

Univerzitet u Novom Sadu

Filozofski fakultet

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**SYNTAX AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE
OF THE OLD ENGLISH VP**

doktorska disertacija

mentor: prof. dr Maja Marković

NOVI SAD, 2016.

UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET

KLJUČNA DOKUMENTACIJSKA INFORMACIJA

Redni broj:
RBR

Identifikacioni broj:
IBR

Tip dokumentacije: monografska dokumentacija
TD

Tip zapisa: tekstualni štampani materijal
TZ

Vrsta rada: doktorska disertacija
VR

Autor: mr Tatjana Milićev
AU

Mentor / komentor: prof. dr Maja Marković
MN

Naslov rada: Sintaksička i informacijsko-strukturalna
NS obeležja glagolske fraze u staroengleskom

Jezik publikacije: engleski
JZ

Jezik izvoda: engleski, srpski
JI

Zemlja publikovanja: Srbija
ZP

Uže geografsko područje: Vojvodina
UGP

Godina: 2016.
GO

Izdavač: autorski otisak
IZ

Mesto i adresa: MS

Fizički opis rada: A4, 358 strana, 7 poglavlja, 230 bibliografskih
FO jedinica

Naučna oblast: Lingvistika
OB

Naučna disciplina: Sintaksa, dijahrona sintaksa
DI

Predmetna odrednica / Ključne reči: Lingvistika, sintaksa, sintaksa staroengleskog,
PO informacijska struktura, presupozija, asertivnost, varijacija OV/VO, fokus

UDK:

Čuva se u: Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet
ČU

Važna napomena: VN

Izvod: Ova disertacija bavi se problemom alternacije u
IZ poziciji finitnog i nefinitnog glagola u staroengleskom, preciznije, razlikom između zavisnih rečenica u kojima je finitni glagol u poslednjoj poziciji u klauzi, i onih u kojima se finitni glagol nalazi u višoj poziciji, kao i alternacijom u položaju nefinitnog leksičkog glagola u odnosu na objekat (objekat-glagol, naspram glagol-objekat). Osnovna hipoteza u radu jeste da su glavni redosledi reči u staroengleskom, uključujući i navedene alternacije, rezultat uticaja informacijsko-strukturalnih faktora. Položaj finitnog glagola u zavisnim rečenicama određen je diskursnim statusom propozicije. Rečenice s glagolom na poslednjem položaju u klauzi su pragmatiski presuponirane, dok su one s glagolom u višoj poziciji asertivne. Što se tiče alternacije objekat-glagol/glagol-objekat, ona ne odražava sistem dvostruke gramatike, već način obeležavanja fokusa unutar glagolske fraze. Redosled glagol-objekat je markiran, u smislu da se fokus nalazi

na nekom od individualnih elemenata glagolske fraze. U radu se predlaže model informacijske strukture prema kome se odnos tema/pozadina-fokus realizuje na tri različita nivoa, što dovodi do tri različite vrste fokusa: rečenični fokus, predikatski fokus i informacijski fokus. Rad prikazuje mehanizme njihove interakcije, kao i načine na koji se oni obeležavaju u sintaksi staroengleskog. Dva važna uvida stiču se na osnovu ove analize. Prvo, pokazuje se da staroengleski zaista jeste jezik u kom diskursna svojstva direktno utiču na strukturu rečenice. Drugo, u jezicima (ili barem nekim od njih) sa slobodnim redom reči, sintaksa ne služi da ukaže na specifično informacijsko-strukturalno obeležje nekog određenog elementa, već daje smernice u pogledu interpretacije većeg konstituenta, ostavljajući da kontekst razreši pojedinačna značenja.

Datum prihvatanja disertacije:

DP

Datum odbrane disertacije:

DO

Članovi komisije:

(zvanje / ime i prezime / naučni stepen / fakultet)

KO

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Član: dr Sabina Halupka-Rešetar, vanred. prof., Filozofski fakultet, Novi Sad

Član: dr Biljana Mišić Ilić, red. prof., Filozofski fakultet, Niš

UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

KEY WORDS DOCUMENTATION

Accession number:
ANO

Identification number:
INO

Type of document: monographic publication
TD

Type of record: textual printed material
TR

Contents code: PhD dissertation
CC

Author: Tatjana Milićev, MA
AU

Supervisor / co-supervisor: Professor Maja Marković
SU

Title: Syntax and information structure of the
TI Old English Verb Phrase

Language of text: English
LT

Language of abstract: English, Serbian
LS

Country of publication: Serbia
CP

Region of publication: Vojvodina
RP

Year of publication: 2016
YP

Publisher: author's printing
PB

Place of publication and address:
PL

Physical description: A4, 358 pages, 7 chapters, 330 references,
PD

Scientific field: Linguistics
SF

Scientific discipline: Syntax, diachronic syntax
SD

Subject / Key words: Linguistics, syntax, Old English,
CX embedded clauses, pragmatic presupposition,
assertion, OV/VO alternation, focus

UDC:

In the holdings of: University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy
HD

Note:
NO

Abstract: This thesis deals with the alternation in the
AB position of the finite and the non-finite verb in
Old English, specifically, with the alternation
finite verb-final vs. finite verb-non-final
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Dissertation approved on:

AP

Dissertation defended on:

DE

Members of defence board:

(title / name and surname / degree / faculty)

DB

Chairman: Dr Maja Marković, associate professor, Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad

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Syntax and information structure of the Old English Verb Phrase

Abstract

This thesis deals with the alternation in the position of the finite and the non-finite verb in Old English, specifically, with the alternation finite verb-final vs. finite verb-non-final embedded clauses, and the alternation object–verb (OV) vs. verb–object (VO) alternation in the non-finite verb phrase. The central proposal is that information-structural factors underlie most of the Old English word order patterns, including these alternations. What influences the surface position of the finite verb in embedded clauses is the discourse status of the proposition. Verb-final clauses are pragmatically presupposed, while non-final verb position signals pragmatic assertion. The OV/VO alternation does not reflect competing structures/grammars, but rather focus marking strategies on the VP material, reflected in VO orders. We therefore propose a multi-layered model of information-structure, according to which, topic/background-focus structures are represented at three different levels, whereby the following types of focus are distinguished: sentence focus, predicate focus and ‘new information’ focus. We also present a mechanism of their interaction and syntactic encoding in Old English. Two important insights emerge from this analysis. First, Old English is a discourse configurational language. Second, at least some discourse configurational languages do not syntactically mark each individual information-structural interpretation of sentence elements. It rather seems that the syntax reflects IS marking of a larger constituent, leaving it to the context for specific resolutions.

Key words: Old English, embedded clauses, pragmatic presupposition, assertion, OV/VO alternation, focus

Sintaksička i informacijsko-strukturalna obeležja glagolske fraze u staroengleskom

Apstrakt

Ova disertacija bavi se problemom alternacije u poziciji finitnog i nefinitnog glagola u staroengleskom, preciznije, razlikom između zavisnih rečenica u kojima je finitni glagol u poslednjoj poziciji u klauzi, i onih u kojima se finitni glagol nalazi u višoj poziciji, kao i alternacijom u položaju nefinitnog leksičkog glagola u odnosu na objekat (objekat-glagol, naspram glagol-objekat). Osnovna hipoteza u radu jeste da su glavni redosledi reči u staroengleskom, uključujući i navedene alternacije, rezultat uticaja informacijsko-strukturalnih faktora. Položaj finitnog glagola u zavisnim rečenicama određen je diskursnim statusom propozicije. Rečenice s glagolom na poslednjem položaju u klauzi su pragmatski presuponirane, dok su one s glagolom u višoj poziciji asertivne. Što se tiče alternacije objekat-glagol/glagol-objekat, ona ne odražava sistem dvostruke gramatike, već način obeležavanja fokusa unutar glagolske fraze. Redosled glagol-objekat je markiran, u smislu da se fokus nalazi na nekom od individualnih elemenata glagolske fraze. U radu se predlaže model informacijske strukture prema kome se odnos tema/pozadina-fokus realizuje na tri različita nivoa, što dovodi do tri različite vrste fokusa: rečenični fokus, predikatski fokus i informacijski fokus. Rad prikazuje mehanizme njihove interakcije, kao i načine na koji se oni obeležavaju u sintaksi staroengleskog. Dva važna uvida stižu se na osnovu ove analize. Prvo, pokazuje se da staroengleski zaista jeste jezik u kom diskursna svojstva direktno utiču na strukturu rečenice. Drugo, u jezicima (ili barem nekim od njih) sa slobodnim redom reči, sintaksa ne služi da ukaže na specifično informacijsko-strukturalno obeležje nekog određenog elementa, već daje smernice u pogledu interpretacije većeg konstituenta, ostavljajući da kontekst razreši pojedinačna značenja.

Ključne reči: staroengleski, zavisne rečenice, pragmatska presupozicija, asertivnost, OV/VO, fokus.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As once Anthony Warner said to me, if it takes you at least ten years, during which you at least once decide to give it all up, you are on the right track to getting something done in diachronic syntax. This long overdue thesis represents a journey of persistence, bordering on obsession, in uncovering ‘the truth’ about the syntactic variation in Old English, and refusal to settle with anything less. I have been extremely lucky that in that ‘quest’ I have only encountered support, from financial, to academic and intellectual, and finally, moral and emotional.

First and foremost, I need to thank Prof. Ans van Kemenade, from the University of Nijmegen, who was my supervisor in the first version of this thesis. Ans’ open-mindedness to all my ideas, suggestions and proposals, coupled with her enthusiasm and no-nonsense approach to both research and life, made her not only my inspirational authority, but also a friend. Working and cooperating with Ans has shaped my belief that it is possible to have convictions about OE as strong as those of native speakers.

Secondly, I thank Prof. Maja Marković, my friend, colleague and research partner, who was the supervisor of this thesis. Even though historical syntax is not her primary research interest, Maja, as an exceptional linguist and one of the sharpest minds ever, helped me get into shape this rather complex and (overly) ambitious analysis. Her comments and questions always targeted the most problematic parts in both the argumentation and presentation. Our discussions of the data and the issues around them inspired me to always go a step further.

