



Universidad de Oviedo
Universidá d'Uviéu
University of Oviedo

Programa de Doctorado en
Investigaciones Humanísticas

CONSTITUYENTES FRONTALIZADOS EN LA SUBORDINACIÓN
EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO: IMPLICACIONES SINTÁCTICAS Y DE
ESTRUCTURA DE LA INFORMACIÓN

TESIS DOCTORAL

Sergio López Martínez

Oviedo, 2019



Universidad de Oviedo
Universidá d'Uviéu
University of Oviedo

Programa de Doctorado en
Investigaciones Humanísticas

CONSTITUYENTES FRONTALIZADOS EN LA SUBORDINACIÓN
EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO: IMPLICACIONES SINTÁCTICAS Y DE
ESTRUCTURA DE LA INFORMACIÓN

TESIS DOCTORAL

Sergio López Martínez

Oviedo, 2019



RESUMEN DEL CONTENIDO DE TESIS DOCTORAL

1.- Título de la Tesis	
Español: Constituyentes frontalizados en la subordinación en inglés antiguo: implicaciones sintácticas y de estructura de la información.	Inglés: Embedded constituent fronting in Old English: syntactic and information structural implications.
2.- Autor	
Nombre: Sergio López Martínez	DNI/Pasaporte/NIE:
Programa de Doctorado: Programa de Doctorado en Investigaciones Humanísticas	
Órgano responsable: Centro Internacional de Postgrado	

RESUMEN (en español)

La periferia izquierda de la cláusula, especialmente en lenguas germánicas como el inglés antiguo, ha sido un área de investigación recurrente en los últimos tiempos, junto con el estudio de la interacción entre discurso y sintaxis. Esta tesis ha proporcionado un estudio exhaustivo de corpus sobre la periferia izquierda de las cláusulas subordinadas en inglés antiguo, prestando especial atención a los constituyentes frontalizados. El análisis de los datos disponibles ha sacado a la luz numerosos ejemplos de cláusulas subordinadas con objetos y sintagmas preposicionales frontalizados, que en una fase inicial de los estudios de sintaxis del inglés antiguo se atribuyeron a un proceso de topicalización (una operación que tradicionalmente ha sido excluida de las cláusulas subordinadas en la mayoría de las lenguas germánicas como el inglés antiguo). Sin embargo, un examen más pormenorizado de los diferentes tipos de orden de palabras hallados en el corpus demostró que la situación podría ser más compleja.

En lo que concierne a los objetos frontalizados en cláusulas subordinadas, hay una diferencia clave en relación al estatus de dichos objetos: se observó que los límites de la sintaxis del inglés antiguo podían forzarse para permitir que ciertos objetos (esencialmente pronominales) ocuparan la primera posición de las cláusulas subordinadas, especialmente si asumimos una doble posición de sujeto y la existencia de $S\Sigma$. Los SD-objeto, sin embargo, supusieron más dificultades a la hora de intentar acomodarlos a un modelo sintáctico dado. Mientras que la mayoría de teorías sintácticas del inglés antiguo hasta la fecha no permiten que este tipo de objetos sean frontalizados en las cláusulas subordinadas, su estatus discursivo sugiere que ciertos factores relativos a la estructura de la información pueden estar probablemente detrás de este orden de palabras anómalo. Se propone, por tanto, la necesidad de una periferia izquierda más articulada para la cláusula subordinada en inglés antiguo,

capaz de reflejar el estatus discursivo de los objetos, así como los diferentes factores de estructura de la información que dan a dichos objetos su estatus de tópicos. La importancia de estos factores discursivos es también patente a la hora de analizar los ejemplos de orden OVS en subordinación en el corpus. Mientras que el orden V2 se considera una posible explicación, un examen más detallado del estatus discursivo de los distintos elementos en la cláusula demuestra que el verbo finito, de hecho, permanece en el área del SV sin elevarse hasta la posición V2, y que es el estatus discursivo del sujeto como foco lo que motiva la extraposición de estos objetos, típicamente pesados. La situación en las cláusulas subordinadas XVS con SPs frontalizados es similar, recordando a las estructuras con inversión locativa en inglés contemporáneo. Estas construcciones existenciales o presentativas muestran un elemento locativo o temporal frontalizado seguido por el verbo, con un SD-sujeto extrapuesto y focalizado en posición final en la mayor parte de los casos. Por otra parte, los ejemplos con orden XSV anidado con un SP frontalizado se pueden atribuir al fenómeno de topicalización subordinada, dado que el verbo en estas cláusulas es normalmente inacusativo, lo que formaría parte del limitado conjunto de contextos en los que este fenómeno es permitido en cláusulas subordinadas.

En conclusión, consideramos demostrado que, aunque la topicalización anidada *per se* es una opción limitada en la sintaxis del inglés antiguo, la periferia izquierda de las cláusulas subordinadas en esta lengua es en efecto compleja, y que la estructura de la información juega un papel relevante en la frontalización e incluso extraposición de constituyentes en este tipo de cláusulas. La estructura de la información es aún un ámbito de investigación incipiente, por lo que será necesario un análisis más profundo de la interacción entre discurso y sintaxis, tanto en términos generales como concretamente en lo que respecta al inglés antiguo, especialmente si deseamos acomodar fenómenos como los presentados en este estudio a un modelo sintáctico formal.

RESUMEN (en Inglés)

The left periphery of the clause, particularly in Germanic languages such as Old English, has been a favourite area of research in recent years, together with the study of the interplay between discourse and syntax in relation to these languages. The present work provides an extensive corpus-based study of the left periphery of embedded clauses in Old English, paying particular attention to fronted constituents. The analysis of the available data shows numerous examples of embedded clauses with fronted objects and fronted PPs, which in an initial stage was attributed to embedded topicalisation (a phenomenon which has

traditionally been banned from subordinate clauses in most Germanic languages such as OE). However, closer examination of the different types of word order found in the corpus showed that the situation is more complex than that.

As regards fronted objects in embedded clauses, there was a key difference concerning the status of objects: it was observed that the limits of OE syntax could be stretched to allow pronominal objects in the first position of embedded clauses, particularly if we assume a double subject position and the existence of ΣP . DP objects, however, posed more difficulties when trying to be accounted for in a syntactic model. While most syntactic theories to date do not allow for this type of objects to be fronted in OE embedded clauses, their discourse status pointed towards the fact that information structural factors are probably behind this anomalous word ordering. I suggest that we may need a more articulate left periphery of the embedded clause in Old English, one able to reflect the discourse status of objects and the different information structural factors that give these objects their status as topics.

The importance of these discourse-related factors is also highlighted when analysing examples of embedded OVS word order in the corpus. While embedded V2 was considered as a possible explanation, a closer look at the discourse status of the different elements of the clause demonstrated that the finite verb does indeed stay in the VP area without being raised to V2 position, and that it was the subject's discourse status as focus that prompted the extraposition of these usually heavy objects. The situation was similar in embedded XVS clauses with fronted PPs, which resemble structures with locative inversion in PDE. These existential or presentative constructions show a fronted locative or temporal element followed by the verb, with an extraposed and focalised DP subject in final position in most of the cases. On the other hand, attestations of embedded XSV word order with a fronted PP can be ascribed to embedded topicalisation, given the fact that the verb in these clauses is usually unaccusative, thus falling into the limited set of contexts in which this phenomenon is allowed in embedded clauses.

In conclusion, I hope to have demonstrated that, even though embedded topicalisation *per se* is still a limited option in the syntax of Old English, the left periphery of embedded clauses in this language is indeed quite complex, and that information structure plays a significant role in the fronting, and even extraposition, of constituents in this type of clauses.

A la memoria de mi padre

Acknowledgements

I want to thank a large group of people who, one way or another, helped me in the process of completing this thesis. First of all, my supervisor, Rodrigo Pérez Lorigo, for his support, guidance and encouragement over these years of work, which doubtlessly ended up forging what I am sure will be a long-lasting friendship. Also, my co-supervisor Daniel García Velasco, for all his help and support in the development of my thesis and of my teaching skills.

Bettelou Los and Linda van Bergen, who kindly supervised my research stay at Edinburgh University in 2017 and who greatly helped me advance in my research. Ans van Kemenade, for welcoming me during my research stay at Radboud University in Nijmegen and for giving me some more than helpful guidance and for pointing me towards the completion of my thesis. Rafael Pascual and Ewa Ciszek-Kiliszewska, who generously agreed to review my thesis. Ana Ojea and Paula Rodríguez, for guiding me in my teaching hours at the University of Oviedo.

All my friends from my time in Edinburgh, particularly Candice and Eva, with whom I shared a lot of working hours, but way more great moments together. My friends in Nijmegen, especially Aurora, whose help allowed me to have a roof over my head and who welcomed me in such a wonderful place and university, and Tara, who was a great office mate and whose programming skills allowed me to expand my database.

My colleagues from Uniovi, who made working every day easier, and who always helped me find an excuse to go for a coffee or even lunch and forget about our burden for a while. Antolina, for being such a kind and generous friend, and, especially, one of the greatest fighters I know. Jimena, who has helped me with so many decisions, both

academic and worldly. Barbara, for assisting me while designing and spreading my German survey.

My friends from my time at the University of Kent, particularly Jessica, María, Carla and Kelsey, who made that year an unforgettable time thanks to their friendship.

My committee colleagues from ASYRAS, with whom I had a great time in Alicante and Santander, and who gave me the opportunity to learn a lot and keep growing while meeting some more wonderful people in the academic world.

All my friends outside academia, especially my childhood friends, but also all those in Gijón and Oviedo, thanks to whom I never forgot about the outside world and who were always there to support me and to encourage me to go on.

The wonderful people I met in the incredible sum of five fencing clubs I was a member of during the completion of my thesis (Edinburgh University, Gijón, Oviedo, Mallard in Kent and Don Quichote in Nijmegen).

All the members of my family, especially my mother and my brother Dani, but also my grandmother and my uncles, aunts and cousins, whose help, support, generosity and unconditional love made everything possible. And of course, Sandra, for sharing with me some of the best days of our lives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations.....	19
List of figures.....	21
List of tables	23
1. INTRODUCTION	25
2. MAJOR ANALYSES OF V2 AND THE SYNTAX OF OLD ENGLISH	31
2.1 Old English as a V2 language	31
2.2. V2 and embedded topicalisation.....	36
2.3 Other Germanic languages: embedded constituent fronting in Present-Day German	42
2.3.1 Grammaticality test.....	44
2.3.1.1 <i>Fronted DP objects</i>	45
2.3.1.2 <i>Fronted pronominal objects and ‘man’ as a subject.</i> .	50
2.3.1.3 <i>Fronted prepositional phrases.</i>	52
3. OBJECTIVES, CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY.....	57
3.1 Objectives.....	57
3.2 Corpus	57
3.3 Data retrieval	58
3.4 Data.....	62
3.5 Distribution and frequencies	67
4. EMBEDDED OSV WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH.....	69
4.1 OSV with fronted pronominal objects	69
4.1.1 The status of pronouns	70
4.1.2 A double subject position and Σ P.....	74
4.1.3 Information structure: givenness and newness.....	78
4.1.4 The status of <i>man</i>	81
4.2 OSV with fronted DPs	83
4.2.1 DP objects and the double subject position	85
4.2.2 Information structure, objects and topics.....	89
4.2.3 Types of DP topic	91
4.2.4 Types of DP-OSV embedded clause	94
4.2.5 Latin translations	97
4.3 Concluding remarks	102
5. EMBEDDED OVS WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH.....	105

5.1 Verbs taking V2 complement clauses.....	107
5.2 Types of embedded OVS clause.....	109
5.3 Information structure, subjects and focus	111
5.4 Discourse status and subject weight in embedded OVS clauses.....	115
5.5 Concluding remarks	118
6. FRONTED PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES.....	119
6.1 Discourse and fronted PPs	121
6.2 Embedded XVS clauses	122
6.3 Concluding remarks	123
7. CONCLUSIONS.....	125
References	129
Appendix 1	137
Appendix 2	141
Appendix 3	143
Embedded DP-OSV (NP subj.).....	143
Embedded DP-OSV (pron. subj.).....	147
Embedded DP-OSV (<i>man</i> subj.).....	151
Embedded OVS.....	152

Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	PL	plural
Adv	Adverb	PP	Prepositional Phrase
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase	Pron	pronoun
Agr	Agreement	Quant.	Quantified
AgrP	Agreement Phrase	REFL	reflexive
C	Complementiser	SG	singular
CP	Complementiser Phrase	SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
D-linked	Discourse-linked	Spec	Specifier
DAT	Dative	SU ₁	subject position 1
DP	Determiner Phrase	SU ₂	subject position 2
ENHG	Early New High German	SUB	subordinate
FinP	Finiteness Phrase	SUBJ	subject
Fin	Finiteness	SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
FocP	Focus Phrase	T	Tense
ForceP	Force Phrase	TopP	Topic Phrase
GEN	Genitive	TP	Tense Phrase
I / INFL	Inflection	V	verb
IP	Inflectional Phrase	V2	verb second
MC	main clause	Vf	finite verb
N	noun	VO	Verb-Object
Neg	Negation	VP	Verb Phrase
NegP	Negation Phrase	XSV	X-Subject-Verb
NOM	Nominative	XVS	X-Verb-Subject
NP	Noun Phrase	ΣP	Sigma Phrase
OBJ	object		
OE	Old English		
OV	Object-Verb		

List of figures

Figure 1. Embedded SOV word order.	46
Figure 2. Embedded OSV word order.	47
Figure 3. Embedded OVS word order.	47
Figure 4. Embedded SOV word order (2).	49
Figure 5. Embedded OSV word order (2).	49
Figure 6. Embedded OVS word order (2).	50
Figure 7. Embedded SOV word order (with <i>man</i> and a pronominal object).	51
Figure 8. Embedded OSV word order (with a pronominal object and <i>man</i>).	52
Figure 9. Embedded OVS word order (with a pronominal object and <i>man</i>).	52
Figure 10. Embedded SXV word order (with a prepositional phrase).	54
Figure 11. Embedded XSV word order (with a prepositional phrase).	54
Figure 12. Embedded XVS word order (with a prepositional phrase).	55
Figure 13. Query tree for embedded OSV word order on <i>Corpus Search</i>	58
Figure 14. Query tree for embedded XSV word order on <i>Corpus Search</i>	59
Figure 15. Query tree for embedded OVS word order on <i>Corpus Search</i>	60
Figure 16. Query tree for embedded OVS word order on <i>Corpus Search</i>	60
Figure 17. Subject type in pronominal-OSV	69
Figure 18. Subject Type in DP-OSV sentences.....	84
Figure 19. Types of embedded clause with DP-OSV word order.	94
Figure 20. Fronted DP-object word count.....	97
Figure 21. Types of embedded clause with OVS word order in the corpus	109

List of tables

Table 1. Distribution of embedded clauses with fronted constituents in the corpus	68
Table 2. DP subject type with fronted DP objects in the corpus.	86
Table 3. Types of topic in OSV sentences with fronted DP objects.....	91
Table 4. Types of DP-OSV embedded clauses and types of topic.	95
Table 5. Types of DP-OSV embedded clauses, clause position and object word count.	96
Table 6. Distribution of embedded OVS order in the corpus.....	106
Table 7. Types of embedded clauses with OSV word order in the corpus	110
Table 8. Distribution of non-extraposed subjects and extraposed subjects in OE embedded clauses with fronted objects	115

1. INTRODUCTION

The left periphery of the clause, particularly in Germanic languages such as Old English, has been a favourite area of research in recent years (van Kemenade 1997, Speyer 2010, Walkden 2015, Bech & Salvesen 2014, Walkden 2017), together with the study of the interplay between discourse and syntax in relation to these languages (van Kemenade & Los 2009, Light 2011, Petrova & Speyer 2011, Los et al. 2012, van Kemenade & Milićev 2012, Taylor & Pintzuk 2012).

From the earliest stages of research on historical linguistics, Old English has fallen under the category of a V2 language, an approach that has been challenged several times ever since. Nevertheless, what was clear was that the word order of main clauses in Old English followed a series of rules, and that the fact that the main verb surfaced in V2 position most of the times made the preceding element and phenomena such as topicalisation a matter of discussion. Authors like van Kemenade (1987), Pintzuk (1991) or Fischer et al. (2000), among others, have provided a detailed account of these aspects of the syntax of Old English. In more recent times, particularly building on Rizzi (1997), it has been assumed by some authors that the intricate architecture of the left periphery of the clause requires a more articulate syntactic system, able to represent several discourse-related factors that may affect word order.

On the other hand, most of the current approaches to Old English syntax show that subordinate or embedded clauses in Old English undergo a different syntactic derivation, with the finite verb staying in the VP area in most of the cases, thus surfacing in final position. It has been assumed that the left periphery of subordinate clauses in Old English is not as articulate as that of main clauses, which excludes the availability of several phenomena that are restricted to the latter, such as topicalisation and V2. While the

research on these main-clause phenomena is extensive, thorough and detailed, I feel this is not the case concerning subordinate clauses. Most of the available literature tends to categorically negate the possibility of main-clause phenomena in subordinate sentences, or limits it to several extremely restricted contexts. However, there seems to be a lack of systematic and detailed comprehensive studies of the left periphery of embedded clauses in Old English which pay attention to the different phenomena attested there. If discourse-related factors play a role in the word order of main clauses in Old English, it is not implausible to believe that they may as well influence the syntax of embedded clauses.

The present work will attempt to provide a comprehensive, corpus-based study of the distribution of fronted constituents in Old English that differs from that found in canonical types of word order in embedded clauses. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the major analysis of V2 and the syntax of Old English, paying attention to the phenomenon of topicalisation. Chapter 3 will elaborate on the objectives of this study, presenting the corpus analysed and the methodology for the data-retrieval process, together with a first look at the general results. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will provide a discussion of the results, presenting the available data and contrasting it against the main syntactic theories and those related to information structure. Chapter 4 will focus on the data related to the fronting of objects in embedded clauses in Old English, while Chapter 5 will do so with the data including verb-inversion. Chapter 6 will elaborate on the embedded fronting of prepositional phrases. Finally, Chapter 7 will provide some concluding remarks.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

La periferia izquierda de la cláusula, especialmente en lenguas germánicas como el inglés antiguo, ha sido un área de investigación recurrente en los últimos tiempos (van Kemenade 1997, Speyer 2010, Walkden 2011, Bech & Salvesen 2014, Walkden 2017), junto con el estudio de la interacción entre discurso y sintaxis (van Kemenade & Los 2009, Light 2011, Petrova & Speyer 2011, Los et al. 2012, van Kemenade & Milićev 2012, Taylor & Pintzuk 2012).

Desde etapas tempranas en la investigación en lingüística histórica, el inglés antiguo ha sido incluido en la categoría de lenguas V2, un enfoque que ha sido cuestionado en varias ocasiones desde entonces. Sin embargo, un hecho incontrovertible es que el orden de palabras de las cláusulas principales en inglés antiguo sigue una serie de reglas, y que el verbo principal ocupa la segunda posición lineal la mayor parte de las veces, lo que convierte al elemento que precede a dicho verbo y a ciertos fenómenos como la topicalización en materia de debate. Autores como van Kemenade (1987), Pintzuk (1991) o Fischer et al. (2001), entre otros, han proporcionado un estudio detallado de estos aspectos de la sintaxis del inglés antiguo. En tiempos más recientes, partiendo principalmente de las ideas de Rizzi (1997), algunos autores han asumido que la intrincada arquitectura de la periferia izquierda de la cláusula en inglés antiguo requiere un sistema sintáctico más articulado, capaz de representar una serie de factores relacionados con el discurso, que afectan al orden de palabras. Por otra parte, la mayor parte de los enfoques actuales sobre este asunto demuestran que las cláusulas subordinadas en inglés antiguo experimentan una derivación sintáctica diferente, con el verbo conjugado manteniéndose en el SV en la mayoría de los casos, apareciendo, por lo tanto, en posición final. Se ha asumido, así, que la periferia izquierda de las cláusulas subordinadas en inglés antiguo no es tan articulada como la de las oraciones principales,

lo que impide que ciertos fenómenos tales como la topicalización y el orden V2 ocurran en este contexto sintáctico. Mientras que la investigación relacionada con estos procesos en las cláusulas principales es extensa, exhaustiva y detallada, puede dar la impresión de que este no es el caso en lo tocante a las cláusulas subordinadas. La mayor parte de la bibliografía disponible tiende a negar categóricamente la posibilidad de que ciertos fenómenos característicos de las cláusulas principales puedan darse en las subordinadas, o limita su aplicación a contextos extremadamente restringidos. Sin embargo, no parece existir, a día de hoy, ningún tipo de estudio sistemático y detallado sobre la periferia izquierda de las cláusulas subordinadas en inglés antiguo que preste atención a los diferentes fenómenos que en ellas se dan. Si ciertos factores relacionados con el discurso juegan un papel relevante en el orden de palabras de las oraciones principales en inglés antiguo, no sería descabellado pensar que también pueden influir en la sintaxis de las cláusulas subordinadas.

El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo, por tanto, proporcionar un estudio de corpus exhaustivo sobre la distribución de constituyentes frontalizados en inglés antiguo que aporte evidencia sobre una serie de patrones sintácticos no habituales en las cláusulas subordinadas. El capítulo 2 proporciona una visión general de los principales análisis del orden V2 y de la sintaxis del inglés antiguo, prestando especial atención al fenómeno de la topicalización. El capítulo 3 desarrolla los objetivos de este estudio, presentando el corpus analizado y la metodología empleada en el proceso de extracción de datos, junto con una primera muestra de los resultados generales. Los capítulos 4, 5 y 6 presentan una discusión de los resultados, proporcionando los datos disponibles y contrastándolos con las principales teorías sintácticas y de estructura de la información empleadas hoy en día. El capítulo 4 se centra en los datos relativos a la frontalización de objetos en cláusulas anidadas en inglés antiguo, mientras que el capítulo 5 hace lo propio con los datos que

incluyen la inversión verbal. El capítulo 6 trata sobre la frontalización anidada de sintagmas preposicionales. Finalmente, el capítulo 7 presenta una serie de conclusiones.

2. MAJOR ANALYSES OF V2 AND THE SYNTAX OF OLD ENGLISH

Before addressing the question of embedded constituent fronting in Old English, it is necessary to discuss its nature as a V2 language. The present chapter will discuss the traditional syntactic approaches to Old English as a V2 language and the different subtypes of V2 languages. It will then introduce different views on the availability of embedded topicalisation.

2.1 Old English as a V2 language

Fischer et al. (2001: 15) define the term “Verb-Second” as “the characteristic that in main clauses, the *finite* verb follows one initial constituent, regardless of the precise position of the non-finite verb.” Fischer et al. propose several word order patterns for V2 sentences, depending on the position of the elements in the clause (2001: 105-108). First of all, it is common to find the subject as the first constituent of the main clause, with the finite verb following it, regardless of the word order of the rest of the clause, as we can observe in (1) and (2) below:

(1) **We**^{SUBJ} **habbað**^{Vf} hwæðere þa bysne on halgum bocum

We have nevertheless the examples in holy book

‘We have, nevertheless, the examples in the holy book’ (*ÆCHom* I, 33.474.33)

(2) [**Se Hælend**]^{SUBJ} **wearð**^{Vf} þa gelomlice ætiwed his leornung-cnihtum

The Lord was then frequently shown his disciples^{DAT}

‘The Lord then frequently appeared to his disciples’ (*ÆCHom* I, 15.220.21)

[From Fischer et al. (2000)]

However, if the first constituent in a main clause is not the subject, the finite verb often follows it, resulting in subject-verb inversion. This is always the case when the first constituent is a question element as shown in (3) or the negative *ne* as in (4), and it is extremely dominant after the adverbial *þa* as in (5).¹ Inversion can take place with both nominal and pronominal subjects.

(3) **Hwi** wolde God swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan?

why would God so small thing^{GEN} him deny

‘Why should God deny him such a small thing?’ (*ÆCHom* I, 1.14.2)

(4) **Ne** sceal he naht unalifedes don

not shall he nothing unlawful do

‘He shall not do anything unlawful’ (*CP* 10.61.14)

(5) **Þa** wæs þæt folc þæs micclan welan ungemetlice

then was the people the great prosperity^{GEN} excessively

brucende...

partaking

‘Then the people were partaking excessively of the great prosperity.’

(*Or* 1.23.3)

The strict application of the V2 rule with a fronted non-subject can be modulated on account of the nature of both the fronted constituent and the subject itself. Thus, verb-

¹ Haeberli (1999) groups the three sets of elements under the term “operators”.

subject order may persist when the first constituent is a non-subject only when the subject is a full DP, as in (6), but if the subject is a pronoun, then inversion is not possible in most cases, as in (7):

- (6) On twam þingum hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gedodod
 in two things had God the man's soul endowed
 'With two things God had endowed man's soul' (*ÆCHom* I, 1.20.1)

- (7) Forðon we sceolan mid ealle mod & mægene to Gode gecyrran
 therefore we must with all mind and power to God turn
 'Therefore we must turn to God with all our mind and power'

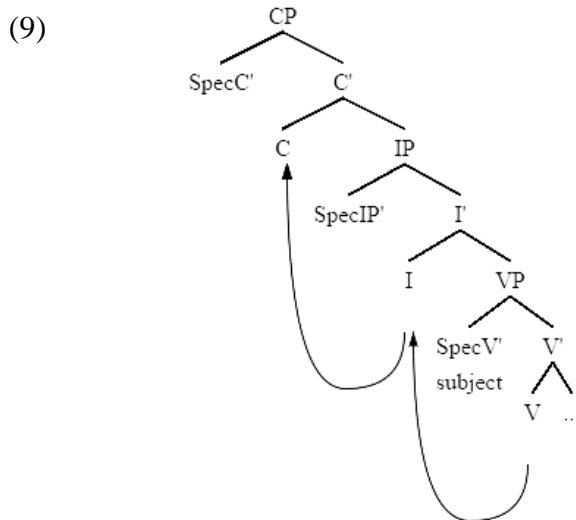
(*HomU19* (BIHom 8) 26)

Fischer et al. (2001: 107) assume this V-movement in main clauses is based on the fact that particles are stranded in "verb and particle combinations", occupying a position "that correlates with what is assumed to be the position of the verb before movement", as illustrated in (8) below.

- (8) Pa astah se Hælend up on ane dune
 then rose the Lord up on a mountain
 'then the Lord went up on a mountain' (*ÆCHom* I, 12.182.1)

We have seen how V2 applies in main clauses. As regards embedded clauses, Fischer et al. (2001: 108-109) state that movement of the finite verb is much more restricted, and van Kemenade (1997:327) insists on the fact that V2 is a process that fronts the finite verb (Vf) to presentential position in all types of *root clauses* [emphasis mine].

V2 languages have traditionally been classified into two subtypes – CP-V2 languages and IP-V2 languages, which is especially relevant in subordinate clauses (Kroch, Taylor and Ringe 2001: 355).² This differentiation has traditionally been considered as a central feature when assessing the availability of embedded topicalisation. Authors like van Kemenade (1997: 338) argue that Old English should be considered a CP-V2 language, with Vf moving to C via I, as shown in (9).³



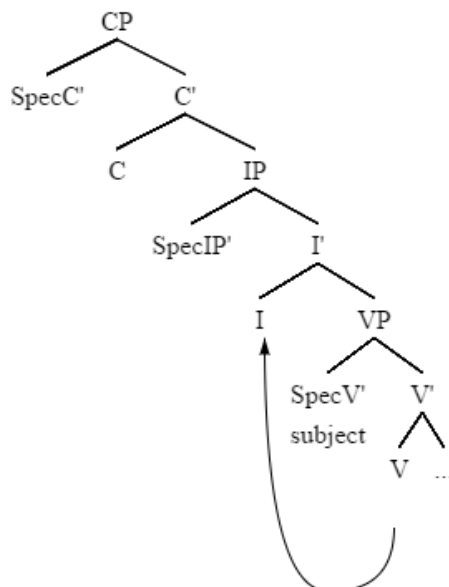
Van Kemenade presumes this movement to be triggered by the requirement that C be lexical (1997: 328). That would explain the asymmetry between root and non-root clauses in Old English: in root clauses, the aforementioned requirement is satisfied by the movement of V to C (via I), while in non-root clauses it is satisfied by a base-generated complementizer.

