she* 'she.' A few more examples from later periods are provided in (18).

(18) a. playnly **þu** art forbodyn *boþe*
plainly thou are forbidden both
(?c1450(?a1400) *Wycl. Clergy HP* 383.34/Denison (1993: 111))

b. and whan **he** was gyvyn *the gre* be my lorde
and when he.SUBJ was given the prize-for-victory by my lord
kynge Arthure
King Arthur
'and when he was given the prize by my lord, King Arthur'
((a1470) Malory, *Wks.* 699.19/Denison (1993: 111))

In both sentences of (18), the human subjects *þu* 'thou' and *he* 'he' are involved.

To sum up, while OE had only one type of passive, direct passive, available, during ME there are three types of passive: direct passive without the preposition (like the one in OE), direct passive with the preposition and indirect passive.

5.2.2. Experiencer Constructions

We next consider Experiencer constructions. The constructions were already discussed in Chapter 3, and then this section overviews the development briefly. In OE *þyncan* 'seem, appear' was used, and in ME, *semem* 'seem' was borrowed from Old Norse. These two verbs first took dative-marked Experiencer arguments. This is illustrated in (19)–(21). The Experiencers are in boldface.

(19) dative-marked experiencer in OE (*þyncan* 'seem, appear')

a. Þis godspel ðincð **dysegum mannum** sellic.
this gospel seems foolish men extraordinary
'This gospel will to foolish men seem extraordinary.' (ÆCHom II 36.1:271.103)

b. Þinceð **him** to lytel þæt he lange heold
seem him too little what he long held
'It seems to him too little what he rules too long.'
(Beo 1748/*OED* s.v. †think, v.[1] B.2.a)

(20) dative-marked experiencer in ME (*thinken* 'seem')

a. for **hem** þincheð þat godes hese heuieliche semeð.
for them seems that God's behests heavily weigh
(a1225 CMTRINIT,93.1244)

b. Hit þincheð **hire** let.

it seems her tedious (a1225 CMTRINIT,183.2524)

(21) dative-marked experiencer in ME (*semen* 'seem')

The Emparovr sayde: 'In tymys **me** semyth I may well loue þis mane.

The Emperor said in times me seems I may well love this mane

(c1500 CMSIEGE,90.631))

The verb *þyncan* 'seem' in OE was phonetically reduced to *thinken* in ME, as in (20). As I said just above, the verb of Old Norse origin *semem* 'seem' also takes a dative Experiencers as in (21). In addition to dative-marking, the preposition also came in use with the loss of morphological case endings. This is illustrated in (22).

(22) prepositional experiencer in ME (*semen* 'seem')

a. And hit semeþ **to manye men** þat alle þese sectis synnen þus,

and it seems to many men that all these faith sin thus

(c1400 CMWYCSER,294.1213)

b. And righte as it semethe **to us**, that thei ben undre us,

and right as it seems to us that they are under us

righte so it semethe **hem**, that wee ben undre hem.

right so it seems them that we are under them

(c 1400 Mandeville (1839) xvii. 184/*OED* s.v. *seem*, v.[2] II.7.a)

c. This seimes **to me** ane guidlie companie.

this seems to me an goodly company

(a 1513 Dunbar *Poems* lxxxi. 13/*OED* s.v. *seem* v.[2] II.3.b.)

The coexistence of the dative and prepositional Experiencers is found in a single text. This can be seen in (23) and (24): in (23) the dative Experiencer *the* 'thee' is used, while in (24) the prepositional Experiencer *to som folk* 'to some people' is used.

(23) what semeth **the** to be the resoun of this so wrongful a confusioun
what seems thee to be the reason of this so wrongful a confusion
(?a1425(c1380) Chaucer Bo. 4.pr.5.26-7)

(24) it scholde seme **to som folk** that this were a merveile to seien
it should seem to some people that this were a marvel to see
(?a1425(c1380) Chaucer Bo. 4.pr.2.188-9)

In the Experiencer construction, two Experiencer forms, dative and prepositional, coexisted during some time of ME. As time advanced, the older form, the dative-marked Experiencer, was superseded by the newer form, the prepositional Experiencer.

5.2.3. Dative Verb Constructions

We finally consider dative verb constructions. There were a number of verbs taking a single object in the dative case in OE. Some of them also took an object in other cases, and others did not. Below are a few examples of dative verbs in OE.

(25) a. þætte he **his bigengum** mid heofenlice fultume gehulpe.
that he his worshippers with heavenly aid helped
'that he should help his worshippers with heavenly aid'
(Ælfred, Bede (Smith) 524, 15/Visser (1963–1973: §323))

b. Eac he him behet mid soðfæstum behate . . .
also he them promise with true promise
to demenne **eallum mannum**
to judge all men
'He also promised them with a true promise . . . to judge all men'

(ÆCHom I 542.18)

In these examples the objects in the dative case, *his bigengum* 'his worshippers' in (25a) and *eallum mannum* 'all men' in (25b), are in boldface. If these dative objects were passivized, they retained their dative case. This is shown in (26), where also the dative objects are in boldface.

(26) a. Ac **ðæm** mæg beon suiðe hraðe geholpen
but that-one.DAT may be very quickly helped
from his lareowe
by his teacher
'But that one may be helped/it may be remedied very quickly by his teacher'

(CP 225.22/Denison (1993: 104))

b. . . . on urum agenum dihte hu **us** bið æt Gode
in our own power how us.DAT.PL will-be.3.SG by God
'. . . in our own power as to how we shall be judged by God'

(ÆCHom I 3.52.31/Denison (1993: 104))

The type of passive in (26) is sometimes called 'impersonal' passive, since there is no nominative subject and the finite verb is inflected in the third-person singular form, e.g. *bið* 'is' in (26b).

With some dative verbs, Visser (1963–1973: § 323) mentions 'passive constructions proving completed shift from indirect to direct object.' That is, some dative verbs could form personal passives, instead of impersonal passives. This is not so obvious. Many of the verbs that take a nominative subject in the passive can take an object in the accusative or in the genitive. Therefore, it is not clear that those verbs show the case alternation from the dative to the nominative. One such verb, which Smith (1996: 268) cites, is *blissian* 'to gladden, delight' in (27), where the relevant dative object is in boldface.

(27) Sum sceal on heape blissian æt beore **bencsittendum**
one.NOM shall in company.DAT delight at beer.DAT benchsitters.DAT
'One shall in company delight the bench-sitters at beer'
(Exon.88a/Smith (1996: 268))

In a passive construction involving the same verb *blissian* 'gladden, delight,' a nominative subject may be used, as in (28). This is an example of a personal passive, in which the nominative subject *Guðlaces gæst* 'Guthlac's guest' is italicized.

(28) Ða wæs *Guðlaces gæst* geblissad
then was Guthlac's guest.NOM delighted
'Then St. Guthlac's guest was delighted' (GuthA 722/Smith (1996: 269))

The pair of these sentences apparently shows that the dative case in the active in (27) corresponds to the nominative case in the passive in (28). This may not be the case, though. The same verb can take an accusative object, as in (29). Here, the accusative object is italicized.

(29) He *sarig* *folc* blissade
he.NOM sorrowful.ACC people.ACC gladdened
'He gladdened the sorrowful people' (Ps.Th.106.32/Smith (1996: 268))

According to Mitchell (1985: §851), the only possible verb involving the aforementioned case alternation may be (*ge*)*fultumian* 'to help someone or something,' which is recorded in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Supplement*. The dictionary says that the verb can be used with the dative of the person or thing helped or with ambiguous forms such as *me* and *us*; no examples with an unambiguous accusative object are cited. Some examples are provided in (30), where the dative objects are involved. Those dative objects are in boldface.