I am also grateful to Prof. Radmila B. Šević, the supervisor of my MA thesis, who first inspired me to engage in (in her words) ‘detective work’ on Old English. Without her belief in my research potential, and endless support and help in ensuring me, among other things, several grants for my cooperation and collaboration abroad, this whole project would be impossible. The same goes for Prof. Olga Mišeska Tomić. Not only did she inspire us, as the first generation of generative linguists at our university, to strive for more knowledge and more opportunities, but also to believe that our research can be scientifically relevant, even when the circumstances were against us.

My gratitude also goes to the Department of English and the Faculty of Philosophy, who tolerated my frequent leaves of absence and the procrastination of the delivery of this thesis. In that respect, I am especially thankful to Prof. Vladislava Gordić Petković, for her understanding, patience and confidence in me.

Without my friends and family, nothing of this would be possible, nor would it make sense.

Marijana Marelj, I do not thank you only for being my oldest BFF (and ever), but also for all your selfless logistic and emotional support. I’ll always be waiting for you to come back.

Nataša Milićević, when I persuaded you to turn to linguistics, I did it for selfish reasons. Because you're wonderful, as a person, as an intellectual, and most importantly, as a friend. But I always knew your contribution to linguistics would make me proud and accomplished. You can make sense of anything.

I'm grateful to my friends/colleagues Peđa Kovačević, Sabina Halupka-Rešetar and Saša Kavgić for many fruitful discussions of the challenges 'free word order' languages pose on syntactic theory.

I thank Randall Major, Ivana Đurić Paunović, and Aleksandra Gabrić for being my loyal friends; through their eyes, I always seemed a better person.

I also need to mention the 'EGG Summerschool gang', who have always gave me the much needed sense of belonging.

I thank my 'sensei', Darjan Major, for keeping me fit and strong enough to be able stand (straight) and work (hard).

My 'second family' Jelica Kosić, Tamara Kosić and Stevan Radulović, have always been by my side, offering me help in literally *everything*.

I thank my mother, my rock and inspiration, who has always given me the best model of how to overcome every obstacle and never give up.

Finally, I thank Jovan Kosić, whose unconditional love, support and belief in me still keeps me going on. It is to him and Bleki, my two angels, that I dedicate this thesis, as a small token of appreciation for bringing ultimate love and perfection in my life.

Novi Sad, February 2016

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem

The problem addressed in this thesis is the word order variation in Old English (OE), specifically in the v/VP domain. The first alternation involves the position of the finite verb, which can be clause final (1a), or clause ‘medial’ (1b).

- (1) a. þa sona þa þæt gewrit aræded **wæs**
as soon as the letter read was
'As soon as the letter was read'

(coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:177.127.2268)

- b. Gif þu **wilt** his wordum hyran
if you will his words hear
'If you will hear his words...'

(coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:183.232.2371)

The second alternation concerns the position of the non-finite verb: it can follow the object (2a) or precede it (2b).

- (2) a. Gif se sacerd ne mæg ðam læwedum mannum larspel **secgan**.
if the priest not may to-the lay people homily say

'If the priest cannot say a homily to the lay folk, he should, at least, through the innocence of his life, set them a good example'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_41:306.66.6963)

- b. gif þa yflan **ne** mihton **ongytan** þa oþre yflan...
if the evil not might understand the other evil...
'if the evil cannot understand the other evil...'

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:34.310.28.4641)

In addition, only the object can precede the finite verb, while the non-finite verb follows it (3a), or vice versa (3b).

(3) a. gif hi þone lofsang willað æt þam wundrum singan,
 if they the praise-song will at the wonders sing
 ‘and if they the song of praise will sing at the miracles...’
 (coelive,ÆELS_[Swithun]:237.4375)

b. Gif ic oferswiðan ne mihte hine ær cucene,
 if I overcome not might him earlier alive
 ‘If I might not overcome him formerly when living...’
 (coelive,ÆELS_[Vincent]:232.7947)

Rather than assuming that the alternations reflect an ongoing language change, we will argue that the information-structural/pragmatic factors are directly responsible for the varying position of the finite and non-finite verb in embedded clauses.

The impact of IS factors on the OE clause structure has only recently become part of research interest. However, very rarely are the pragmatic conditions (seriously) taken as responsible for any word order alternation. This is surprising considering that alternations can be found in practically all the major syntactic components, from the position of the verb (both finite and non-finite), to arguments (subjects and objects), to pronominal elements. All the alternation puzzles are attributed to grammar peculiarities (either in terms of mixed categories (van Bergen 2000) or mixed phrase structures (Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999)), which emerge as the result of an ongoing change. Discourse factors, if considered at all, are either quickly dismissed (Koopman 1998, Haeberli 2000, van Bergen 2000), or, when investigated in more detail, the results are used to show that such factors cannot be responsible for the variation of interest (Pintzuk & Taylor 2006, Taylor & Pintzuk 2012a, 2012b).

Admittedly, giving discourse factors primary role in the alternations in the OE clause structure makes it difficult to capture the key properties of the further developments in the later periods of English. For that reason, OE is rarely given an account which is not in a sense burdened by the issue of language change. OE being a Germanic language, any analysis is expected to account for the change within the realm of almost typological syntactic properties of Germanic languages. Comparative method is by all means necessary, both from a diachronic and synchronic point of view, but it should

not be the only method applied. Before we can even address the issue of syntactic change, we need to understand what is actually going on in OE. Therefore, the main reason for why we find it so important to tease out the influence of discourse factors on the OE clause structure is the fact that it is crucial to establish a clear difference between ‘stylistic rules’ and ‘core grammar’ rules. The stylistic rule as a component of the grammatical model is first presented in Chomsky & Lasnik 1977. Stylistic rules essentially characterize noncanonical focusing constructions and make no contribution to the LF (logical form) of sentences they apply to with regard to truthconditional interpretation. Many of the focus marking moves are purely stylistic, in the sense that they do not significantly affect the meaning of the utterance, i.e. they do not change the truthconditional properties of the sentence. If we can show that the variations in the OE clause structure arise due to the application of a focus marking strategy, then we avoid attributing an optional stylistic rule the status of ongoing grammar change. If a language is predominantly governed by stylistic/discourse driven rules, which encode backgrounding, discourse linking, pragmatic presupposition, or topic-focus relation at different levels, the word order patterns generated will be difficult to capture by simple and restrictive syntactic rules. This, of course, does not mean that it is impossible to incorporate or translate stylistic or discourse-related movements into the core grammar rules. It can be (and has been) done in two ways, essentially. The first one is by proposing the existence of functional categories which will check topic and focus features of elements which show up in non-canonical positions. The second one is by integrating IS-related features in the core functional categories. More details will be given in Section 1.4.6.

1.2 Framework

The general theoretical framework is that of Generative Grammar. Even though a precise syntactic analysis of the word order variation is not the primary concern in this thesis, the issues regarding syntactic derivation are discussed within this framework, from the classical Government and Binding

(GB) model to the latest version(s) of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2008).

The model of information structure is essentially the one proposed in Krifka 2007, which relies on Stalnaker's Common Ground theory of pragmatic presupposition and discourse development (Stalnaker 1973, 1974, 1978, 2002), and Rooth's (1985, 1992) Alternative Semantics account of focus.

For the interaction of different ways of focus markings noted in OE, we will propose a model similar to the one Petrova & Solf (2009) put forth for the IS/pragmatic analysis of historical data. It is also comparable to Hinterhölzl's analysis of Old High German (2004), where discourse status of NPs are assumed to be marked by position. Namely, backgrounded ('presupposed, prementioned or implied' (Hinterhölzl 2004: 148)) material (pronouns and bare nouns) precede the finite verb, while focused and 'heavy' material (e.g. modified DPs) follow it. The finite verb thus serves as a postmark for the focused material. More details regarding focus marking are given in Section 1.4.

The central proposal for OE in this thesis is that the position of the (non-finite) lexical verb relative to the finite auxiliary/modal verb and objects, yields focus-related interpretations at three different levels of topic/background-focus structures. These interpretations underlie the major OE word patterns.

Even though we do not address the issue of language change, nor concern with the later developments in Middle English and Modern English, our proposal tacitly predicts that the change will proceed from a 'discourse configurational' to a syntactic language. In that sense, our analysis is similar to the proposal made for Old High German by Hinterhölzl (2004), whereby stylistic rules become reanalyzed as core grammar rules. He argues that the grammar provides a limited amount of optionality in the form of stylistic rules that can be exploited by speakers for their communicative purposes. These rules may affect word order (and prosodic phrasing) to derive information-structurally marked forms, which, over time, may lose their stylistic force and become reanalyzed as (obligatory) rules of the core grammar. This change is commonly understood to be conditioned by the development of a new determiner system from demonstrative pronouns (cf. Hinterhölzl 2004 for OHG, and van Kemenade,

Milićev & Baayen 2008 for OE), and essentially relates to the old idea that availability of scrambling (as a discourse driven operation, rather than Japanese-style scrambling) is related to the presence or absence of category D (cf. Ross 1967).

1.3 Methodology

All of the data used in the analysis have been extracted from the York-Helsinki-Toronto Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (henceforth the YCOE), an annotated corpus of about 1.5 million words of Old English prose (Taylor et al. 2003). Translations of the examples are either taken from published translations (Godden 2000, Kelly 2003, Skeat 1881, and Sweet 1871), and modified when they contained archaic forms (e.g. suffixes such –st for 2nd person singular, or –th for 3rd person plural). Glosses, and the translations of other texts are provided by me, based on the Bosworth-Toller's dictionary of Old English (Bosworth and Toller 1898).

As our major assumptions regarding the variation in the VP domain concerns the impact of information structure, most examples contain the context preceding the utterance with the relevant variation. These 'context' sentences are given either as just translations into (present-day) English, or as original OE with translation, when it is necessary to pinpoint certain syntactic properties of those utterances.

The problem of variation is examined on the basis of the embedded/subordinate clause corpus, with occasional excursions to the domain of main clauses. The choice of embedded clauses is influenced by the assumption that in Germanic languages the syntax of main and embedded clauses is crucially different, that the verb movement in main clauses is regularly to higher positions (either as V2 or V3). This additional movement step is believed to mask shorter verb movements which we observe in embedded clauses. Therefore, main clauses are used only when a certain more complex pattern which might provide us with certain syntactic insights is found in too few instances in embedded clauses.