On the other hand, authors like Pinztuk (1991) and Kroch, Taylor and Ringe (2001) consider Old English to be an IP-V2 language, with Vf moving to I (10):

² I have adopted the terminology IP-V2 and CP-V2 for clarity and brevity, even though different authors use various terms to refer to these analyses.

³ Even though different authors use various syntactic analyses, I have adopted a standard syntactic-tree representation for clarity and economy, following Chomsky's (1986) approach to syntactic theory.

(10)



Pintzuk adopts this position on the basis that subordinate clauses are not uniformly INFL-final in the base (1991: 71-72). Thus, she proposes an alternative analysis with an INFL-medial base word order, with fronting of the verb to I to receive tense. This analysis predicts that IP-V2 languages will exhibit V2 word order in a broader range of subordinate clauses (Kroch, Taylor and Ringe 2001: 355). When it comes to V2 word order in subordinate sentences, Pintzuk (1991: 70-71) supports the idea that “any apparent V2 must be derived either by verb (projection) raising or by postposition”, as exemplified in (11) and (12), respectively. Thus, this variation is “not due to the leftward movement of the verb, but to the rightward movement of other constituents.”

(11) þ min dohtor t_i wære [_v forðfaren] _i

that my daughter was died

'... that my daughter had died.' (ApT 24.27-25.1)

(12) þe god t_i worhte_i [PP þurh hine]_i⁴

which God wrought through him

‘... which God wrought through him ...’ (SLS 31.7)

2.2. V2 and embedded topicalisation

The discrepancies in relation to whether Old English should be considered an IP-V2 or a CP-V2 language are especially relevant when studying the phenomenon of embedded topicalisation, since the landing site of the topic varies depending on the analysis. Pintzuk (1991: 72-75) argues that INFL-medial in Old English (which can be equated to IP-V2) was in competition with INFL-final. However, she supports an analysis of Old English subordinate clauses as INFL-medial, with the finite verb being base generated in the VP and moving to I. According to Pintzuk, “all clauses⁴ contain a topic position”, Spec,IP, which is “filled by the subject or a non-subject constituent”. Consequently, the landing site of the topic in an IP-V2 language would be Spec,IP with the subject staying in VP.⁵ In a CP-V2 language, it is the subject that would move to Spec,IP, with the topic moving to Spec,CP. It can be argued that an IP-V2 analysis of Old English would allow embedded topicalisation and V2 word order to appear more freely, since lexical complementisers and V2 would be compatible (van Kemenade 1997: 328), while this type of phenomena would not be expected to be present under a CP-V2 analysis, given that the base generated complementiser would block the movement of the topic further of C.

⁴ I believe there must be a mistake here, since the sub-index _i should not apply to the verb *worhte*, which is not part of the trace chain. Therefore, the correct analysis should be *þe god t_i worhte [PP þurh hine]_i*.

⁵ i.e. full DP subjects, which ‘remain in their underlying position in specifier VP’ and which receive case under government (Kroch, Taylor and Ringe 2001: 364).

Kroch and Taylor (1997: 305) propose a modification of Pintzuk's approach. In their analysis, the tensed verb in a V2 sentence in Old English would move to I (preserving the idea that Old English is an IP-V2 language), but the topic would move to Spec,CP instead of Spec,IP. Thus, V2 in Old English would become "a hybrid between CP-V2 and IP-V2 types". When it comes to embedded topicalisation, Kroch and Taylor are not able to provide "a simple syntactic explanation for the greatly reduced range of topicalisations in subordinate as opposed to matrix clauses" (1997: 309). According to them, topics in main and subordinate clauses are licensed in identical ways,⁶ and they suggest that the difference between main and subordinate clauses may not be a "syntactic fact", but "discourse-based information-structure considerations" instead. They state that topicalisation in matrix clauses is "highly favoured" or "even required" by the discourse, while it has "very weak discourse motivation" in subordinate clauses (without CP-recursion). The connection between embedded topicalisation and discourse factors will be addressed in the following chapters.

Under van Kemenade's analysis, CP-V2 languages allow embedded V2 only in the complements of bridge verbs, i.e. "verbs that allow complementizer deletion" (1997: 328), as exemplified in (13) from German. This type of embedded V2 is referred to as "CP-recursion".

- (13) a. Er sagte (dass) er habe ihm gestern gesehen
he said (that) he has him yesterday seen

⁶ Kroch and Taylor support the idea that both matrix sentences and subordinate clauses with non-subject topics contain 'empty expletives to check off the agreement features of I⁰ and chain license the subject in a lower position', which could be Spec,VP, or Spec,TP in a split I.

b. Er sagte (dass) gestern habe er ihm gesehen

he said (dass) yesterday has he him seen

c. *Er bedauerte *(dass) er ihm gestern gesehen hatte

He regretted that he him yesterday seen had

Concerning embedded topicalisation, van Kemenade (1997: 339) considers that it can only be found in “subjectless contexts”, which she uses to support her CP-V2 analysis of Old English. In her opinion, there is no evidence for the topic status of the Spec,IP position (p. 326), since the topic would move to Spec,CP. Only when the verb assigns no thematic role to a subject can Spec,IP be occupied by a non-nominative element (constructions she refers to as “special”). This special set of contexts is defined as “unaccusative” (p. 334-335), i.e. verbs that do not assign a thematic role to an external argument. One of the contexts van Kemenade mentions are impersonal verbs (which “can have a dative as the leftmost DP in embedded clauses, and a nominative that is presumably in the VP”). The examples she provides are given in (14a-c) below:

(14) a. gif ðam gifran angemetlicu spræc ne eglde
 if the^{DAT} greedy^{DAT} eloquent^{NOM} speech^{NOM} not afflicted

‘if the greedy are not afflicted by loquacity’

(CP.309.3)

b. Gif wham seo lar oflicige,...

if anyone^{DAT} the doctrine^{NOM} dislike^{SUBJUNCTIVE}

‘if the doctrine should be displeasing to anybody,...’

(ÆHTh.II.216)

- c. ac Gode ne licode na heora geleafleast
 but God^{DAT} not pleased not their faithlessness^{NOM}
 ‘but their faithlessness did not please God’

(ÆHP.XX.71)

The other unaccusative context mentioned by van Kemenade (1997) is that of constructions with impersonal passives (i.e. the “quasi-passivization of an inherently case-marked DP”), exemplified in (15a-c):

- (15) a. þæt eallum folce sy gedemed beforan ðe
 that all people^{DAT.SG} be^{SG} judged before thee
 ‘that all the people be judged before you’

(Paris Ps.9.18)

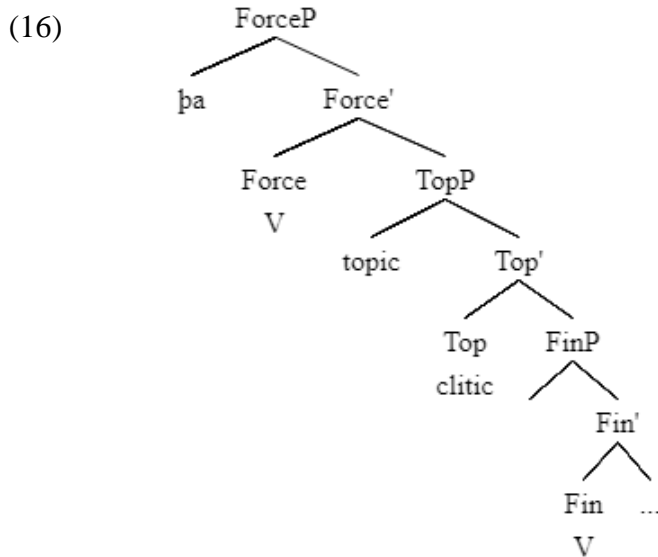
- b. ... ðætte forðy to ungemetlice ne sie gliðod ðæm scyldgan
 ... that therefore too greatly not be^{SG} mitigated the guilty^{DAT.SG}
 ‘that therefore it must not be mitigated too greatly to the guilty’

(CP.151.2)

- c. sua sua be sumum monnum cueden is
 as about some men said is
 ‘as it is said about some men’

(CP.71.01)

However, van Kemenade leaves the possibility open that the landing site for the topic and the finite verb is a lower one than in the case of interrogatives, negatives and *þa*, which “would imply a more articulate structure of the C system” (p. 339). This connects with van Gelderen (2017), who points out that Old English has “a flexible CP layer in the main clause, [...] but less so in the embedded clause” (p. 2). Although it is suggested that Old English lacks a split embedded CP, van Gelderen acknowledges that, though rare, embedded topicalisation is still an option, which together with a few cases of embedded V2 shows that “split CPs may be starting to occur in Old English” (p. 17). An example of a possible syntactic representation of a split embedded CP as suggested by van Gelderen (2017: 3) is provided in (16) below:



On the whole, I consider that the previously mentioned analyses do not provide a satisfactory enough answer to whether topicalisation is possible in subordinate clauses in Old English. One of their major shortcomings is that they do not base their position on a comprehensive, corpus-based study. Only van Bergen (2003) seems to go into more detail in this respect, providing several examples of the different types of constituents that appear to be topicalised in subordinate clauses, together with some possible syntactic

explanations for them. Yet again, no statistical analysis is provided in her analysis. According to van Bergen, some of the cases of apparent embedded topicalisation in Old English could be ascribed to different phenomena (2003: 200-201). For instance, building on Haeberli (1999), she contemplates the possibility of ascribing apparent topicalisation without inversion of the finite verb to *scrambling*, a fronting operation which will be illustrated later on in this section. In the case of clauses in which the fronted element is not a nominal argument, which she exemplifies in (17) below, she opts for analysing it as a case of adjunction instead of topicalisation:

(17) SWÁ þæt fram siracusa sohte mucel meniu ofter fiftig mila þæs

So that from Syracuse sought great multitude over fifty miles the

mædenes byrgene on catanenciscra byrig mid mycelre onbyrd-nysse

maiden's grave in of-Catana city with great ardour

'so that from Syracuse a great multitude sought the virgin's grave in the city of Catana with great ardour.'

(ÆLS (Lucy) 2)

Moreover, van Bergen believes that subclauses with a topicalised object and a nominal subject following the finite verb can "potentially be dealt with by means of subject extraposition" (200: 204). On the whole, she concludes that it might better to "assume a possibility of (exceptional) CP-recursion for all types of subclauses" (2003: 204). These different constructions with potential embedded topicalisation and their possible explanation and analysis, together with the possibility of CP-recursion or split embedded CP will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3 Other Germanic languages: embedded constituent fronting in Present-Day German

If we look at present-day Germanic languages, it is possible to observe how Verb-Second takes place “regardless of the basic sentence structure (OV or VO)” (Fischer et al. 2001: 110). Fischer et al. state that Verb-Second fronts the finite verb in all types of root clauses, thus being restricted to main clauses, as exemplified in (18) below:

(18) a. Er *hat* ihn gestern gesehen

He has him yesterday seen

b. Gestern *hat* er ihn *gesehen*

Yesterday has he him seen

c. ... dass er ihn gestern *gesehen hat*

that he him yesterday seen has

d. *... dass gestern *hat* er ihn *gesehen*

that yesterday has he him seen

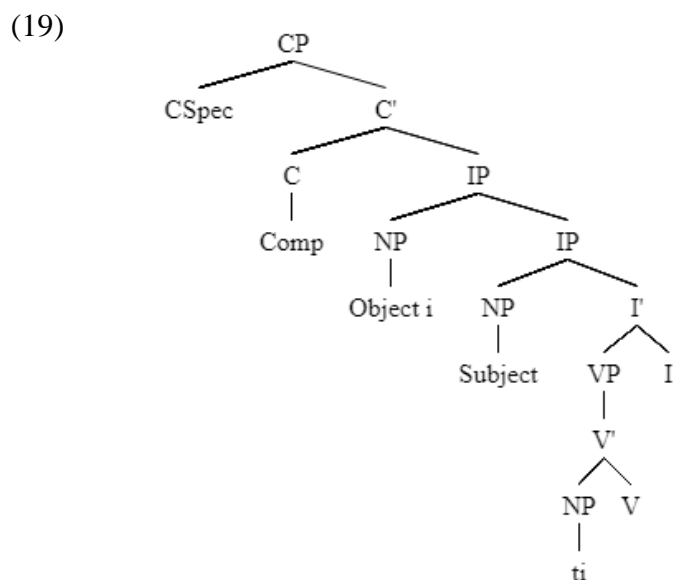
e. *... dass *hat* er ihn gestern *gesehen*

that has he him yesterday seen

‘... He saw him yesterday’ [Examples taken from Fischer et al. (2001: 110)]

In the same way as seen for Old English, the finite verb in Present-Day German (base-generated in the VP) moves to the CP domain, as seen in (18a-b). This does not occur in embedded clauses (18c-e) due to the complementizer *dass* blocking V-movement (Fischer et al. 2001:111). Hemforth & Konieczny (2000) point out that constituent ordering in German is relatively flexible, although they note how there is “a general subject-before-object preference”. According to them, the “flexible ordering of constituents in subclauses” is due to an operation called *scrambling* (Hemforth &

Konieczny 2000: 15). They assume that an additional position is created for the moved constituent in these cases, with the fronted object moving to a position created by adjunction to IP, as seen in (19) below:



[Taken from Hemford & Konieczny (2000:15)]

Concerning embedded clauses, Haider (2010: 4) argues that the V2 pattern alternates with the embedded C, and considers that V2 is “never allowed within C⁰-introduced clauses in German⁷, as illustrated in (20a-b) below. While CP-internal V2 is “strictly ruled out in German”, it is possible in English “only with the type of topicalisation that triggers auxiliary inversion”, without *that* dropping (Haider 2010:5), as seen in (21a-b):

- (20) a. *wenn du glaubst, [dass er habe sich geirrt]
 if you believe [that he has REFL erred]
- b. *die Annahme [dass er habe sich geirrt]
 the assumption [that he has REFL erred]

[Taken from Haider (2010: 4)]

⁷ C⁰ here refers to embedded clauses that are not introduced by a complementizer (e.g. *dass*)

(21) a. He said *(that) [never before] *has* he read such a good article.

b. Er sagte, (*dass) [nie zuvor] habe er so einen guten Artikel gelesen

he said (that) [never before] had he such a good article read.

[Taken from Haider (2010: 5)]

2.3.1 Grammaticality test

A grammaticality judgement test was designed in order to establish the perception of native speakers of German towards the availability of embedded topicalisation in their language. Using *Google Forms*, I designed an online grammaticality test for native speakers of German. The online survey was made available on several social media platforms, where the informants could voluntarily access it. 150 informants took part in the test. After a short description of the test in German, the informants were presented with a set of different sentences and asked to assess their grammaticality based on a scale from 1 to 6, 1 being completely ungrammatical and 6 being completely grammatical. Four different base sentences were included in the test, with four different word order patterns for each sentence, resulting in a total of 12 sentences. These word order patterns were designed in order to reflect those originally found in the Old English corpus for the present study as faithfully as possible. The complete survey is included in Appendix 1.

To begin with, two of the base sentences show a subordinate clause with a subject, a DP object and a verb. The three variations proposed consist on the following word order patterns: SOV (the expected order in subordinate clauses, which works as control), OSV (with a fronted object) and OVS (with a fronted object and subject-verb inversion). The third base sentence includes a subordinate clause in which the subject is the impersonal *man* and the object is pronominal. Finally, a fourth base sentence was included with a subject, a prepositional phrase and a verb. Again, the same three word order patterns apply

for both. The following sections present the results from the test and a discussion based on the findings.

2.3.1.1 Fronted DP objects

The first two sets of sentences included in the test comprise a subordinate clause with a DP object and, therefore, a transitive verb. The syntax of German predicts that clauses with the object following the subject and the verb in final position will be deemed grammatically correct by native speakers, while a fronted object and/or subject-verb inversion would result in an ungrammatical sentence. (22a-c) below, based on Hemforth & Konieczny (2000: 6), illustrate the examples of this combination and the three different types of word order that were presented to the informants in the test:

(22) a. Ich glaube, *dass* ***der*** *Arzt*^{SUBJ} ***den*** *Patienten*^{OBJ} *besuchte*.

I think, that the doctor^{NOM} the patient^{ACC} visited

‘I think the doctor visited the patient’

b. Ich glaube, *dass* ***den*** *Arzt*^{OBJ} ***der*** *Patient*^{SUBJ} *besuchte*.

I think, that the doctor^{ACC} the patient^{NOM} visited

‘I think the patient visited the doctor’

c. Ich denke, *dass* ***den*** *Arzt*^{OBJ} *besuchte* ***der*** *Patient*^{SUBJ}.

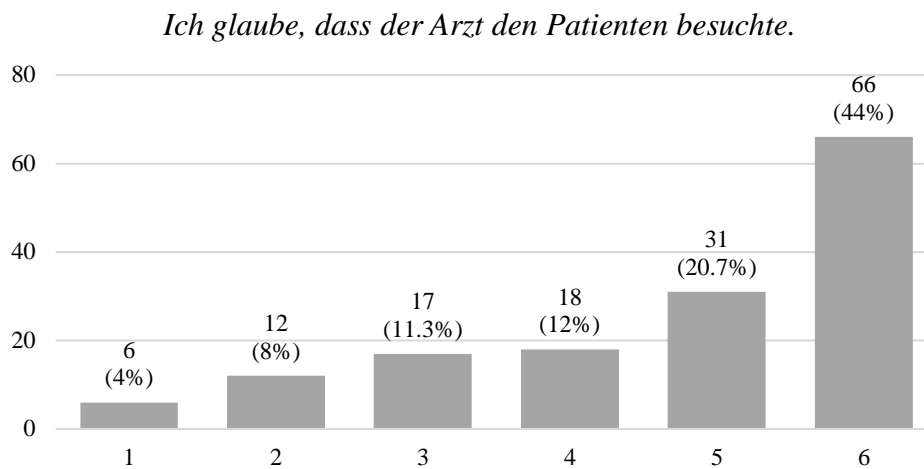
I think, that the doctor^{ACC} visited the patient^{NOM}

‘I think the patient visited the doctor’

If we observe Figure 1 below, we see how a sum of 64.7% of informants consider (22a) with embedded SOV word order to be somewhere between 5 and 6 in the grammaticality scale they were presented. It is true that although the majority of informants consider it

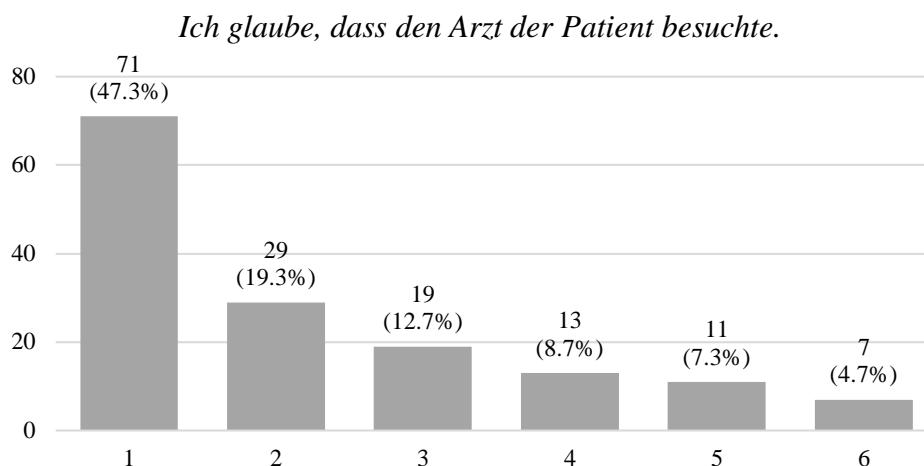
to be grammatical, still the tendency is quite progressive and there is a sum of 23.3% of informants who consider it to be below 3. Even though the syntax of German predicts this would be the expected type of word order in embedded clauses, I believe the results here reflect some kind of semantic factor: the fact that the doctor is the one visiting the patient here may have led the informants to somehow think it was not completely acceptable:

Figure 1. Embedded SOV word order.



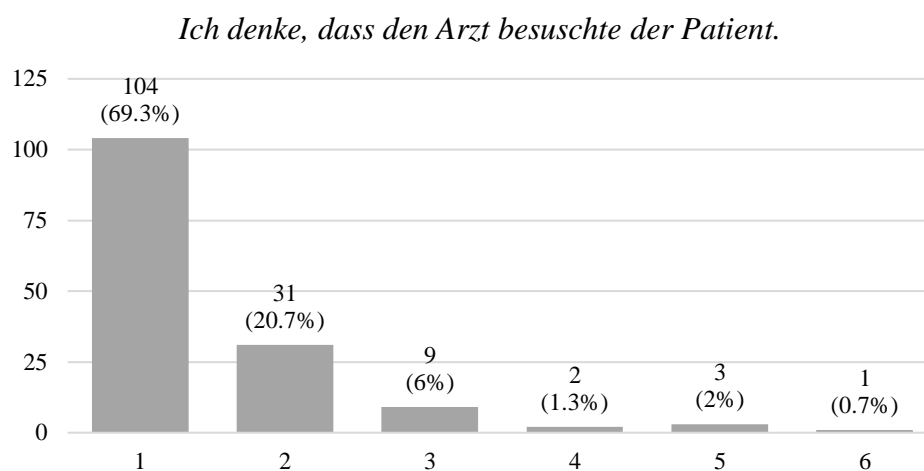
Interestingly, the same happens with the results of embedded OSV word order, although in the opposite direction, as seen in Figure 2 below. We can observe how the results form a progressively descending curve, with a sum of 66.3% of informants placing this example between 1 and 2 in the grammaticality scale. However, 12.7% of informants place it in 3, 8.7% in 4, and a sum of 12% between 5 and 6. Although the majority of informants place it in 1, which is what the syntax of German would predict for embedded clauses, the results suggest that embedded OSV word order could not be completely banned in German:

Figure 2. Embedded OSV word order.



The situation is slightly different when informants are presented with an example of embedded OVS word order, as illustrated in Figure 3 below. 69.3% of informants consider this type of embedded clause to be completely ungrammatical, which represents a considerable difference with those who consider it to be in 2 (20.7%). The rate drastically decreases from there, going down to 0.7% of the informants considering it completely grammatical. This suggests that informants do not consider embedded OVS word order to be a productive option in German, following what its syntax predicts.

Figure 3. Embedded OVS word order.



Additionally, examples (23a-c) below, with a different subject and a different object, were also included in the test:

(23) a. Ich denke, *dass Anna^{SUBJ} einen Opel^{OBJ} fährt.*

I think, that Anna^{NOM} an Opel^{ACC} drives

‘I think Anna drives an Opel’

b. Ich glaube, *dass einen Opel^{OBJ} Anna^{SUBJ} fährt.*

I think, that an Opel^{ACC} Anna^{NOM} drives

‘I think Anna drives an Opel’

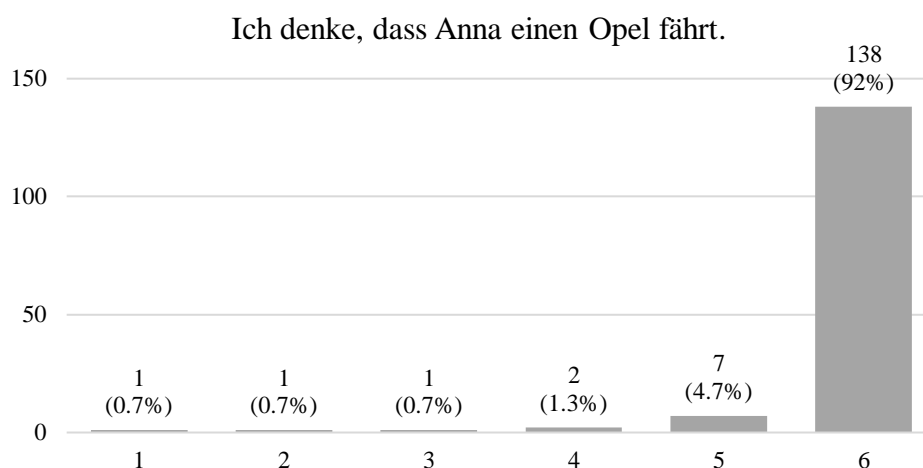
c. Ich glaube, *dass einen Opel^{OBJ} fährt Anna^{SUBJ}.*

I think, that an Opel^{ACC} drives Anna^{NOM}

‘I think Anna drives an Opel’

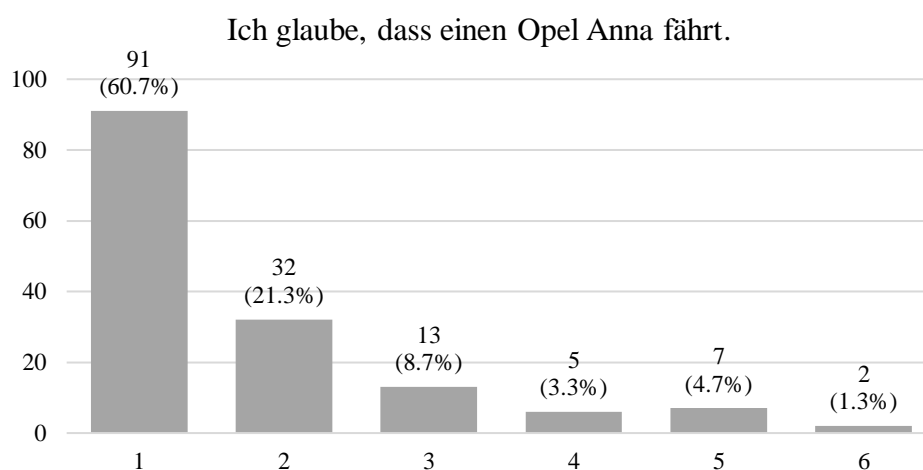
It is interesting to note how, when presented with an alternative example of embedded SOV word order, informants considered it completely grammatical in 92% of cases, with only three informants considering it to be below 3, as seen in Figure 4 below. Clearly, the semantic implications present in example (22a) are not replicated here; now it seems semantically correct that Anna drives an Opel, whereas, for some reason, informants found it strange that it was the doctor who visited the patient.

Figure 4. Embedded SOV word order (2).



The situation in examples with embedded OSV and OVS word orders is similar to those in the first set of examples. Concerning embedded OSV, 60.7% of the informants considered this example completely ungrammatical, as seen in Figure 5 below. However, a sum of 16.7% of the informants placed it somewhere between 3 and 5, again with a progressively decreasing curve. This may again indicate that some speakers could find this type of embedded word order grammatical in certain contexts:

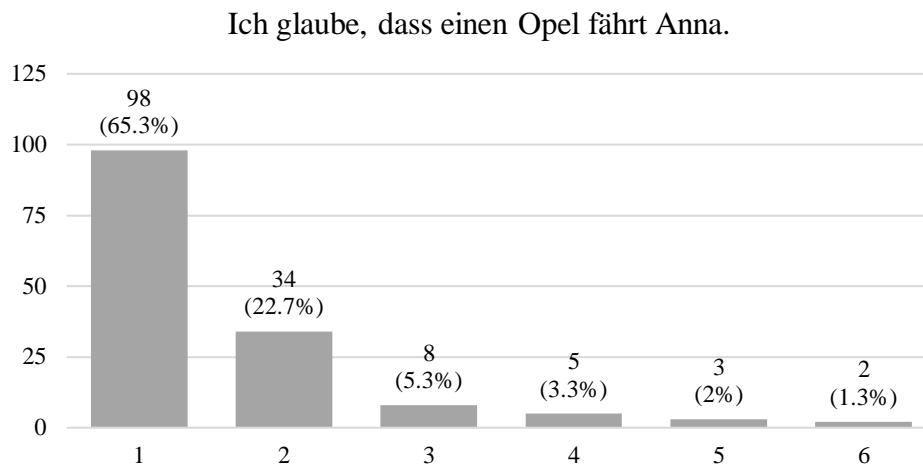
Figure 5. Embedded OSV word order (2).



As regards embedded OVS word order, Figure 6 shows how a sum of 88% of informants placed this example between 1 and 2, thus considering it ungrammatical overall. Again, as with example (22c), we do not find the same curve we did in other examples, with only

6.3% of the informants considering it to be somewhere between 4 and 6. We can conclude that the great majority of informants do not consider this to be a productive option in German:

Figure 6. Embedded OVS word order (2).