(30) a. Đæt hi sceoldan **Martine** gefultumian
that they should Martin help
'that they should help St. Martin'
(Blikcl. Hom 221.31/BT s.v. *ge-fultuman*)

b. Hi woldon **me** ma fultumian
they would me more help
'they would help me more' (Bede 134.19/BT s.v. *fultuman*)

(31) Đet hi **him** fultumedon
that they.NOM them.DAT would-aid
'that they would aid them' (Chr.868; Erl.73.22 /Smith (1996: 269))

Two of the examples concerning personal passives are given in (32), where the nominative subjects *he* 'he' in (32a) and *we* 'we' in (32b) are in italics.

(32) a. ac *he* wæs godcundlice gefultumed
but he was divinely helped
'but he was divinely helped' (Bede 342.14 / Mitchell (1985: §851))

b. Æfre *we* wæron gefultumode on ælcum gefeohte
ever we were helped in each fight
'Ever have we been helped in each fight' (ÆLS 11.84/Mitchell (1985: §851))

Mitchell (1985: §851) states with regard to the case alternation of (*ge*)*fultumian* 'help' that:

(33) we are left to conclude either that (*ge*)*fultumian* could take the accusative as well as the dative or that these are examples of a verb which took only the dative being used personally in the passive (Mitchell (1985: §851))

It may be true that there is not enough data to make a definite comment on this matter. In a Norwegian dialect, however, a syntactic phenomenon similar to the latter statement in (33) is observed. Let us consider the Norwegian dialect called Halsa.

In the Halsa dialect, which is sometimes called a 'dative dialect,' a nominative/accusative distinction is generally maintained for first- and second-person personal pronouns. The clitic 'third-person, masculine and singular' forms *'nå* and *'n* are used for the dative and the accusative, respectively, as in (34). In addition, non-clitic full pronoun forms can also be used contrastively. Examples of non-clitic pronouns are given in (35).

(34) a. Ho erta'n
she teased.him.ACC

b. Ho ga'nå svaret

she gave.him.DAT answer-THE

(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 77))

(35) a. Ho erta hainn.

she teased him.ACC

b. Ho ga hånnå svaret

She gave him.DAT answer-THE

(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 77))

A dative/accusative distinction shown in (34) and (35) is only found with third-person singular personal pronouns, but there is no nominative/accusative distinction for third-person singular personal pronouns. The paradigm for these pronouns is given in Table 5.2.[9]

Table 5.2. 3p, sg personal pronouns in the Halsa dialect

	M	F	N
NOM	hainn ('n)	ho ('o)	de
ACC	hainn ('n)	ho ('o)	de
DAT	hånnå ('nå)	hænna ('na)	di

(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 78))

Let us now turn to the weak dative, which is so called in Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012), in the Halsa dialect. Dative case in this dialect can be regarded as nonstructural Case in accordance with Woolford's (2006) Case distinction (see Section 5.3 for detailed discussion). This is because dative case is selected by a certain lexical verb, which is a similar property to the nonstructural dative in Icelandic. On the other hand, this dative case fails to be preserved under A-movement as in passivization. Then, they suggest that nonstructural Case, both inherent and lexical Cases,

is classified into strong and weak. The weak dative case in the Halsa dialect is changed into nominative when it is moved to the subject-position, under A-movement. This story is illustrated in (36).

(36) a. E hjælpt hånnå i går.
I helped him.DAT yesterday
b. Hainn vart hjælpt i går.
he.NOM was helped yesterday
c. *Hånnå vart hjælpt i går.
him.DAT was helped yesterday
d. Hånnå hjælpt e i går.
him.DAT helped I yesterday
(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 85))

(36a) shows the verb *hjælpt* 'helped' takes the dative pronoun *hånnå* 'him.' The contrast between (36b) and (36c) reveals that the dative case in the active (36a) must be changed into the nominative in the passive as in (36b). As (36d) shows, the dative object can occupy the clause-initial position, unlike the dative 'subject' in (36c). The same scenario is true of the case of double object constructions, as in (37).

(37) a. E ga hånnå ei skei.
I gave him.DAT a spoon
b. Det vart gjevve hånnå ei skei.
it was given him.DAT a spoon
c. Hainn vart gjevinn ei skei.

he.NOM was given a spoon

d. *Hånnå vart gjevinn ei skei.

him.DAT was given a spoon

(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 86))

In the active sentence, *ga* 'gave' takes the dative indirect object *hånnå* 'him,' as in (37a). The contrast between (37c) and (37d) shows that if the dative indirect object is passivized and moves to the clause-initial position, it must be turned to the nominative case. If it stays in situ, however, it can retain the dative, as in (37b), in which the expletive *det* 'it' is inserted. Thus, double object constructions like (37a) have both personal and impersonal passive constructions, as in (37c) and (37b), respectively. In addition, the non-subject dative element can be at the clause-initial position, as shown in (38).

(38) Hånnå ga e ei skei.

him.DAT gave I a spoon

(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 86))

Let us return to English examples. Dative verb constructions were still available in ME, as shown in (39).

(39) a. ich helpe **monne**

I help mankind (c1250 Owl & N. 887/van der Gaaf (1929: 3))

b. ich **hire** helpe

I her help (c1250 Owl & N. 1601/van der Gaaf (1929: 3))

In (39a) and (39b) *monne* 'mankind' and *hire* 'her' are in the dative case. In the same work, *Owl and the Nightingale*, the prepositional counterparts are also used, as in (40a) and (40b).[10]

(40) a. ich helpe **to manne**.GEN.PL **uode**
I help to men's food
(c1250 Owl & N. 606/van der Gaaf (1929: 3))

b. Þat miȝte helpe **to oþer þinge**
that might help to other things
(c1250 Owl & N. 664/van der Gaaf (1929: 3))

In (40a) and (40b) the verb *helpe* 'help' takes *to manne uode* 'to men's food' and *to oþer þinge* 'to other things' as its complements. With the prepositional dative, Denison (1993: 105) states that '[d]ative marking was sporadically replaced from early Middle English onwards by the use of the preposition *to*, especially in the active,' as shown in (41).

(41) . . . uor to kueme kueadliche **to þe wordle**.
. . . for to please sinfully to the world
'. . . to please the world sinfully' ((1340) Ayenb. 26.28/Denison (1993: 105))

In some dialects the difference between the dative and the accusative of nouns and pronouns disappeared at an early date, and the dative came to be regarded as a direct object (van der Gaaf 1929: 3). An example of personal passive is given in (42).

(42) *Þe eldist first* was helpid
the eldest first was helped

(a1300 North Eng. Leg., 12.133/van der Gaaf (1929: 3))

There are two more examples of personal passives in (43).

(43) a. *Þe king* wes swiðe icwemet, ant wolde witen . . .
the king was very pleased and wished know
(c1225(?c1200) St Kath.(1) 196/Denison (1993: 105))

b. Ne hadde *he* ben holpen by the steede of bras
not had he been helped by the steed of brass
'had he not been helped by the steed of brass'
((c1395) Chaucer, CT.Sq. V.666/Denison (1993: 105))

It is obvious in (43) that the nominative subjects, *þe king* 'the king' and *he* 'he,' not the dative ones, are used in the passives.