Quantitative and statistical data is used selectively, for two main reasons. First of all, given that there are almost 12000 clauses with the variation in the position of the finite verb (11088 Vf-Vn and 6923 Vn-Vf clauses), and almost 2500 of clauses containing the OV/VO variation (656 Vf-Vn-O, 1079 Vf-O-Vn, 738 O-Vn-Vf), it is unrealistic that the whole corpus could be examined in a reasonable amount of time, given that for each interpretation both the preceding and the following context need to be taken into account. Secondly, as our main assumption is that ‘deviations’ from the unmarked order are not the result of a specific interpretation of a specific element (object, for instance, in the postverbal position) but rather quite literally match the ‘non-unmarked’ interpretation, which covers a wider array of possible meanings/uses, statistical data is not particularly helpful. In other words, I do not find that quantifying possible interpretations of a given word order is crucial for our understanding of the impact of IS factors on word order variation. Since so many instances of topic and focus marking are regulated by general conversational principles and are often used for stylistic or rhetorical purposes, they are truly optional, as the failure of their application can only result in more or less incoherent discourse. Many cases then would involve quantifying specific style. We thus leave it for further research to establish possible correlations of a certain interpretation with clause type, object type, and other factors.

1.4 Basic Assumptions

In this section I will present basic assumptions regarding information structure and focus marking.

1.4.1 Information Structure

On Chafe’s (1976) definition, Information Structure (IS) is a phenomenon of information packaging that serves the immediate communicative needs of the participants in the discourse. It describes how information exchanged in the discourse is formally packed in the sentence. For many linguists concerned with pragmatics, IS is a sentence-level structure (Halliday 1967, Vallduví 1992, 1993), or

variation of the sentence structure to modulate the how the information in the current utterance relates to the information in the prior context. Krifka (2007) points out IS markings can also affect the content of the message (meaning), hence cannot be only about the way information is presented or packaged; hence, IS is also content management.¹ Therefore, IS is best characterized as a cognitive domain that mediates between the modules of linguistic competence (syntax, phonology, and morphology), and other cognitive faculties, whose function is to affect belief states by information update, pragmatic reasoning, and general inference processes (Zimmerman and Féry 2009).

I will follow Krifka's (2007) proposal that the basic notions of IS are focus, topic and givenness, although primitives such as theme/rheme, focus/background, topic/link, old/new have also been shown to be relevant in the understanding how information is organized as the sentence level. I will also adopt Krifka's model of communication as continuous change of the common ground (CG).

The notion of CG, originally proposed by Stalnaker 1974 (cf. also Karttunen 1974, Lewis 1979) is a way to model the information which is mutually known to be shared and continuously modified in communication. CG primarily serves to indicate the distinction between presuppositions (requirements for the input CG) and assertions (changes in the output CG). Krifka, however, argues that CG is relevant for information packaging, as the CG changes continuously, and information has to be packaged appropriately to correspond to the CG at the point of utterance. The notion of CG will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.4.2 Focus

As one of the main arguments in this thesis is that focus marking is the major factor in the word order variation in OE embedded clauses, we need elaborate the concepts and terminology used. For focus, I

¹ It is a well-known fact that truth-conditional differences arise with certain types of focus, as the one associated with focus sensitive particles such as 'only'.

will adopt the definition given in (4) from Krifka (2007), which is based on the view of focus taken in *Alternative Semantics* (Rooth 1985, 1992).

(4) Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions.

For Rooth, the only difference is between ‘ordinary meaning’ and ‘focus’. In other words, he does not assume the existence of semantically different types of focus. É. Kiss (1998), on the other hand, points out that we need to distinguish between ‘information focus’ and ‘identificational’ focus. According to É. Kiss, identificational focus has a unique semantic-communicative role in the sentence. Functionally, identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate actually holds (É. Kiss 1998: 245). Information focus does not imply the existence of a set of alternatives. Semantically, identificational focus implies an existential presupposition. When an element with the identificational focus is negated, as in a *it*-cleft focus construction ‘It was not a car that I bought’, implies that there exists an alternative referent for which the proposition holds (something else was bought), and cannot be followed by a sentence expressing the denial of the proposition ‘I didn’t buy anything’. Information focus (‘I didn’t buy a car’), on the other hand, allows the continuation ‘I didn’t buy anything’ (cf. among others, Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998, Selkirk 2002, 2007, who argue for the same view).

I will follow Rooth and Krifka in the assumption that any kind of focus evokes a set of alternatives against which the focus constituent is evaluated. But new information/informational focus differs from other types of focus in that it only picks the focused alternative from the set, without adding any other information about the relation between the focused alternative and other alternatives in the alternative set.

Even though the ‘complement’ of focus is usually understood in terms of presupposition or backgroundedness, in the sense that it is somehow contextually given, I will maintain that whatever counts as complement of focus need not be backgrounded in this strict sense. Rather, focus will always evoke alternatives, but the set of alternatives can be (i) either given or inferred/accommodated as backgrounded, and (ii) imposed on the CG output, at the point of utterance. The second strategy requires the speaker’s assumption that the addressee will be able to accommodate the existence of an alternative set.

1.4.2.1 Types of focus

Focus can be marked in different ways (prosodically, structurally, and morphologically). Krifka (2007) suggests that the fact that there are different ways of focus marking actually signals different ways of how alternatives are exploited (for example, focus marking by cleft sentences often signals an exhaustive interpretation that in-situ focus lacks). Therefore, it is desirable to distinguish subtypes of focus, to capture the fact that alternatives are employed in specific ways. Types of focus differ with respect how the alternative set is organized (for instance, ranked in relation to the value of the focused element), and/or how the speaker exploits them. Let us first present the types of focus which are assumed to contribute to the semantic representation of the sentence containing a focused expression.

Additive focus indicates that the predication holds for at least one alternative of the expression in focus. It can also be expressed by the focus particle ‘also’ (5). This interpretation is presupposed, as it remains an entailment when the sentence is in the scope of modal (‘It may be that Peter also invited Mary for dinner’).

(5) Peter also invited Mary to dinner.

Scalar focus expresses that the alternatives for the focused expressions are ranked on a scale. With respect to this scale, the focused expression is ranked lowest. The corresponding focus particles are ‘even’ and ‘at least’.

(6) I even like Justin Bieber.

Note that the sentence in (6) can also be used as an answer to the question ‘What kind of music do you like?’, where new information focus is elicited, but the respondent can assume that the addressee will be able to accommodate that, in addition to providing information regarding the kind of music he likes, he is also evoking a scale, where Justin Bieber is ranked lowest, or least likely to be appreciated musically by the speaker. The addressee does not need to be familiar with the quality of Justin Bieber’s musical opus, nor with the speaker’s taste in music, to be able to infer this. He just needs to recognize the speaker’s intention.

Exhaustive (or exclusive) focus presupposes that the predication holds for the expression in focus, and asserts that it does not hold for any alternative. Unlike new information focus, exhaustive focus has the additional implication that the alternatives are (overtly) eliminated. The focus particle expressing the same meaning is ‘only’. Exhaustive focus, even more so than scalar focus, can be successfully used to add new information to the CG and to further manipulate a focus set.

(7) I only drank tequila.

(8) a. What did you drink?

b. I drank tequila. I might have drunk gin tonic as well.

b’. I drank tequila (and nothing else).

Contrastive focus, even though intuitively seemingly a simple notion, is in fact difficult to characterize and distinguish from other types of focus. The most perplexing question is how contrast is understood.

Contrastive focus is often used as a term for non-new information focus, so all subtypes of focus which are not strictly new information are often covered by the label ‘contrastive focus’. For Selkirk 2008, the sentence with a contrastively focused elements includes a specification that there exist alternatives to the proposition expressed by the sentence which are identical to that proposition except for different substitutions for the contrastively focused constituent. It has a direct role in determining the semantic interpretation of the sentence, affecting truth conditions and conversational implicatures (Selkirk 2008: 126). This characterization of contrastive focus is similar to the one proposed for identificational focus by É. Kiss (1998), as well as all other non-new information types of focus on other accounts.

Krifka points out that the notion of contrastive focus should be restricted uses of focus for truly contrastive purposes (even though he does not define ‘contrastive purposes’). Contrastive focus should always presuppose that the CG contains the proposition with the contrastive alternative, or that such a proposition can be accommodated.

Lee (1999, 2003), on the other hand, argues that it is necessary to keep the notion ‘contrastive’ only for contrastive topics. For Lee, ‘genuine focus’ has no notion of contrast except that of Rooth’s (1985) alternatives. When we focus an element, we highlight it, while other alternatives are ‘shadowed and ignored or excluded at the moment of utterance’, although they are evoked in the context (Lee 1999: 326).²

Neeleman et al. (2009) propose that the notion of contrast should be kept apart from core topic and focus notions. According to these authors, constituents that are contrastive are understood to belong to a contextually given set out of which they are selected to the exclusion of at least some other members of the set. They propose that it is necessary to assume the existence of a privative [contrast] feature, in addition to [topic] and [focus] features, as contrast can be applied to both topics and foci (for similar proposals, the authors refer to Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998, Molnár 2002, and Giusti 2006).

² Lee claims that uttering a focus lacks reservation, conditionality, partitioning or hedge regarding other alternatives, which is always characteristic of Contrastive Topic (Lee 1999: 327).

Zimmerman (2006) argues that what distinguishes contrastive focus from information focus is that the alternatives that play a role with contrastive focus are not just calculated relative to the semantic denotation of the focus constituent (the semantic alternatives). Instead, they are calculated relative to the focus denotation together with the speaker's suppositions as to which of these alternatives the hearer is likely to expect (the discourse-semantic alternatives). The less expected a given focus constituent is in a particular context – according to the speaker – the more likely it is to get a contrastive marking.