2.3.1.2 Fronted pronominal objects and 'man' as a subject.

The second type of embedded clauses has the impersonal *man* as their subject and a pronominal object. The following sections will show that this is very common in the OE examples found in the corpus. Informants were presented with three types of this combination of constituents: (24a), with embedded SOV word order, (24b) with embedded OSV word order, and (24c) with embedded OVS word order:

(24) a. Ich glaube, dass *mann*^{SUBJ} *ihn*^{OBJ} nicht mag.

I think, that they him^{ACC} not like

'I think they don't like him'

b. Ich glaube, dass *ihn*^{OBJ} *mann*^{SUBJ} nicht mag.

I think, that him^{ACC} they not like

'I think they don't like him'

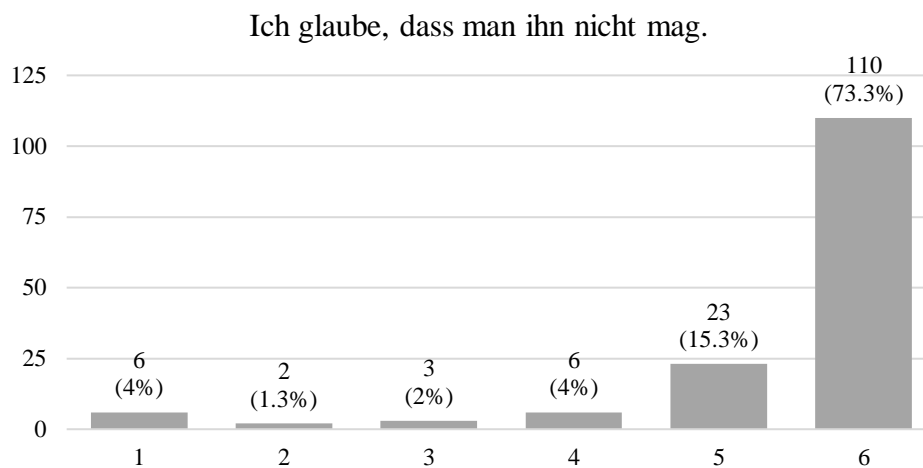
c. Ich denke, dass **ihn**^{OBJ} nicht mag **mann**^{SUBJ}.

I think, that him^{ACC} not like they

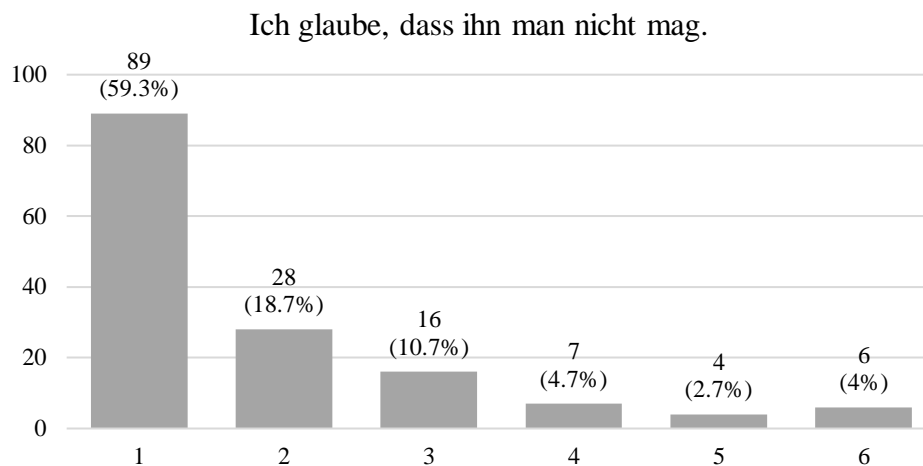
‘I think they don’t like him’

The syntax of German predicts that the impersonal subject *man* will occupy the first position in the subordinate clause, followed by the pronominal object and with the verb in final position. This was indeed deemed perfectly grammatical by most of the informants (73.3%), as seen in Figure 7:

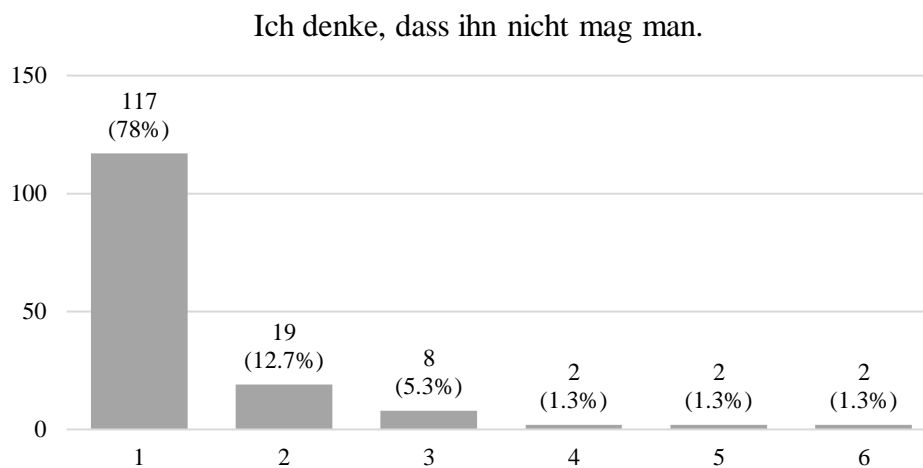
Figure 7. Embedded SOV word order (with *man* and a pronominal object).



However, when presented with OSV or OVS orders, most of the informants consider the sentences as ungrammatical. Nevertheless, a progressively descending curve, similar to the one in previous types of word orders, can be observed with OSV word order, as illustrated in Figure 8:

Figure 8. Embedded OSV word order (with a pronominal object and *man*).

Following the same trend as previous examples, most informants considered examples with embedded OVS word order of this type to be ungrammatical, with a sharp difference in the number of those who considered it to be somewhere between 4 and 6, which were marginal. Therefore, we could consider this type of word order not to be a productive option in German either:

Figure 9. Embedded OVS word order (with a pronominal object and *man*).

2.3.1.3 Fronted prepositional phrases.

Finally, informants were presented with examples of embedded clauses including a prepositional phrase. This set of examples included an embedded clause with canonical

SXV word order (25a), with a fronted PP or XSV word order (25b) and with a fronted PP and verb inversion, or XVS word order (25c):

(25) a. Ich denke, *dass die Studierenden*^{SUBJ} *viel in der Klasse*^{PP} *sprechen*.

I think, that the students a lot in the class speak

‘I think the students speak a lot in class’

b. Ich denke, *dass in der Klasse*^{PP} *die Studierenden*^{SUBJ} *viel sprechen*.

I think, that in the class the students a lot speak

‘I think the students speak a lot in class’

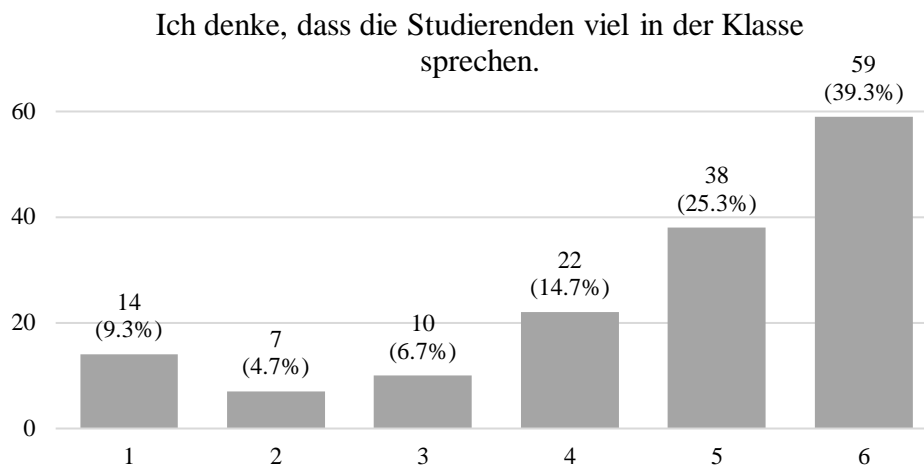
c. Ich denke, *dass in der Klasse*^{PP} *viel sprechen die Studierenden*^{SUBJ}.

I think, that in the class a lot speak the students

‘I think they don’t like him’

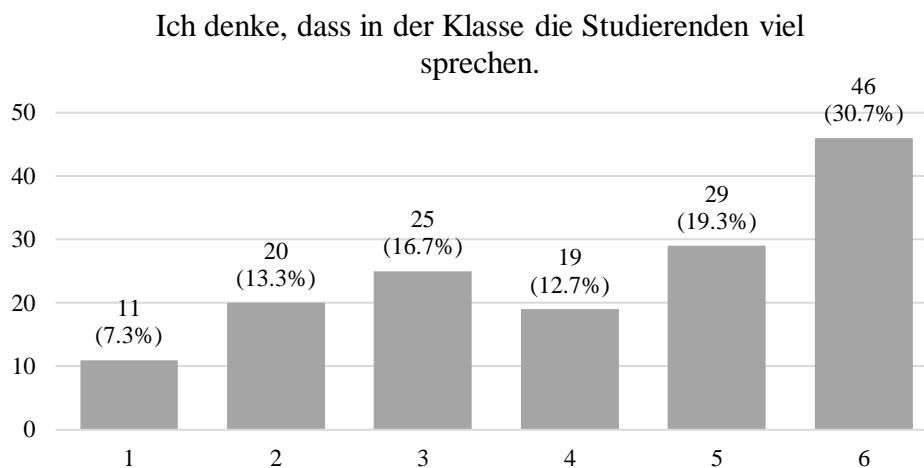
Although most of the informants considered the examples showing canonical SXV word order to be grammatical (a sum of 64.6% between 5 and 6), there seems to be some discrepancy, as seen in Figure 10 below. Maybe due to some semantic reasons, as seen earlier, 9.3% of informants did not consider this to be grammatical, and a sum of 26.1% placed it somewhere between 2 and 4:

Figure 10. Embedded SXV word order (with a prepositional phrase).



Example (25b), with a fronted PP, proved to be one of the most interesting ones. Here, the majority of informants considered it to be completely grammatical, although this comprises only a 30.7%. The rest of answers range between 1 and 2, with a saw-shaped distribution, as seen in Figure 11 below. We can conclude from this that we can expect German to allow the fronting of PPs in embedded clauses in certain contexts.

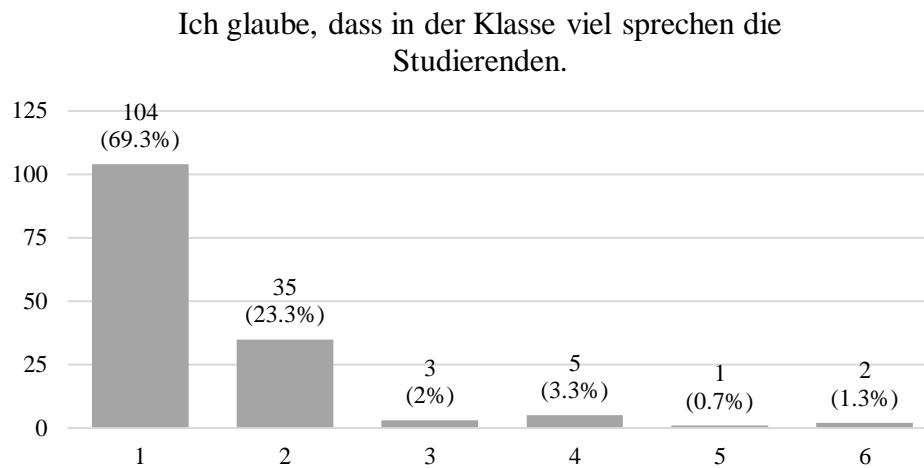
Figure 11. Embedded XSV word order (with a prepositional phrase).



In contrast, the last example (25c) showed the expected distribution in answers, with a sum of 92.6% of participants placing it somewhere between 1 and 2 (i.e. ungrammatical), and with only some marginal answers between 3 and 6. Therefore, the results follow the

prediction of German syntax, with sentences with fronted PPs and verb inversion being ungrammatical:

Figure 12. Embedded XVS word order (with a prepositional phrase).



3. OBJECTIVES, CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Objectives

One of the main goals of this work is to provide an extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of embedded structures with fronted constituents in Old English. As shown in Chapter 2, such analysis has not yet been undertaken, despite the fact that numerous authors deal with the left periphery of embedded clauses in Old English in their work. I consider that a quantitative study is needed in order to acquire some insight into the distribution of subordinate constructions in Old English with fronted constituents, and to give factual support to the different qualitative analyses of these constructions.

3.2 Corpus

A database was compiled from the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor et al. 2003) using *Corpus Search*. Originally, this database comprised 17 of the main texts in Old English prose in the *YCOE*.⁸ The texts were chosen to cover the different literary genres and styles, together with the different periods of the Old English language, i.e., early Old English (before 950 AD) and late Old English (after 950 AD). The YCOE classifies the different texts into the following periods: O1, O2, O23, O3, O14, O24 and O34. Furthermore, I considered it essential to include both texts written originally in Old English as well as translations from Latin, since the influence of the Latin originals might be an important factor to take into consideration in the present study (this matter will be discussed later on in the following chapters). The 17 selected parsed texts are listed below, together with the style they represent:

⁸ Given the metrical licenses allowed by poetry, which might distort syntax, poetical texts have been ruled out from the database.

- Narrative/descriptive: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A & E)*, *Orosius*, *Apollonius of Tyre*.
- Narrative: *Bede* (Bed.), *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, *Ælfric's Old Testament*, *Wulfstan's Homilies*.
- Argumentative: Preface to *Cura Pastoralis*, *Cura Pastoralis*, *Boethius*, *Byrferth's Manual*.
- Technical: *Herbarium*, *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*.
- Legal: *Laws of Ine*, Alfred's Introduction to *Laws*, *Laws of Alfred*.

3.3 Data retrieval

Using *Corpus Search* (Kroch and Randall 2007), four different queries were submitted – each query corresponding to one of the four embedded structures with fronted constituents that will be analysed in this study. The first type of structure included in the query, as seen in Figure 13 below, was that of subordinate clauses with a fronted object⁹ (which would result in OSV word order), i.e. IP-SUB* immediately dominates a NP-ACC, IP-SUB* dominates a NP-NOM, and the NP-ACC immediately precedes the NP-NOM:

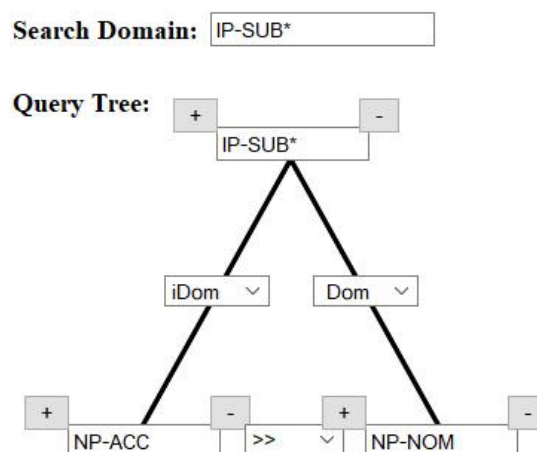


Figure 13. Query tree for embedded OSV word order on *Corpus Search*.

⁹ This refers to accusative direct objects.

For the second type of structure, the same query was replicated but with a fronted prepositional phrase (I have labelled this as XSV word order). In this case, IP-SUB* immediately dominates a PP, IP-SUB* dominates a NP-NOM, and the PP immediately precedes the NP-NOM, as seen in Figure 14:

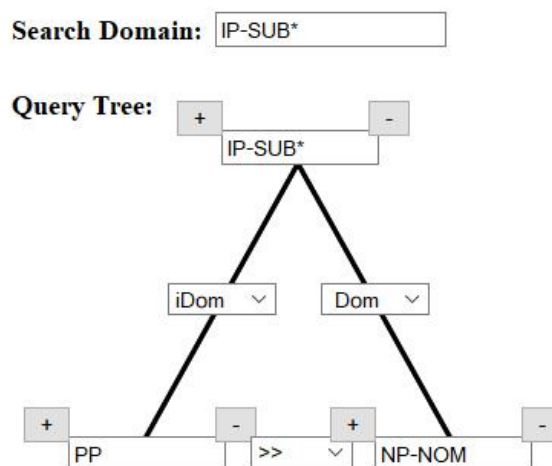


Figure 14. Query tree for embedded XSV word order on *Corpus Search*.

Additionally, two more queries were submitted with the aim of finding structures with embedded constituent fronting and also verb-fronting (or subject-verb inversion), both with fronted objects and prepositional phrases. This would result in OVS and XVS word order, respectively. In the case of OVS order, IP-SUB* immediately dominates a NP-ACC, IP-SUB* dominates VB* and a NP-NOM, the NP-ACC immediately precedes VB*, and VB* precedes the NP-NOM, as shown in Figure 15:

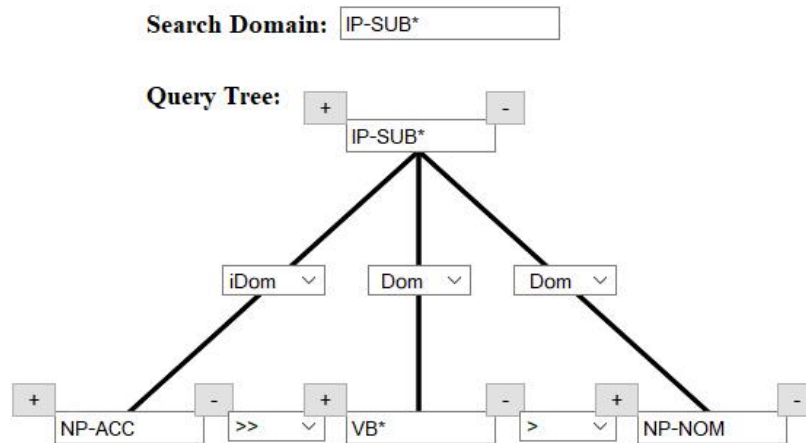


Figure 15. Query tree for embedded OVS word order on *Corpus Search*.

Similarly, in the case of XVS order, IP-SUB* immediately dominates a PP, IP-SUB* dominates VB* and a NP-NOM, the PP immediately precedes VB*, and VB* precedes the NP-NOM, as seen in Figure 16:

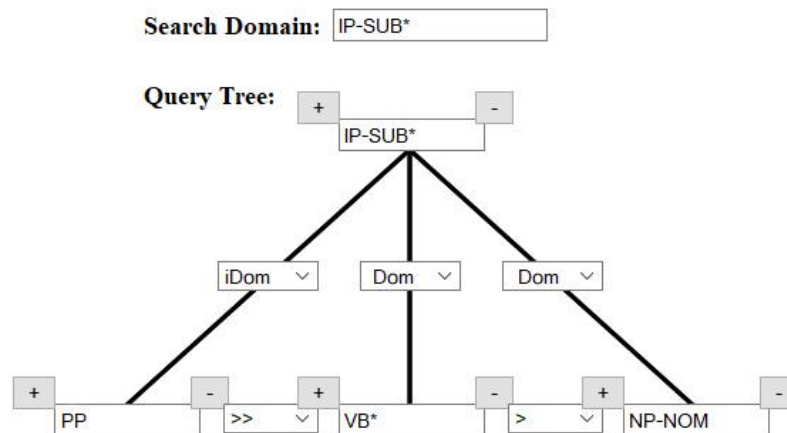


Figure 16. Query tree for embedded OVS word order on *Corpus Search*.

I also had the chance to access *Corpus Studio* (Komen 2009) and *Cesax* (Komen 2012), developed by Erwin R. Komen at Radboud University Nijmegen. Making use of this software,¹⁰ I was able to expand my original query, which enabled me to examine the

¹⁰ I would like to thank my colleague Tara Struik, who kindly helped me to get started with *Corpus Studio* during my research stay at Radboud University in Nijmegen.

whole *YCOE* and not just a selection of texts from it (which would have been extremely time consuming with *Corpus Search*). The code used for the query is listed below:

```

<TEI>
{
  (: Look for subclauses :)
  for search in //eTree[ru:matches(@Label, _subIP)]

  (: Look for PPs in initial position that are not empty :)
  let firstelement := search/child::eTree[ru:matches(@Label, _firstelement)
    and tb:PrecedingElement1(self::eTree)
    and not(exists(child::eLeaf[@Type="Star"])]][1]

  (: Determine the element immediately following the object :)

  let sbj := search/child::eTree[ru:matches(@Label, _subject)
    and not(exists(child::eLeaf[@Type="Star"])]][1]
  let verb := search/child::eTree[ru:matches(@Label, _finiteverb)][1]

  (: Determine order of constituents :)
  let punct := search/child::eTree[ru:matches(@Label, ".|,")]

  let order := if (ru:relates(sbj, firstelement, "iFollows")) then "Obj-Sbj"
    else if (ru:relates(verb, firstelement, "iFollows")) then "Obj-Verb"
    else if ((ru:relates(punct, firstelement, "iFollows")) and (ru:relates(sbj,
punct, "iFollows"))) then "Obj-Sbj"
    else if ((ru:relates(punct, firstelement, "iFollows")) and
(ru:relates(verb, punct, "iFollows"))) then "Obj-Verb"
    else ()

  (: Create a database :)
  let db := tb:MakeaDatabase(firstelement, sbj, verb, order)

  (: Make sure this clause has a preposition and the right order :)
  where (
    exists(firstelement)
    and exists(sbj)
    and exists(order)
  )
  (: Return the main clause :)
  return ru:back(search, db, order)
}
</TEI>

```

Again, this code provided those examples of OSV, XSV, OVS and XVS word orders found in the corpus, generating a file that allowed me to select the different types of word order, the type and subtype of fronted constituent (i.e. nominal or pronominal) and the

type and subtype of subject (i.e. nominal, pronominal or *man*), which made the research process much more efficient and less time-consuming. This new query proved to be successful and results almost doubled the number of relevant examples in some cases. However, several of the valid examples from the four original queries did not show up in the search with *Corpus Studio*, so I decided to include both in the subsequent analysis. The results from the different queries defined above will not only provide some distributional evidence that will help evaluate whether objects can appear in a topic position in subordinate clauses, but also clarify whether other clausal elements, such as prepositional phrases, can also move to that position, together with the respective embedded constructions with subject-verb inversion.

3.4 Data

In this section, I will provide a list of examples from all the possible combinations of embedded constructions found after the query. Embedded OSV order (with an object occupying the first position of the embedded clause) is the most common word order among the results found in the corpus. Within the OSV type, we can see that there is an abundance of occurrences in which a pronoun object occupies the first position of the subordinate clause, following the subordinator, and in which such pronoun object precedes the impersonal subject *man*, as shown in (26a-b) below. Pronominal objects occupying the first position of the subordinate clause can also appear with a full DP subject, as illustrated in (27).

(26) a. Leonīpa þæt þa geascade [þæt **hiene**^{OBJ} **mon**^{SUBJ} swa beþridian wolde].

Leonidas that then asked so that him they in that way force wanted

‘Then Leonidas asked that so that they would want to force him in that way’

(Or, 2:5.46.34.896)

b. ...þæt flæsc togædere geclifað [*gyf **hyt**^{OBJ} **man**^{SUBJ} on þam wætere gesygd...*]

...that the flesh together adheres if it they in the water boil

‘that the flesh adheres together if it is boiled in water’

(Herb:35.2.786)

(27) & he þær wunade [*oþ þæt **hiene**^{OBJ} **an swan**^{SUBJ} ofstang...*]

and he there remained until that him a peasant stabbed...

‘and he remained there until a peasant stabbed him...’

(cochronA-CC,ChronA_[Plummer]:755.1.509)

Nevertheless, DP objects are also found in the leftmost position of the subordinate clause, showing also variation between pronominal subjects, DP subjects and the impersonal *man*, as shown in (28a-c) below:

(28) a. & eft he cuæð: Sua dysige ge sint [*ðætte ðæt ðæt **ge***

and again he said: so foolish you are that that which you

***gæsðlice** **underfengon**^{OBJ}, **ge**^{SUBJ} willað geendigan flæsclice].*

spiritually receive, you want to end fleshly.

‘and again, he said: you are so foolish that that which you receive spiritually, you want to end fleshly.’

(cocura,CP:31.207.15.1396)

- b. ...þæt hi wiston þæt **ðæt micle gewin**^{OBJ} **mare wuldor**^{SUBJ} eces
 ...that they knew that that great struggle more glory eternal^{GEN}
edleanes æfterfyligde.
 reward^{GEN} followed.

‘...that they knew that more glory of eternal reward followed that great struggle’.

(cobede,Bede_1:13.56.10.523)

- c. *Gif hire bearn*^{OBJ} *mon*^{SUBJ} *ofslea*, gielde cyninge þara medrenmæga dæl;

If her child man kills repays queen the maternal kinsman part

‘If someone kills her child, the queen repays the part of the maternal kinsman’.

(colawaf,LawAf_1:8.3.45)

Embedded OVS word order is less common, but it is still possible to find an object in the first position of the subordinate clause (85.9% pronouns) preceding the inflected verb, which categorically appears before a DP subject. (29a-b) illustrate the most common cases in which the fronted object is a pronoun, whereas (30) illustrates the less common examples with a fronted DP object:

- (29) a. Witodlice Basilius ... awrat ealle ða þenunga þæra halgan mæssan,

Thus Basil ... wrote all the services of the holy mass,

[*swa swa hit*^{OBJ} *healdað Grecas*^{SUBJ}].

as it keep the Greeks

‘Thus Basil wrote all the services of the Holy Mass, as the Greeks keep it’

(æLS[Basil]:142.546)

b. Gyf ænig witega arise betwynan eow, & secge [*ðæt hine*^{OBJ} *mæte swefen*^{SUBJ}]

If any wise man arise between you and say that him met vision...

‘If any wise man should arise between you, and say that a vision met him...’

(Deut:13.1.4726)

(30) *ðylæs* [*ða smyltnesse* *ðæs domes*]^{OBJ} *gewemme* [*oððe se dierna*

lest the calm the^{GEN} judgement^{GEN} defile either the concealed

æfst oððe to hræd ierre.]^{SUBJ}

envy or to sudden anger

‘Lest concealed envy or sudden anger defile the calm of judgement’

(cocura,CP:13.79.10.520)

As mentioned before, PPs can also appear as fronted in a subordinate clause resulting in embedded XVS word order, with both pronoun and DP subjects, as exemplified in (31) and (32) below, respectively:

(31) swa hit Romane selfe sædon þæt [**under hiera anwalde**]^{PP}

so it the Romans in this way said that under their authority

[*nan bimerlecre dæd*]^{SUBJ} *ne gewurde*^{SUBJUNCTIVE}

no shameful deed no happen^{SUBJUNCTIVE}

‘so the Romans said in this way that no shameful deed would happen under their authority’

(Or, 5:3.116.27.2447)

(32) ...forðæm þe [**on ælcum anum**]^{PP} **hi**^{SUBJ} sint eall.

...because in each one they are all

‘because they are all in each one’

(Bo:33.78.13.1467)

Finally, it is also possible that a fronted PP precedes the inflected verb, which appears before a DP-subject, as in (33) and (34) below. Note that not only the PP, but also the DP object is preceding the verb in (34):

(33) Forðæm eac wæs ðæt ðe [**beforan ðæm temple**]^{PP} stod [æren ceac

Because also was that before the temple stood brass cauldron

onuppan twelf ærenum oxum]^{SUBJ}

upon twelve brass oxen

‘Because it also was that a brass cauldron upon twelve brass oxen stood before the temple’

(CP:16.105.1.687)

(34) ...forðæm [**under his forgiefnesse**]^{PP} **hine**^{OBJ} gefrieðode [sio lufu & se

...because under his forgiveness him protected the love and the

geleafa & se tohopa]^{SUBJ}.

faith and the hope

‘because under his forgiveness, love, faith and hope protect him’

(CP:21.167.21.1143)

3.5 Distribution and frequencies

Having introduced the different types of structures with fronted constituents in embedded clauses in Old English, I will now present an analysis of their distribution and frequency, based on the results obtained from the four queries submitted on *Corpus Search* and *Corpus Studio*. Table 1 below shows the total number of occurrences of each word order, taking into account whether the object is pronominal or a DP in both OSV and OVS word orders. It also shows, including XSV and XVS word order, whether the subject is a pronoun, a DP or the impersonal *man* (both by itself in its different variants, i.e. *man*, *mann*, *mon*, *monn*, etc., and also quantified or modified, as in *ænig man*).