5.2.4. Summary

The diachronic development of the three constructions discussed in the previous three sections can be schematized in the following diagram:

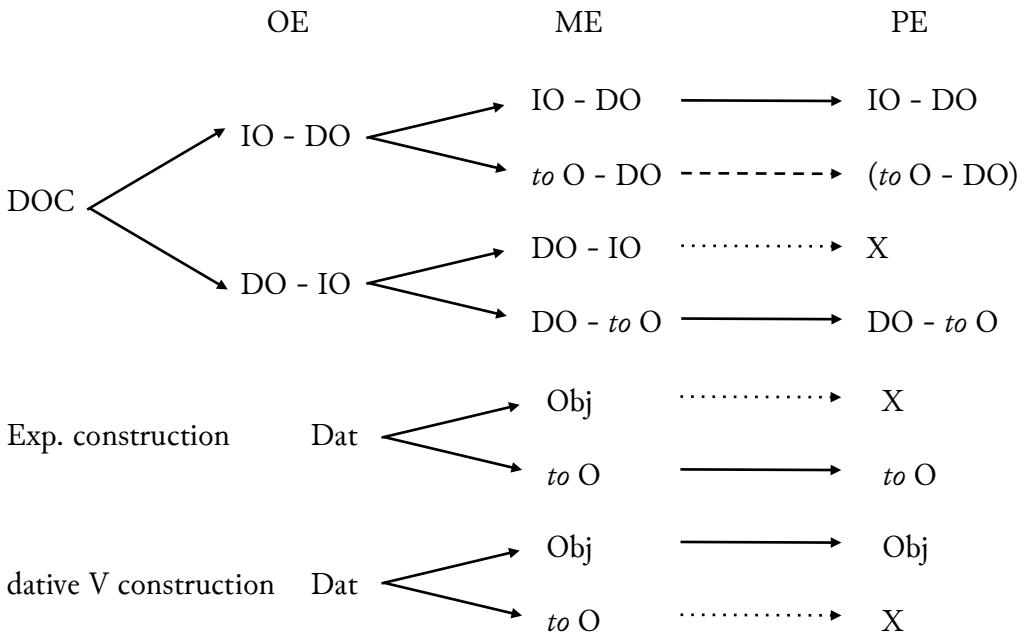


Figure 5.1. Diachronic development of the three constructions with dative case

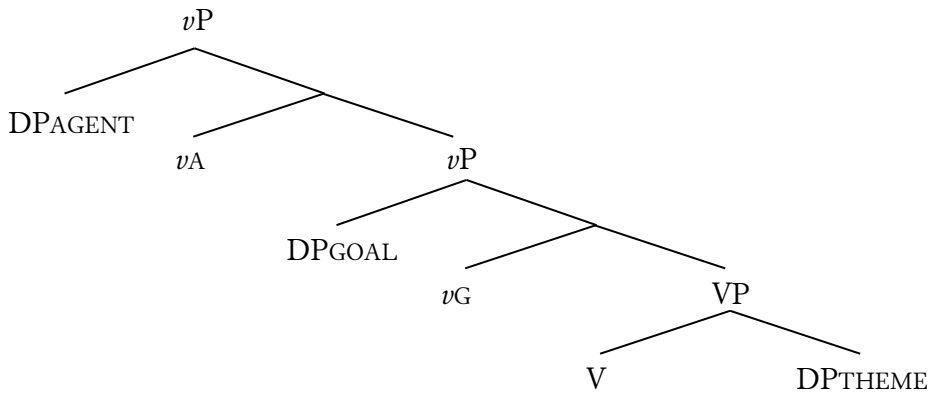
As indicated in Figure 5.1, the double object construction (DOC) had two word order patterns in OE, and each pattern has developed into its own construction. The 'IO-DO' order retains its order even in PE, whereas the 'DO-IO' order is changed to the prepositional dative construction in PE. In the Experiencer construction, the prepositional Experiencer was introduced with the loss of morphological case endings, and the dative Experiencer was replaced by the prepositional Experiencer. In the dative verb construction, indirect objects came to be used with the preposition *to* or *till* and two forms with or without the preposition coexisted, just as in the other constructions. Unlike the Experiencer construction, however, the new form was abandoned and the original form continues to be used.

5.3. Case-Licensing and VP-Shell Structures

This section proposes VP-shell structures for the three constructions under discussion. The VP-shell structures to be proposed are based on different Case-licensing methods, and they are utilized in the next section in order to account for the development of the constructions. Moreover, this thesis supposes that throughout the history of English, each VP-shell structure has been universal, and that what changed is the function of a functional category. Following Woolford (2006), three types of Case are assumed: structural, inherent and lexical Cases. Let us begin by seeing how these three Cases are assigned (see also Chapter 4).

Adapting Larson's (1988) VP-shell structure and incorporating Ura's (2000) and Woolford's (2006) ideas, this thesis adopts the VP-shell structure in (44) for double object constructions.[11]

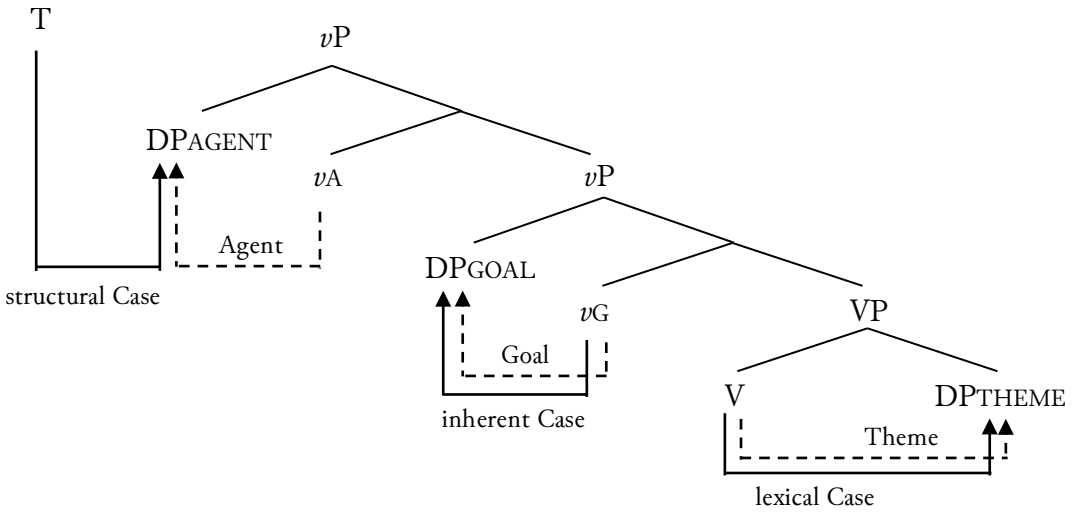
(44)



Given the structure of (44), Woolford's three types of Case are assigned as follows. First, the lexical head V assigns lexical Case along with a θ-role to its complement DPTHEME. Second, the little *v*G assigns a θ-role to the Specifier DPGOAL; at the same time inherent Case is also assigned to the same DPGOAL. A difference between lexical and inherent Cases is in the Case-assigner: a lexical Case is assigned by a lexical head and an inherent Case is assigned by a

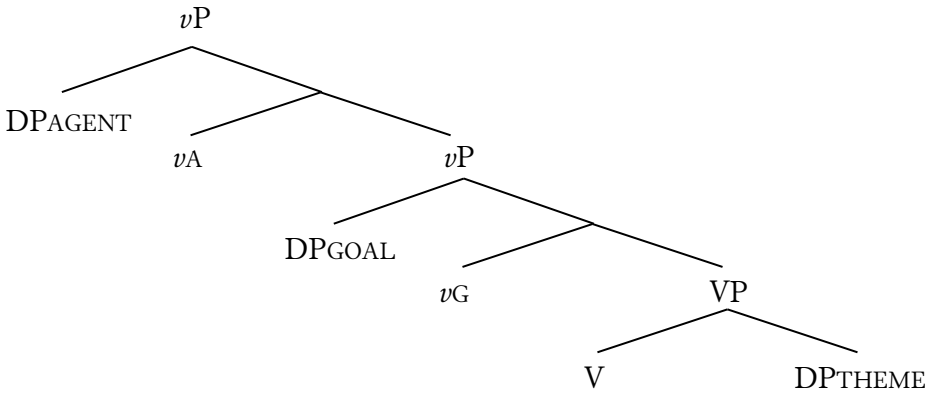
little *v*. Finally, DPAGENT is assigned structural Case by T. Case assignment proceeds in a bottom-up way, and from nonstructural to structural Case. This is schematized in (45).