In this thesis, I will use the term contrastive focus whenever the interpretation matches (or resembles) the notion of contrast. I will understand that contrast roughly corresponds to 'the state of being strikingly different from something else in juxtaposition or close association' (the Oxford Dictionary of English <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>), and as 'the difference or degree of difference between things having similar or comparable natures, [and] the comparison of similar objects to set off their dissimilar qualities' (the Merriam-Webster Dictionary <http://www.merriam-webster.com>) fully aware that such characterization lacks determinacy (for a more detailed discussion of the problem with defining contrast, see Repp 2016). A contrastively focused element will evoke an alternative which is 'strikingly different' or in some kind of opposition, usually for the purpose of comparison or expression of parallelism.

Finally, we also need to distinguish subtypes of focus based on the specific uses, as it is difficult to pinpoint their impact on the meaning of the sentence. They are usually distinguished by their prosodic prominence rather than semantic contribution (Bolinger 1961, Chomsky 1971, and Rochemont and Culicover 1990).

Emotional focus is the type of focus used for emotional highlighting, where the speaker gives vent to his emotions

(9) I HATE broccoli.

Repair/Correction focus refers to situations when the speaker uses focus to correct or repair some thing used in the preceding discourse.

(10) I didn't say blueBERRY, I said blueBIRD.

Parallel focus is employed when the speaker calls attention to a parallel expression (Krifka 2007: 24).

(11) a. MAry stole the COOkie and PEter stole the CHOcolate.
b. An AMERican farmer talked to a CaNAdian farmer ... (Rooth 1992)

Krifka points out that the use of focus to express parallel structures is perhaps one of the least understood aspects of focus, as it appears to be less obligatory here than in the other cases. He suggests that parallel focus presumably assists in constructing mental models of the described scene by associating the contrasted meanings.

Dik et al. 1981 also relate parallel focus to contrast, as the main function of parallel focus is to generate contrastive pairs. However, unlike with contrastive focus, the use of parallel focus function does not depend on the difference between B's statement and A's presupposition, but on the relation of contrast within the predication.

(12) A: I know that Peter and John bought a cat and a dog, but I don't know who bought what.
B: PETER bought a CAT, and JOHN bought a DOG.

Verum (polarity) focus, as defined by Höhle (1988: 4), has the function of highlighting the truth of some proposition known from the context.

(13) Peter DID buy a new car.

1.4.2.2 Identification of focus

Pragmatically, focus can be used pragmatically to answer a question, to correct information, or to confirm information (Krifka 2007). The classic test for identifying focus is the question/answer (Q/A) test. The test has been developed under the definition of focus in terms of nonpresupposed part of the sentence (Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972, Zubizarreta 1998). Presupposition is characterized as shared assumptions between the speaker and hearer (what they assume to be the case) at the point of sentence utterance in a discourse. The Q/A test helps us identify how a statement is partitioned into focus and presupposition. Zubizarreta (1998) defines the relationship between focus and an answer to a wh-question in the following way:

- (14) "To the extent that the answer to a wh-question has the same presupposition as the question, the focus in a statement can be identified as the part of the statement that substitutes for the wh-phrase in the context question." (Zubizarreta 1998:2)

The basic idea is that every wh-question comes with the presupposition and that the wh-phrase can be paraphrased by an indefinite (1 and 2). Indefinite paraphrases can be expressed in terms of existential quantification (3). Every 'x' in 3 will match the element which is focused in the answer to the question.

- .
- (15) a. What happened?
b. What did John do?
c. What did John eat?
d. Who ate the pie?
e. What happened to the pie?
f. What did John do with the pie?
- (16) a. Something happened.
b. John did something.
c. John ate something.
d. Someone ate the pie.

- e. Something happened to the pie.
- f. John did something with the pie.

- (17)
- a. there is an x, such that x happened
 - b. there is an x, such that John did x
 - c. there is an x, such that John ate x
 - d. there is an x, such that x ate the pie
 - e. there is an x, such that x happened to the pie
 - f. there is an x, such that John did x with the pie

- (18)
- a. [John at the pie]_F
 - b. John [ate the pie]_F
 - c. John ate [the pie]_F
 - d. [John]_F ate the pie
 - e. [John ate]_F the pie.
 - f. John [ate]_F the pie.

The Q/A test works the best as a way to identify new information focus. It, however, cannot detect the specific (sub)type of focus interpretation. Also, it is difficult to apply the test when analyzing utterance sequences in actual discourse. Even though on some views the exchange of information includes answers to implicit questions (Roberts' (1996) Question Under Discussion (QUD)), these questions would have to be more complex than the typical wh-questions identifying 'simpler' instances of focus interpretation. Also, not all focus instances can be interpreted as nonpresupposed part of the sentence. Parallel focus is perhaps the best example of this. Therefore, I will resort to the Q/A test only when it is needed to detect new information focus.

1.4.2.3 Domain of focus assignment

I will also make use of the terms 'broad/wide' and 'narrow' focus, to indicate the domain of focus (cf. Selkirk 1984, Lambrecht 1994). Narrow focus will refer to a single phrase containing the focused

element, whereas wide/broad focus will be used to describe VP focus. The terms are clearly imprecise and will be used only for the purpose of distinguishing whether the whole VP or part of it is focused, in cases of potential focus-ambiguities.

It seems to be a well-known fact that transitive unmarked word orders are ambiguous with respect to whether, the object, the VP or the whole sentence is in focus. To use the familiar question-test for focus, we see that a typical transitive sentence in English can be used as an answer to (implicit) wh-questions eliciting focus on the object, the VP or the entire sentence.

(20) A: What happened?
B: [Bill bought a car]_F

(21) A: What did Bill do?
B: Bill [bought a car]_F

(22) A: What did Bill buy?
B: Bill bought [a car]_F

These ambiguities arise due the phenomenon of focus projection, first proposed by Selkirk (1984), and further elaborated in Selkirk 1995. According to Selkirk, focus correlates with prosodic prominence (accent), and the basic focus rule is (23).

(23) **Basic Focus Rule**
An accented word is F-marked.

Selkirk assumes that focus marking can be derived directly from the syntactic structure, via Focus Projection (24).

(24) **Focus Projection**
a. F-marking of the head of a phrase licenses F-marking of the phrase
b. F-marking of an internal argument of a head licenses the F-marking of the head

(24) shows that focus projection can be obtained in two ways: from head onto higher constituents (vertical focus projection, as labeled in Büring 2006), or from the complement to the head, and upwards (horizontal focus projection).

The second notion crucial to Selkirk's theory is FOC(us) of a sentence, defined in the following way. FOC(us) is interpreted via the question-answer test for focus. 'A wh-question expression focuses a constituent, and an appropriate answer to a wh-question must focus the same constituent' (Selkirk 1995: 553). Selkirk argues that her account is superior to Chomsky & Halle's (1968) Nuclear Stress Rule theory in that it can capture the relation between accent and the given-new structure of the sentence (for instance, the possibility of having accented elements which are not the FOC(us) of the sentence). The principles of focus interpretation following from the +f and FOC marking are given in (25).

- (25) Focus Interpretation Principles:
- a. F-marked constituent but not FOC: New in the discourse
 - b. constituent without F-marking: Given
 - c. F-marked and FOC: either Given or New)

Selkirk's theory has been criticized as unable to account for the cases when narrow focus is on the verb. As on her account heads can project focus onto higher constituents, a sentence with narrow focus on the verb should be able to project onto the whole VP, but a sentence like (26) is not appropriate as an answer to the question 'What did she do?'.

(26) She SENT a book to Sue.

Büring (2006) also argues that focus projection rules in (25) do not entirely hold, as focus can be projected from transitive subjects, indirect objects and adjuncts. In addition, focus can be projected from 'minor categories' (adjuncts within NPs) and first conjuncts in coordinated structures. There are also cases where focus can be projected from the internal argument directly onto the VP, circumventing

the intermediate level ('direct projection of arguments'). In (27) it is difficult to claim that focus on 'John' projects on the 'team up' part, as it is clearly +Given in the question. Yet, the whole VP can be used as an answer to a VP-question, hence the whole VP must be focus marked.

(27) Q: What did Sue do when you teamed up with Bill?

A: She/she [teamed up with JOHN]_{FOC}.

While it is clear that focus interpretation can project from a constituent to higher structures, I will not deal with the mechanism/algorithms of focus marking. Rather, I will assume that in a single clause, focus can be marked at three different levels, yielding focus interpretation at the level of the whole proposition, at the level of the whole predicate, and at the level of individual elements within the predicate. At this point, it seems that only a complex mechanism enables us to capture the properties of the rich word order variation found in free word order languages such as OE.

1.4.3 Topic and topicality

Topic is the second basic notion of IS. The concept of topic is difficult to define. First of all, we need to distinguish sentence topic from discourse topic, i.e. topic as a part of sentence grammar, and topic as a continuous discourse notion. Roughly, the distinction can be stated in terms of different levels of 'aboutness': sentence topic is what the sentence/utterance is about/what is predicated of an element; discourse topic is what the (part of) discourse is about. Discourse topic is viewed as central organizing factor in discourse, and it is also referred to as Theme (Halliday 1985), 'the issue' or question under discussion. The correlation between sentence topic and discourse topic is rather difficult to tease out; they often overlap, but that relation is not exclusive.

Sentence topic, even though reduced to the context of utterance, is also difficult to define as there are different semantic-pragmatic types of topics: aboutness topic, frame-setting topics and contrastive topics, and it often seems that they cannot be reduced to one unifying characteristic (cf. Jacobs 2001).

The most common definition of sentence topic is in terms of aboutness, or what the sentence is about (cf. Kuno, 1972; Reinhart, 1982; Gundel, 1988; Lambrecht, 1994, a.o.). Chafe (1976) points out that topics also serve as the frame in which the event denoted by the proposition takes place. "The topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds (the frame within which the sentence holds)" (Chafe 1976: 50). Such topics are not what the sentence is about, but they 'limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain'.³ Contrastive topics (cf. among others, Büring 1997, 2003) share both features of aboutness topic and focus (in the sense that they evoke alternative expressions).

The notion closely related to that of topic is topicality. Topicality is often exploited as a factor in 'exceptional' syntactic behavior of pronouns and in scrambling (clause internal movement of objects, as well as adjuncts), and is assumed to reflect the informational status of a referent.