It is especially relevant to note that, whereas fronted pronominal objects in OSV sentences combine with both DP subjects and *man* subjects, very few examples with other pronominal subjects are attested (only 11, a marginal 1.8% of the total). In contrast, DP objects do combine with pronominal subjects in a considerable number of examples (20 out of 62, a 32.2% of the examples in the corpus). This is probably due to the influence of discourse factors, a point which will be addressed in the following sections. In the case of OVS word order, both pronominal and nominal objects combine strictly with DP subjects:

Table 1. Distribution of embedded clauses with fronted constituents in the corpus

	Total	Pron. subj.	DP subj.	<i>man</i> subj.	Quantif. <i>man</i> subj.
Pron. OSV	607	11 (1.8%)	212 (34.9%)	349 (57.5%)	35 (5.8%)
DP OSV	59	21 (32.2%)	29 (53.2%)	7 (11.3%)	2 (3.2%)
Pron. OVS	80	0	80 (100%)	0	0
DP OVS	14	0	14 (100%)	0	0
PP XSV	313	107 (34.2%)	186 (59.4%)	8 (2.5%)	12 (3.8%)
PP XVS	376	2 (0.5%)	374 (99.5%)	0	0

Given the remarkable differences in distribution concerning the different types of constituents and word orders involved, I consider it necessary to look at each of them individually, focusing on the most preeminent constituent combinations and factors, such as their prominence in discourse, referent, weight, etc.

4. EMBEDDED OSV WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH

4.1 OSV with fronted pronominal objects

Out of the 666 attestations of embedded OSV word order in the corpus, 607 (90.7%) have a pronominal object occupying the leftmost position. Following the object, there is a relative balance between the examples of *man*, with 349 (57.5%) and DP subjects, with 212 attestations (34.9%). There are 35 quantified instances of *man* subjects (5.8%) and only a marginal sample of 11 cases of pronominal subjects (1.8%). We can observe these figures in the graph below, together with some illustrative examples of each pattern:

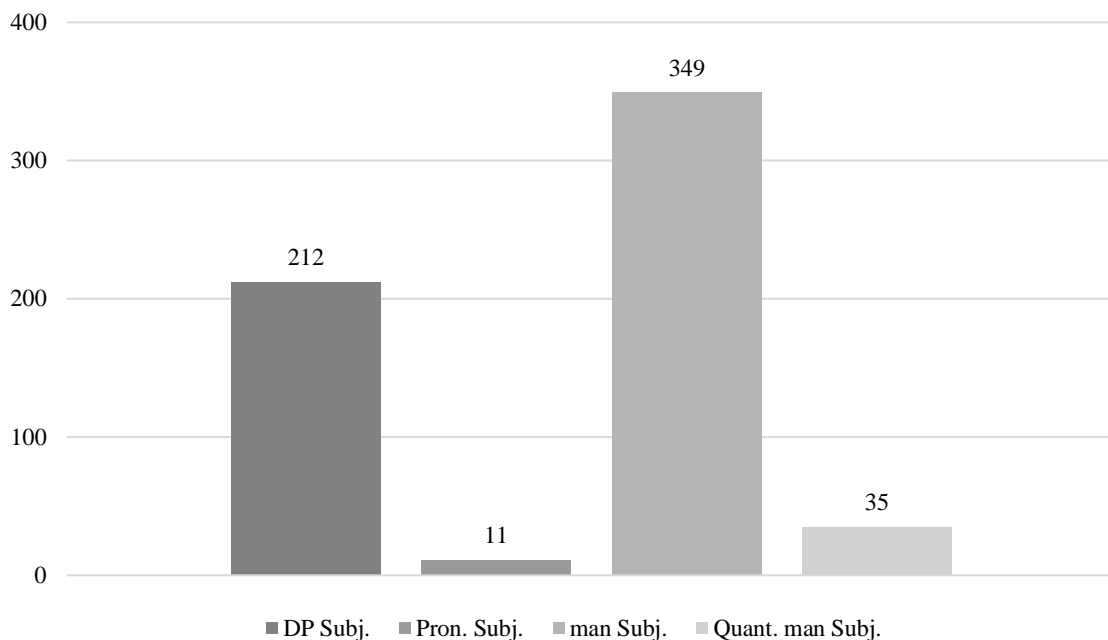


Figure 17. Subject type in pronominal-OSV

Examples (35), with *man* as the subject, and (36), with a DP subject, are repeated below for illustration of the pattern under analysis. Example (37) shows a case of quantified *man* subject:

(35) a. Leonīpa þæt þa geascade [þæt **hiene**^{OBJ} **mon**^{SUBJ} swa bebridian wolde].

Leonidas that then asked so that him they in that way force wanted

‘Then Leonidas asked that so that they would want to force him in that way’

(Or, 2:5.46.34.896)

(36) & he þær wunade [oþ þæt **hiene**^{OBJ} **an swan**^{SUBJ} ofstang æt Pryfetes flodan]

and he there remained until him a peasant stabbed at Privett

‘and he remained there until a peasant stabbed him in Privett’

(37) þeah hy^{OBJ} fela manna^{SUBJ} ne cunne.

although them many men no know^{SUBJUNCTIVE}

‘although a lot of people do not know them’

(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:94.0.1536)

4.1.1 The status of pronouns

There is some controversy surrounding the syntactic status of both pronouns and the impersonal *man*, as seen in van Kemenade (1987), Pinztuk (1991) or van Bergen (2003). Van Kemenade (1987: 126-131) supports an analysis of personal pronouns and what she calls “R-pronouns” (*þær*, for instance) as clitics. She presents the idea that clitic objects of a verb can appear either in the left periphery of VP, “on a position to the immediate left of the V”, or on C, “with the same variety of positions as subject clitics”. Interestingly, we see the same kind of structure with a fronted object followed by a DP among the examples she uses to illustrate her claim, as seen in (38) below:

(38) þæt **him** his fiend wæren æfterfylgende

that him his enemies were following

‘that his enemies were chasing him’

(Oros,48,12)

[Example taken from van Kemenade (1987: 113)]

Pintzuk (1991: 96), on her side, considers that pronouns (and also adverbs, as in van Kemenade’s approach) may be “syntactic clitics” that “move leftward and attach to the left or right periphery of Spec(IP)”. Consequently, according to Pintzuk (1991), many pronouns appear before the inflected main verb instead of appearing after it because they are clitics. Still, Pintzuk’s (1991) claim seems to be based on a study that excludes “those subordinate clauses in which the pronoun or one-syllable adverb has clearly moved out of its base-generated position within the VP to cliticize to Spec(IP)” (1991: 97-98). Some of the environments in which this applies are, according to Pintzuk (1991), “verb-medial clauses with inflected main verbs and verb-final clauses with the pronoun/adverb in clause-initial position before the full DP subject”, as shown in (39-41) below. Given that Pintzuk (1991) prefers not to include the structures listed below among those in which pronouns are considered clitics, it can be concluded that this type of construction with fronted pronoun objects is problematical.

(39) swa **hie** Pene gelærdon

as them Carthaginians advised

‘... as the Carthaginians advised them.’

(Or 4.23)

(40) þæt **þær** fæge men feallan sceoldon

that there doomed men fall must

‘... that doomed men had to fall there.’

(Maid 105)

(41) þeah **hit** wind oððe sæs flod mid sonde oferdrifen

although it wind or sea’s flood with sand covers

‘... although the wind or the flood of the sea covers it with sand ...’

(Or 26.25-26)

[Examples taken from Pintzuk (1991: 97-98)]

If we look for additional analyses on the status of pronouns, Cardinaletti and Starke (1994, 1996) support the division of pronouns into three classes: “strong” forms (which they define as “non-deficient”), “weak pronouns” (deficient forms which behave as XPs, i.e. as “maximal projections at surface structure”) and “clitic pronouns” (deficient forms which behave as X⁰, i.e. as “heads at surface structure”). They exemplify this division in (42) below (1994: 64):

(42) strong pronouns: strong, full phrases (*jemu* (Slovak), *lui* (Italian), ...)

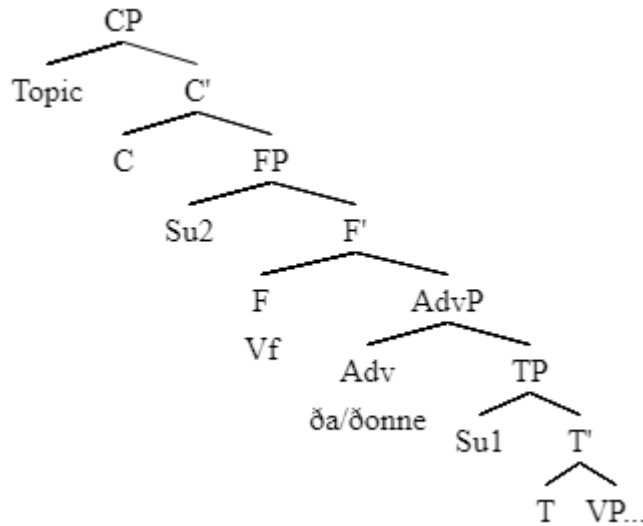
weak pronouns: deficient, full phrases (*ono* (Slovak), *es* (Olang-Tirolese) ...)

clitic pronouns: deficient, heads (*mu* (Slovak), *lo* (Italian), ...)

Given the apparent consensus concerning the possibility of pronouns to behave as clitics, it is therefore not surprising that we are able to find so many object pronouns occupying the leftmost position of a subordinate clause in the database. However, although there may be a formal syntactic way of explaining this phenomenon, this type of word order

does not seem to be the norm in Old English. A plausible explanation is found in van Kemenade and Milićev (2012). For these authors, the syntax of structures such as the ones included in the present study may be influenced by discourse factors. The main difference between van Kemenade and Milićev's analysis and my own work lies in the fact that the former base their analysis on those subordinate sentences introduced by the adverbs *ða* and *ðonne* exclusively. I believe, however, that the main principles of their system should hold as well for the rest of sentences. The main idea in their proposal is that the clause-internal temporal adverbs *ða* and *ðonne* act as "focus particles" marking "the boundary between topic and focus material in the clause" (p. 239). Even though the examples included in my analysis do not show this type of adverbs occupying that position, I believe they do support the idea of syntax being influenced by discourse factors and of a division between different thematic material in the sentence. It is crucial to note here two key aspects in van Kemenade and Milićev's proposal: one, the assumption that the position of *ða* and *ðonne* is fixed, which accounts for the possibility of having "two different types of subject position" (p. 240). Therefore, if we assume a representation like the one in (43) below, the first subject position in TP would be occupied by nominal subjects, whereas the second subject position in FOCP (to the left of the adverb *ða/ðonne*) would be reserved not only for pronominal subjects, but also for pronominal objects or demonstratives.

(43)



4.1.2 A double subject position and ΣP

The idea of a double subject position had been previously described in more depth in Biberauer and van Kemenade (2011). In their work, the authors suggest that, traditionally, a structure like the one in (44) has been adopted, with SU_1 (a higher subject position) being occupied by personal pronouns, “specific-discourse-old DP subjects” and definite DPs, i.e., “given/known/presupposed subjects”, while SU_2 (a lower subject position) is available for “new subjects or those requiring focus” (p. 18).

(44) [CP XP C [_{AgP} SU_1 Agr [_{TP} SU_2 T ...]]]

Nevertheless, Biberauer and van Kemenade (2011) assume that it is also common for pronominal objects to precede the “adverbial diagnostics”, both together with a pronominal subject or “independently of a subject DP” (p. 20-21). Therefore, they adapt the structure in (44) to show that what they call the “pre-diagnostic position” may not be reserved for subjects alone, but for “discourse-given elements”, as seen in (45) below. Biberauer and van Kemenade point out how, in the structure proposed in (45), SU_1 (i.e.

discourse-old subjects) is located in FOC_P rather than Agr_P, since they consider it likely for this position to be located “within an articulate CP”, rather than the IP-domain (p. 22).

- (45) [CP XP C [_{AgrP} *Pronoun Subj* (SU₁) – *Pronoun Obj* Agr [_{AdvP/NegP} *Neg/Adv*
Neg [_{TP} *DP Subj* (SU₂) T ...]]]]

The other key aspect in van Kemenade and Milićev (2012) is the fact that the notion of topic used in their analysis is a “discourse-oriented one”, as opposed to the ones “assumed in formal syntactic analysis”, where a topic is understood as “some constituent moved to Spec,CP”. Instead, their notion of topic corresponds with “material that refers back to referents in the discourse (continued topics) and the material marking a switch or contrast in the discourse”, which includes different types of subjects and objects (p. 242-243). In relation to this, it is interesting how van Kemenade and Milićev do not assume the existence of “functional projections in the left periphery, such as Topic Phrase and Focus Phrase”, as opposed to Rizzi (1997). Therefore, according to van Kemenade and Milićev (2012: 243) “eliminating the need for the existence of certain formal, uninterpretable features” makes it possible “for several operations to be triggered in order to satisfy one interface condition.”

Van Kemenade and Milićev (2012) also base their analysis on a very relevant fact: Nilsen’s (2003) assumption that “the left periphery in Germanic languages is marked by the presence of the so-called Sigma Phrase (Σ P)”, associated with topichood. Again, this Σ P seems to be merged below “certain sentential adverbs” and “undergoes obligatory fronting across the adverb”. I will try to accommodate this assumption to the present study, even without the existence of said adverbs.

Going back to personal pronouns, van Kemenade and Milićev (2012: 244) consider them to be “typical Σ P material”, given their status as “(discourse) anaphoric elements

[...] most readily construed as (continued) topics”. According to them, these pronouns are generally found in the highest position in the clause, “immediately following the complementizer and preceding *ða/ðonne*”. In the case of the examples found in my study, as in (4) and (6), pronominal objects appear immediately after the complementizer in the highest position, although it is true that the adverb *ða/ðonne* is absent. If we focus on pronominal objects, van Kemenade and Milićev (2012: 244-245) argue that their distribution is more variable than that of pronominal subjects, which are categorically found to the immediate right of C, as they illustrate below:

(46) CP [[Σ P Su-pron] *ða/ðonne*]

Thus, object pronouns can appear either alone in Σ P, with a DP subject following the adverb, as in (47), or together with a DP subject in Σ P, as in (48) (p. 245):

(47) swa **us** þonne God mihte sylle.

as us then God might give

‘as God might then give us.’

(cochdru1,ChrodR_1: 34.1.509)

(48) gif hie hit behindon forleton þæt hiora fynd hit þonne deagollice

if they it behind left that their enemy it then secretly

genomon & onweg aleddon

took and away led

‘if they left it behind, their enemy would secretly take it and carry it off’¹¹

(coalex,Alex: 10.15.79)

[Examples take from Kemenade and Milićev (2012: 245)]

This is where discourse factors come into play. Van Kemenade and Milićev (2012: 246) argue that “discourse prominence” is what seems to influence whether a pronoun appears in Σ P or in a lower position. Thus, object pronouns that occur below the adverb have a referent which is not “prominent enough” in the discourse, and those with a prominent referent would appear in the higher position. Let us consider example (49) from our corpus below:

(49) Ac þa Cirus geahsade þæt **hiene** se gionga cyning þær secean wolde

but then Cirus discovered that him the young king there seek wanted

‘But then Cirus discovered that the young king wanted to seek him there’

(coorosiu,Or_2:4.44.23.839)

It is clear that *hiene* has a prominent referent in the discourse, that is, *Cirus* in the previous main sentence. Some of the factors that influence the discourse prominence or topicality

¹¹I suggest a different translation here, since *þæt* is omitted, and *fynd*, together with the verb *genomon*, should be plural. Therefore, I would translate it as ‘if they left it behind, so that their enemies would secretly take it and carry it off.’

of an object pronoun mentioned by van Kemenade and Milićev include “where and how a referent is introduced in the discourse”, “discourse shifts” and “comparison or contrast contexts” (p. 246). In the example mentioned above, the prominence of the object is reinforced by the fact that Cirus finds out it is *him* the king is looking for, and not anyone else. Even though the adverb *ða/ðonne* is not present in this case, we can see how the object pronoun occupies a high position in the left periphery of the clause in order to stand out due to its discourse prominence and to mark some kind of contrast, which goes on the same line as van Kemenade and Milićev’s claim.

4.1.3 Information structure: givenness and newness

The previous section has introduced several notions related to information structure, such as discourse prominence, topic, focus, and the concepts of “given” and “new”. I believe it is necessary to clarify these information structural notions before continuing with the analysis of our database. Gundel & Fretheim (2002: 2) describe how information structure has traditionally been associated with the distinction between given and new information. However, they introduce the idea that there is some disagreement and confusion concerning the association givenness/newness, proposing the following distinction: “referential givenness/newness” and “relational givenness/newness”. Gundel & Fretheim (2002: 3) define the former as follows:

Referential givenness/newness involves a relation between a linguistic expression and a corresponding non-linguistic entity in the speaker/hearer’s mind, the discourse (model), or some real or possible world [...].

In relation to referential givenness, Gundel et al. (1993) propose what they called “the Givenness Hierarchy”, illustrated in (50) below, which according to Gundel & Fretheim

(2002:3) represents “referential givenness statuses that an entity mentioned in a sentence may have in the mind of the addressee”:

(50)

in			uniquely			type
focus	> activated	> familiar	> identifiable	> referential		> identifiable
{ <i>it</i> }	{ <i>that/this/this</i> N}	{ <i>that</i> N}	{ <i>the</i> N}	{indefinite <i>this</i> N}		{ <i>a</i> N}

The Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993)

Gundel & Fretheim (2002) propose that these statuses are conventionally signalled crosslinguistically by determiners and pronouns, which goes in hand with the evidence exposed in the previous section. They illustrate this idea with example (51) below:

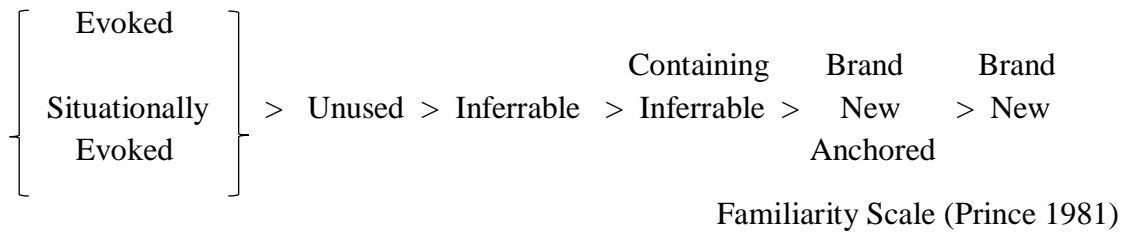
(51) A restudy of pareiasaurs reveals that these primitive reptiles are the nearest relatives of turtles. (M. S. Y. Lee, The origin of the Turtle Body Plan. *Science* 1993: 1649).

[Example taken from Gundel & Fretheim (2002:3)]

Thus, although the phrase *these primitive reptiles* does not encode the information of which group of primitive reptiles it is referring to, the fact that the determiner *these* “codes the cognitive status ‘activated’, it restricts possible interpretations to pareiasaurs, as these are the only activated plural entity at the point then the phrase is encountered” (Gundel & Fretheim 2002: 4). The same happened in example (45) in the previous section, where the object pronoun *hiene* had its antecedent *Cirus* as the only activated singular masculine entity at that point, with the subject *se gionga cyning* following the pronominal object.

Returning to the givenness/newness statuses, Gundel et al. (1993) compare their Givenness Hierarchy with the hierarchy that had been proposed by Prince (1981), known as the Familiarity Scale, which is presented in (52) below:

(52)



One of the main differences between the Familiarity Scale and the Givenness Hierarchy lies in the fact that the Familiarity Scale does not distinguish between ‘activated’ and ‘in focus’, with both grouped under the status ‘evoked’. Also, even though “statuses in both scales are ranked according to degree of givenness (from most familiar to least familiar)”, statuses in the Familiarity Scale are “mutually exclusive”, while those in the Givenness hierarchy have an “entailment” relation (Gundel et al. 1993: 280).

We have discussed the idea of referential givenness/newness. Concerning relational givenness/newness, Gundel & Fretheim (2002: 4) define it as follows:

Relational givenness/newness involves a partition of the semantic-conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what the sentence is about and Y is what is predicated about X. X is given in relation to Y in the sense that it is independent and outside the scope of what is predicated in Y. Y is new in relation to X in the sense that it is new information that is asserted, questioned, etc. about X. Relational givenness/newness thus reflects how the informational content of a particular event or state of affairs expressed by a sentence is represented and how its truth value is to be asserted.

Gundel & Fretheim (2002) point out how, although different sets of terms have been used to denote relational givenness/newness,¹² they use the terms ‘topic’ and ‘information focus’. We will elaborate on these notions in the following sections.

4.1.4 The status of *man*

It could be observed that the database contains a large number of examples with an embedded fronted pronominal object followed by the subject *man*, as seen in (53) below:

(53) a. Leonīpa þæt þa geascade [þæt **hiene**^{OBJ} **mon**^{SUBJ} swa beþridian wolde].

Leonidas that then asked so that him they in that way force wanted

‘Then Leonidas asked that so that they would want to force him in that way’

(Or, 2:5.46.34.896)

Concerning the impersonal *man*, van Bergen (2003: 147-170) provides a detailed account of its status. Except for the fact that object personal pronouns can precede it, contrary to what happens with personal pronoun subjects, the behaviour of *man* is essentially the same as that of personal pronoun subjects. Van Bergen (2003) argues that the inclusion of *man* within the group of pronominals could be accounted for with a clitic analysis. Still, she finds examples like those in (54) below difficult to account for “while still making the right predictions for the other aspects of the behaviour of *man*”:

¹² According to Gundel & Fretheim (2002: 4), these include ‘psychological subject and predicate’ (van der Gabelentz 1868, Paul 1880), ‘presupposition-focus’ (Chomsky 1971; Jackendoff 1972), ‘topic-comment’ (Gundel 1974), ‘theme-rheme’ (Vallduví 1992) and ‘topic-predicate’ (Erteschik-Shir 1997).

(54) a. *ðæt hie mon mid nanre swingellan gebetan ne mæg*

that them one with no flogging reform no can

‘that they cannot be reformed with any flogging’

(CP 37.263.8)

b. *Pa sæde him man þæt hí of engla lande wæron*

then said him one that they of Angels’ land were

‘Then he was told that they were from the land of the Angles’

(ÆCHom II, 9, 74.60)

[Examples taken from van Bergen (2003: 148)]

Example (54a) above clearly mirrors those examples with a fronted pronominal object and *man* as subject in our database. Considering that, in examples like (54), both the pronominal object and the subject *man* can be analysed as clitics, Van Bergen (2003: 149) proposes an ordering condition of what she calls “clitic clusters”, which are formed “when more than one clitic occurs in the same clitic slot”,¹³ and she suggests that there is an idiosyncratic ordering within clitic clusters which is found cross-linguistically, as shown in (55) below:

(55) subject personal pronouns > object personal pronouns > *man*.

(Van Bergen 2003:150)

It seems that both *man* and nominal subjects allow object pronouns to precede them in subclauses, although van Bergen states that it is “not due to any real similarity in syntactic

¹³ Van Bergen (2003: 148) shows how pronominals cliticise onto the subordinator in subordinate clauses, and onto the preceding finite verb in clauses with inversion.

behaviour”. While nominal subjects can be separated from a preceding object pronoun, *man* cannot, which supports the treatment of the “sequence” as a clitic cluster. Van Bergen (2003: 153) concludes that a clitic analysis for *man* is “far from impossible” and relates the ordering of *man* in the final slot of clitic clusters to “its low information value and the frequent topicality of the preceding personal pronouns”. All these aspects considered, the evidence seems to indicate that those examples of embedded clauses in our corpus with a fronted pronominal object followed by *man* could be accounted for with a clitic analysis of both elements.

4.2 OSV with fronted DPs

The analysis of the corpus shows a considerable number of structures in which the fronted element in embedded clauses in Old English is not a pronominal element, but a full DP. The attestations of fronted DP objects (59 tokens) are not as numerous as those with pronominal objects (607 tokens), but they form a representative sample of examples, which is worth analysing in detail.

In a similar way to pronominal objects, fronted DP objects combine with pronominal subjects (32.2%), full DP subjects (53.2%) and *man* subjects, although in clearly different proportions, as shown in the following figure:

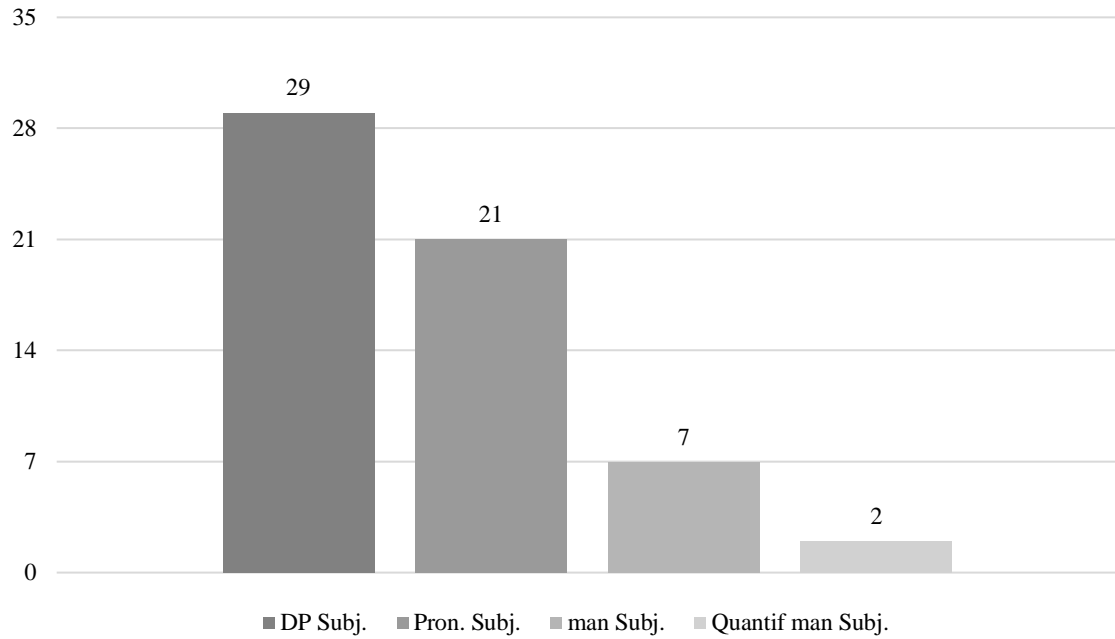


Figure 18. Subject Type in DP-OSV sentences

In (56-58) below are some examples of each subject type with DP-OSV embedded word order:

- (56) & eft he cuæð: Sua dysige ge sint ðætte [*ðæt ðæt ge*
 and again he said: so foolish you are that that which you
gæsðlice underfengon]^{OBJ}, *ge*^{SUBJ} willað geendigan flæsclice.
 spiritually receive, you want to end fleshly.

‘and again, he said: you are so foolish that that which you receive spiritually, you want to end fleshly’.

(cocura,CP:31.207.15.1396)

- (57) ...þæt hi wiston þæt [ðæt micle gewin]^{OBJ} [mare wuldor]^{SUBJ} *eces*
 ...that they knew that that great struggle more glory eternal^{GEN}
edleanes] *æfterfyligde*.
 reward^{GEN} followed.

‘...that they knew that more glory of eternal reward followed that great struggle’.

(cobede, Bede_1:13.56.10.523)

- (58) *Gif* [*hire bearn*]^{OBJ} *mon*^{SUBJ} *ofslea*, gielde cyninge þara medrenmæga
 If her child man kills repays the queen the maternal kinsman
dæl
 part

‘If someone kills her child, the queen repays the part of the maternal kinsman’.

(colawaf, LawAf_1:8.3.45)

4.2.1 DP objects and the double subject position

Section 4.1 showed how, if we adopt an analysis with a double subject position, it is possible for pronominal objects to occupy the higher position (SU₁), thus rendering a word order with a fronted object. The structure proposed by Biberauer and van Kemenade (2011: 22) is repeated in (59) below:

- (59) [CP XP C [_{AGR}P *Pronoun Subj* (SU₁) – *Pronoun Obj* Agr [_{ADV}P/_{NEG}P *Neg/Adv*
 Neg [_{TP} DP *Subj* (SU₂) T ...]]]]