(45)



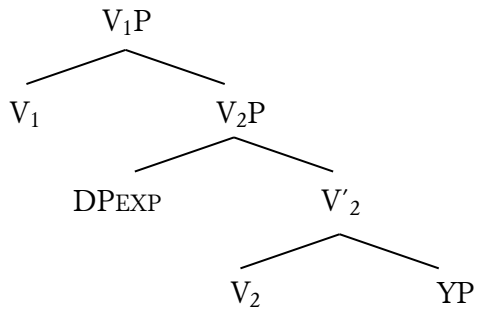
Let us turn to the VP-shell structure for double object verbs. The order of a DPGOAL and a DPTHEME has been debated in the literature. This thesis assumes the DPGOAL-DPTHEME order. This is simply because the DPGOAL-DPTHEME order is more frequent in early OE and because prepositional dative constructions have developed from double object constructions, as reviewed in the previous section.

(46) VP-shell structure for ditransitive verbs



We next consider the VP-shell structure for Experiencer verbs. This structure was argued and proposed in Section 4.6.2. It would be like (47).

(47) VP-shell structure for Experiencer verbs



One might doubt the existence of double lexical heads in the decomposed structure of a single lexical item. This is in accordance with the definitions in Woolford (2006: 113, 117), which are given in (48) and (49).

(48) Complementary distribution of lexical and inherent Case

Lexical Case may occur on themes/internal arguments, but not on external arguments, or on (shifted) DP goal arguments.

Inherent Case may occur on external arguments and on (shifted) DP goal arguments, but not on themes/internal arguments. (Woolford (2006: 113))

(49) Nonstructural Case licensing

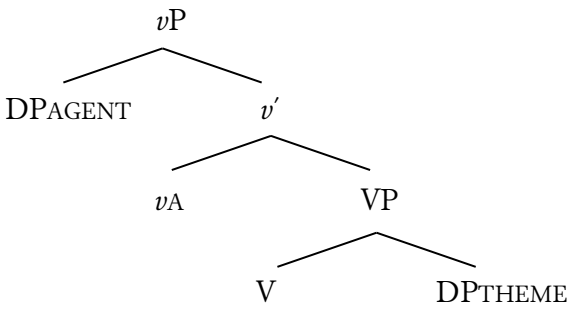
a. Lexical Case is licensed only by lexical heads (e.g., V, P).

b. Inherent Case is licensed only by little/light *v* heads. (Woolford (2006: 117))

As argued in Section 4.6.2, the Experiencer verb in OE had no external argument, but only an internal argument. An internal argument is assigned lexical Case, and lexical Case is licensed by lexical head V.[12]

We finally consider the VP-shell structure for dative verbs. Unlike Experiencer verbs, dative verbs have an external argument, and in OE, they could be passivized impersonally. Therefore, the VP-shell structure for dative verbs is assumed to be different from that in (47). I propose the VP-shell structure for dative verbs as in (50).

(50) VP-shell structure for dative verbs



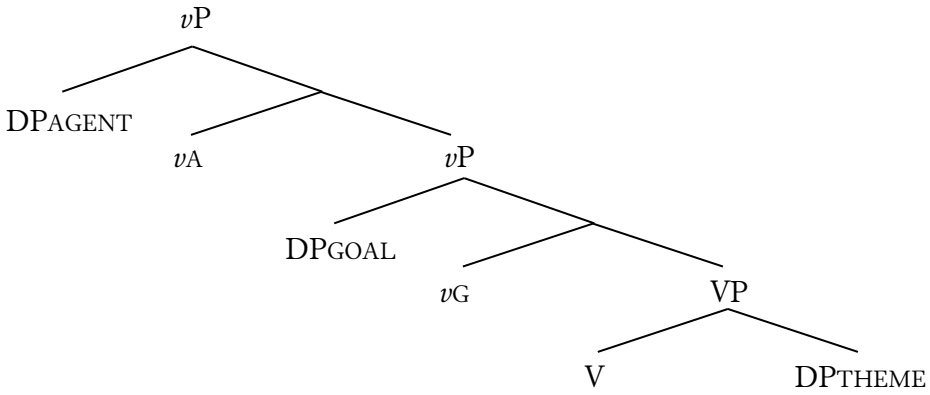
Given the VP-shell structures in (46), (47) and (50), the historical development of each construction will be discussed in the next section.

5.4. Diachronic Development of Verbal Constructions

5.4.1. Development of Double Object Constructions

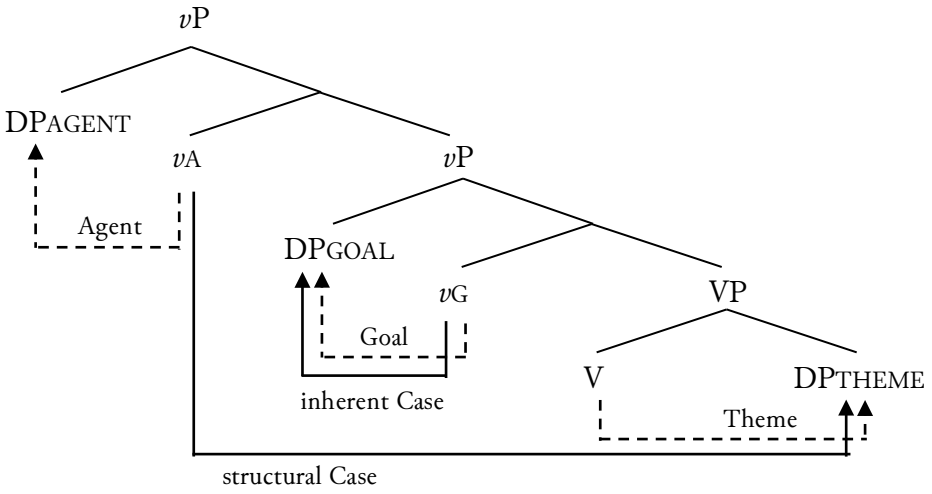
Now we discuss the development of double object constructions. The VP structure proposed in the previous section is repeated here in (51).

(51)



In OE, V assigns the Theme θ-role to the complement, but cannot assign lexical Case, unlike the Icelandic verb discussed in Woolford (2006). The little *v*G assigns inherent dative Case to the Specifier position, together with the Goal θ-role. The little *v*A assigns the Agent θ-role to the Specifier position. The little *v*A, like the little *v*G, can assign accusative Case structurally. However, the DPGOAL in (51) has been assigned dative Case inherently. Thus, the structural Case will go to the lowest argument DPTHEME. This mechanism is schematized in (52).[13]

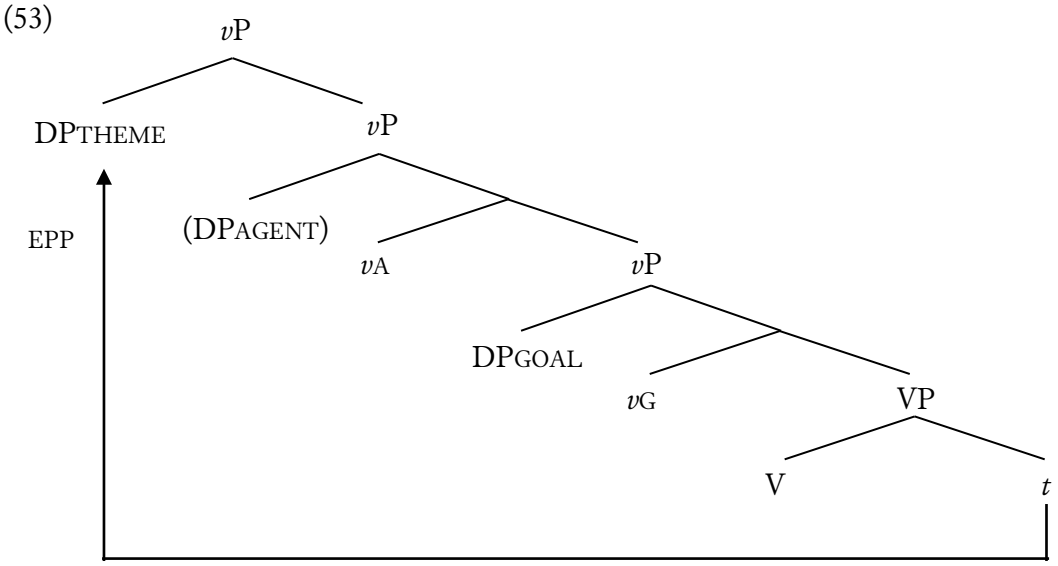
(52)



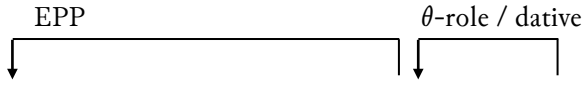
With word order of double object constructions, the structure of (52) derives the

'dative-accusative' order. The opposite word order will be derived by moving the DPTHEME upward. As I discussed in Chapter 3, if object movement takes place within the *v*P domain, i.e., the EPP feature assigned to *v*A attracts the accusative DPTHEME to the outer Specifier position, the 'accusative-dative' order will be derived.