According to Lambrecht (1994), topicality is a pragmatic *relation* that holds between a referent and the proposition expressed by an utterance. Topicality is the construal of the referent as pragmatically salient, so that the assertion is made about this referent. Therefore, topicality is not an inherent property of a referent (although there are certain correlations with the role the referent has in the preceding discourse), but depends on the speaker's evaluation of its saliency in a communicative context (or the addressee's state of interest with respect to the referent, and not necessarily the speaker's assumptions about the addressee's familiarity/identifiability of a referent).⁴ Topical referents can be said to be salient (most notable and important), under discussion, and pragmatically linked in the consciousness of interlocutors (activated in the memory of the interlocutors).

Lambrecht (1994) also assumes that the topic role is not necessarily unique. At the time of utterance, more than one referent can be under discussion at the time of the utterance, and the utterance can simultaneously increase the addressee's knowledge about both of them. The

³ Jacobs (2001: 656) defines the frame-setting function as: "In (X,Y), X is the frame for Y if X specifies a domain of (possible) reality to which the proposition expressed by Y is restricted".

⁴ Topicality, especially when applied to objects, is also often assumed to correlate with specificity, definiteness, and animateness (cf. Diesing 1992, de Hoop 1992, Ritter & Rosen 2001, among many others). Semantic factors undoubtedly play an important role, but topicality cannot be reduced to them.

communicative purpose of an utterance containing more than one topic(al) element is to increase the addressee's knowledge about the relationship between two salient entities.

Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2010) argue that two topical referents are not of the same rank with respect to saliency, hence it is necessary to distinguish 'primary topics' and 'secondary topics'. A similar distinction is present in Vallduví's (1992) model of IS. He distinguishes 'focus', as new information, and 'ground' as old information. Ground is further subdivided into 'link' (informationally more prominent material) and 'tail' (informationally less prominent material). Erteschik-Shir (2007:13) also argues for the existence of different 'topic types'.

According to Dalrymple & Nikolaeva, an utterance with a primary and secondary topic conveys a relation that holds between two salient participants. They further assume that the primary topic is closely associated with the subject function, while the secondary topic is often realized as the second argument of a transitive verb: the object (cf. also Givon 1984).

Crucially, the relation between elements in 'complex topic' structures is a pragmatic association between the two referents established by the previous context. A speaker uses a 'secondary' topic, when he assumes that the addressee is familiar with the referent and with its relation between the 'primary' topic, and that the addressee can expect this relation will be commented on in further discourse.

For our purposes, topicality will be relevant for cases of what I labels as high and low scrambling ('high' and 'low' roughly referring to the position in the clause, where 'high' is before the finite verb, and 'low' following the finite verb). The notion of 'secondary' topic will be used to distinguish the two types of object fronting; when an object moves to a higher position (preceding the finite verb, as in (3a)), it will act as a secondary topic.

1.4.4 Givenness

Givenness is a notion which essentially covers the distinction between ‘old’ and ‘new’ information in the discourse. ‘Given’ refers to a ‘degree to which information is assumed to be available to the hearer prior to its evocation’ (Birner & Ward 1998: 9).

Gundel (1988, 1999) argues that we can distinguish two distinct senses of givenness-newness: referential and relational. Referential givenness describes a relation between a linguistic expression and its state in the speaker/hearer’s mind, the discourse, or some real or possible world. The relevant parameters for referential givenness are existential presupposition (e.g. Strawson 1964), referentiality and specificity (e.g. Enç 1991), the familiarity condition on definite descriptions (e.g. Heim 1982), the accessibility levels (Ariel 1988, 1990), the activation and identifiability statuses (Chafe 1994, Lambrecht 1994), the familiarity scale (Prince 1981), and the cognitive statuses of (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993).

Relational givenness-newness, on the other hand, involves a division of the semantic/conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what the sentence is about (the topic, theme, ground, logical/psychological subject) and Y is what is predicated about X (the comment, rheme, focus, logical/psychological predicate). 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 information that is predicated about X. Unlike referential givenness, relational givenness is a relation between two elements on the same level of representation, and can be independent of a speaker’s assumptions about the hearer’s knowledge or attention state. In that sense relational givenness corresponds to topichood and topicality.

I will use the notion of givenness rather descriptively, to refer the cases of ‘referential’ givenness, mostly in the sense of activation and identifiability, familiarity scale, accessibility and cognitive statuses.

1.4.5 A multi-layered model of IS

In discussing the methodology of IS research on historical data, Petrova & Solf (2009) propose that it is necessary to decompose information structure into at least three functional layers, to capture different properties of information structural categories (cf. Molnár 1993 and Krifka 2007).

- (28)
- i. the pragmatic status of sentence constituents, i.e. the distinction between given vs. new information in discourse as seen in the classical opposition of theme vs. rheme
 - ii. the predicational structure of the utterance, essentially dividing the sentence into two parts: starting point/topic and a predication/comment on this topic
 - iii. the distinction of focus vs. background in terms of communicative weight or relevance for the development of the discourse.

The three layers of information structure function independently in language, but also interact with one another, thus yielding ‘the full picture of the information-structural shaping of an utterance; (Petrova & Solf 2009: 133). This approach, Petrova & Solf argue, has advantage over others because it can account for cases where IS notions which should be mutually exclusive or incompatible are in fact allowed to overlap. Thus, for instance, on a simpler model, topic and focus should exclude one another, but in fact there exist elements which have properties of both, such as contrastive topics. If, however, the notions of topic and focus pertain to different layers of information structural segmentation, they will be allowed to overlap. Petrova & Solf also point out that a multi-layered model also avoids linking notions of topic and focus with contextually given, or old information, and new information, respectively.

I will argue that these three functional layers give us three types of focus. Focus 1 essentially corresponds to assertion (new material relevant for the development of the discourse), Focus 2 expresses comment on the topic, while Focus 3 is identified as new information.

Focus 1 matches the interpretation of communicative relevance of an utterance/proposition. Within this focus type, we need to distinguish two subtypes of assertion: the one expressed in subordinate and the one associated with main clauses, as they do not seem to contribute to the discourse update/development in the same manner.

Focus 2 will be used to refer to predicate focus. As our discussion is restricted to embedded clauses with highly limited availability of embedded topicalization, the topic-predicate focus structure will essentially apply to subject-predicate focus structures, although it will be shown that predicate-focus or comment can be applied to more complex topic structures, where a new relation is provided for two elements which function as topics. Hence, at this level of IS segmentation, predicate focus will match the interpretation that can be described as ‘saying something new about the subject/topic’, or foregrounding the subject/topic-predicate relation, when the information in the predicate is not novel.

Focus 3 is perhaps most difficult to define. Essentially, it further segments the elements in the topic-predicate structure. Depending on the interaction with other levels of focus marking, it will can be interpreted as +/-new information, or as providing an additional level of background-focus interpretation when the predicate is focused.

1.4.6 Syntactic mapping of IS notions

It has long been noted that discourse can affect configurationality, especially in languages where word order is free, or relatively free. We know that outside specialized constructions for expressing specific IS status of an element (topicalization, it-cleft focus, etc.), word order can be rearranged so as to indicate the ‘marked’ interpretation of an element, or to instruct that an element should be interpreted differently than when it is in its base position.

We have pointed out that topic/focus-related displacements used to be treated under the umbrella of stylistic rules, which were considered somewhat inferior to the core grammar rules. However, with more work on languages with a (relatively) flexible word order and the phenomena such as object shift

in Scandinavian or scrambling in Japanese or German, there emerged the need to incorporate interpretational factors in the syntactic component. This has given rise of accounts on which topic and focus can be represented structurally, as specialized functional projections, which will trigger movement of topic or focus marked elements (cf. Rizzi 1997, É. Kiss 1998, Zubizarreta 1998).

While new information focus favors clause final positions, contrastive or exhaustive focus prefers derived positions clause initially. Topic elements also often occur in clause initial position (though not exclusively, nor with a unique interpretation). These facts are represented in Rizzi's proposal for an articulated CP domain, or the Split-CP Hypothesis, where CP is decomposed into separate functional projections, among which are Topic Phrase and Focus Phrase (Rizzi's 1997, 2002).

(29) Force Phrase – Topic Phrase – Focus Phrase – Topic Phrase* (recursive) – Finite Phrase

The existence of dedicated Topic Phrase and Focus Phrase has been extended to the TP domain, or above vP (cf. Beletti 2003, Jayaseelan 2001, or Kiss 1998, among others).

While it is true that specific focus interpretation is often obtained via relation to other elements in the sentence, these interactions can be more complex than, for instance, focus movement to a specific position in the clause structure. Discourse status of other elements cannot simply or necessarily be that of [–focus].

The alternative approach to having IS-related functional projections is to integrate topic and focus features in the inventory of other syntactic features, which can be checked in the core functional categories. This has been made possible after expanding the inventory of positions and associations of the EPP property, from being a syntactic feature (related) present only on T, to extending it to v and C as well, and assigning it the property INT (or 'new information, specificity/definiteness, focus, etc' (Chomsky 2001: 31, 33)).⁵

⁵ Chomsky (2001: 43, fn.8) also that 'T and C [are] cover terms for a richer array of functional categories'.

The view that EPP can be related to topic/focus feature is elaborated in Miyagawa 2005, where he proposes that discourse-configurational languages have a topic- or focus-related EPP feature.⁶

To be able to account for the presence of topic/focus elements in the preverbal position (i.e. not only clause initially in the CP area), IS interpretation can be related to the phasehood, as in Dyakonova 2009, where she proposes that all phases have an information-structure-related edge.

If we assume that EPP feature(s), either at the edge of phases (vP and CP) or at the edge of all the functional categories (vP, TP, and CP) are indeed related to INTerpretation, we need a complex mechanism which can capture the cases when certain topic/focus interpretations are obtained via relative ordering with other elements in the clause, which appear to be outside the proposed domain, or when the same word order is ambiguous with respect to topic/focus marking.