We must now consider whether this analysis is able to account for the examples cited above, with a full DP object in the first position of the subordinate clause. It is now crucial

to analyse not only the objects themselves, but also to distinguish the different types of subject following the object. The previous section showed how, when the fronted object is a pronoun, only an extremely marginal number of pronominal subjects follow it, being most of the subjects either full DPs or *man*. However, when the fronted object is a DP, the number of pronominal subjects rises to almost the same number as DP subjects. The question now is whether those fronted DP objects could occupy the higher SU_1 position and how to account for them in a formal analysis.

As shown above, 53.2% of the total amount of subjects that combine with a fronted DP object are also DPs. It has been suggested that indefinite DP subjects occupy a lower position in the clause (van Kemenade & Milićev 2012). If we study the instances of DP subjects after fronted DP objects in the corpus, we obtain the distribution shown in Table 4 below:

Table 2. DP subject type with fronted DP objects in the corpus.

DP Subject Type	Total	Definite	Indefinite	Quantified
	29	15	12	2

Thus, an example like (60) below could exceptionally be accommodated into a syntactic analysis in which the indefinite, bare plural DP subject *Scottas* occupies the lower subject position. Stretching the limits of syntax, most probably for rhetorical purposes, the DP object *monigra mynstra heanisse & heafod* could occupy the higher position in the embedded clause:

(60) hwearf eft on his eðel to Hii þæm ealonde, þæt [*monigra*

returned again to his country to Hii the island, where many

mynstra heannisse & heafod]^{OBJ} *Scottas*^{SUBJ} hæfdon.

monasteries chief seat and head Scots had.

‘[Ceolloh] returned again to his native land to the island of Iona, where the Scots had the chief seat and head of many monasteries’

(cobede,Bede_3:15.222.34.2288)

These fronted DP objects tend to be very emphatic, as seen in (61) below. The whole excerpt is presented in (62):

(61) Hit gelamp þa sona swa hi ofslagene wæron þæt mycel liget com ofer þa manfullan hæðenan, and swiðlic eorðstyrung and egeslic þunor, swa þæt þæra manfulra mycel dæl forwearð, and nan stow ne ætstod mid þam stænenum godum, *ne nan hæðengyld se hagol ne belæfde*.

(62) *ne [nan hæðengyld]*^{OBJ} [*se hagol*]^{SUBJ} *ne belæfde*.

nor no heathen idol the hail not spared

‘nor did the hail spare any heathen idol’

(coaelive,æLS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:422.1202)

The fronted DP object *nan hæðengyld* ‘no heathen idol’ in (50-51) is highly emphatic, as we clearly perceive how the writer, after enumerating the different natural disasters that came over the heathens, wants to highlight the fact that no single idol survived their destructive power. As mentioned above, fronting the DP object by means of movement

to the higher SU_1 position would be a possibility if we stretch the limits of syntax in order to achieve a highly emphatic word order.

On the other hand, 32.2% of the total amount of subjects that combine with a fronted DP object are pronominal, as seen in (63) from 4.2, repeated below:

- (63) & eft he cuæð: Sua dysige ge sint ðætte [ðæt ðæt ge
 and again he said: so foolish you are that that which you
gæsðlice underfengon]^{OBJ}, *ge*^{SUBJ} *willað geendigan flæsclice*.
 spiritually receive, you want to end fleshly.

‘and again, he said: you are so foolish that that which you receive spiritually, you want to end fleshly’.

In this case, the higher subject position would be occupied by the pronominal subject, leaving no room for the movement of the DP object. Therefore, with embedded clauses with fronted DP objects and pronominal subjects, we could be talking about a real embedded main-clause phenomenon. This would involve a more articulate structure of the left periphery, in line with the approach in Rizzi (1997), where information structure factors are also taken into consideration and incorporated into a syntactic model.

Returning to Biberauer and van Kemenade (2011: 22) and their work on double subject positions, we observe how, following the work by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) and Walkden (2015), they suggest that SU_1 could possibly be located “within an articulate CP”, and consider the familiar topic position (FamTopP) “as a plausible possibility”, as indicated in (64) below. It is true that, as I have mentioned before, they consider this position to be occupied by subjects and objects that are strictly pronominal.

It is therefore necessary to discern how to accommodate fronted DP objects into this model:

(64) [ForceP [AboutTopP [ContrP [IntP [FocP [FamTop* [FinP [IP

4.2.2 Information structure, objects and topics

Lambrecht (1994: 5) defines information structure as follows:

INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

According to him, information structure “belongs to sentence grammar”, and “is not concerned with the organization of discourse, but with the organization of the sentence within a discourse” (p.7). He considers syntax to be “autonomous in its own domain”, but also that “it must provide the resources for expressing the communicative needs of speakers”, and therefore we must “explain the principles which determine its function in discourse” in order to fully understand its nature (p. 11).

As regards the notion of topic, Lambrecht defines the topic of a sentence as “the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about” (p. 118). Building on Chafe (1976), Lambrecht also points out how topic can be fined as a “scene-setting” expression, or as an element which sets “a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (Lambrecht 1994: 118). If we wish to analyse the syntactic realisation of topics, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007:1) assume that topics “are merged in argument position and then moved to an extra-sentential maximal projection”, *Topic Phrase* (TopP), which can occupy different positions in the clause. Concerning the

different topic locations, and following Rizzi (1997), Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl propose “two topic fields in the left periphery of the sentence, one above and one below the *Focus Phrase* (FocP)”, together with “a lower TopP node, just above the VP”, as seen in Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (2001). Therefore, they propose an analysis like the one in (65) below, with the topic being generated “within IP” and being able to reach one of the TOPIC positions. They also point out how “the TopP projection can be iterated”, as indicated by the asterisk, with “free recursion of the Top projection” generally assumed in cases of multiple topics.

(65) $[_{TopP} TOPIC^*_k [_{FocP} [_{TopP} TOPIC^*_k [_{IP} [_{TopP} TOPIC^*_k [_{VP} t_k]]]]]]$

Observing the data obtained from the different queries in my study, it became apparent that not all fronted objects were the same. Therefore, I adopt here the threefold division described by Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007: 1-2), according to which topics are divided into the following three types:

- (a) *aboutness topic*: “what the sentence is about”; “newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to” constituents.
- (b) *contrastive topic*: “an element that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics.”
- (c) *familiar topic*: “a given, d-linked constituent, [...] typically distress and realized in a pronominal form [...], generally used for topic continuity.”

Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl refute a free recursion analysis of topics in the CP-system (2007: 2). Instead, they propose a topic hierarchy for Italian and German, i.e. that “different types of topic [...] are realized in a specific order.” Their hierarchy, given in (66) below, is based on a set of both prosodic and syntactic properties. I will only focus, however, on the latter, given the fact that we lack any prosodic evidence from Old

English. Following Givón (1983), Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007: 2) characterise shifting topics as “newly introduced or newly changed to”, whereas “contrastive and familiar topics are defined as given.”

(66) *Topic Hierarchy*

Shifting topic [+aboutness] Contrastive topic Familiar topic

4.2.3 Types of DP topic

If we follow Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), it is reasonable to consider fronted pronominal objects in the previous section as familiar topics. With fronted DP objects, however, I decided to classify them according to the topic hierarchy presented above, as shown in Table 3 below. Even though familiar topics are typically realised in a pronominal form, I did consider a few DP objects to have a familiar information structure value, since they include an anaphoric element (such as a demonstrative article, a possessive pronoun, etc.) that links them to the previous discourse.

Table 3. Types of topic in OSV sentences with fronted DP objects

	Aboutness	Topic Type	
		Contrastive	Familiar
DP subject	11	13	5
Pronominal subject	6	13	2
<i>man</i> subject	4	3	2
Total	21	29	9

It can be observed that most DP topics in the examples in the corpus are either very contrastive elements or newly introduced information the sentence is about (aboutness topics), with only 9 instances of familiar topics. We must remember that we are now dealing with the notion of topic in relation to its information-structure value. That means that even though, as section 4.2.1 suggested, fronted DP objects with DP subjects in the

corpus could exceptionally occupy a higher position in the embedded clause (thus ruling out topicalisation *per se*), we can still analyse their status as discourse topics. Fronted DP objects with pronominal subjects, however, do not fall into this analysis. Focusing on this combination and bearing in mind the classification of topics presented above, example (67) below, taken from the Old English *Orosius*, illustrates how a fronted object is not only highly contrastive and emphatic, but also a very heavy and long constituent, containing two embedded clauses (a relative clause and a complement clause):

(67) *swa þæt [ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs]^{OBJ},*

so that to each of which she learn could that of noble origin was,

hio^{SUBJ} to hyre gespon

she to her enticed

‘so that she enticed to her each of those that she could learn were of noble origin’

(Or. 1:2.22.19.444)

Example (67) is extremely interesting from several different points of view, as the next sections will illustrate. The fact that the DP object is so emphatic and contrastive goes in hand with the idea of a topic hierarchy, with aboutness and contrastive topics appearing in the leftmost position of the clause. Example (68) below shows a case of an aboutness DP object topic:

- (68) Martyralogium be symbeldægum haligra martyra, on þære
 Martyrology about festivals holy^{GEN} martyrs^{GEN}, in which
[ealle þa þe ic gemetan mihte, nales þæt an hwilce dæge ac
 all that I discover could, not that one which day but
eac swilce hwilce cyne compes, oþþe under hwilcum deman hie
 also such as form strife^{GEN}, or under what judge they
middangeard oferswiðden]^{OBJ}, ic^{SUBJ} geornlice awrat.
 Earth overpower^{SUBJUNCTIVE}, I earnestly wrote

‘A Martyrology about the festivals of the holy martyrs, in which I earnestly wrote all I could find, not only on what day, but also in what form of strife and under what judge they prevailed over the world’

(cobede,Bede_5:22.484.19.4858)

Here, the author, i.e. Bede, is introducing a section which will present the different festivals dedicated to the martyrs. A relative clause is introduced, with a pronominal subject (*ic*) follows a very heavy and long DP object that has been fronted (*ealle þa þe ic gemetan mihte, nales þæt an hwilce dæge ac eac swilce hwilce cyne compes, oþþe under hwilcum deman hie middangeard oferswiðden*). Even though the relative element *on þære* has its referent in the previous discourse (i.e. *Martyralogium*), the object introduces new information and describes the content of the section, thus falling into the category of an aboutness or shifting topic.

4.2.4 Types of DP-OSV embedded clause

In relation to the types of topic, I studied the different types of embedded clauses, looking for a pattern among them. To do so, I classified all the examples into three categories, as seen in Figure 15 below: adverbial clause, complement clause and relative clause. Table 4 below shows the different subtypes of adverbial clauses, which were also included in the classification, together with the topic type classification from the previous section.

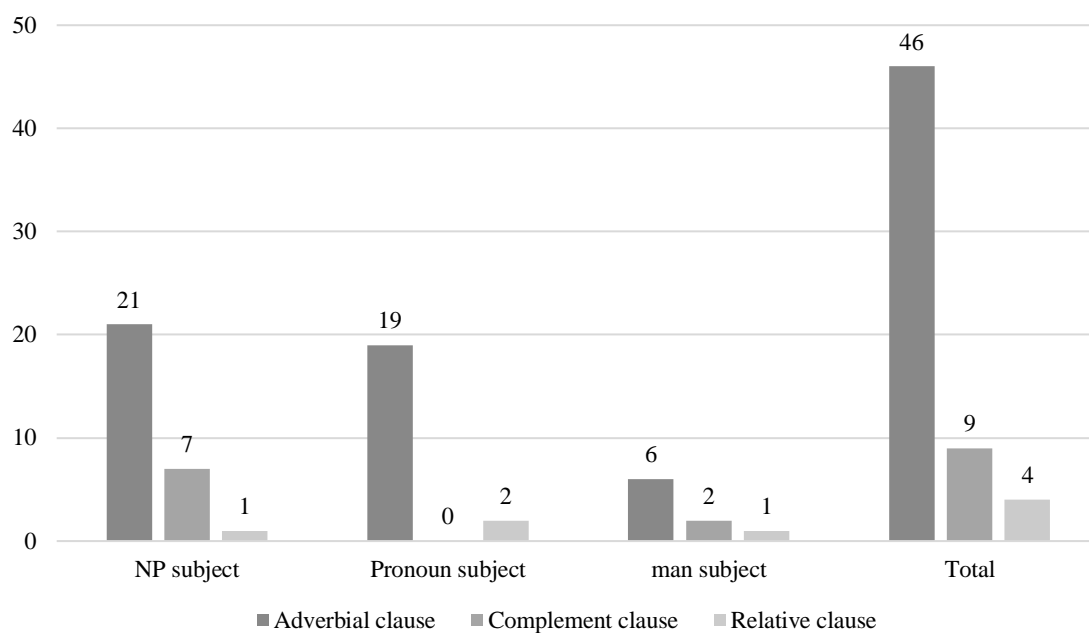


Figure 19. Types of embedded clause with DP-OSV word order.

Table 4. Types of DP-OSV embedded clauses and types of topic.

OSV	Total	Topic Type		
		Aboutness	Contrastive	Familiar
Adverbial Clause	46	13	27	6
<i>Concession</i>	17	1	13	3
<i>Conditional</i>	5	5	0	0
<i>Manner</i>	8	1	6	1
<i>Purpose</i>	6	2	3	1
<i>Reason</i>	9	4	4	1
<i>Time</i>	1	0	1	0
Complement Clause	9	5	2	2
Relative Clause	4	3	1	0
Grand Total	59	14	29	8

As seen in Figure 15 above, most embedded clauses with fronted DP objects are adverbial clauses (46 out of 59), as opposed to only 9 complement clauses and 4 relative clauses. We can draw several conclusions from their distribution. In the first place, it can be observed that the majority of adverbial clauses are concession clauses. The previous section showed how most DP object topics are contrastive, which, according to Table 4 above, goes in relation with concession clauses (13 out of 17 concession clauses include a contrastive topic). This is not surprising, given the nature of concession clauses as a break or opposition to the main clause.

In the case of complement and relative clauses, their distribution shows how most of the DP object topics found in them are aboutness or shifting topics, which makes sense given the fact that most complement clauses introduce new information (usually with verbs like *say* or *happen*), as is the case with relative clauses, which tend to provide more information about their antecedent.

Together with the different types of embedded clause in which we find examples of OSV word order, Table 5 below shows their position with respect to the main clause (i.e.

preceding it or following it). Furthermore, given the length and heaviness of some of the fronted DPs, I studied the average object word count for every category. Not surprisingly, the majority of embedded clauses follows their main clause (51 instances following it versus 8 preceding it). If topics are typically introduced as a way of connecting with the previous discourse, it is just natural that, when part of an embedded clause, the latter follows the main clause.

Table 5. Types of DP-OSV embedded clauses, clause position and object word count.

DP-OSV	Total	Clause Position		Object average word count
		Precedes MC	Follows MC	
Adverbial Clause	46	7	39	3.5
<i>Concession</i>	17	0	17	2.4
<i>Conditional</i>	5	4	1	4.6
<i>Manner</i>	8	1	7	3.9
<i>Purpose</i>	6	0	6	6.5
<i>Reason</i>	9	1	8	2.9
<i>Time</i>	1	1	0	1
Complement Clause	9	1	8	4.4
Relative Clause	4	0	4	8.8
Grand Total	59	8	51	3.9

Concerning object length and heaviness, the average word count of fronted DP objects shows how they tend to be quite heavy, although there are internal differences depending on the type of clause. For instance, the average length of fronted DP objects in relative clauses is 8.8 words, while the average length in in adverbial clauses is 3.5. However, I decided to classify the totality of objects into three categories, as seen in Figure 16 below: one word, between two and three words, and more than three words. It can be observed that the tendency of these fronted DPs is to be quite long, with the majority of examples having between two and three words (55.9%), followed by those with more than three words (32.2%). Only 11.9% of the DPs have one word. If we bear in mind that most of

the topics in this analysis were either contrastive topics or aboutness topics, it seems natural to correlate their information-structural value with their length.

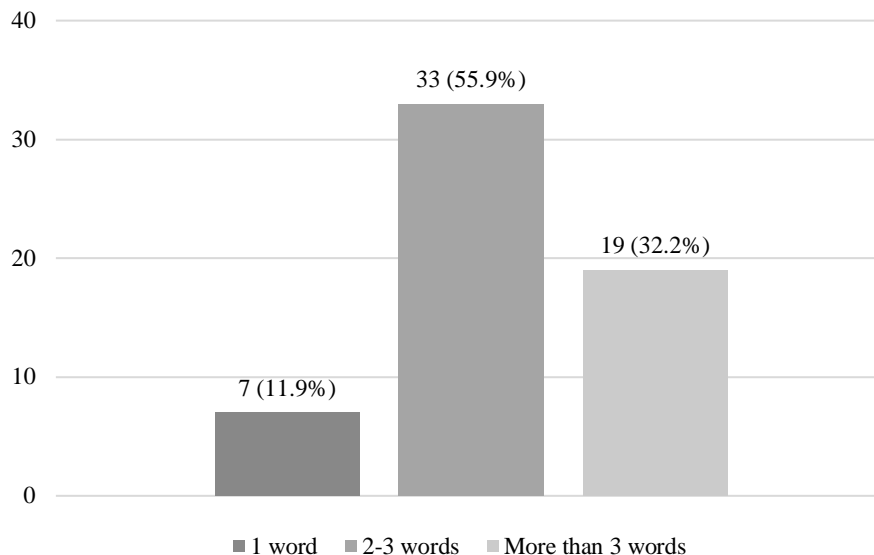


Figure 20. Fronted DP-object word count

4.2.5 Latin translations

We must be cautious when observing the structure of certain Old English texts which are translations of Latin originals. For instance, Cichosz et al. (2016: 407), in their analysis of word order patterns in Old English and Old High German translations of Latin texts, consider Bede's *Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* to have a strong influence from the source text. According to the authors, the text is not translated “phrase by phrase”. Instead, “the position of crucial clause constituents [...] very often corresponds to the ordering found in the Latin source text.” Therefore, I consider it necessary to analyse in detail those examples which belong to a translation from Latin.

Concerning subordinate clauses, Cichosz et al. (2016: 213) review a considerable number of translations from the Latin original into Old English, which they divide into

two categories: those following Latin and those modifying it. Among those clauses *following* Latin, they distinguish another three different sub-categories:

- a. *copied order*
- b. *added Subject*, with “null subjects in Latin”
- c. *minor changes*, which comprises “non-finite verbs changed into finite, as well as changes in the position of constituents other than verbs”).

As regards clauses *modifying* Latin, these are divided into:

- d. *changed V position*, i.e. reshuffling of constituents, including the finite verb
- e. *added V*, i.e. “overt expression of a verb absent in the source text”
- f. *elaboration*, i.e. “short Latin clauses, which are elaborated by the translators by adding new elements to them”

Following Cichosz et al. (2016), I classified the examples of embedded clauses with fronted DPs from the main texts that were translations from Latin (Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, *Cura Pastoralis*, *Gregory’s Dialogues*, *Orosius* and *Herbarium*) into those that followed Latin and those modifying Latin. I observed that, just as Cichosz et al. (2016) predicted, some texts like Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* tend to be more latinising, with a word order that is closer to the original than other texts. Thus, those examples that follow the Latin original replicate the fronted position of the DP object in the embedded clause quite faithfully, followed by the subject and with the finite verb in final position, as shown in (69) below, from Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.

(69) *þæt [monigra mynstra heannisse & heafod]^{OBJ} Scottas^{SUBJ} hæfdon.*

where many^{GEN} monasteries^{GEN} chief seat and head Scots had.

(OE cobede, Bede_3:15.222.34.2288)

ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum;

where many^{GEN} head and chief seat Scots held monasteries^{GEN}

(Lat. Bede. Hist. Eccl. 3.21, 280)

‘where the Scots had the chief seat and the head of many monasteries’

In the case of (69), we would be talking about “copied order” in Cichosz et al. (2016) classification if it was not for the last genitive *coenobiorum* in the Latin original, which appears extraposed and far away from its quantifier *plurimorum*. Therefore, this example should be classified under “minor changes”, given that there is a change in the position of the head of the DP object but not of the finite verb. It is the genitive quantifier *plurimorum* in Latin that probably prompted the Old English fronting of the DP object. However, we must note that the Old English version fronts the whole constituent and does not keep the stranded modifier at the end of the clause, which could be an indicator of the fact that this type of construction, with a whole DP object occupying the leftmost position of the embedded clause, was a productive possibility in Old English.

However, it is also possible to find examples of fronted DP objects in embedded clauses in Old English translations that somehow modify the Latin original. Although not numerous, we do find examples modifying Latin in more latinising texts like Bede’s *Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* or *Cura Pastoralis*. Examples from other texts such as the *Orosius*, however, consistently tend to modify the Latin original, as seen in (70) below:

- (70) Seo ylce cwen Sameramis, syððan þæt rice wæs on hyre gewearde, nales þæt an þæt hio ðyrstende wæs on symbel mannes blodes, ac eac swelce mid ungemetlicre wrænnesse manigfeald geligre fremmende wæs, [*swa þæt ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs*^{OBJ}, *hio*^{SUBJ} *to hyre gespon for hyre geligernesse*],...

Swa þæt [ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs]^{OBJ},

so that to each of those she learn could that of noble origin was,

hio^{SUBJ} *to hyre gespon*

she to her enticed

‘so that she enticed to her each of those that she could learn were of noble origin’

(OE Or. 1:2.22.19.444)

haec, libidine ardens, sanguinem sitiens, inter incessabilia et stupra et homicidia,
[*cum omnes quos regie arcessitos, meretricie habitos*],...

(Lat. Orosius Hist. 1.4.7-8)

Example (70) is particularly relevant, both from the point of view of its translation and its syntax. We previously saw that, in the Old English rendering, the fronted DP object is especially heavy, consisting of two juxtaposed embedded clauses (a relative clause introduced by *þara þe* and a complement clause introduced by *þæt*). We could expect such a complex clause with such an uncommon word order to be the result of a literal translation from a Latin text. Nevertheless, comparing it to the Latin original (*cum omnes quos regie arcessitos, meretricie habitos*), it can be observed that we are dealing with a modifying translation (more specifically, a case of “elaboration”), given the level of

expansion and addition of constituents in the Old English version. It is particularly relevant to note the following commentary from the Early English Text Society edition of the *Orosius* (Bately 1980: 212):

22/22-3. *ælcne ... kynekynnes wæs*. Based on a misunderstanding of OH I. iv. 7
‘omnes quos regie arcessitos’.

The fact that the editor himself considers the Old English translation to be a misunderstanding of the Latin original, together with its uncommon syntactic word order, supports the idea that this type of construction was a productive and valid option within the syntactic model of the author in Old English. Examples (71) from *Orosius* and (72) from Gregory’s *Dialogues* below further illustrate this point:

(71) On þæm dagum on Egyptan wæs þæs kyninges þeaw Bosiriðis

on that day in Egypt was the king^{GEN} custom Busiris^{GEN}

[þæt ealle þa cuman þe hine gesohton]^{OBJ} **he**^{SUBJ} to blote gedyde

that all the guests who him sought he to sacrifice put

& hys godum bebead.

and his gods^{DAT} offered

‘In those days, in Egypt, it was the custom of King Busiris that the would sacrifice
all the guests that sought him and offered them to his gods’

(coorosiu,Or_1:8.27.9.529)

Busiridis in Aegypto cruentissimi tyranni crudelis hospitalitas et crudelior religio tunc fuit; [*qui innocentum hospitem sanguinem diis scelerum suorum participibus propinabat*]: quod execrabile sine dubio hominibus uiderim an ipsis etiam diis execrabile uideretur.

(Lat. Orosius Hist. 1.11)

(72) *ðætte [ðæt ðæt ge gæsðlice underfengon]^{OBJ}, ge^{SUBJ} willað*
 that that which you spiritually receive, you want
geendigan flæsclice. (OEcogregdc,GDPref_and_4_[C]:15.282.21.4163)

end fleshly

‘that that which you receive spiritually, you want to end fleshly.’

ut cum spiritu coeperitis, nunc carne consummamini
 that with spirit^{ABL} start^{2PL-FUT} now flesh^{ABL} consume^{3SG-PASS}

(Lat. NV Galat. 3.3)

4.3 Concluding remarks

Chapter 4 has attempted to account for the examples of embedded OSV word order in Old English in the corpus. One of the conclusions we can draw from the observation of the data and from contrasting it against the main theoretical approaches is that a syntactic explanation alone does not successfully account for the motivations behind this particular type of word order. A double subject position could explain those examples of embedded OSV word order with fronted pronominal objects, with a lower position reserved for DP subjects and a higher position which pronominal elements, such as subjects or even objects, could occupy. However, this does not hold for those examples of embedded OSV

word order with fronted DP objects. I believe that discourse factors, such as the notion of topic seen in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), influence the positioning of objects in this type of embedded word order. The discourse status of most of the fronted DP objects as aboutness, contrastive or familiar topic suggests that a more articulate left periphery may be needed in a syntactic model for this type of embedded clauses in Old English in order to reflect these information structural factors.

5. EMBEDDED OVS WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH

Chapter 4 presented those cases of embedded OSV word order in our database, both with fronted pronominal and DP objects. However, the database also showed examples of embedded OVS word order, which could be understood as embedded V2. Chapter 2 illustrated how Old English is considered as a V2 language and showed the discrepancies between those approaches that define it as a CP-V2 language (van Kemenade 1997) and those that define it as an IP-V2 language (Pintzuk 1991, Kroch, Taylor & Ringe 2001). We saw how the main difference between these two approaches is the landing site of the finite verb: in a CP-V2 language, the landing site for the finite verb would be C^0 (via I^0), while in an IP-V2 language it would not move any higher than I^0 . This difference in the landing site of the finite verb therefore predicts that CP-V2 will show an asymmetry in the distribution of the V2 rule, with V2 being restricted to main clauses and with the verb in embedded clauses surfacing in final position. In contrast, IP-V2 languages should not present said asymmetry, with V2 surfacing in both main and embedded clauses, thus permitting embedded topicalisation as well (Salvesen & Walkden 2017).

Chapter 4 also showed how a clitic analysis could account for those examples with fronted pronominal objects in embedded clauses, while those examples with fronted DP objects required a more complex analysis, with a more articulate CP reflecting several information structural factors. Nevertheless, examples of embedded OVS word order (or embedded V2 with a fronted object) are also attested in the corpus, even though they are not as numerous as those with embedded OSV word order, as seen in Table 6 below. This chapter will attempt to provide an account for this type of word order.

Table 6. Distribution of embedded OVS order in the corpus.

	Total	Pron. subj.	DP subj.	<i>man</i> subj.	Quantif. <i>man</i> subj.
Pron. OVS	80	0	80 (100%)	0	0
DP OVS	14	0	14 (100%)	0	0

We can observe that, out of the 94 attestations of embedded OVS word order in the corpus, the fronted object is a full DP in only 14 of them, as illustrated in (73) below:

- (73) *ðylæs [ða smyltnesse ðæs domes]^{OBJ} gewemme^{SUBJUNCT} [oððe se*
 lest the calm the^{GEN} judgement^{GEN} defile either the
dierna æfst oððe to hræd ierre.]^{SUBJ}
 concealed envy or to sudden anger

‘lest concealed envy or sudden anger should defile the calm of judgement’

(cocura,CP:13.79.10.520)

On the other hand, the majority of the examples have a pronominal object occupying the leftmost position of the embedded clause, as seen in (74a-b) below. Interestingly, all subjects are full DPs, as opposed to those cases of embedded OSV word order, where pronouns and *man* could also appear as subjects:

- (74) a. Witodlice Basilius ... awrat ealle ða þenunga þæra halgan mæssan,
 Thus Basil ... wrote all the services of the holy mass,
swa swa hit^{OBJ} healdað Grecas^{SUBJ}.
 as it keep the Greek (æLS[Basil]:142.546)

‘Thus Basil wrote all the services of the Holy Mass, as the Greeks keep it’

b. Gyf ænig witega arise betwynan eow, & secge [ðæt *hine*^{OBJ} mæte *swefen*^{SUBJ}]

If any wise man arise between you and say that him met vision...

‘If any wise man should arise between you, and say that a vision met him...’