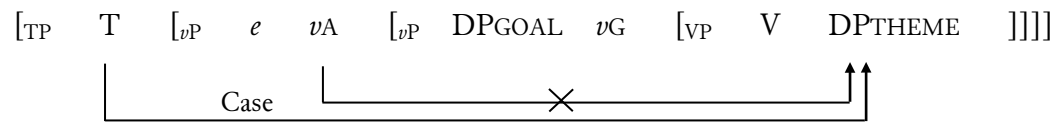
(53)



Let us next consider direct passives, where the accusative DPTHEME turns into the nominative DPTHEME. Given Burzio's generalization, passivization can be applied to the little *v*A, which is a lexical-functional head responsible for the external *θ*-role assignment and accusative Case assignment. If passivization makes the functions of *v*A inert, the DPTHEME cannot be assigned Case, resulting in a violation of the Case Filter. The other object DPGOAL is assigned inherent Case, without a violation of the Case Filter. Since there is no Case assigner in the VP-shell, the DPTHEME will have Case assigned by T. This is schematically illustrated in (54).

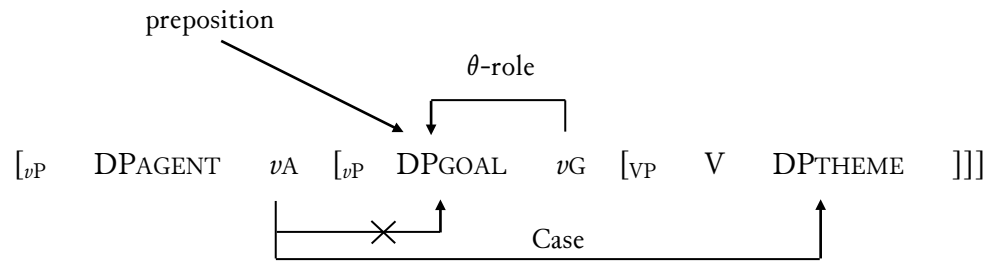


(54)



In ME, indirect objects came to be accompanied with the preposition *to*. This can be explained as follows: while the little *v*G retains the *θ*-role assigning property, it lost the inherent Case assigning function. At this stage, the little *v*A can still assign structural Case to DPTHEME, not to DPGOAL. If the DPGOAL has no Case, it will violate the Case Filter, yielding an ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, the preposition *to* was introduced as a new method to license Case.[14]

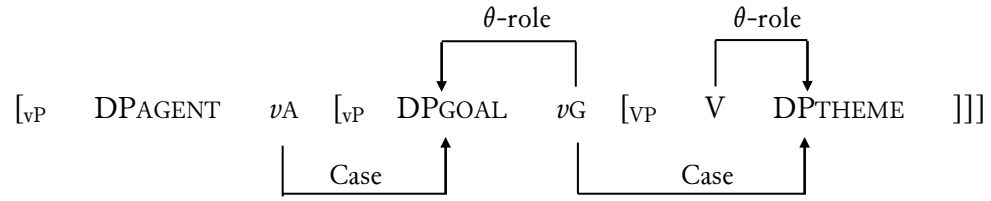
(55)



At the stage of (55), if object movement takes place within the *v*P domain, *v*A will attract the direct object (DPTHEME), deriving the order where the direct object precedes the prepositional dative (DPGOAL).

Later, the little *v*G acquires the property to assign structural Case, by analogy to the little *v*A. This may be due to the preference of the less number of lexical items over the more if the two choices have the same function. Consequently, both the little *v*A and *v*G function in the same way except in the type of Case assigned.

(56)



In PE, too, the same mechanism in (56) works well to license both DPs. Here, a few comments are in order about the Case-assignment in PE.

Amano (2000) criticizes and argues against the VP-shell structure and, what is more, the binary-branching structure, for double object constructions, and instead assumes the ternary-branching one. In this structure, linear order, not hierarchy, is crucial to reflexive binding. Moreover, he argues for the double accusative object construction, which is marked even in PE. Since PE has no inherent Case available, the double accusative object construction is acceptable as last resort in the sense of Chomsky (1991) as in (57).

(57) deletion might be regarded as a "last resort" operation, applicable where necessary, but not otherwise, and that the same is true of whatever is involved in *do*-support: insertion, if that is the proper way to interpret the phenomenon

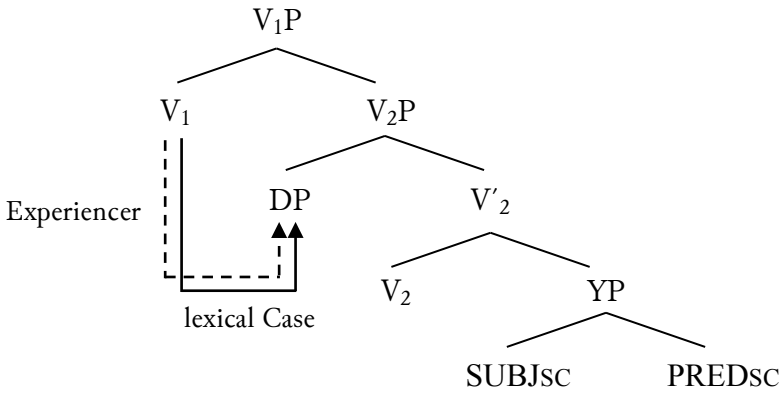
(Chomsky (1991: 437))

According to him, ditransitive verbs have two objects to be assigned Case, but only one Case is available. There is otherwise no way to license the two objects, and then one of the two objects is 'exceptionally' assigned Case. If the current analysis by the three-layered VP-shell structure is right on the track, there will be no need to assume a special device as a last resort operation. Ditransitive verbs in PE can intrinsically assign two accusative Cases.

5.4.2. Development of Experiencer Constructions

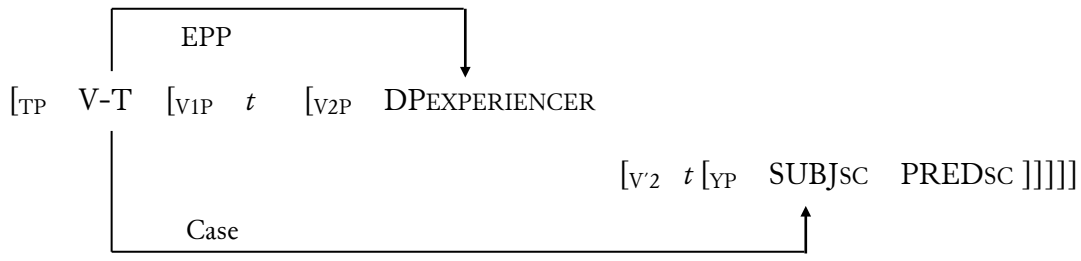
Let us now review the discussion on the development of Experiencer constructions in Chapter 4. The *seem*-type verb has the two-layered VP-shell structure with two lexical heads. The Experiencer argument occupies the Specifier position of the lower VP, as illustrated in (58).