In this thesis, the details of the syntactic derivation of the word patterns discussed will not be of primary interest. I strongly believe that before we can find a way to integrate IS-factors in the syntactic theory, we need to make sure we have cleared the ground as to how exactly IS interpretation affects word order variations.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

In Chapter 2 we present the major syntactic accounts of the OE word order patterns. Having sketched the two non-generative approaches, which have been selected for their suggestion of the influence of pragmatic factors on the word order variation, we give generative analyses of the OE syntactic patterns.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the notion of pragmatic presupposition and its role in the (finite) verb final, or Vn-Vf order, embedded clauses. Chapter 4 investigates what factors underlie the alternative

⁶ Miyagawa (2005) makes a distinction between ‘agreement prominent’ and ‘focus prominent’ languages. Starting from Chomsky’s (2001) Uniformity Principle, he argues that wh-movement, focus movement, subject movement and scrambling are all driven by the EPP property, depending whether a language needs to overtly mark agreement or IS properties.

Vf-Vn order, and tries to establish whether the interpretations relate to non-presupposition, i.e. assertion.

In Chapter 5, we focus on the OV/VO alternation, with the aim of establishing the interpretational differences between them. We will try to show that VO orders in OE are always interpreted as lack of *wide* predicate focus. Chapter 6 deals with the interpretation of Verb Raising and Leaking constructions. These word order patterns further support our hypothesis that focus in OE can be represented at three distinct levels of IS. Chapter 7 concludes the thesis, with a summary and final remarks.

2. SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS OF THE WORD ORDER VARIATION IN OLD ENGLISH

2.1 Introduction

Two points in the syntax of Old English (OE) have been the focus of word order accounts: the position of the finite verb and the position of the complement with respect to the verb. The first issue is concerned with the asymmetry in the position of the finite verb in root and non-root clauses, as well as the variation in verb placement within non-root clauses. The second issue is concerned with the position of the object relative to the lexical verb, and the position of the non-finite VP complement with respect to the finite auxiliary or modal.

In root clauses the finite verb is relatively high in the clause structure, usually exhibiting V2 (1a) or V3 (1b) effect.

- (1) a. XP – **Vf**...
- b. XP – (YP) – **Vf**...

In non-root clauses, the verb is typically lower in the clause (2a), but it can also appear in higher positions (2b).⁷

- (2) a. XP.... **Vf**
- b. XP – (**Vf**) – YP- (**Vf**) – ZP (**Vf**)

When it comes to complement positions, the major word order patterns involving non-finite VP complements and NP complements (i.e. objects) in OE subordinate clauses are the following:⁸

⁷ The verb is rarely in the absolutely final position as it can often be followed by PPs and various 'heavy' material (presumably extraposed there).

⁸ The common practice is to focus on non-root clause as they are not affected by verb movement to a higher position, as in root clauses.

- (3) a. [O Vn] Aux⁹
 b. [O] Aux [Vn]
 c. Aux [O Vn]
 d. Aux [Vn O]
 e. [Vn] Aux [O]
 f. * [Vn O] Aux

When more material, such as adjuncts, is considered, the following word orders are found:¹⁰

- (4) a. (Adv) O (Adv) **Vn****Aux** (Adv)
 b. (Adv) **Aux** (Adv)-O-(Adv) **Vn** (Adv)
 c. (Adv) **Aux** (Adv) **Vn** (Adv) O (Adv)
 d. (Adv) O (Adv) **Aux** (Adv) **Vn** (Adv)
 e. (Adv) Vn **Aux** (Adv) O (Adv)
 f. *[V Adv] **Aux**
- (5) a. (**O**) (Adv) (**O**) (Adv) **Vn Aux** (Adv)
 b. (Adv) **Aux** (Adv)-(**O**)-(Adv) (**O**) (Adv) **Vn** (Adv)
 c. (Adv) (**O**) (Adv) **Aux** [(Adv)-(**O**)-(Adv) Vn (Adv)
 d. (Adv) (**O**) (Adv) (**O**) (Adv) **Aux** (Adv) **Vn** (Adv)
 e. (Adv) **Vn Aux** (Adv) (**O**) (Adv) (**O**) (Adv)
 f. (Adv) (**O**) **Vn Aux** (Adv) (**O**) (Adv)
 f. ***Vn** (Adv)/(O) **Aux**

Clearly, OE displays variations commonly associated with free word order languages. But Germanic languages generally do not exhibit such free word order patterns, so the major concern within many syntactic accounts is how to fit OE in a broader landscape of West Germanic syntax. Specific problems concern patterns such as (4c), which is only found in certain dialects, and especially (4f), which is not found in any Germanic language. Secondly, any account of OE must take into consideration the need

⁹ 'Aux' here covers both auxiliaries and modals.

¹⁰ I will use 'Adv' as a cover term for all adjuncts (including PPs).

to provide adequate grounds for subsequent changes which started during the Middle English (ME) period. The need to reconcile these two concerns has often lead to a slight neglect of the empirical data.

What is common to most accounts of the word order change in OE is the assumption that OE must have started as a verb-final, possibly also a verb-second language (V2), which throughout its period began changing towards a subject-verb language. The 'original' OV structure of the VP, also underwent the change to VO¹¹ While this seems to be an adequate description of the change from OE to ME, and especially later periods, what still has not been resolved is *when* exactly the syntactic change took place, and more importantly, *why*.

Comparative Germanic linguistics has established some almost typological features of Germanic languages. The two crucial properties are the position of the finite verb (V2 and the root-embedded clause asymmetry) and the position of the object relative to the verb (the variation in the headedness of VP, i.e. OV vs. VO). Often, specific syntactic options correlate with specific type: for instance, scrambling is only available in VO languages (cf. Haider 2000, a.o). Variations, of course, exist. For instance, some Scandinavian VO languages allow leftward movement of arguments, but these cases are assumed to be crucially different from scrambling, as instances of the so-called 'object shift'. The main-root clause asymmetry with respect to verb position/movement is even more intriguing: many Germanic languages allow some type of verb movement in embedded clauses (Dutch Verb Raising, or the 'embedded V2' in Scandinavian). But no Germanic language shows as much variation as OE. The main challenge of syntactic accounts is how to delimit the wide array of some 'unexpected' syntactic options OE seems to employ to derive all the possible word orders. Interestingly, IS or pragmatic motivations have never been taken seriously enough.

Let us now review some of the accounts, and see how they handle the data, and what IS/pragmatic considerations, if any, they include in their analysis.

¹¹ PIE is assumed to be SOV, and the change of the word order in the IE VP from OV to VO is evidenced in many languages (cf. Lehmann 1975, a.o).

2.2 Pre-generative accounts: Bean 1983 & Hopper 1979

Earlier accounts of the word order variation are mostly concerned with the variation in the finite verb placement. The main question is what triggers the finite verb to surface in the clause final position, as opposed to its position in the higher domain of the clause.

2.2.1 Bean 1983

Bean (1983) provides a rather detailed quantitative analysis of finite verb placement in OE. She was perhaps the first to note the asymmetry between root and embedded clauses with respect to subject-verb adjacency. While in embedded clauses, the verb can be found in the absolute clause final position (SXV), as well as separated from the subject by additional material (SXVX), these patterns are rather infrequent in root clauses (Bean 1983:67).¹²

The results of her statistical investigation of the word order patterns in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* indicate that OE has developed from a SXV (subject-complement-verb) language to a SVX (subject-verb-complement) language to a topic-verb-complement (TVX) language, and back to SVX pattern in main clauses. In other clause types (conjunct, relative, and subordinate clauses) the development is consistent (from SXV to SVX).

Bean offers two possible explanations for this: (1) semantic considerations of topic/comment relationships influenced the order of elements in main clauses leading to a brief topic-verb-complement stage for main clauses, while in other clause types, the topic-comment distinction does not play an important role; (2) the *Chronicle* is a representative of a developed narrative style, which could exhibit

¹² Taking all the data presented by Bean (1983: 67), we obtain frequencies for SXV of 7.5% (86=1150) and for SXVX of 3.0% (35=1150). These findings are confirmed by Bean's analysis of some smaller text samples (1983:130ff.). Thus, the SXV and SXVX patterns are not found at all in the *Othere* main clauses analyzed by Bean (0=77); they both occur only once in the Wulfstan sample (1/45 $\frac{1}{4}$ 2.2% for each pattern); and in Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, SXV comprises 1.3% (1=79) and SXVX comprises 2.5% (2=79) of the main clauses.

features normally not found in vernacular language; but, as Bean herself notes, OE is a written language, and such hypotheses must remain speculative.

. One should note, though, that non-subjects are always equated with topics, even though no semantic or information-structural description is provided; in other words, topic is a fronted non-subject element.

2.2.2 Hopper 1979

Hopper (1979) proposes that different word order patterns in OE are directly related to the properties of discourse organization. The crucial notions for Hopper are foregrounding and backgrounding. Word order is one of the devices that guide the language user through text (especially narratives) and help them interpret parts of text as foregrounding (or forward looking) or backgrounding (backward looking). For OE, it would mean that clauses with a fronted finite verb are foregrounded, while the verb final clauses are backgrounded.

One of the difference between foreground and background clauses is that there is a less strict connection between background clauses. For that reason, the focus structure of backgrounded clauses is different from that of the foregrounded clauses. For Hopper this means that backgrounded clauses will have more topic changes and new information being introduced in the preverbal position (i.e. indefinite subjects). In foregrounded clauses, on the other hand, it is unusual for completely new information to be introduced in the subject position; more often, subjects are highly presuppositional, and the new material in the story is introduced in the predicate (Hopper 1979: 215).

Furthermore, foregrounded clauses are narrated, while background clauses do not themselves narrate, but rather support, amplify, or comment on the narration. In narration, the author is asserting the occurrence of an event. Commentary, however, does not constitute assertion of events in the story line but makes statements which are contingent and dependent on the story-line events. Typically,

therefore, one finds in the backgrounding those forms associated with a lower degree of assertiveness, and even forms designated as irrealis: subjunctives, optatives, other 'modal' verb forms, and negation.

To illustrate these effects, Hopper then offers an analysis of a passage from the *Parker Chronicle* for 870 AD, which essentially consists of one main clause and a number of coordinated main clauses. He shows that in foregrounding structures in OE, the verb occupies a peripheral position (VS or OV). VS is generally found at the beginning of a new segment/episode, so in a way it can be taken to signal a break in the discourse sequence.¹³ But he notes that the choice of VS rather than OV sometimes depends of factors which appear quite arbitrary.