(Deut:13.1.4726)

5.1 Verbs taking V2 complement clauses

In relation to V2 in embedded clauses, Salvesen & Walkden (2017) agree that this has traditionally been a neglected domain, and again they refer to the difference between CP-V2 and IP-V2 languages, together with what they label *the split hypothesis*, based on Travis (1984, 1991) and Zwart (1991, 1993). The split hypothesis presupposes that “the position of the finite verb depends on the nature of its preceding XP”, i.e. the finite verb raises to C⁰ when the first constituent of the clause is “a nonsubject”, whereas it remains in Spec,IP when the subject is in initial position (Salvesen & Walkden 2017: 170).

Building on Vikner (1995), Salvesen & Walkden (2017: 173) argue that CP-V2 languages, or asymmetric V2 languages, can be divided into those that prohibit embedded V2 “whenever the complementizer is present”, such as German, and those which allow embedded V2 “with an overt complementizer only in specific contexts”, such as Mainland Scandinavian. Those contexts in which embedded V2 is allowed are usually complement clauses of the so-called ‘bridge’ verbs¹⁴. However, Salvesen & Walkden (2017) try to detach themselves from that label, endorsing the classification of different types of verbs taking finite complement clauses proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1973)¹⁵. This classification, which intends to “account for the empirically observed distribution of main

¹⁴ Verbs that allow complementizer deletion (van Kemenade 1997:328).

¹⁵ While the present study includes all types of subordinate clauses.

clause phenomena”, comprises five classes of complement-taking verbs. The five different classes, which are labelled A-E, are classified “according to the discourse status of their complement clauses”, as illustrated below:

(75) Class A: strong assertive verbs (*say, report, exclaim, assert, claim, vow, be true, be certain, be sure, be obvious*. OE *secgan, cweðan* ‘to say’)

Class B: weak assertive verbs (*suppose, believe, think, expect, guess, imagine, seem, happen, appear*. OE *geliefan* ‘to believe’, *limpan* ‘to happen’)

Class C: verbs that are neither assertive nor factive (*be (un)likely, be (im)possible, doubt, deny*)

Class D: factive verbs (*resent, regret, be sorry, be surprised, bother, be odd, be strange, be interesting*)

Class E: semifactive verbs (*realise, learn, find out, discover, know, see, recognise*. OE *seon* ‘to see’, *witan* ‘to know’, *ongiētan* ‘to perceive/understand’)

(Hopper & Thompson 1973, Salvesen & Walkden 2017)

In a study of a total of 1336 embedded clauses in Old English, Salvesen & Walkden (2017) find 29 instances of embedded V2, which they describe as “only a handful of non-accidental counterexamples”. This leads them to affirm that embedded V2 in Old English is completely ruled out. However, I would not go as far as to say that under no circumstances was embedded V2 a valid option in Old English. While Salvesen & Walkden (2017) base their study only on complement clauses, I considered it necessary

to look at all types of embedded V2 clauses in detail, in the same way as we saw with embedded OSV word order.¹⁶

5.2 Types of embedded OVS clause

Looking at the different types of embedded clauses with OVS word order, illustrated in Figure 21 below, it can be observed that, while complement clauses are not the most common type (17%) and relative clauses are very rare (3.2%), adverbial clauses are the most numerous by a great difference (79.8%):

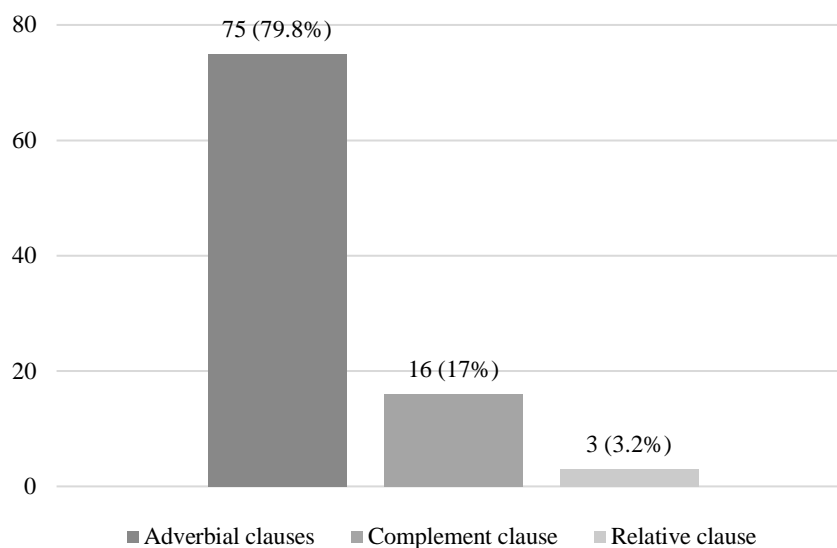


Figure 21. Types of embedded clause with OVS word order in the corpus

While analysing the corpus, it became apparent that, among adverbial clauses, there was an abundance of temporal OVS clauses introduced by subordinators such as *þa*, *mid þy* or *midðam ðe*. These temporal clauses, as illustrated in (76a-b) below, seem to be even formulaic, taking a pronominal object and a full DP subject:

¹⁶ We need to bear in mind the fact that Salvesen & Walkden's (2017) database takes into account mainly embedded V2 sentences in which the first element is the subject, while I am only focusing on those with a fronted object.

(76) a. *þa þæt^{OBJ} ongeat [se wælhreowa cyning ðeodric]^{OBJ}, þa...*

when that recognised the cruel king Theodric, then...

‘when the cruel king Theodric recognised that, then...’

(Bo:1.7.23.67)

b. *Ða þæt^{OBJ} gesawon [ða burgware]^{OBJ}, ða...*

When that saw the citizens, then...

‘When the citizens saw that, then...’

(LS_25_[MichaelMor[BiHom_17]]:199.51.2549)

If we analyse all the instances of embedded OSV word order in the corpus, paying attention to the subtypes of adverbial clauses, we obtain the distribution illustrated in Table 7 below. We can indeed observe that the subtype with the highest number of tokens is that of temporal adverbial clauses, with a total of 41 attestations, followed by manner, with 12:

Table 7. Types of embedded clauses with OSV word order in the corpus

OSV	Total
Adverbial Clause	75
<i>Time</i>	41
<i>Manner</i>	12
<i>Reason</i>	9
<i>Concession</i>	8
<i>Conditional</i>	5
<i>Purpose</i>	0
Complement Clause	16
Relative Clause	3
Grand Total	94

It would not be implausible to suggest that this phenomenon may be related to information structure. While the information structural factors that lead to the fronting of the object in those clauses have already been discussed in Chapter 4, we must now focus on those factors that may influence the late positioning of the subject in these embedded V2 clauses.

5.3 Information structure, subjects and focus

Sections 4.1.3 and 4.2.2 showed how information structural factors could affect the syntax of embedded clauses by fronting certain types of objects, which we identified as topics. I believe the same principles apply to objects in those embedded sentences in the corpus with OVS word order. On the other hand, now we are presented with subjects occupying the rightmost position of the embedded clause, leaving the finite verb in what looks like V2 position. It is likely that these late subjects are related to another information structural factor, i.e. focus. The present chapter will try to accommodate the uncommon embedded OVS word order to discourse-related theories while attempting to clarify whether we are dealing with a case of true embedded V2, or if, on the contrary, we are facing a case of subject extraposition.

Lambrecht (1994: 206) states that the concept of focus has been traditionally defined as “the complement of topic”. However, he rejects this idea based in part on the fact that focus conveys new information and that all sentences convey new information as well, which leads him to state that all sentences have a focus. On the contrary, not all sentences have a topic. Instead, Lambrecht defines focus as follows¹⁷:

¹⁷ For more on the notion of focus, cf. Prince (1981), Gundel & Fretheim (2004)

The focus that part of the proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes the utterance into an assertion.

(Lambrecht 1994: 207)

The fact that it is defined as the “non-recoverable” element in a sentence contrasts it with the notion of topic as recoverable, activated, familiar, etc. we saw in previous sections. Concerning the concept of “new discourse” as opposed to “old” or “given discourse”, Lambrecht (1994: 210) argues that the focus “stands in a pragmatically construed relation to the proposition such that its addition makes the utterance of the sentence a piece of new information”. While it is true that focus has traditionally been associated to sentence accent and prosody, it is clear that we are not able to access that information in the case of languages like Old English, so textual evidence needs to be the only evidence when assessing information structural phenomena.

As regards subjects affected by focus, it is particularly relevant to look at Prince’s (1989) and Light’s (2011) work on extraposed subjects in Germanic languages. Prince (1989) provides an account of the influence of discourse factors, focus in particular, in the syntax of Yiddish. Light (2011) does the same for Early New High German. Both seem to find a correlation between the extraposed position of subjects in the sentence and their status as focus.

Prince (1989: 8) found out that subjects in Yiddish could be postponed “when they do not refer to an entity that is currently under discussion”, that is, which is not activated or recoverable from the immediately preceding discourse. This is illustrated in Yiddish in (77) below, which is felicitous due to the fact that the postponed subject *di balebatim* ‘the

elders' have not been mentioned yet, "at least not in the current sub-part of the discourse-model under construction":

(77) *es zenen / iz gekumen [di balebatim]^{SUBJ}.*

it are / is come the elders

'The elders came [PL/SG].'

(Adapted from Prince 1989: 6)

Prince (1989: 8) assumes this phenomenon to explain the "apparent ban on postposing definite pronouns", which goes in hand with our results (we had seen that all the cases of embedded OVS word order in the corpus have a DP subject, with pronominal subjects completely absent from the database). In contrast, Prince agrees that pronominal and anaphoric elements occur "felicitously" in the left periphery of the clause, also agreeing with our analysis so far. She concludes that, in the type of constructions under her analysis, "brand-new subjects are categorically postposed" (p. 11).

Building on Prince (1989), Light (2011) studies subject extraposition and focus in relation to Early New High German (ENHG). Light (2011: 315) assumes that subjects in ENHG can be extraposed for two reasons: to receive "narrow focus", which Light defines as "a DP which is, in itself, the sole focus of a clause", and to receive "a default sentence accent". Although, as mentioned above, it is impossible to recover sentence accent in Old English, it is important to note how Light argues that this sentence accent is "most visible in the case of presentational constructions", which we will discuss in the next section in relation to fronted prepositional phrases.

In her quantitative analysis, Light (2011: 320) found that weight has a strong influence on subject extraposition, with the average weight of extraposed subjects being 13.07 syllables, quite a high figure (as opposed to the average weight of non-extraposed

subjects, 3.29 syllables). In the case of bare subjects, Light (2011: 321) observes that there is a tendency for them to be extraposed as well. Concerning their discourse status, extraposed subjects are in their majority discourse-new, as opposed to the majority of non-extraposed subjects, which are given (p. 322). She illustrates her claim in (78) below:

(78) denn es warden falsche Christi, vnd falsche propheten auff stehen, vnd
 for it will false Christs and false prophets up stand and
 grosse tzeychen vnd wunder thun **das verforet weden, yhn denn**
 great signs and wonders do that misled will be in the
yrthum wo es muglich were auch die auserweleten.

confusion where it possible would be also the chosen

‘For false Christs and false prophets will come forward and perform great signs and wonders, so that in the confusion, where possible, even the chosen will be misled.’

(*Septembertestament*, Matthew 24:24) [Example taken from Light (2011: 321)]

In conclusion, Prince (1989) and Light (2011) show, for Yiddish and ENHG respectively, that the subject’s status as a discourse-new element and most probably its weight are factors that prompt subject extraposition. As a Germanic language, it is not impossible to believe that the same phenomenon could occur in Old English embedded OVS clauses, which would make us think of subject extraposition as the motivation behind this particular type or word order, instead of the finite verb moving to V2 position. The next section will present an analysis of the data in our corpus in relation to this.

5.4 Discourse status and subject weight in embedded OVS clauses

Table 8 below shows the distribution of non-extrapolated subjects and extrapolated subjects in Old English embedded clauses with fronted objects in the corpus, both DPs and pronouns. It can be observed that, although examples with an extrapolated subject are less numerous, their number is still significant:

Table 8. Distribution of non-extrapolated subjects and extrapolated subjects in OE embedded clauses with fronted objects

	Total	Non-extrapolated subject	Extrapolated subject
Fronted DP object	73	59 (80.8%)	14 (19.2%)
Fronted pronominal object	687	607 (88.3%)	80 (11.7%)

It is interesting to note that the proportion of extrapolated subjects is similar both with a fronted DP object and with a fronted pronominal object. While it is true that instances of extrapolated subjects are lower than those of non-extrapolated subjects in both cases, we must bear in mind that we are dealing with a very particular combination of topic and focus.

Concerning the discourse status of the extrapolated subjects in examples of embedded OVS word order, our data agrees with those by Prince (1989) and Light (2011) in the sense that the majority of those subjects convey new information and the focus of the sentence. With the topical object being fronted due to its status as given, recoverable, etc., it is just natural that it is the subject that constitutes the focus that provides the new information in the clause. Consider example (79) below:

(79) *Mid þy hine^{OBJ} ehte Æðelfrið^{SUBJ}, se ðe ær him cyning wæs,*

when him attacked Æthelfrith, who before him king was

[...] þa gesohte he æt nyhstan

then approached he immediately

‘when Æthelfrith, who was king before him, attacked him, [...] then he approached immediately’

(Bede_2:9.126.13.1193)

This is a highly illustrative example of embedded OVS word order and its discourse-related elements. In the first place, we must note the fronted pronominal object. It is clear that the referent of this pronominal object is somewhere in the previous discourse (i.e. the king at the moment of speech). Interestingly, the pronoun is repeated three times (the fronted object *hine*, the object of the preposition in *ær him*, and the subject *he* in the main clause which follows the embedded one). This emphasises the highly given status of the object. Secondly, the extraposed subject is a bare proper name, *Æðelfrið*, which is defined by the following relative clause (*se ðe ær him cyning wæs*, ‘who was king before him’). The fact that the subject needs a relative clause to make sure the reader knows who this person is undoubtedly signals the status of the subject as brand new information.

As regards subject weight, Light (2011) pointed out how heavy and bare new subjects were usually extraposed. Example (79) above illustrated how this is the case for bare subjects in Old English as well. On the other hand, other types of extraposed subjects in embedded OVS clauses tend to be quite heavy, as shown in (80-81) below:

- (80) Nu miht ðu understandan, ðæt [*læssan ymbgang*]^{OBJ} hæfð
 now can you understand that less going about has
 [*se man þe gæð onbuton an hus*]^{SUBJ} þonne se ðe ealle þa burh begæð
 the man who goes around a house than who all the city goes around
 ‘Now you can understand that the man who goes around a house has less going
 about than he who goes around the entire city’
 (+ATemp:4.27.145)

- (81) Þa þæt^{OBJ} gehyrde [*seo mænigeo þæra halgena þe ðærinne wæron*]^{SUBJ},
 when that heard the multitude the saints that therein were
 hig clypedon ealle anre stefne.
 they cried out all a sound
 ‘When the multitude of saints who were therein heard that, they all let out a sound’
 (Nic_[A]:21.2.1.487)

Again, we see how these heavy subjects are very frequently modified by some kind of defining relative clause, like *þe gæð onbuton an hus* in (80) and *þe ðærinne wæron* in (81), which highlights the subject’s status as new information. I do believe that this kind of subjects could have been focalised by means of extraposition due to their heaviness and the new information they convey.

5.5 Concluding remarks

It is striking that, while authors like Salvesen & Walkden (2017) do not consider V2 to be a productive option in Old English, our database shows a considerable number of examples of embedded clauses which apparently fell under this type of word order. However, a deeper analysis of the discourse status of these examples proves that the most plausible explanation for cases of apparent embedded V2 would be that this type of word order is influenced by information structural factors. Thus, the finite verb does not move to V2 position, but, instead, the focalised subject is extraposed to the rightmost position in the clause. This keeps the balance between the given object which has been fronted in embedded OVS clauses and the extraposed subject, which conveys new and focalised information.

6. FRONTED PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES

The last types of word order patterns included in the present study are those embedded clauses in Old English with a fronted prepositional phrase, both with the finite verb in final position and in V2 position (henceforth, XSV and XVS, respectively). Unlike instances with fronted objects, where we found a significant variation regarding the distribution of examples with verb-final and those with V2, instances of fronted PPs in embedded clauses show quite an even distribution, with 313 attestations of XSV word order (45.4%) and 376 of XVS word order (54.6%), as seen in Table 9 below:

Table 9. Distribution of embedded clauses with fronted prepositional phrases in the corpus

	Total	Pron. subj.	DP subj.	<i>man</i> subj.	Quantif. <i>man</i> subj.
PP XSV	313	107 (34.2%)	186 (59.4%)	8 (2.5%)	12 (3.8%)
PP XVS	376	2 (0.5%)	374 (99.5%)	0	0

This dataset is also somehow reminiscent of that with embedded clauses with fronted objects, in the sense that embedded XSV clauses are attested with different types of subject, particularly pronominal and DP subjects, repeated in (82) and (83) below respectively, while embedded XVS clauses are basically restricted to DP subjects (there are only two marginal cases of pronominal subjects in the corpus), as seen in (84) below:

(82) ...forðæm þe [**on ælcum anum**]^{PP} **hi**^{SUBJ} sint eall.

...because in each one they are all

‘because they are all in each one’

(Bo:33.78.13.1467)

(83) swa hit Romane selfe sædon þæt [**under hiera anwalde**]^{PP}

so it the Romans in this way said that under their authority

[nan bismerelecre dæd]^{SUBJ} ne gewurde^{SUBJUNCTIVE}

no shameful deed no happen^{SUBJUNCTIVE}

‘so the Romans said in this way that no shameful deed would happen under their authority’

(Or, 5:3.116.27.2447)

(84) Forðæm eac wæs ðæt ðe [**beforan ðæm temple**]^{PP} stod [æren ceac

Because also was that before the temple stood brass cauldron

onuppan twelf ærenum oxum]^{SUBJ}

upon twelve brass oxen

‘Because it also was that a brass cauldron upon twelve brass oxen stood before the temple’

(CP:16.105.1.687)

There is an important difference between fronted objects and these fronted prepositional phrases, though. While objects are argumental constituents, prepositional phrases should be considered as adjuncts. Bech (2014: 511) points out that generative syntax distinguishes between adverbials that are arguments to the verb and those that are adjoined on the phrase level, and therefore not arguments. Even though the generative tradition only considers adjuncts the latter, Bech follows Quirk et al. (1985) in encompassing both types under the definition of adjuncts. I will adopt this definition as well for my analysis of fronted prepositional phrases.

Building on Los' (2009, 2012) views on V2 and "boundness",¹⁸ Bech (2014) provides an account of the anaphoric status of initial prepositional phrases in Old English. However, this analysis is limited to main clauses. The following sections will therefore focus on analysing the possible discourse-related motivations for embedded clauses with fronted prepositional phrases.

6.1 Discourse and fronted PPs

The previous sections illustrated how several discourse factors may influence the positioning of different constituents in Old English embedded clauses. Concerning objects in OSV embedded clauses, we saw that their status as given and discourse-old and their contrastiveness in numerous cases was a likely motivation for them to occupy the leftmost position in the clause. I believe something similar takes place in those cases with embedded PP-XSV word order.

Los (2009) and Bech (2014) point out that the initial position in V2 languages is "multifunctional", meaning that it can "encode marked focus, and marked and unmarked topics" (Los 2009: 99), and that it is "a dedicated position for links to the immediately preceding discourse", making "temporal and spatial deictic adverbials" particularly frequent in this position (Bech 2014: 509). Comparing Old English and Middle English, Bech (2014: 516) states that the proportion of initial PPs is considerably higher in the Old English period than in late Middle English, indicating how that initial position was used "as a discourse-linking position to a greater extent in Old English, since initial PPs are

¹⁸ According to Los (2012), English changed from a bounded language to an unbounded one. Old English, much like Present-Day German, narrated "a sequence of events by dividing it into temporal segments", thus making the narrative temporally bounded. In Present-Day English "the event is followed from without" and "the temporal sequence is inferred" (Bech 2014: 507).

able to mark local anchoring explicitly though demonstratives”. If we look at examples (82) and (83) above, we can observe how this is the case with the fronted PPs *on ælcum anum* ‘in each one’ and *under hiera anwalde* ‘under their authority’, which are highly deictic, linking themselves to the previous discourse. These prepositional phrases are highly emphatic and contrastive, as they set the topic very clearly apart from within all the elements of the previous discourse. We must not forget about the fact that most of them appear in embedded clauses with unaccusative verbs, such as *gewurde* ‘happen’ and *sint* ‘are’ in (82) and (83). We had seen how Van Kemenade (1997), among others, considers embedded clauses with unaccusative verbs as one of the few contexts in which embedded topicalisation is allowed. This, together with the status of these PPs, is most probably the motivation for this type of constituent fronting. While we could indeed consider these constructions as examples of topicalisation, the next section will attempt to provide an explanation for those examples with embedded XVS word order.

6.2 Embedded XVS clauses

We previously mentioned that our database included 376 instances of XVS word order with a fronted prepositional phrase (54.6% of the total of embedded clauses with fronted PPs). I believe that, in general, the discourse behind this particular type of word order differs from that of XSV embedded clauses. If we consider the embedded clause in (84) above (*ðæt ðe beforan ðæm temple stod æren ceac onuppan twelf ærenum oxum*, ‘before the temple stood a brass cauldron upon twelve brass oxen’), we see that this type of construction could fall under the category labelled by Bech (2014: 515) as “existential” or “presentational”, which usually have an adjunct of space or time in initial position. We can put this in relation to the notion of “locative inversion” in Present-Day English. Biber et al. (1999: 912) state that, “when there is a opening place adverbial, place descriptions

with overt or implied anaphoric elements are common with subject-verb inversion”, as in (85-86) below:

(85) [*Next to it*] stood a silver urn bursting with branches of red berries.

(86) [*Round her*] burned iron-spiked circles of tapering candles.

Biber et al. (1999: 954) point out that, in sentences like these, the distribution of information often reflects how a scene is observed. In that respect, we can understand that sentences with locative inversion do not highlight any constituent in particular, such as the object or the subject, or a prepositional phrase, but they place the focus on the scene as a whole. Ojea (2019) argues that this kind of fronted locative PP “must be d-linked to the discourse through some deictic mechanism”, which “allows a non-prominent locative to act as the intentional base and forces the external argument (the DP subject [...]) to remain postverbally”.

6.3 Concluding remarks

Concerning fronted PPs in embedded clauses in Old English, we can conclude that there is a different motivation for each of the types of word order presented in this section (XSV and XVS). As regards embedded XSV clauses, we can assume that unaccusative verbs, lacking an external argument, allow the topicalisation of these PPs, which surface in the leftmost position of the clause. Thus, we can talk about embedded topicalisation in this context.

On the other hand, embedded XVS clauses are probably the result of the influence of discourse factors. In a similar way to Present-Day English locative inversion, the PP in these clauses is fronted and the finite verb appears in the second position of the clause, with the subject being extraposed. Therefore, the left periphery of the embedded clause

would again need some kind of articulate system to account for the information structural factors in these presentational or existential clauses.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The present work has provided an extensive corpus-based study of the left periphery of embedded clauses in Old English, paying particular attention to fronted constituents. The analysis of the available data showed numerous examples of embedded clauses with fronted objects and fronted PPs, which in an initial stage was attributed to embedded topicalisation (a phenomenon which has traditionally been banned from subordinate clauses in most Germanic languages such as OE). However, closer examination of the different types of word order found in the corpus showed that the situation might be more complex than that.

As regards fronted objects in embedded clauses, there was a key difference concerning the status of objects: it was observed that the limits of OE syntax could be stretched to allow pronominal objects in the first position of embedded clauses, particularly if we assume a double subject position and the existence of ΣP . DP objects, however, posed more difficulties when trying to be accounted for in a syntactic model. While most syntactic theories to date do not allow for this type of objects to be fronted in OE embedded clauses, their discourse status pointed towards the fact that information structural factors are probably behind this anomalous word ordering. I suggest that we may need a more articulate left periphery of the embedded clause in Old English, one able to reflect the discourse status of objects and the different information structural factors that give these objects their status as topics.

The importance of these discourse-related factors is also highlighted when analysing examples of embedded OVS word order in the corpus. While embedded V2 was considered as a possible explanation, a closer look at the discourse status of the different elements of the clause demonstrated that the finite verb does indeed stay in the VP area

without being raised to V2 position, and that it was the subject's discourse status as focus that prompted the extraposition of these usually heavy objects. The situation was similar in embedded XVS clauses with fronted PPs, which resemble structures with locative inversion in PDE. These existential or presentative constructions show a fronted locative or temporal element followed by the verb, with an extraposed and focalised DP subject in final position in most of the cases. On the other hand, attestations of embedded XSV word order with a fronted PP can be ascribed to embedded topicalisation, given the fact that the verb in these clauses is usually unaccusative, thus falling into the limited set of contexts in which this phenomenon is allowed in embedded clauses.

In conclusion, I hope to have demonstrated that, even though embedded topicalisation *per se* is still a limited option in the syntax of Old English, the left periphery of embedded clauses in this language is indeed quite complex, and that information structure plays a significant role in the fronting, and even extraposition, of constituents in this type of clauses. Information structure is still a budding area of investigation, and I am certain that more research regarding the interplay of discourse and syntax is still needed, both in general terms and in relation to Old English, especially if we are to accommodate different phenomena such as those presented in this study into a formal syntactic model.

7. CONCLUSIONES

Este trabajo ha proporcionado un estudio exhaustivo de corpus sobre la periferia izquierda de las cláusulas subordinadas en inglés antiguo, prestando especial atención a los constituyentes frontalizados. El análisis de los datos disponibles ha sacado a la luz numerosos ejemplos de cláusulas subordinadas con objetos y sintagmas preposicionales frontalizados, que en una fase inicial de los estudios de sintaxis del inglés antiguo se atribuyeron a un proceso de topicalización (una operación que tradicionalmente ha sido excluida de las cláusulas subordinadas en la mayoría de las lenguas germánicas como el inglés antiguo). Sin embargo, un examen más pormenorizado de los diferentes tipos de orden de palabras hallados en el corpus demostró que la situación podría ser más compleja.

En lo que concierne a los objetos frontalizados en cláusulas subordinadas, hay una diferencia clave en relación al estatus de dichos objetos: se observó que los límites de la sintaxis del inglés antiguo podían forzarse para permitir que ciertos objetos (esencialmente pronominales) ocuparan la primera posición de las cláusulas subordinadas, especialmente si asumimos una doble posición de sujeto y la existencia de $S\Sigma$. Los SD -objeto, sin embargo, supusieron más dificultades a la hora de intentar acomodarlos a un modelo sintáctico dado. Mientras que la mayoría de teorías sintácticas del inglés antiguo hasta la fecha no permiten que este tipo de objetos sean frontalizados en las cláusulas subordinadas, su estatus discursivo sugiere que ciertos factores relativos a la estructura de la información pueden estar probablemente detrás de este orden de palabras anómalo. Se propone, por tanto, la necesidad de una periferia izquierda más articulada para la cláusula subordinada en inglés antiguo, capaz de reflejar el estatus discursivo de los objetos, así como los diferentes factores de estructura de la información que dan a dichos objetos su estatus de tópicos. La importancia de estos factores

discursivos es también patente a la hora de analizar los ejemplos de orden OVS en subordinación en el corpus. Mientras que el orden V2 se considera una posible explicación, un examen más detallado del estatus discursivo de los distintos elementos en la cláusula demuestra que el verbo finito, de hecho, permanece en el área del SV sin elevarse hasta la posición V2, y que es el estatus discursivo del sujeto como foco lo que motiva la extraposición de estos objetos, típicamente pesados. La situación en las cláusulas subordinadas XVS con SPs frontalizados es similar, recordando a las estructuras con inversión locativa en inglés contemporáneo. Estas construcciones existenciales o presentativas muestran un elemento locativo o temporal frontalizado seguido por el verbo, con un SD-sujeto extrapuesto y focalizado en posición final en la mayor parte de los casos. Por otra parte, los ejemplos con orden XSV anidado con un SP frontalizado se pueden atribuir al fenómeno de topicalización subordinada, dado que el verbo en estas cláusulas es normalmente inacusativo, lo que formaría parte del limitado conjunto de contextos en los que este fenómeno es permitido en cláusulas subordinadas.