(58)



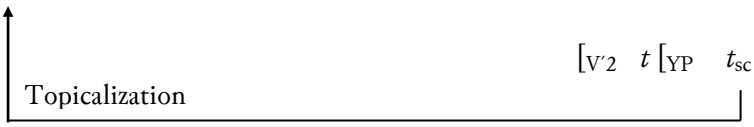
In (58) the upper V_1 assigns a θ-role to the Specifier position of the lower V_2P. As the derivation proceeds, T assigns structural Case to the subject of the small clause SUBJSC. Furthermore, the EPP feature of T attracts the closest nominal element. In (58) it is the DPEXPERIENCER, and it raises to the Specifier position of TP.

(59)



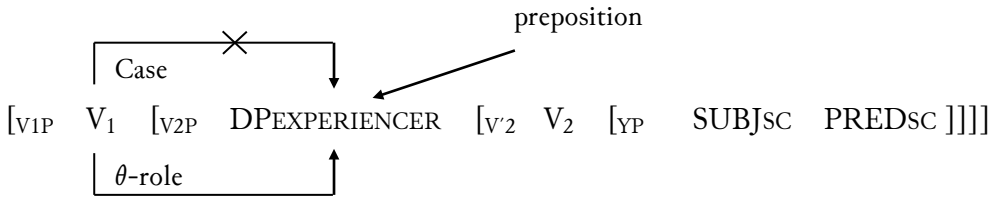
In the case of OE, the embedded subject SUBJSC can move to the Specifier of CP in order to satisfy the V2 requirement.

(60) $[_{CP}$ SUBJSC V-T-C $[_{TP}$ *t* $[_{V1P}$ *t* $[_{V2P}$ DPEXPERIENCER $[_{V'2}$ *t* $[_{YP}$ t_{sc} PREDSC]]]]]]



In ME, the upper V_1 lost the ability to assign inherent Case. If the Experiencer argument did not receive any Case, the sentence would be ruled out as a violation of the Case Filter. Thus, a new way of assigning Case was introduced, just like the case of double object constructions. It is the use of the preposition.

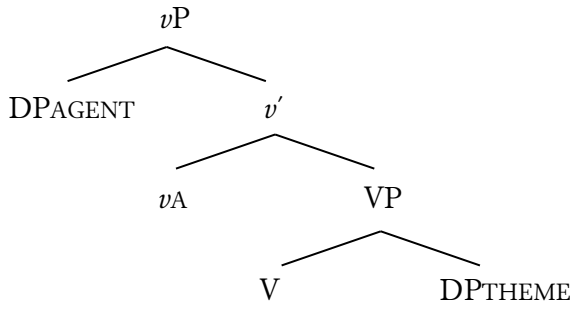
(61)



5.4.3. Development of Dative Verb Constructions

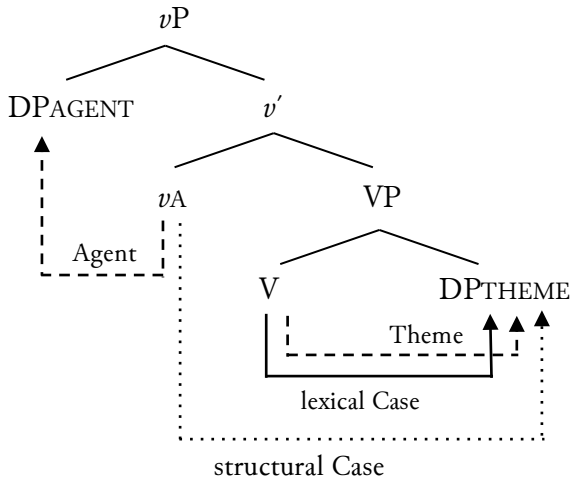
This section considers dative verb constructions. Under the general assumption that passivization is applied to accusative objects, dative verbs in OE seem to be peculiar in that they take no accusative objects, like Experiencer verbs, but they can be passivized. In addition, some verbs of this group in OE exhibit the case alternation between dative and accusative (see Section 5.2.3). Keeping these in mind, I propose the VP-shell structure for dative verb constructions as in (62).

(62)



In the structure of (62), the little *v*A is a lexical-functional category which has the ability to assign a θ-role to DPAGENT and accusative Case optionally to DPTHEME; the lexical V assigns a θ-role and inherent Case to DPTHEME. This is illustrated in (63).

(63)



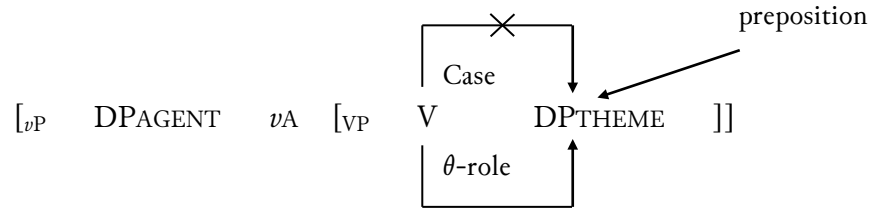
Generally, if both structural and nonstructural Cases are assigned to a single noun phrase, the nonstructural Case would have precedence over structural Case and the nonstructural Case would be manifested. In the case of nominative and dative case, dative case would have priority and the noun phrase occurs in the dative case, e.g. oblique subjects in Icelandic. In the structure of (63), too, the DPTHEME might receive two different types of Case, but the DP occurs in the dative case in the active.

In some cases, however, a 'dative' verb would be used with an accusative object, as shown in Section 5.2.3. This might be due to the weakened dative case, just like the weak dative in the Halsa dialect.

Let us turn to the derivation of an active and a passive sentences in OE with the VP-shell structure in (62). The DPTHEME receives a θ-role and lexical dative Case from the lexical head V. Optionally, the little *v*A may assign structural accusative Case to the DPTHEME, but the accusative Case is normally not manifested on the DP, although there are some ambiguous cases of pronouns. If the verb is passivized, the functions of the little *v*A will be inert, and then the lexical dative Case retains its Case, yielding the impersonal passive.

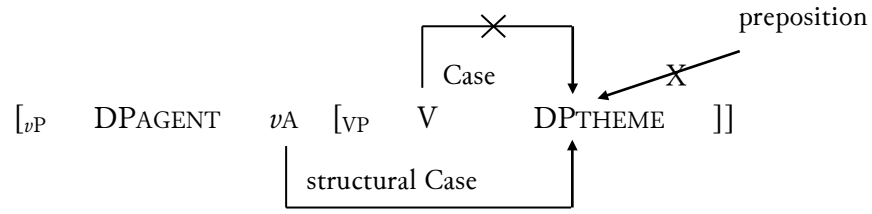
With the demise of morphological case inflections, lexical dative Case became unavailable. In the place of it, a new way to assign Case to DPTHEME was introduced, just like the other two constructions. That is, the preposition came in use.

(64)



Unlike Experiencer verbs, dative verbs have the VP-shell structure containing the little *v*A, which intrinsically has the ability to assign an accusative Case. This lexical-functional category became activated to Case-license the DPTHEME, as a more direct way than the use of the preposition. Once that category was activated, the use of the preposition became redundant, because they both assign structural Case, and then obsolete. Therefore, it can be safely concluded that the rarity of the so-called 'dative substitute' is attributed to this intrinsic functional shift of the little *v*A.