SV order, on the other hand, generally reflects backgrounding. It is found whenever the narrative material is part of the supporting or amplifying discourse rather than the main story line. Subjects tend to be relatively new and 'unexpected' or nontopical (modified subject, indefinite, or inanimate), whereas in foregrounding sentences the subject is highly topical (either an anaphoric pronoun or a definite noun without focus).

In addition to the properties of the subject, Hopper also notes that there are difference in the time frame (in foregrounding it is measured and unidirectional; there is not backtracking or summarizing, no glances forward, no unasserted suppositions; in backgrounding, there is a need for access to any point on the temporal line, hence the possibility of 'wandering' up and down the temporal-deictic axis) and use of certain types of predicates (foregrounding: active and punctual events; backgrounding: states, processes and descriptions). However, this is only a tendency, not a rule.

Hopper's insights for OE have recently been tested by Bech (2001). She carried out a pilot study of XSV orders in *Orosius*, hoping to find that they typically express 'subordinating discourse relations'. However, no such pattern emerged. Rather, the preverbal position for the subject in XSV clauses seems to be the result of the subject being pronominal, or nominal, conveying given information; that is, XSV

¹³ The motivation in the break can be a 'thematic shift of some kind'. But also, the break seems to come as a sort of 'a breath pause or perhaps, an aesthetic effect ('Possibly it was considered trite to maintain an unbroken series of OV clauses' (Hopper 1979: 221).

order is a result of information structure on the clause level rather than discourse relations on the text level.

Even though limited both theoretically and empirically, Hopper's and Bean's work are among the few accounts which take seriously the impact of information structural and discourse factors on word order variation.

2.3 Van Kemenade 1987

In her seminal work on Old English (OE), van Kemenade (1987) argues that the main word order properties of OE can be analyzed in terms of contemporary comparative Germanic syntax. Many of the proposals that have been made for the modern Germanic SOV/V2 languages, like Dutch or German, can be applied to OE.

Following the standard X-bar-theoretic analysis of Dutch or German, van Kemenade shows that OE has systematic verb movement to C, and XP movement to SpecCP in main clauses. This strict V2 situation is found in the following types of main clauses: questions (6a), negative sentences (6b); the so-called *þa*-clauses (clauses introduced by short adverbs, most often temporal *þa*, *þonne* 'then' and *nu* 'now'), (6c), and topic clauses (6d).

- (6) a. **Hu** mæg þis þus geweorþan...?
how may this thus happen
'How may this happen like this..'
(coblick,HomU_18_[BlHom_1]:7.72.76)
- b. **Hwi** wolde God swa lytles þinges him forwyrnan
why would God so small thing him deny
'Why should God deny him such a small thing?' (cocathom1,ÆCHom I, 1.14.2)
- (7) a. **þonne** *magon* ge þær eardungstowe habban
then may you there dwelling-place have
'Then you may have a dwelling place there'
(cobede,Bede_1:1.28.14.207)

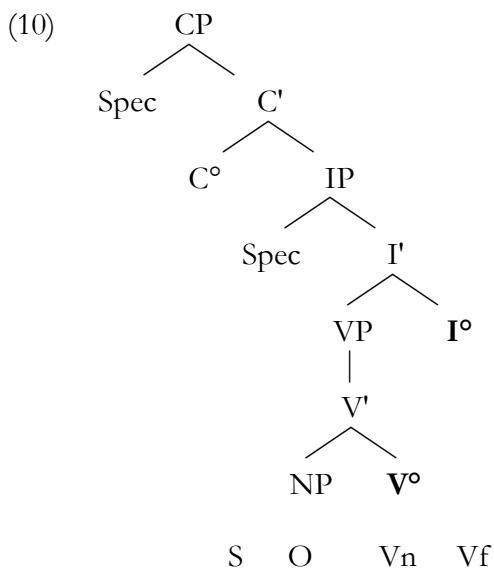
b. **Ða** *was* þæt folc þæs micclan welan ungemetlice brucende
 then was the people the great prosperity excessively partaking
 'Then the people were partaking excessively of the great prosperity'
 (coorosiu, Or_ 1.23.3)

c. **nu** *nylle* we eow sum þing be eowre sawle sæccgan sceortlice
 now will we you some thing about your soul say shortly
 'Now we will tell shortly tell you something about your soul'
 (coaelive,ÆLS_[Christmas]:84.69)

(8) **Ne** *sceal* he naht unaliefedes don
 not shall he nothing unlawful do
 'He shall not do anything unlawful' (cocura,CP 10.61.14)

(9) **On twam þingum** *hæfde* God þæs mannes sawle gegodod
 in two things had God the man's soul endowed
 'With two things God had endowed man's soul' (cocathom1,ÆCHom I,1.20.1)

Projections below C (I and V) are head-final, and this gives rise to (finite) verb-final word orders in subordinate clauses, as well as the OV structure of the VP. The structure in (10) represents the underlying, or the unmarked word order.



Structures that deviate from the 'basic' order for embedded clauses either involve Verb Raising (11) or Verb Projection Raising (12). Verb Raising (VR) is found in other Germanic languages, while Verb Projection Raising (VPR) is found in West Flemish and varieties of Swiss German (cf. Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986; Haegeman 1992). Both are assumed to occur in head-final structures, either via movement of the non-finite verb (VR) or movement of the whole non-finite verb projection (VPR) to the right, and adjunction to IP.

- (11) þæt he þæt **Godes hus** *wolde* mid fyre **forbærnan** (S-O-Aux-Vn)
 that he the God's house would with fire destroy
 'that he would destroyed the house of God with fire'
 (coelive,ÆLS_[Maccabees]:612.5238)

- (12) þæt hie *mih-ton* swa bealdlice **Godes geleafan bodian** (S-Aux-O-Vn)
 that they could so boldly God's faith preach
 'that they could preach God's faith so boldly'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_16:309.65.2979)

Extrapolation is also how the 'leaking' word orders, as the one exemplified in (13), are derived. Recall that these orders are unique to OE, and have been one of the central interests in the syntactic accounts. Van Kemenade proposes that 'leaking' objects are in fact extraposed, i.e. undergo the same type of rightward movement as relative clauses, second conjuncts (cf. Stockwell 1977 and arguments that the exceptional leaking structures arise due to the influence of extraposition of these elements).

- (13) þæt hit wundian ne moste **þæs wifes swuran**
 that it wound not could the woman's neck
 'that it could not wound the woman's neck'
 (coelive,ÆLS[Ash_Wed]:222.2828)

The 'standard West Germanic' analysis accounts for a great number of word order patterns, but OE syntax shows features which are absent in other Germanic languages. The first issue is the behaviour of

pronominal elements in main clauses. With pronominal subjects, main clauses are V2 only in operator contexts (questions, negative clauses, and the so-called *þa* clauses); topic/subject initial clauses, on the other hand, manifest the so-called V3 orders (the phenomenon perhaps first noted in Fourquet 1938).

- (14) a. **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'
 (coblick,HomU_19_[BlHom_8]:97.26.1261)
- b. **Be ðæm** we *magon* suiðe swutule oncnawan ðæt ...
 by that we may very clearly perceive that ...
 'By that, we may perceive very clearly that ...'
 (cocura,CP:26.181.16.1202)

Van Kemenade's solution to this problem is the analysis of pronouns in terms of clitics. The assumed clitic status of pronouns correctly captures pronouns' 'exceptional' behaviour elsewhere as well (e.g. stranding prepositions). Van Kemenade's clitic analysis views pronouns as heads which adjoin to other heads in the clause. They can adjoin to P (preposition stranding), V, clause internal functional heads (whatever their inventory might be), and to C. This accounts for the fact that pronouns, unlike NPs, can strand prepositions, generally disprefer postverbal positions, and often occupy a very high position in the clause. The only undesirable complication is that for the alternation V2-V3 in main clauses, van Kemenade needs to assume different direction of adjunction. In operator contexts, clitics adjoin to the right of the head (Cl-C; yielding V2 orders), while in the other contexts, clitics are left-adjoined to the head (C°-Cl). Therefore, left-adjunction of clitics to the verb in C yields V3 orders in non-operator main clause.

The behaviour of pronouns also serves as an argument for the analysis of non-finite complements of modals, causative and perception verbs. Van Kemenade (1987: 135-136) observes that pronominal arguments of embedded non-finite/infinitive verbs undergo movement to what she assumes to be the clitic position of the matrix verb. She views these cases as instances of clitic climbing

The basic idea behind clitic/pronoun climbing is that modals (as well as causatives and perception verbs) are restructuring verbs, triggering the phenomenon of clause union. The complements of restructuring verbs take 'defective' complements, i.e. domains lacking functional projections (TP and Agr-related projections). Pronoun/clitic climbing out of such complements is then due to the lack of a pronominal object checking projection (no active AgrOP).

- (15) a. fordon **hi** nan mon ne dear ðreagean
 because them no man not dares admonish
 'because no man dares to admonish them'

(CP.30.13; van Kemenade 1987: 39d, 136)

- b. wiste þæt **hiene** mon wolde mid þæm ilcan beþridian wrence
 knew that him they wanted with the same strategy overpower
 'knew that they wanted to overpower him with the same strategy'

(Oros,155.2; van Kemenade 1987: 39c, 136)

While pronouns do generally appear in derived position, the only truly special position for pronouns is the high one (and all the other ones which pronouns move to when they strand prepositions). In other words, clause medial positions do not seem to be reserved for pronouns only, nor do pronouns in clause internal positions exhibit typical clitic properties (cf. Koopman 1994).

Another complication is that V3 orders can show up with nominal subjects as well. On the assumption that nominal subjects are in SpecTP/IP (as it is not a 'clitic'), the verb must be lower in the clause structure. It is these facts that will subsequently become the major motivation for novel assumptions regarding verb movement in the higher clausal domain

2.4 Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999

Pintzuk (1991, 1993) observes that the behaviour of particles in embedded clauses raises problems for van Kemenade's (1987) analysis of OE (from Pintzuk 1991:91-92), where all projections below CP are head-final. The crucial patterns involve case like (16).