En conclusión, consideramos demostrado que, aunque la topicalización anidada *per se* es una opción limitada en la sintaxis del inglés antiguo, la periferia izquierda de las cláusulas subordinadas en esta lengua es en efecto compleja, y que la estructura de la información juega un papel relevante en la frontalización e incluso extraposición de constituyentes en este tipo de cláusulas. La estructura de la información es aún un ámbito de investigación incipiente, por lo que será necesario un análisis más profundo de la interacción entre discurso y sintaxis, tanto en términos generales como concretamente en lo que respecta al inglés antiguo, especialmente si deseamos acomodar fenómenos como los presentados en este estudio a un modelo sintáctico formal.

References

- Bately, Janet M. 1980. *The Old English Orosius*. London: Oxford University Press, EETS.
- Bech, Kristin, & Christine M. Salvesen. 2014. "Preverbal word order in old English and old French". In Bech, Kristin & Kristine Gunn Eide (eds.), *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in Germanic and Romance Languages*, pp. 233-269. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bech, Kristin. 2014. "Tracing the loss of boundedness in the history of English: the anaphoric status of initial prepositional phrases in Old English and Late Middle English. In *Anglia* 132(3), pp. 506-535.
- Belletti, A. 2001. "Aspects of the low IP area". In Rizzi, Luigi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, volume 2*, pp. 16-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad & Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Biberauer, Theresa, & Ans van Kemenade. 2011. "Subject positions and information-structural diversification in the history of English". In *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 10, pp. 17-69.
- Cardinaletti, Anna, & Michal Starke. 1996. "Deficient Pronouns: A View from Germanic". Paper presented at the *Germanic Comparative Syntax Workshop*, Harvard.

- Cardinaletti, Anna, & Michal Starke. 1996. "Deficient Pronouns: A View from Germanic. A Study in the Unified Description of Germanic and Romance". In H. Thráinsson, S. D. Epstein & S. Peter (eds.), *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax Volume II*, pp. 21-65. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Cecchetto, Carlo. 1999. "A Comparative Analysis of Left and Right Dislocation in Romance". In *Studia Linguistica* 53:1, pp. 40-67.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. "Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view". In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*, pp. 27–55. New York: Academic Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1971. "Deep structure, surface structure and semantic interpretation". In Steinberg, Danny D., & Leon A. Jakobovits (eds.), *Semantics, an Interdisciplinary Reader in Linguistics, Philosophy and Psychology*, pp. 183-216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press.
- Cichosz, Anna, Jerzy Gaszewski, & Piotr Pęzik. 2016. *Element order in Old English and Old High German translations*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 1997. *The Dynamics of Focus Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fischer, Olga, Ans van Kemenade, Willem Koopman, & Wim van der Wurff. 2000. "The Verb-Second constraint and its loss". In *The Syntax of Early English* (Cambridge Syntax Guides), pp. 104-137. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Frascarelli, Mara, & Roland Hinterhölzl. 2007. "Types of topics in German and Italian". In Schwabe, Kerstin & Susanne Winkler (eds.), *On Information Structure, Meaning and Form: Generalizations across languages*, pp. 87-116. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Givón, Talmy. 1983. *Topic continuity in discourse: A quantitative crosslanguage study*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Gundel, Jeanette K. 1974. *The Role of Topic and Comment in Linguistic Theory*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Texas at Austin (Published by Garland, 1989).
- Gundel, Jeanette K., & Thorstein Fretheim. 2004. "Topic and Focus". In Horn, Laurence, & Gregory Ward (eds.), Hoboken (New Jersey): *The Handbook of Pragmatic Theory*, pp. 174-196. Blackwell.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg & Ron Zacharski. 1993. "Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse". In *Language* Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 274-307.
- Gunfel, Jeanette K., & Thorstein Fretheim. 2002. "Information structure". In Verschueren, Jef, Jan-Ola Östman, Jan Blommaert, Chris Bulcaen (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Haeberli, Eric. 1999. *Features, categories and the syntax of A-positions: synchronic and diachronic variation in the Germanic languages*. PhD dissertation. University of Geneva.
- Haider, Hubert. 2010. *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hemforth, Barbara, & Lars Konieczny. 2000. "Cognitive parsing in German: an introduction". In Hemforth, Barbara & Lars Konieczny (eds.), *German Sentence Processing*, pp. 1-23. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Hooper, Joan, & Sandra Thompson. 1973. "On the applicability of root transformations". In *Linguistic Inquiry*, 4, pp. 465–497.
- Jakendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.
- Komen, Erwin. 2009. *Corpus Studio*. Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Komen, Erwin. 2012. *Cesax*. Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Kroch, Anthony S., & Ann Taylor. 1997. "Verb movement in Old and Middle English Dialect variation and language contact". In van Kemenade, Ans & Nigel Vincent (eds.), *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*, pp. 297-325. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kroch, Anthony, Ann Taylor & Donald Ringe. 2001. "Verb Movement in Old and Middle English: Dialect Variation and Language Contact". In Hering, Susan, Peter van Reenen & Lene Schøsler (eds.), *Textual Parameters in Older Languages*, pp. 353-391. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form. Topic focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Light, Caitlin. 2012. "The information structure of subject extraposition in Early New High German". In *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 18, pp. 169–177. University of Pennsylvania.

- Los, Bettelou, María José López-Couso, & Anneli Meurman-Solin. 2012. "On the Interplay of Syntax and Information Structure". In Meurman-Solin Anneli, Maria Jose Lopez-Couso, & Bettelou Los (eds.), *Information structure and syntactic change in the History of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Los, Bettelou. 2009. "The Consequences of the Loss of Verb-second in English: "Information Structure and Syntax in Interaction". In *English Language and Linguistics 13(1)*, pp. 97-125.
- Los, Bettelou. 2012. "The Loss of Verb-second and the Switch from Bounded to Unbounded Systems". In Meurman-Solin, Anneli, María José López-Couso & Bettelou Los (eds.), *Information Structure and Syntactic Change in the History of English*, pp. 21-46. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nilsen, Øystein. 2003. *Eliminating positions*. Doctoral Dissertation, Utrecht University.
- Ojea, Ana. 2019. "EPP-satisfaction on discourse grounds: the case of Locative Inversion". In *Syntax* (Special Issue, 2019).
- Paul, Hermann. 1880. *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Petrova, Svetlana, & Agustin Speyer. 2011. "Focus movement and focus interpretation in Old English". In *Lingua 121 (11)*, pp. 1151-65.
- Pintzuk, Susan. 1991. *Phrase structures in competition: Variation and change in Old English word order*. PhD dissertation. University of Pennsylvania.
- Prince, Ellen F. 1981. "Towards a taxonomy of given-new information". In Cole, Peter (ed.), *Radical pragmatics*, pp. 223-233. New York: Academic Press.

- Prince, Ellen F. 1989. "Yiddish Wh-clauses, subject-postposing, and topicalisation". In J. Powers and K. de Jong (eds.), *ESCOL '88*, pp. 403–15. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Randall, Beth. 2005-2007. *CorpusSearch2*. Designed by Randall, Beth, Ann Taylor & Anthony Kroch. Retrieved from <http://corpussearch.sourceforge.net/credits.html>
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery". In Haegeman, Liliane (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, pp. 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Salvesen, Christine M., & George Walkden. 2017. "Diagnosing embedded V2 in Old English and Old French". In Truswell, Robert, & Éric Mathieu (eds.), *Micro-change and macro-change in diachronic syntax*. (Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics), pp. 168-181. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Speyer, Agustin. 2010. *Topics in English Linguistics. Topicalisation and Stress Clash Avoidance Requirement in the History of English*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Taylor, Ann, & Susan Pintzuk. 2012. "The Effect of Information Structure on Object Position in Old English: a Pilot Study". In Meurman-Solinm Anneli, Maria Jose Lopez-Couso, & Bettelou Los (eds.), *Information structure and syntactic change in the History of English*, pp. 47-65. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, Ann, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk & Frank Beths. 2003. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*. Electronic texts and manuals available from the Oxford Text Archive.

- Travis, Lisa de Mena. 1984. *Parameters and effects of word order variation*. PhD dissertation. MIT.
- Travis, Lisa de Mena. 1991. "Parameters of phrase structure and verb-second phenomena". In Freidin, Robert (ed.), *Principles and parameters in comparative grammar*, pp. 339–364. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Vallduví, Enric. 1992. *The informational component*. New York/London: Garland.
- Van Bergen, Linda. 2003. *Pronouns and word order in Old English. With particular reference to the indefinite pronoun man*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Van der Gabelentz, Georg. 1868. "Ideen zur einer vergleichenden Syntax: Wort- und Satzstellung". In *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie un Sprachwissenschaft* 6, pp. 376-384.
- Van Gelderen, Elly. 2017. *The main and embedded clauses in the history of English: Changes in assertive and non-assertive complements*. Forthcoming.
- Van Kemenade, Ans, & Bettelou Los. 2009. "Discourse Adverbs and Clausal Syntax in Old and Middle English". In van Kemenade, Ans, & Bettelou Los (eds.), *The Handbook of the History of English*, pp. 224-248. Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Van Kemenade, Ans, & Tanja Milićev. 2012. "Syntax and discourse in Old English and Middle English word order". In Jonas, Diane & Stephen Anderson (eds.), *Grammatical Change: Origins, Nature, Outcomes: Proceedings of DIGS VIII*, pp. 237-255. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Kemenade, Ans. 1987. *Syntactic case and morphological case in the history of English*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Utrecht.

- Van Kemenade, Ans. 1997. "V2 and Embedded Topicalisation in Old and Middle English". In van Kemenade, Ans & Nigel Vincent (eds.), *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*, pp. 326-351. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Kemenade, Ans. 2009. "Discourse relations and word order change". In Hinternhölzl, Roland, & Svetlana Petrova (eds.), *Information Structure and Language Change: New Approaches to Word Order Variation in Germanic*, pp. 91-120. Berlin/New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walkden, George. 2015. "Verb-third in early West Germanic: a comparative perspective". In Biberauer, Theresa & George Walkden (eds.), *Syntax over Time: Lexical, Morphological and Information-Structural Interactions*, pp. 236-248. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walkden, George. 2017. "Language contact and V3 in Germanic varieties new and old". In *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, pp. 1-33.
- Zwart, C. Jan-Wouter. 1991. "Clitics in Dutch: evidence for the position of INFL". In *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 33, pp. 71-92.
- Zwart, C. Jan-Wouter. 1993. *Dutch syntax: a Minimalist approach*. PhD dissertation. University of Groningen.

Appendix 1

Studie: Sätze auf Deutsch

Sehr geehrte Teilnehmer und Teilnehmerinnen,

Herzlichen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme an dieser Studie. Sie werden gebeten die folgenden Sätze nach ihrer grammatikalischen Korrektheit zu beurteilen. Für jeden Satz existiert eine Skala von 1 bis 6. Bitte weisen Sie jedem Satz eine Nummer zu, je nach dem inwiefern sie den Satz für grammatikalisch richtig emfinden (1 verweist auf komplett falsch und 6 absolut richtig).

Vielen Dank!

*Required



Universidad de Oviedo

1.

1. Ich glaube, dass der Arzt den Patienten besuchte. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

2.

2. Ich glaube, dass einen Opel Anna fährt. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

3.

3. Ich denke, dass ihn nicht mag man. *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

4.

4. Ich glaube, dass den Arzt der Patient besuchte. *

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	6		
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

5.

5. Ich denke, dass die Studierenden viel in der Klasse sprechen *

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	6		
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

6.

6. Ich glaube, dass einen Opel fährt Anna *

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	6		
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

7.

7. Ich glaube, dass man ihn nicht mag *

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	6		
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

8.

8. Ich denke, dass in der Klasse die Studierenden viel sprechen *

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	6		
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

9.

9. Ich glaube, dass ihn man nicht mag *

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	6		
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

10.

10. Ich denke, dass den Arzt besuchte der Patient *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

11.

11. Ich glaube, dass in der Klasse viel sprechen die Studierenden *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

12.

12. Ich denke, dass Anna einen Opel fährt *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Komplett falsch	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Absolut richtig

Powered by



Appendix 2

The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose: texts by filename

coadrian.o34	Adrian and Ritheus	colaw5atr.o3	Laws, Æthelred V
	Ælfric,	colaw6atr.o3	Laws, Æthelred VI
coaehom.o3	Supplemental Homilies	colawaf.o2	Laws, Alfred
	Ælfric's Lives of	colawafint.o2	Alfred's Introduction to Laws
coaelive.o3	Saints	colawger.o34	Laws, Gerefa
	Alcuin De virtutibus et vitiis	colawine.ox2	Laws, Ine
coalcuin		colawnorthu.o3	Northumbra Preosta Lagu
coalex.o23	Alexander's Letter to Aristotle	colawllad.o4	Laws, William I, Lad
coapollo.o3	Apollonius of Tyre	coleofri.o4	Leofric
coaugust	Augustine		Ælfric's Letter to Sigefyrth
cobede.o2	Bede's History of the English Church	colsigef.o3	
	Benedictine Rule	colsigewB	Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward (B)
cobenrul.o3	Blickling Homilies		Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward (Z)
coblick.o23	Boethius'	colsigewZ.o34	
	Consolation of Philosophy	colwgeat	Ælfric's Letter to Wulfgeat
coboeth.o2			Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsige (T)
cobyrtf.o3	Byrhtferth's Manual	colwsigeT	
cocanedgD	Canons of Edgar (D)		Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsige (Xa)
cocanedgX	Canons of Edgar (X)	colwsigeXa.o34	
	Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I	colwstan1.o3	Ælfric's Letter to Wulfstan I
cocathom1.o3			Ælfric's Letter to Wulfstan II
cocathom2.o3	Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II	colwstan2.o3	
cohad.o24	Saint Chad		Saint Margaret (C)
	Chrodegang of Metz, Rule	comargaC.o34	Saint Margaret (T)
cochrul		comargaT	
cochristoph	Saint Christopher	comart1	Martyrology, I
	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A	comart2	Martyrology, II
cochronA.o23		comart3.o23	Martyrology, III
	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C	comarvel.o23	Marvels of the East
cochronC		comary	Mary of Egypt
	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D	coneot	Saint Neot
cochronD			Gospel of Nicodemus (A)
cochronE.o34	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E	conicodA	
	Cura Pastoralis	conicodC	Gospel of Nicodemus (C)
cocura.o2			

cocuraC	Cura Pastoralis (Cotton)	conicodD	Gospel of Nicodemus (D)
codicts.o34	Dicts of Cato	conicodE	Gospel of Nicodemus (E)
coducu1.o1	Documents 1 (O1)	coorosiu.o2	Orosius
coducu2.o12	Documents 2 (O1/O2)	cootest.o3	Heptateuch
coducu2.o2	Documents 2 (O2)	coprefcath1.o3	Ælfric's Preface to Catholic Homilies I
coducu3.o23	Documents 3 (O2/O3)	coprefcath2.o3	Ælfric's Preface to Catholic Homilies II
coducu3.o3	Documents 3 (O3)	coprefcura.o2	Preface to the Cura Pastoralis
coducu4.o24	Documents 4 (O2/O4)	coprefgen.o3	Ælfric's Preface to Genesis
coeluc1	Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium 1	copreflives.o3	Ælfric's Preface to Lives of Saints
coeluc2	Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium 1	coprefsolilo	Preface to Augustine's Soliloquies
coepigen.o3	Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis	coquadru.o23	Pseudo-Apuleius, Medicina de quadrupedibus
coeuphr	Saint Euphrosyne	corood	History of the Holy Rood-Tree
coeust	Saint Eustace and his companions	cosevensl	Seven Sleepers
coexodusP	Exodus (P)	cosolilo	St. Augustine's Soliloquies
cogenesisC	Genesis (C)	cosolsat1.ox4	Solomon and Saturn I
cogregdC.o24	Gregory's Dialogues (C)	cosolsat2	Solomon and Saturn II
cogregdH.o23	Gregory's Dialogues (H)	cotempo.o3	Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni
coherbar	Pseudo-Apuleius, Herbarium	coverhom	Vercelli Homilies
coinspolD.o34	Wulfstan's Institute of Polity (D)	coverhomE	Vercelli Homilies (E)
coinspolX	Wulfstan's Institute of Polity (X)	coverhomL	Vercelli Homilies (L)
cojames	Saint James	covinceB	Saint Vincent (Bodley 343)
colacnu.o23	Lacnunga	covinsal	Vindicta Salvatoris
colaece.o2	Leechdoms	cowsgosp.o3	West-Saxon Gospels
colaw1cn.o3	Laws, Cnut I	cowulf.o34	Wulfstan's Homilies
colaw2cn.o3	Laws, Cnut II		

Appendix 3¹⁹

Embedded DP-OSV (NP subj.)

1. ðæt, forðferdum þeodoro, ðone arcebiscophad Beorhtwald onfeng; &, betweox oðra monige þe he gehadode, eac swylce Tobium ðone gelæredestan wer ðære cyrican æt Hrofesceastre biscop gehalgode.

(cobede,BedeHead:5.22.21.126)

2. & cwæð: & nu gif he ðe eac, adwæsctum þinum feondum, in soðe toward cynerice gehated, swa þæt nales þæt an ealle þine ylðran, ac ealle cyningas, þa ðe in Breotone wæron ær, þu in meahte & in rice feor oferstigest?

(cobede,Bede_2:9.128.30.1234)

3. Ðonon gelomp þætte þa seolfan moldan, þær his lichoma gefeol, monige men neomende wæron, & in wæter dydon & sealdon heora untrumum monnum & neatum drincan;

(cobede,Bede_3:7.178.5.1739)

4. hwearf eft on his eðel to Hii þæm ealonde, þæt monigra mynstra heannisse & heafod Scottas hæfdon.

(cobede,Bede_3:15.222.34.2288)

5. & þurh nigon ger full mid þa arfæstan foreseonisse ures alesendes swiþe swenced wæs, to þon þætte, swa hwæt swa in hire unclænes betweoh þa mægen þurh unwisnesse oððo þurh ungemænne gelumpe, þætte eal þæt se ofn þære singalan costunge asude.

(cobede,Bede_4:33.382.8.3812)

6. Mid þy ða se foresprecena broðor langere tide ðyllic ungescræpo woon, ne ða tobeotiendan frecernesse ðam eagum mannes hond gehælan mihte ac a dæghwæmlice wæs wyrse & wyrse, ða gelamp him semninga mid gife þære

¹⁹ Given the numerous examples found in the corpus, only those with embedded DP-OSV and embedded OVS were included in the Appendix.

godcundan arfæstnesse þurh reliquias ðæs halgan fæder Cuðbryhtes gehæledne beon.

(cobede,Bede_4:33.382.8.3812)

7. & se papa heht gewrit on his byrgenne awritan, ðæt in ðam æghwæðer ge seo gemynd his wilsumnisse ðurh ealle woruld fæste awunode, ge eac swylce ða men, ðe þæt gewrit ræddan oðþe geherde, se bysen his dæde to æfestnesse geliese onbærnde.

(cobede,Bede_5:7.406.4.4090)

8. & cwæð: Nis hit nan wundor þeah hwa wene þæt swelces gehwæt nu unmyndlinga geberige, ðonne he ne con ongitan & gereccan forhwy swylc God gefafað.

(coboeth,Bo:39.125.22.2495)

9. Forðæm ðonne ða yða ðara costunga ða synfullan ðrowiað, ðæt hi mægen iernan & fleon to ðæs lareowes mode him to ondettunge, suæ suæ cild to his moder greadan,

(cocura,CP:16.103.21.685)

10. Forðæm us ætiede se Halga Gæsð ægðer ge on culfran onlicnesse ge on fyres, forðæm ðe ælcne ðara ðe he gefylð, he hiene onælð ægðer ge mid ðære culfran bilewitnessse & mannðwærnesse ge mid ðæs fyres reðnesse.

(cocura,CP:40.291.6.1910)

11. & eft, ðylæs ða rummodnessa sio unrotnes gewemme, gehierað ðone cuide ðe Sanctus Paulus cuæð to Corinctheum,

(cocura,CP:44.323.10.2164)

12. he cuæð ðætte ðone gladan giefan God lufode.

(cocura,CP:44.323.10.2165)

13. Oft eac, ðonne hwone mara wisdom uparæð ðonne oðre menn, ðonne wile he hiene ascadan from oðerra monna geferrædenne,

(cocura,CP:46.347.9.2338)

14. Be þyssum we þonne witon magon & ongyton he swiþe us is þes dæg to mærsienne & to weorþienne. Forþon þe we gehyrdon þa þæt halige godspel rædd

wæs þæt næniges Godes haligra gebyrd, ne his heahfædera, ne his witgana, ne his apostola, ciricean ne mærsiaþ nemþe Cristes sylfes & þyses Iohannes.

(coblick,LS_12_[NatJnBapt[BiHom_14]]:161.5.2043)

15. On þissum geare næs nan færeld to Rome, buton tuegen hleaperas Ælfred cyning sende mid gewritum.

(cochrona-1,ChronA_[Plummer]:889.1.986)

16. Hit gelamp þa sona swa hi ofslagene wæron þæt mycel liget com ofer þa manfullan hæðenan, and swiðlic eorðstyrung and egeslic þunor, swa þæt þæra manfulra mycel dæl forwearð, and nan stow ne ætstod mid þam stænenum godum, ne nan hæðengyld se hagol ne belæfde.

(coaelive,æLS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:422.1202)

17. Se ðe husel forhilt oððe hit forlyst oððe hit mis etað oþþe oþre nytenu, sceawa ða penitentialem hwæt heo segð be ðysum.

(colwstan2,+ALet_3_[Wulfstan_2]:89.107)

18. Soþlice gyf æcyres weod þæt ðe to dæg is & bið to morgen on fen asend God scryt, eala ge gehwædes geleafan, þam mycle ma he scryt eow.

(cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]:6.30.342)

19. & for þam þe we ne magon on þisum dagum gelæran þæt hi win & beor ne drincon, we huru lærað & biddað þæt hi druncen forbugon, for þan ealle þa druncengeornan se apostol Paulus ascyrað of Godes rice, buton hi mid rihtlicere dædbote gecyrran.

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:6.37.174)

20. & binnan þam claustre ne cume næfre wifman, ne læwede man, buton locahwæne se bisceop oððe se ærce diacon oððe se prauost for arwurðnysse haton in to mete gan to beoderne;

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:11.13.237)

21. We taliað þæt hit hefitime sy þæt þa hefian byrþena micelra synna mæssepreostas ane aberan, for þam eað magon manege Godes mildheortnysse begytan þonne an, for þan ælc hæfð on his agenum ingeþance þæt he him sylfum adræde,

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:41.1.561)

22. Gif hwylcne man nædre toslite genime þære wyrte IIII trymesan gewæge,

(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:1.23.95)

23. Þa wæs þæt swa gedon, þæt þone arwyrþestan wer Germanum þone biscop se ærendraca, þe þider onsæned wæs, gemette þa forðferedne.

(cogregdc,GD_2_[C]:35.172.11.2108)

24. Ac ic wundrige þa stihunge þære godcundan mildheortnesse ofer us swa unweorðe, forþon Langbeardna reðnes byð swa gemetegod þurh his gife, þæt heora þa manfullan sacerdas, þe wenað, þæt hi syn in sigorfæste godcunde arfæstnes ne læteþ ehtan & oferswiðan þone geleafan rihtgeleafullra.

(cogregdc,GDPref_and_3_[C]:28.233.28.3262)

25. & þa þurh þæt ongæton hi openlice, þæt þa sawle þa englas underfengon, & hi þa gelæddon mid lofsangum to heofonum.

(cogregdc,GDPref_and_4_[C]:15.282.21.4163)

26. Soðlice þæt we magon eac ongytan in þæs godspelles sægene, þæt þone bryne seo sawl þrowaþ nales þæt an geseonde, ac eac swylce fandiende & þrowiende.

(cogregdc,GDPref_and_4_[C]:30.304.11.4518)

27. Eac oþer broðer wæs in þam ylcan mynstre, se wæs gehaten Merulus, se gewunode, þæt he wæs swyðe geornfull mid wope & ælmessum, & forneah on nane tid ne blan, þæt sealmsangas eodon of his muðe, buton þonne he his mete þigde, oððe his leomu slæp abisgode.

(cogregdc,GDPref_and_4_[C]:49.338.7.5095)

28. & wolde gehelpan ægþer ge þam sweltendan breþer ge eac þam oþrum broðrum, þæt þone sweltendan seo biternes & strecnas þæs deaðes gedyde onllysendlicne fram þære scylde, & eac þa lifigendan broðra seo mycclre fordemednes bewerede & gestyrde, þæt hi ne dorston hi gemængan & geþydan in þa scylde þære gytsunge.

(cogregdc,GDPref_and_4_[C]:57.344.39.5256)

Embedded DP-OSV (pron. subj.)

1. & he þæt swa gelæste, þæt þone dæl he Wilferðe biscope for Gode gesealde to brucenne, se in þa tid of his þeode þider cwom & þær ondweard wæs.
2. & hi nyston nænne oðerne god on þæne timan, buton hiora cyningas hi weorþodon for godas.
3. Ac on þæm hi habbað genoh to ongitanne þæt se scippend & se waldend eallra gesceafta welt, & rehte gesceop eall þæt he gesceop, & nan yfel ne worhte ne get ne wyrcð, ac ælc yfel he adrifð of eallum his rice.
4. & men magon begitan þurh þone freodom swa hwæt swa hi willað, buton deað hi ne magon forcerran;
5. Ac sio tunge bið gescinded on ðam lariowdome ðonne hio oðer lærð, oðer hio liornode.
6. ac hio bið gedrefed midðam ðe ða lareowas oðer doð oðer hie lærað.
7. Ealle we witon bi monnum, se se ðe bitt ðone monn ðæt him ðingie wið oðerne ðe he bið eac ierre, ðæt irsigende mod he gegremeð, & wiersse ierre he astyreð
8. Suiðe ryhte ðæt hrægl is gehaten, ðæt se sacerd beran sceolde ðæs domes racu, forðam se sacerd scolde & git sceal simle smealice geðencean ðæt he cunne god & yfel tosceadan, ond siððan geornlice geðence hu he gehwelcne læran scyle & hwonne, & hwæt him gecopust sie, & nowuht him selfum synderlice wilnige, ac his niehstena god he sceal tellan him selfum.
9. Ealle he gret mid anre honda, ðy ðe he wile ðæt hi anne song singen, ðeah he hie ungelice styrige.
10. ðæt wæs ðæt he spræc oðer, oðer ðæt he sprecað wolde.
11. Hwæt mænde Sanctus Paulus, ða he his lare sua cræftlice toscead, & ðone oðerne lærde ðæt he him anwald ontuge, oðerne he lærde geðyld, buton ðæt he ongeat Titum hwene monðwærran & geðyldigran ðonne he sceolde, & Timotheus he ongeat hatheortran ðonne he sceolde?

12. & his nawht mid him ne læddon buton ða synne ðara yfelena weorca hie brohton to Godes dome.
13. Be ðæm wæs eac ðætte Fines forseah his neahgebura freondscipe, ða he ofslog his agene geferan, ða he hine forlæg wið ða Madianiten, & ða forlegisse he mid ofslog,
14. Ac hie man sceal manian ðæt hie geðencen ðætte hie selfe ne geunðwærigen ðæm wordum ðe hie lærað mid ðy ðæt hie oðer don, oðer hie lærað.
15. Ðæt he cyðde, ða he cwæð: Dryhten, ðu wast ðæt ic ne wyrne minra welera, & ðine ryhtwisnesse ic ne diegle on minre heortan;
16. Mid ðæm he gecyðde ðæt he ne mænde ðis andwearde lif, ac ðæs ecean lifes hælo he sohte.
17. & þonne licgað westryhte oþ Armenia beorgas þe þa landleode hi hatað Parcoadras.
18. On þæm dagum on Egyptan wæs þæs kyninges þeaw Bosiriðis þæt ealle þa cuman þe hine gesohton he to blote gedyde & hys godum bebead.
19. forðon, min Drihten, þu wast þæt ic eom flæsclíc man, & ic hit ne mæg hrædlicor þider geferan, forðon þe, min Drihten, se siþfæt is þyder to lang, & þone weg ic ne con.
20. Eno ic þe gecyþe, Andreas, forþon þe manega tintrega hie þe on bringað, & þinne lichoman geond þisse ceastre lanan hie tostenceað, swa þætte þin blod flewþ ofer eorðan swa swa wæter.
21. Ðysre witegunge gerynu us eallunga syndon swutollice cuðe gewordenne, forþam þe we geseoð nu, þæt on þysre byri syndon fram þodene weallas tohrorene & hus toslagene & cyricean toworpene, & þysre burge getimbrunga we geseoð mid langre ealdunge awacode, forþam þe hi syndon mid gelomlicum hryrum tofeallenne.
22. Ðam deofle wæs gedemed þurh ures Drihtnes ðrowunge, swa þæt he him of anam Adames ofspring, and forgeaf his apostolum þone anweald ofer hine, þæt hi mihton adræfan deoflu of ðam wodum, and eall þæs deofles miht hi mihton fortredan, and se yfela ne mihte heom ahwar derian.