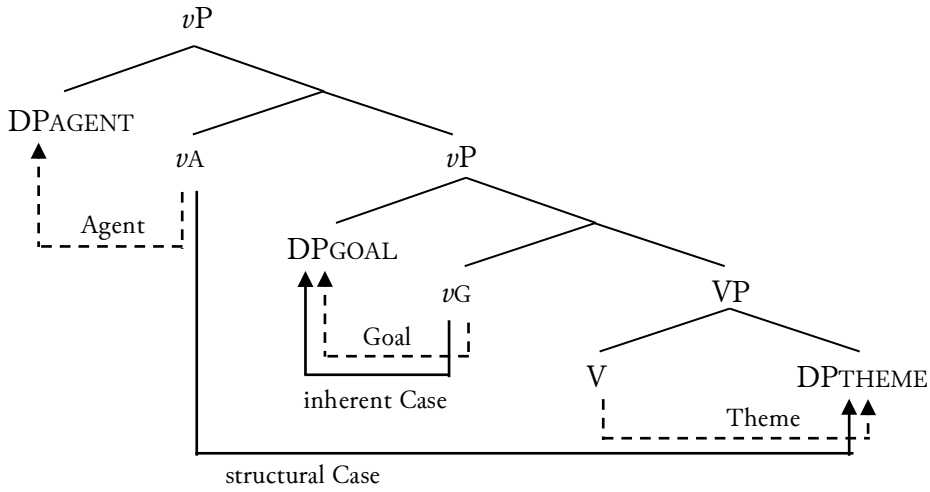
(65)



5.5. Conclusion

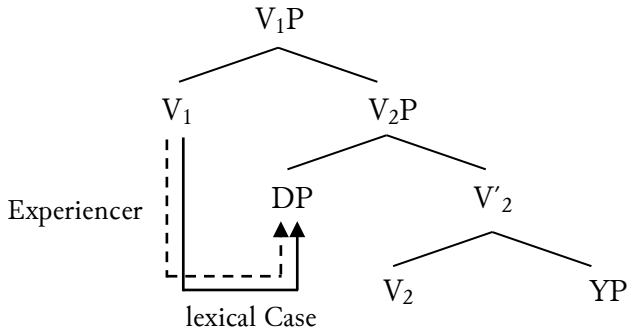
This section hss discussed the development of the three constructions involving the dative case: double object constructions, Experiencer constructions and dative verb constructions. After providing the language facts relevant to the aforementioned constructions, the VP-shell structure was proposed for each verb. First, ditransitive verbs have the three-layered VP-shell structure consisting of *v*AP, *v*GP and VP. Case-assignment takes place in a bottom-up fashion. In OE, the lexical head V assigns a θ-role to DPTHEME, the little *v*G assigns a θ-role and inherent Case to DPGOAL, and the little *v*A assigns a θ-role to DPAGENT. The lowest DPTHEME is structurally assigned Case by T. This is demonstrated in (66).

(66)

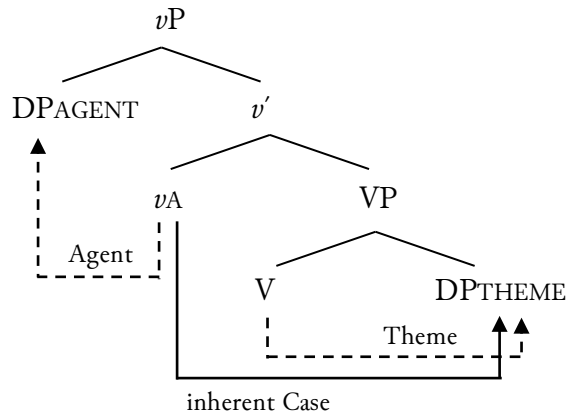


Second, Experiencer verbs have the two-layered VP-shell structure, which is composed of two lexical projections, V_1P and V_2P. The lexical head V_1 assigns a θ-role and lexical Case to DPEXPERIENCER. Third, dative verbs also have the two-layered VP-shell structure. It is different from that of Experiencer verbs in that dative verbs contain a lexical-functional category in their structure. The category intrinsically assigns structural Case, and such Case is sometimes manifested on an object in OE, due in part to the weakness of the dative case. The VP-shell structures for these two verbs are given again in (67) and (68).

(67)



(68)



In OE there were two dative cases available: inherent dative Case for ditransitive verbs and lexical dative Case for Experiencer and dative verbs. After the morphological case endings became obsolete in ME, two kinds of dative Case ceased to be manifested on some DPs, and

then the preposition *to* (or *till*) was introduced instead to assign Case to the DPs in those three constructions. During some period after that, DPs with or without the preposition were used, but finally, in double object constructions DPs without the preposition were chosen when indirect objects were adjacent to verbs, while DPs with the preposition were chosen when indirect objects were away from verbs. In Experiencer constructions, DPs with the preposition were chosen, whereas in dative verb constructions, DPs without the preposition were chosen.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

[*] This chapter is a revised and expanded version of the paper presented at the symposium entitled *Case and Syntactic Change* in the 85th annual general meeting of the English Literary Society of Japan, held at Tohoku University on 25–26 May 2013 and the invited one presented at the 60th annual meeting of the English Literary Society of Japan, Hokkaido Branch, held at Hokkaido University on 1 November 2015. I am very grateful to Michio Hosaka, Yuko Yanagida, Kiriko Sato, Seishiro Ibaraki, Satoshi Oku, and the audiences for their valuable comments and suggestions.

[1] This would be an 'egg or chicken paradox' as well as the cause-and-effect relation between the loss of morphological case endings and the establishment of fixed word order (see Chapter 1). About this issue, Kondo (1983: 80–81) states that the development of prepositions and the loss of morphological case endings are the both sides of the single syntactic phenomenon. He also suggests that the development of prepositions might be a fundamental factor to make case inflections obsolete, if the loss of case inflections happened for any syntactic reason.

Sato (2009) discusses the development from case-forms to prepositional constructions in OE prose, focusing on the connection of that development and prose styles. She argues that both case-forms and prepositional phrases are used in the same functions. For example, both *þysum wordum* (ÆCHom I 40.5) and *mid þysum wordum* (ÆCHom I 29.28) are used in Instrumentality, meaning 'with these words' (Sato (2009: 126)). She mentions that 'prepositional phrases have not yet completely taken over case-forms in *ÆCHom* [= Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, the First series (a late OE prose)]. Compared with early OE prose [e.g. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*], however, the number of case-forms decreased markedly [in Instrumentality (see above), Manner and Point of Time]' (Sato (2009: 126)).

[2] There seem to be a few exceptions: *like*, *worth* and *near*. These words have comparative forms: *This paper is more worth reading than that one*. and *Mary looks more like her grandmother than her*

mother. According to Maling (1983), however, *like* and *worth* are best analyzed as prepositions, whereas *near* is the only surviving transitive adjective. Adjectivehood of these lexical items, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis, and thus it is left untouched upon.

[3] In OE there is no distinction between the 'dative-accusative' order and the 'accusative-dative' order with respect to the use of prepositions. Neither order requires any preposition in double object constructions. In PE, however, prepositions are required to be used when indirect objects follow direct objects. These constructions are called in this thesis 'prepositional dative constructions.'

[4] As for cases assigned to two objects, the combination of dative and accusative is normal and most frequent. Other combinations, however, are also observed.

(i) a. þe eow ðæs lifes ne unnon
that you.DAT the life.GEN NEG grant
'that do not give life to you' (Letter to Edward 16/Clayton (2007: 43))

b. his leorning-cnihtas hine an big-spell ahsodon
his disciples him.ACC a parableACC asked
'his disciples asked him the parable' (Mark 7.17/Ono and Nakao (1980: 285))

c. mid þæm folce þe hiene ær fultumes bæd
with the people that himACC before helpGEN asked
'with the people who had asked him help' (Or 112.25/Ono and Nakao (1980: 289))

In (ia) the human object *eow* 'you' is in the dative case and the thing object *ðæs lifes* 'the life' is in the genitive case; in (ib) both the human *hine* 'him' and thing *an big-spell* 'a parable' are in the accusative case; and in (ic) the human object *hiene* 'him' is in the accusative case and the thing object *fultumes* 'help' is in the genitive case. It is not clear whether the Cases assigned to the

objects are structural or nonstructural or which object can be passivized in each sentence. Since the number of these combinations is small, these marked combinations are not discussed in this thesis.

[5] Koopman (1990a) demonstrates that in early OE the 'dative-accusative' order is more frequent than the 'accusative-dative' order, and in late OE their frequencies are reversed. See also Section 3.2.1.

6 Precisely speaking, a construction like those in (11) is not a double object construction, but sometimes called a prepositional dative construction. But a double object construction is used for ease of reference unless otherwise distinction is particularly required.

[7] In the Later version of the *Wycliffite Bible* as well the same order patterns are used.