23. Þis is swa we ær sædon, þæt seo witegung is of him, and þa þing þe becomon he cydde him foran to, and heora mod onlihte mid his micclan gife.
24. Eala hu halig dyrstignyss be Drihtnes arfestnysse he geswutelode his swiðlican lufe þeah þe he þa fremminge forðbringan ne mihte.
25. Forlæt þa þrittig, forþon swa ealdne monan he hæfð,
26. Him gedafenap þæt he hogie hu manegra manna saula he mage Gode gestrynan ðurh þa godspellican lare. na hu micel he mage mid his ricetere him to geteon;
27. & todælde hi on twa, buton þa fugelas he ne todælde.
28. ac þa se hælend wæs gewuldrod þa gemundon hig þæt þas þing wæron awritene be him & þas þing hig dydon him.
29. & him teonan do for þon þe minne geleafan ic unwemne geheold þone þe ic on fulwihhte onfeng.
30. Swa swa se litigere þe lufeð ælces heowes lit, ac naht ealla gelice, & ælc lit he fæstneð on swylcen styde swa þær to berist, swa deð ure Drihten beo þan mannen of þyssen middenearde,
31. Beo his upastigennysse is awriten soðlice þæt, He asteah on hehnysse & þa gehæfte he gelædde of hæftnysse & eft, He asteah ofer cherubin þan ængle werode & swa fleah on heofones.
32. ne hi na mare don ne mihton, buton bitere tearas hi simle aleton, and hnipiende eodon, and hi sylfe behyddon þær þær hi mihton.
33. & se deað is for þan to drædenne for þan ealle þa gedæledan sawla hio dæleð.
34. Liornodon we þæt geo hæðene liode hæfdon þry dagas synderlice beforan hira oðrum gewunan þæt hie onguldon hira godum, & hiera ceapes wæstma & ealle hira æhta hie hira gode bebudon.
35. Ne mette ic næfre on minum life swa mycles sares ne yfeles gemæccan swa ic me nu ætforan geseo. For ðan þe swa hwyder swa ic fare, min ungesælignesse me færð mid, & min yfel ic nahwær befleon ne mæg, þa ic ær ne wolde.
36. Nis me nænig leoht ne nænigo byldo on minum mode, for ðan þas witu ic ærest aberan ne mæg.

37. Þæs witedomes gerynu us wæron nu geo swiþe cuþe, forþon þe we sceawiað nu, þæt in þissere byrig syndon fram þodene þa weallas tolysede & hus toslægene & cyrcan toworpene, & ealle þa getimbru þissere burge we geseoð mid langre ealdunge gewacode, & swiðe forð hi wæron gehrorene gelomlice mid fyllum.
38. & wæs eallunga gecyrred fram þam þweoran þæs arrianiscan gedwolan, emne þæt ealle Wissigotena þeode he swa gelædde to þam soðan geleafan, þæt he ne let nænigne in his rice him þegnian & campian, se þe him þæt ne ondred þurh þone dwoligendan ungeleafan, þæt he wære feond & wiþersaca þam Godes rice.
39. Daud is gecweden fortis manum; on andgitte þæt ys stranghynde on Englisc, for þan þe he gewylde þone wildan beran & his ceafas totær buton ælcum wæmne, & þa wildan leo he gewylde eal swa;
40. God lyfde Adame þæt he moste brucan ealra wæstm, butan anes treowes wæstm he him forbead þæt he þæs næfre ne abite.
41. And to fela manna wyrð þeah mid þyllican wrencan þurh deofol forlæred, swa þæt hy eal oðer specað & oðer hiwiað oðer hy þencað.
42. And to fela manna eac is nu on ðissere swicelan worulde þe ealswa to swyðe þurh hiwunge eal oðer specað oþer hy þencað & lætað þæt to wærscype þæt hy oðre magan swa swicollice pæcan.
43. & heo trymede & lærde in þam gewrite þæt heo eaðmodlice ferde in þæt weorc þæs Godes wordes & getreowde in Godes fultum; & þæt heo ne fyrhte þæt gewiin þæs siðfætes ne wyrgeweodulra monna tungan ne bregde: ac þæt hi mid ealre geornfulnysse & mid Godes lufan ða god gefremede þe hi þurh Godes fultum doon ongunnon: & þæt hi wiston þæt ðæt micle gewin mare wuldor eces edleanes æfterfyligde:
- (cobede,Bede_1:13.56.10.523)
44. Martyrlogium be symbeldægum haligra martyra, on þære ealle þa þe ic gemetan mihte, nales þæt an hwilce dæge ac eac swilce hwilce cyne compes, oþþe under hwilcum deman hie middangeard oferswiðden, ic geornlice awrat.
- (cobede,Bede_5:22.484.19.4858)
45. & eft he cuæð: Sua dysige ge sint ðætte ðæt ðæt ge gæsðlice underfengon, ge willað geendigan flæsclice.

(cocura,CP:31.207.15.1396)

46. ac eac swelce mid ungemetlicre wrænnesse manigfeald geligre fremmende wæs; swa þæt ælcne þara þe hio geacsian myhte þæt kynekynnes wæs, hio to hyre gespon for hyre geligernesse, & syððan hio hy ealle mid facne beswac to deaðe.

(coorosiu,Or_1:2.22.19.444)

Embedded DP-OSV (*man subj.*)

1. Eac swylce þu toætectest in þinre frignesse, hu ða þing mon geldan sceolde, þa ðe mid stale of cirican afyrred wære.
2. & is endeleas wundor, ðæm gelicost ðe on sumes cyninges hirede sien gyldenu fatu & selfrenu forsewen, & treowenu mon weorðige.
3. Ðætte ða untruman mod mon ne scyle eallinga to helice læran.
4. Ðætte ða untruman mod mon ne scyle ellenga to healice læran.
5. Gif hire bearn mon ofslea, gielde cyninge þara medrenmæga dæl;
6. Gif ða smalan sinwe mon forslea, geselle him mon VI scillinga to bote.
7. & on ðas word ic becom þe læs þe oðre wisan ænig man leoge,
8. Nu, cwæþ Simon, wite þu casere þæt manna geþohtas nænig mon ne wat, buton God selfa.
9. ac he ne gesceop hi na to godum, ac to oðrum gesceaftum for þam þe nan gesceaft nis þe se an God ne gesceope, þeah þe hi sume wurdan awende to deoflum, and sume man wurðode wolice for godas.
10. And riht is þæt ælc calic gegoten beo þe man husel on halgige, and on treowenum ne halgige man ænig, ne nænne man fullige oftor þonne æne.
11. & þonne bebeodeð se ilca cyning þæt his mycla gestreon man todæle wið hwætis genihtsumnesse & wið wines & for eles lufan, for þy bið heora gold asprungen.
12. And þurh þæt þe man swa deð þæt eal man hyrweð ðæt man sceolde herian & to forð laðeð þæt man sceolde lufian, þurh þæt man gebringede ealles to manige on

yfelum gefance & on undæde, swa þæt hy ne sceamað na, þeh hy syngian swiðe,
& wið God sylfne forwyrcaþ hy mid ealle.

Embedded OVS

1. Gif me ðonne gifeðe sie, ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne mege, þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif ða hwile ðe hia hit mid clenisse gehaldan wile.
2. Wala wa: þæt is sarlic, þætte swa fæger feorh & swa leohtes ondwlitan men scyle agan & besittan þeostra aldor.
3. Mid þy hine ehte Æðelfrið, se ðe ær him cyning wæs, & þurh missenlice stowe he monigra geara tide flyma wæs, ða gesohte he æt nyhstan
4. Mid þy hine frugnon & ascodon his geferan, for hwon he þis dyde, ondswarode he: Ac ge ne leornodon: Quia intonuit de celo dominus et altissimus dedit uocem suam: misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos: ðætte Drihten hleoðrað of heofonum & se hehsta seleð his stefne;
5. Is ðæt to gelyfenne, þætte þæt wære mid forestihtunge don þære godcundan arfæstnesse, þætte swa hwæt swa he læs & wonan hæfde gearnunge from ðæm eadegan Cuðbrehte, þætte ðæt gefylde & geclænsode þæt sar ðære longan untrumnesse, þæt he swa geefenlicad wære mid þa gife his ðingeres: þæt swa swa he in ane tid & in ða ilcan mid hine of lichoman gongende wæs, þæt he ðonne ec swylce swa mid hine nalas in ungelicum selde þære ecan eadignesse gearnode onfongen beon.
6. þa þæt ongeat se wælhreowa cyning ðeodric, þa het he hine gebringan on carcerne & þærinne belucan.
7. þa he forseah þis andwearde lif, ða cwæð he: Eala, wuldur þisse weorulde, ea, forhwy þe haten dysige men mid leasre stemne wuldor, nu ðu nane neart? Forðæm ðe ma manna hæfð micelne gielp & micel wuldor & micelne weorðscipe for dysiges folces wenan, þonne he hæbbe for his gewyrhtum.
8. Gif hire ðonne se wiðsace, ðonne is cynn ðæt him spiwe ðæt wif on ðæt nebb, ðæt is ðæt hine tæle ðæs folces gesomnung, emne suelce hie him on ðæt nebb spæten, forðon ðe he nyle giefan ðæt him God geaf, & helpan ðæs folces mid ðam ðe he his healp.

9. Ac we sculon swiðe smealice ðissa ægðer underðencean, forðon ðe se ðe ðær wiðcwæð, na fullice ne wiðcwæð, & se se ðe wolde ðæt hine mon sende, he geseah ær hine clænsian ðurh ða colu ðæs alteres, ðylæs ænig unclænsod dorste on swa micelne haligdom fon ðære clænan ðegnenga ðæs sacerdhades, oððe eft ænig durre on eaðmodnesse hiwe hit ofermodlice forcweðan, swelce he licette eaðmetto, & doo ðeah for gilpe, gif hine gecist sio uplice gifu.
10. ac ðonne he bið ongieten æfstig wið oðra monna yfelu, anscunige he eac his agenu, ðylæs ða smyltnesse ðæs domes gewemme oððe se dierna æfst oððe to hræd ierre.
11. Gehiren eac ða ilcan mid hwelcum ymbeðonce godcundes onwaldes hie ðreade Soffonias se witga, ða he cuæð: Giet cymð se micla & se mæra & se egeslica Godes dæg,
12. Hwæt tacnað ðonne ðæt word elles ðæt mon ne selle his weorðscipe fremdum menn buton ðætte se ðe to Godes bisene gesceapen is, ðonne he ða tid his lifes on gewil ðara awierdena gæsta gehwierfð; & his gear geseleð wælhreowum, se se ðe in yfelra & wiðerweardra onwald forlæt ða hwile his lifes?
13. Ðæt ðonne tacnað us ðætte we scylen beon on ðisse ælðeodignesse utane beheawene mid suingellan, to ðæm ðæt we eft sien geteald & gefeged to ðæm gefogstanum on ðære Godes ceastre butan ðæm hiewete ælcra suingean, ðætte sua hwæt sua nu on us unnytes sie, ðætte ðæt aceorfe sio suingelle from us, sua ðætte siððan an sibb Godes lufe butan ælcum ungerade us suiðe fæste gebinde & gefege tosomne.
14. Ða ðonne sint to manienne ðe simle habbað ðisse worulde ðæt ðæt hie wilniað ðæt hie ne agiemeleasien, ðonne hi hit eall hæbben, ðæt hie ne secen ðone ðe him to eallum gefultemað, ðylæs hie lufigen ðas elðiodignesse ofer hiora ægenne eðel, & hiora mod eal ahon on ðæt ðe him her gelæned bið, & ðylæs hie gedwelle sio gehydnes & ða getæsu ðe hie on ðæm wege habbað, ðæt hie forgieten hwider hie scylen, & ðylæs hie for ðæm fægeran monan ðe hi on niht gesioð forhyccgen ðæs dæges bierhto & ðære sunnan.

15. Ond eft on Egiptum bioð forbrocene ða wæstmas ðæra dela, ðonne ðæt gecyndelice gewitt ærest sume hwile bið on him selfun anwalg untosliten, oððæt hit bið gewemmed middæm ðe hit cnyssað on unryhta wilnunga, & hit toterað.
16. Ac ðonne ðæt gesihð se ryhta dom ðæs ðearlwisan Deman, ðonne ne bið hit no swa swa geðoht syn, ac swa ðurhtogen. Forðæm ðe ðæt ðætte hine ne onhagode utane forð to brenganne mid weorcun, innane he hit geðafode, & ðurhteah mid ðy weorce ðæs fulfremedan willan.
17. forðæm hine gehran sio gitsung, he forget ðone freondscipe wið Israhele.
18. Ac him is ðearf ðæt hi for ðære orsorgnesse ne ðurhtion hefigran scylda, ðæt is ðæt hi for hira upahæfennesse ne befeallen on ðone pytt ofermetta, ðylæs hi forswelge sio swelgend ðære upahæfenesse.
19. Gif he hit ðonne dierneð, & weorðeð ymb long yppe, ðonne rymeð he ðam deadan to ðam aðe, þæt hine moton his mægas unsyngian.
20. Hu Sardanopolus wæs se siþemesta cyning in Asiria, ond hu hiene beswac Arbatus his ealdormon; & hu þa wifmen bysmredan hiora weras, þe hie fleon woldon; ond hu se argeotere geworhte anes fearres onlicnesse þæm æþelinge.
21. Þa þæt gesawon þa Egypte hy ða getrymedon hyra dryas Geames & Mambres,
22. Ða gebeotode Cirus ðæt he his ðegn on hire swa gewreca wolde, þa he swa grom wearð on his mode & wiþ þa ea gebolgen, þæt hie mehte wifmon be hiere cneowe oferwadan, þær heo ær wæs nigon mila brad þonne heo fledu wæs.
23. Þa sede man Alexandre þæt Darius hæfde gebunden his agene mægas mid gyldenre racentan.
24. Æfter þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs VII hunde wintra & X, feng Octavianus to Romana onwealde, hiora unþonces, æfter Iuliuses slege his mæges, for þon þe hiene hæfde Iulius him ær mid gewritum gefæstnod þæt he æfter him to eallum his gestreonum fenge, for þon þe he hiene for mægrædenne gelærde & getyde.
25. Ac God gewræc on þæm færelte swiþe gedafenlice on þæm arleasan men his arlease geþoht, mid þæm þæt hiene gemette an mon, þa he for from Actesifonte þære byrig, gelicost þæm þe he fliema wære, & him sæde þæt he hiene mehte lædan þurh þæt westen, þæt he on Perse on ungearwe become.

26. Uton gemunan hu uncuþ bið æghwylcum anum men his lifes tid, æghweþer ge ricum ge heanum, ge geongum ge ealdum, hwilce hwile hine wille Drihten her on worlde lætan beon.
27. Ða cwædon þa apostolas to hire, Ne ceara þu, Maria, ne ne wep, þæt þin folc ne sy gedrefed, forþon þis cwæp ure Drihten & ure beboda Lareow, mid þy þe he wæs hlifigende ofer sæs brim þa he wæs æt his æfengereordum.
28. Ða þæt gesawon ða burgware, ða wurdon hie swiðe forhte for ðæm fære þe heo næfre swylc wundor ne gesawon.
29. Petrus cwæð, hwæt cweðað we, hwæðer þæt mægen þus micles wundres gedýde þe Honorates earnung, þe Libertines gewilnung?
30. Sona swa þæt gehyrde se Drihtnes wer Nonnosus, þa styrde he þæs mid micelre eadmodnysse
31. Ða þis gehyrde se Godes ðeow, he ongann clypian mid mycelum stefnum
32. Sona swa þæt gesawon manega men, þe þær ymbuton stodon, hi for þære blisse ongunnon swyðor wepan forð asendum stefnum micelre wundraunge.
33. Soðlice swa oft swa hine gegrap on heahnysse seo hæte & se willa þære upplican sceawunge, buton tweon he forlet hine sylfne under him sylfum.
34. Ða bebedad se casere þæt nænig mon þone lichoman bebyrgde siððan he wæs beheafdod, ac þæt hine scolden forswelgan wilde deor ond wyrmas.
35. Ure Drihten gehælde þa þurh his heofonlican mihte þone earmann woda fram his wodnysse, and fram his dumbnysse þæs deoflican bendas, and fram þæræ blindnysse þe hine ablende se deofol,
36. and we belucað swa mid urum lofsangum þone halgan geleafan þe we habbað to Gode, for ðan ðe we gelyfað on þone lyfiendan God, on ða halgan þrynnysse, þe heofonas gewylt and ealle gesceafta, an ælmihtig Scyppend, swa swa gewrita cyðað on Cristenum bocum, and ða halgan fæderas, fram frymðe middaneardes.
37. & we belucað swa mid urum lofsangum þone halgan geleafan þe we habbað to Gode, for þan ðe we gelyfað on þone lyfigendan God, on ða halgan ðrynnysse þe heofonas gewylt & ealle gesceafta, an ælmihtig Scyppend.

38. and on geswincum leofode, swa þæt hine biton lys bealdlice and flean, þone þe ær ne dorste se draca furþon hreppan.
39. Witodlice Basilius, gebyld þurh his Drihten, be endebyrdnyss awrat ealle ða þenunga þæra halgan mæssan, swa swa hit healdað Grecas.
40. Se ealdorman gewat þa ða hit wolde God,
41. and God hi sona gehradode, swa þæt hi þær gemetton ane mære þruh wið þone weall standende, geworht of marmstane eall hwites bleos bufan þære eorðan, and þæt hlyd ðærto gelimplice gefeged, eac of hwitum marmstane swa swa hit macode God.
42. and þær wearð þa geworden micel wundor þurh God, swa þæt hine forbeah on ælce healfe þæt fyr,
43. Heo wearð swaþeah beweddad swa swa hit woldon hire frynd, anum æþelan cnihte, se næs cristen þa git, Ualerianus gehaten, se is nu halig sanct.
44. and ðær wæter æddre ða wynsum asprang. werod on swæcce. þam were to brice. se ðe hwilon wæter. to winlicum swæcce. wundorlice awende. ða ða hit wolde God;
45. swa hwæt swa hine hrepað. oððe mann. oþþe nyten. he ne leofað sona;
46. Him wære swa ðeah betere. þæt he forburne þonne he ætburste. for ðan ðe his ancenneda sunu sona awedde. and hine sylfne gestod seo miccle coðu þe læcas hatað elefantinus morbus. mid ðære he wæs ofset fram ðam hnolle ufan oð his fotwylmas neoðan;
47. & he nahwar ne mæssige, ær hig hæbbe se þe hi mid rihte age.
48. Ða þæt gesawon þa Chananeiscean, þa cwædon hi: þis is micel wop þissa Egiptiscra manna;
49. GYF ænig witega arise betwynan eow, & secge ðæt hine mæte swefen, & secge tacnu & forebeacnu, & hit agæð eall swa he sprycð, & he cwyð to eow: Vton gan & fylían fremdum godum ðe ge ne cunnon & uton ðeowian him. Ne hlyste ðu his worda, for ðan ðe Drihten fandað eower, hwæðer ge hine lufian mid eallum mode.

50. We secgað nu eac þæt we singað be þisum on urum sealmsange, swa swa hit sang Daurd þurh þone Halgan Gast, God heriende þus:
51. and þæra is fela on mannum anum þe he of middanearde geceas, þæt nan bocere ne mæg þeah he mycel cunne, heora naman awriten, forþan þe hi nat nan man.
52. Nu miht ðu understandan, þæt læssan ymbgang hæfð se man þe gæð onbuton an hus, þonne se ðe ealle þa burh begæð.
53. & mid þy ðe hyne wregdon þæra sacerda ealdras & þa hlafordas nan þing he ne andswarode.
54. Ða þis gehyrde sum of þam sittendum, þa cwæð he, eadig is se ðe hlaf ytt on Godes rice.
55. Ða hine geseah sum þinen æt leohte sittende & hine beheold, þa cwæð heo, & þes wæs mid him.
56. And hig sædon be þam Nazareniscean hælende, se wæs wer & witega mihtig on spæce & on weorce beforan Gode & eallum folce, & hu hine sealdun þa heahsacerdas & ure ealdras on deaðes genyþerunge & ahengon hine.
57. Ða þæt gehyrdon þa Pharisei þe mid him wæron ða cwædon hig to hym, cwyst þu synt we blinde?
58. & ne geþristlæce he mid him to sittene, buton hine hate se yldra, þæt se haliga cwide beo gefylled, Wurðiað eow sylfe betweenon eow.
59. Hit is neod, þonne we fela þurh deofles lare doð ongean Godes wyllan & bebod, þæt we þurh soðe eadmodnysse & andytnysse betan þæt hreowsiende, ealswa hit gesetton halige fæderas.
60. Ða þæt onfundon þa Romani, þa noldon hig faran ofer þone ford.
61. Þa þæt ongeaton yfele men, þæt hi swa bereafode wæron, þa ferdon hi to
62. Ða þis gehyrdon þa eadigan halgan, þa sealdon hi hi sylfe þam fyre,
63. Þa ðys wæron eall gehyrende, ealle þa heahfæderas and þa wytegan and ealle þa halgan þe þær on þam cwicsusle wæron, hig wæron swyðe geblyssigende and God wuldrigende.

64. Ða þæt gehyrde seo mænigeo þæra halgena þe ðæryrne wæron, hig clypedon ealle anre stefne
65. Ða þæt geherdan þa hehfæderes þe þær inne wæron, þa clypedan heo ealle anre stefne to þære helle,
66. Ac me is uncuð þeah hine wille God for sumum dieglum þingum þe we nyton on oððere wisan wændan.
67. & we hyrdon ær on þam godspelle þæt hyrdas wæron on þam ilcan lande wæccende, & bi him stod Dryhtnes engel & hie ymbscan heofonlices leohtes byrhto.
68. Mid þy ðe ðæt geascode se ðe hira bega hlaford wæs, þæt he nane liðe þam his efenheafdan gedon wolde, þa het he hine æghwylcne scilling agifan þæs þe he him ær forgifen hæfde.
69. & mittes hine fregnaden his gingran forhwon he þet dyde ða andwyrde he him
70. Petrus hine þa frægn: hwæt cweðað we, hweðer þæt mægn þus mycles wundres gedýde þe Honerates gearnung, þe Libertines gewilnung?
71. & þæt sæde, þæt hine genesode seo uplice gifu þurh þone hean biscop þæs apostolican setles.
72. Þæs feþe getugon mycle fotswylas & fornamon, swa þæt hine bæron his hiwan on heora handum swa hwider swa him þearf wæs.
73. & sona swa þæt gehyrde se Drihtnes wer Nonnosus, he styrde hi þa mid mycelre eadmodnyse, þæt þæt swa beon ne mihte, þy læs hit gelumpe, þæt þa broðra utfarende of þam mynstre, þa hwile þe hi sohton þa gestreon þæs eles, þæt hi hwylcne æfwyrdlan geprowedon heora agenra sawla.
74. & þa sona swa hit gehyrde se mæssepreost his nefa, he wæs swiðe wundrigende
75. Ða ne mihte he forsacan þæt Godes mægn, forðon þe hine bæd þæs seo soðe lufu of Furtunates mode.
76. Ða þis gehyrde se Godes þeow, he ongan clypian mid mycclum stefnum & þus cweþan, þæt he sylfa wære cwylmend þæs mannes.

77. Ac soðlice swa oft swa hine gegrap & ahof in heannysse seo hæte & se wylla þære upplican sceawunge, butan tweon he forlet hine sylfne under him sylfum.
78. Soðlice sona swa hine gehran se halga wer, he geflymde ealle þa fagunge þære hyde.
79. Se eac nu gyt todæg scineþ mid wundrum in þam ylcan scræfe, þe he ær bliþe eardode alæded fram oþrum mannum, gif þæt findeþ æt him & abædeþ se geleafa þara, þe hine biddað.
80. Ða þæt geacsode sum æbele man & brohte him his hors, on þam gewunode his wif for mycelre stilnesse on sittan, on þæt gerad, þonne him man oþer his lic hors findan mihte, þæt man þæs wifes hors ham asende. & þa wæs geworden, þæt se foresprecena wer to þære gecwedstowe wegendum þam ylcan horse wæs gelæded;
81. Eac þæt secgað þa æfæstan & þa soðsagalan weras, þe him andwearda wæron, betwyh oþrum þingum, þæt hit gelumpe in þam dæge his forþfore, þa þe hine ymbstodon þa ceasterwara & heom swa leof fæder wæs leorende, þæs þe hit gecweden beon mæg, of þyssere worulde,
82. Ða openlice wæs gecyþed eallum þam mannum, þæt se cniht ne mihte beon gedered, forþon þe hine bær & scylde in his fülle þæt gebed þæs arwyrðan weres Martines.
83. Ða sona swa þæt ongæton ealle þa Langbearde, þe on ðam lande wæron, hi ne dorston ofer þæt geþrystlæcan, þæt hi ohte grettan þa halgan stowe rihtgeleaffullra manna.
84. & wæs mid þy abysgod, þæt þa wisan, þe he þær spræc þurh his race & socne, wen is, þæt þa ongyte þus þæt ungelærede mod & þæt gedræfde,
85. Geseoh nu & gepænc, þæt þines lichaman eage ne gesyhð aht lichamlices, buton hit gescyrpe þa þing to geseonne seo unlichamlice wise.
86. Ac þa þa hine geseah seo his wæscestre, þæt he wæs aþened tolysdum þam limum swylce he dead wære, heo sette hi þær to
87. Witodlice þa þa þysne halgan wer nydde se deapes dæg to ðam utgange of lichaman, manige men hi gesomnodon þa to swa haligre sawle leorendnesse of þysum middanearde.

88. & þa þæt geacsode þæs arwyrðan lifes wer Felix, se wæs þære ylcan cæstre biscop, se ongan neosian þone ylcan Mellitum & him gan to þam þeawe þe man to seocum men deð, to þon þæt he hine gestrangode & getrymede mid his larlicum wordum, þæt he him ne ondrede to swiðe þone deað,
89. Soþlice swa þa gecorenan geblissað seo ece eadignes, swa eac hit is þearf, þæt þu gelyfe, þæt þa wiþcorenan bærneþ þæt ece fyr of þam dæge heora ændes & forðfore.
90. Soþlice swa þa gecorenan geblissað seo ece eadignes, swa eac hit is þearf, þæt þu gelyfe, þæt þa wiþcorenan bærneþ þæt ece fyr of þam dæge heora ændes & forðfore.
91. Witodlice, Petrus, se Illiricianus me sæde, þæt se Petrus sylfa him sæde, þæt hine sylfne gestode his lichaman mettrumness,
92. & eac þæt ic ne gemunde na herbufan þæt ic sæde: se ylca þegn, þe þas wisan geseah, he me sæde, þæt þa gylden an stanas bæron to þæs huses getimbrunge ge ealde men ge geonga ge mædenu ge cnihtas.
93. Eac he geseah, þæt sumra manna hus gehran se mist þæs fulan stences, sumra ne mihton fram þam beon gehrinene.
94. Þa sona swa þæt geherdon þa gebroðra, hi astrehton hy on eorðan
95. & eac he sæde, þa he þæt dyde dagum & nihtum unablinnendlice, & þa þa his mægn eallinga ateorode for þam hungre & eac samod for þam gewinne, mid hwylcre ændebyrdnesse hine geheold seo godcunde mildheortnes.
96. Þa þæt onfundon ða Romani. þa noldon hi faron ofer þone ford.
97. selre him his æfre of folgoðe ðonne on, gyf hine magan wyldan ða ðe he scolde wealdan;
98. Ða hit geherdon ealle þa untruman þe wæron þær on lande, ealle hi hire lic gesohton
99. þæt mæg on þeode swyþast to steore þæt man þa onhisce swyþe worolde & hy unweorðie æghwar on lande þa þe godcunde lare & woroldcunde rihtlage wyrðan & scyrdan on ænige wisan;