[8] The historical periods employed in the PPCME2 are as follows: m2 = 1250–1350; m23 = comp.date 1250–1350, ms. date 1350–1420; m3 = 1350–1420; m34 = comp. date 1350–1420, ms. date 1420–1500; m4 = 1420–1500.

[9] The dative/non-dative case distinction also shows up on definite noun forms, as in (i).

(i) a. Ho erta kattå.
She teased cat-THE.ACC

b. Ho ga kattåinn mat.
She gave cat-THE.DAT food

c. Ho erta ei katt.
She teased a cat

d. Ho ga ei katt mat.
She gave a cat food

(Halsa dialect in Norwegian/Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012: 77))

In (ia) and (ib) a definite article is suffixed to the noun *katt* 'cat.' The definite article is inflected depending on case. In (ic) and (id), by contrast, the indefinite article *ei* 'a' is indeclinable.

[10] Allen (1995: 363) is skeptical of the 'dative substitute' *to* in (40). She argues that the prepositional objects in (40) are a sort of Goal rather than the Recipient of the help. The dative case has to be connected only with the Recipient. However, it does not matter what kind of θ-role is assigned to a prepositional dative, and what is important is the fact that the dative case was replaced by the preposition.

[11] Throughout this thesis, the θ-role names are used as cover terms, since semantically fine-grained classification of θ-roles is outside the scope of this thesis.

[12] As suggested in Chomsky (2008: 143), *v* might be one of several choices for Experiencer constructions. The choice between V or *v* would be a notational variant for the same conception. See also Chomsky (2000: 105, 142n31, 143n37) and Section 4.6.2.

[13] If the phase theory is followed, the upper little v_A would function as phase. Chomsky (2008: 143) mentions that '*v** [a phase] is the functional head associated with full argument structure.' Given this, where the full argument structure is saturated is the upper little v_A, not the lower little v_G.

[14] One might suspect that the insertion of the preposition *to* in syntax would be a violation of the Inclusiveness Condition in (i).

> (i) any structure formed by the computation (in particular, π and λ) is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected for N; no new objects are added in the course of computation apart from rearrangements of lexical properties (in particular, no indices, bar levels in the sense of X-bar theory, etc. [. . .]).
>
> (Chomsky (1995: 228))

Here, I suppose that the dative case morphology and the insertion of the preposition are both different realizations of a single phenomenon: Case realization. The same reasoning might be true of the realization of genitive Case in PE: *of*-genitive or apostrophe *s*.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Grand Summary

This thesis has discussed word order patterns within noun phrases and those within clause structure in Old English (OE) and Middle English (ME), in comparison with present-day English (PE). In particular, it was concerned with the distribution of quantifiers within noun phrases and sentences, syntactic positions of object in OE, the distribution of Experiencer arguments within sentences, diachronic changes of Case-licensing of dative nominals. The analyses of these syntactic phenomena were based mainly on the data retrieved from the historical corpora, the YCOE, the PPCME2, the DOE corpus and the Innsbruck ME prose.

In Chapter 1, I first explained the stance I adopted throughout this thesis. I provided syntactic accounts to synchronic word order variation and historical development of some phenomena within the framework of generative grammar, especially the Minimalist Program. The accounts, however, did not depend largely on a specific version of the Minimalist Program. This is partly because the thesis focused more on descriptive generalizations than on theoretical explanation. I also overviewed Case Theory, which dates back to the 1980's. Since then, it has been assumed that Case is required to license NPs (or DPs). This is formulated as the Case Filter in (1).

(1) Case Filter

*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case. (Chomsky (1981[1993]: 49))

This filter rules out sentences as ungrammatical if any one of the NPs has no Case in the sentences. In order to satisfy the Case Filter, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, prepositions came in use instead of morphological case inflection.

Chapter 2 discussed the distribution of quantifiers in OE and ME on the basis of the data retrieved from the YCOE and the PPCME2. It was statistically shown that within noun phrase (or quantifier phrases), the 'quantifier-noun' order and the 'noun-quantifier' order were both possible in OE and ME. In addition, quantifiers are sometimes separated from their head nouns or pronouns, especially when they are subjects in OE and ME. Quantifiers in OE and ME have some basic syntactic properties in common with those of PE.

As for word order patterns within clause structure, in Chapter 3 I considered object movement observed in OE, and proposed that three kinds of object movement are driven for their own requirements. The first type is syntactically-motivated. This movement is closely related to formal features of lexical items. The second type is Scrambling-type object movement. It is relatively freely applied to objects as well as to prepositional phrases. The third type is discourse-driven. Following van Kemenade and Los (2006), it is assumed to be driven to introduce a secondary topic in addition to the primary topic in the Specifier position of the upper CP. A sentence is divided by a discourse marker such as *þa* 'then' into two domain, the topic and focus domain. I argued that the discourse marker divides the quantifier phrase into the head nominal in the topic domain and the quantifier in the focus domain (see also Chapter 2). By so doing, I showed the viability of this analysis.

Chapter 4 was concerned with Experiencer constructions. After reviewing a brief history of constructions with *þyncan* 'seem, appear' and *semen* 'seem,' I examined the distribution of Experiencer arguments in the constructions in terms of their syntactic categories and grammatical person, and showed that while dative-marked Experiencer arguments can either follow or precede the *seem*-type verb, prepositional Experiencer arguments follows the verb and that the first person Experiencer tends to occupy the preverbal position. This chapter also argued that the expletive *it* tends to be inserted when the Experiencer argument follows the *seem*-type verb.

In Chapter 5, I dealt with historical development of three constructions involving dative arguments. The constructions considered are double object constructions, Experiencer constructions and dative verb constructions. In each construction in OE, dative arguments are assumed to be assigned Case inherently or lexically. With the loss of morphological case inflection in ME, which led to the loss of nonstructural Case (inherent Case and lexical Case), those arguments came to be licensed by having Case assigned structurally. I analyzed what first happened to those dative argument as the across-the-board shift from dative Case to prepositional dative. In some cases, a further retrospective change happened: from prepositional to objective Case. This two-step change happened to dative constructions, while only the first change happened to Experiencer constructions. In double object constructions, the word order difference developed into two different constructions.

6.2. Residual Issues

As just summarized in the previous section, I discussed synchronic word order variation and diachronic language change at several stages in English and deduced general tendencies and preferences for the aforementioned syntactic phenomena. These syntactic phenomena, however,

are only small components of the universe of the English language, and there are still numerous descriptive and theoretical issues to be addressed here and there.

I examined the distribution of the four quantifiers *all*, *both*, *many* and *some*, but I did not pay attention to two other quantifiers, *each* and *every*. *Every* was derived from the empathic form *ever each*. OE also had *æghilwic* and *gehwilc*, which are other lexical items corresponding to *each* (see Kahlas-Tarkka (1987) for an extensive analysis of these two quantifiers in OE and ME). In present-day English, *each* can be used as a 'floating' quantifier, but *every* cannot be separated, as shown in (2).

(2) a. I gave the students three candies each.
b. *I gave the students three candies every.

In addition, *every* has the integrated forms *everything, everybody* and *everyone*, but *each* has no such forms.

In Chapter 3, I discussed object movement in OE and made a few comments on the parametric difference between OE and PE. However, I did not mention anything about object movement in ME and Modern English. Beside, object movement observed in adjectival constructions in OE ought to be discussed. If the analysis in this thesis is on the right track, it is expected that syntactically-driven object movement is not possible in adjectival constructions, since adjectives have no functional category to which the EPP feature is assigned. This is because transitive adjectives in OE take objects in dative or genitive, which is assumed to be lexical Case, in accordance with the Case distinction proposed by Woolford (2006).

The historical development of passive constructions is also to be examined. In Chapter 5 direct and indirect passives and personal and impersonal passives were discussed, but the

discussion was not so extensive. The development seems to be closely related with the loss of morphological case inflections and the entire Case-licensing system.

Although it seems worth pursuing these syntactic developments and synchronic distributions in the history of English from both descriptive and theoretical perspectives, I leave these issues for future research.

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