- (16) a. þæt he **wearp** þæt sweord *onweg* (Bede 38.20)
that the threw the sword away
'... that he threw away the sword'
- b. gif Crist **scute** ða *adun* (ÆCHom i.170.21-22)
if Christ casts then down
'... if Christ then casts himself down'

On an analysis in which the finite verb always occupies the head position of a head-final inflectional projection in subordinate clauses, the word orders in (16) would have to be derived through rightward movement of not only the object (16a), but also the clause-final particles. The 'default' position of the particle is left-adjacent to the verb, which is the order categorically found with non-finite verbs, which means that movement must have occurred in orders such as those in (16b). Based on cross-linguistic observations and on statistical evidence from OE, Pintzuk (1991, 1993) argues that it would not be plausible to assume that particles can undergo rightward movement. The only way to obtain the order 'finite verb-particle' is to assume that the finite verb occurs in the head position of a head-initial projection, as it would be impossible to motivate verb movement out of head-final IP. Even though instances of particles following the non-finite verb are rare in embedded clauses (as opposed to main clauses), they do provide solid evidence for V-movement in non-root clauses in OE. Clearly, van Kemenade's analysis of embedded clauses as uniformly head-final cannot be maintained

As for the question of what position the finite verb targets, Pintzuk argues that in non-root clauses it is lower than C. This position is also where the verb moves in the 'exceptional' V3 orders in main

clauses. Her main arguments for this come from subject-verb inversion in embedded clauses and the distribution of pronouns.

Based on the fact that S-V inversion can be found in embedded clauses, as in (17), she takes this to signal the presence of V2 in embedded clauses.

- (17) a. *þa wurdon hi sume* beswicene mid *gitsunge*
 when were they some deceived by desire
 'when some of them were deceived by desire'
 (coactive, ÆLS_[Maccabees]:459.5149)
- b. *Gif ðær beoð fiftig wera* wunigende on *þam earde*
 if there are fifty men living on the land
 'if there were fifty people living in the land'
 (coactive, ÆLS[Pr_Moses]:196.2966)

She argues that in structures like (17) above, the subject is in SpecVP, while the verb moves Infl. The subject is allowed to stay low since the higher, preverbal position, SpecIP is actually a topic position. If SpecIP is a topic position, this explains why in main clauses topic initial elements trigger V2 only with nominal subjects. If SpecTP is occupied by a topic XP, this will prevent movement of the nominal subject there. Pronouns, on the other hand, being clitics, do not move to the specifier position, and are allowed to 'intervene' between the element in SpecIP and the finite verb in I(nfl). In other words, Pintzuk uses the evidence for V-movement in non-root clauses, together with the hypothesis that V-movement is always to I in topic-initial sentences, to conclude that V-movement in nonroot clauses and topic-initial root clauses is essentially the same (symmetric V2). In questions, negative-initial and *þa*-initial contexts is truly asymmetric and involves V-movement to C, with the first constituent in Spec,CP.

Pintzuk takes verb movement to Infl to be the mechanism of deriving VR and VPR structures. She argues VR and VPR are not derived by rightward movement, as proposed by van Kemenade (1987), but rather by the finite verb movement to the left.¹⁴

To account for the presence of both verb-final and verb-medial orders, Pintzuk (1991, 1993) offers an account in terms of the headedness variation. She proposes that in OE the projection below C (i.e. IP) can be either head-final or head-initial. She follows the assumption put forward by Kroch (1989, 2000; see also Lightfoot 1999) some types of variation in historical data is the reflex of competition between grammars with two different options that are incompatible with a single grammar. The competition occurs within the individual speaker and can be understood in terms of code-switching or register switching. In other words, children learning a language undergoing a syntactic change can acquire two (or more) grammatical systems and thus may exhibit a kind of diglossia. This type of diglossia is responsible for variation in a period of transition from one grammar to another. Pintzuk proposes that OE is an intermediate stage in a change from a head-final IP grammar to a head-initial IP grammar. In other words, during OE 'stage', speakers acquire both parametric options. Hence, Pintzuk's proposal is also known and referred to as a *double base hypothesis*. The assumption has gained a lot of attention in diachronic syntax, as it appears to offer an account of the overwhelming variations in OE, as well as certain restrictions that uniform base accounts have trouble explaining.

However, there do exist problems which are not only theoretical, but also empirical. In the data Pintzuk (1991: 339) discusses, head-initial IP occurs in 85% of the main clauses, while in subordinate clauses there is only 47% of head-final IPs. As Pintzuk (1991: 339) observes herself, this striking contrast between the two clause types remains unexplained in terms of the double base hypothesis. If there is variation with respect to the directionality of IP (or AgrP, in a more articulated structure), one might expect this variation to occur in similar frequencies, independent of the context.

¹⁴ Similar conclusions are later reached by Haerberli and Haegeman 1995 for Verb Projection Raising, based on the distribution of negative objects.

A much more problematic view is the one regarding SpecIP as a topic position. As pointed out in Fischer et al. 2000, the fact that there is verb movement in embedded clauses, does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that it is an instance of V2. Van Kemenade (1997) convincingly shows that the inversion patterns are restricted to unaccusative verbs (passives, ergatives, etc.), which plausibly have a lower (VP-internal) nominative argument. If V2 and subject-verb inversions were indeed an option for embedded clauses, we would also find V2 with topics, contrary to fact. Preposed elements can indeed be found higher than subjects, but this is never accompanied by verb movement (18). Hence, there is no ground to speak of 'true' embedded topicalization (signalled by V2) in embedded clauses. Nor is there reason to think that SpecIP is a topic position.

- (18) a. XP – NPsubj – Vf
b. *XP – Vf – NPsubj

Despite these problems, Pintzuk's initial analysis has made a strong impact on syntactic analyses of OE. First, she provides an account of the intriguing variation in many word orders which can be directly linked to a broader mechanism of language change in terms of language acquisition. Second, she opens up the question of verb movement in embedded clauses. Even though the specifics of her analysis have been disputed, the consequence of her work is that now there is a consensus in the literature that (a) the finite verb moves in embedded clauses; (b) the finite verb does not move to a unique position in main clauses (C). The double base hypothesis, as well as the view that the variation in OE orders reflects an ongoing change, remains as one of the most popular views of language change from OE to later periods.

2.5 Haeberli 2001

Haeberli attempts to find an account for the distribution of the finite verb in main and embedded clauses. He points out that the most significant differences between the syntax of main and embedded clauses is the lack of verb-final orders in main clauses (cf. Koopman 1995), as well as the lack of subject-verb inversion in embedded clauses (van Kemenade 1997).¹⁵ In both clause types the verb undergoes movement, but, in main clauses the movement is obligatory, while in embedded clauses, it is optional and the position it targets cannot be higher than TP.

Assuming the Split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1990) and Split-IP hypothesis (more specifically, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998), Haeberli argues that the asymmetry between verb movement in main and subordinate clauses can be captured by assuming two different properties of Fin in the split-CP system: in main clauses Fin will trigger verb movement, whereas in subordinate clauses the nature of Fin is such that it can be satisfied by the overt complementizer. The relation between Fin and the complementizer (whatever its position) then makes V-movement to Agr redundant.

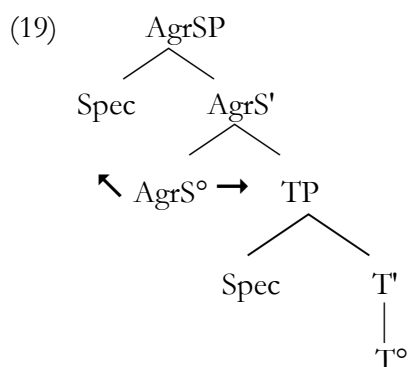
The fact that in non-operator main clauses the finite verb moves to a higher position than in the embedded clauses is captured by the assumption that there are two inflectional projections available for verb movement. The split of the inflectional projection is the central claim in Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998.¹⁶ They argue that the syntactic structure of a language is related to its morphological properties, and that the presence or absence of verb movement is due to presence or absence of distinct functional projections. They propose that the Infl can be split into AgrP and TP, and that the splitting of Infl is parameterized. The *Split IP Parameter* (SIP) is based on the presence or absence of distinct tense morphemes. Namely, in languages in which an agreement morpheme can co-occur with a tense

¹⁵ Verb-final main clauses do surface in OE, but their frequency is very low, as shown by Koopman (1995).

¹⁶ Other assumptions made in Bobaljik & Thráinsson are the following: (i) movement is motivated by feature checking (cf. Chomsky 1995). Inflectional heads and V have features which require checking against one another; (ii) Features are checked in any type of local configuration (head-specifier, head-adjoined head, and, *contra* Chomsky (1995), head-complement).

morpheme, IP has to be split and the clause has the format AgrSP-TP-AgrOP-VP. In languages in which agreement does not co-occur with tense, the clause structure can consist of an unsplit IP (IP-VP). Under the assumption that inflectional morphemes correspond to inflectional heads in the syntax, co-occurrence of agreement and tense morphology on a verbal head will require two distinct functional/inflectional projections which will check these features. Moreover, the presence of tense morphology consequently comes with two distinct agreement projection for movement of arguments. While SpecAgrSP is made available by the agreement morphology (Agr-head), AgrOP is related to case-checking.

English is a language with an unsplit IP, and its V checks its feature in the complement position (IP-VP, with no AgrOP intervening). Icelandic, on the other hand, has a split-IP, and its V has to move, as AgrOP intervenes for non-local feature checking in the complement position. Bobaljik & Thráinsson argue that V-movement out of the VP in Icelandic does not target the highest inflectional head (AgrS) but only the head below AgrS, i.e. T. Evidence for the lower position of the finite verb comes from the fact that Icelandic has two subject positions above the finite verb (one for expletive subject, one of argument subject; both are realized in the so-called Transitive Expletive constructions). Bobaljik & Thráinsson suggest that these subject positions are Spec AgrSP and SpecTP. They rely on the feature percolation mechanism to account for agreement relations between the two subject positions and the verb in T-head. Feature percolation assumes that the features of a projection are those of its head, the verbal features in T can enter a checking relation with AgrSP; AgrS-V feature checking can thus be obtained through head-complement relation between AgrS and TP.



Haeberli assumes that the same situation holds for OE. It has been convincingly shown that pronominal-nominal subject asymmetry can be observed with respect to negation (cf. Haeberli 1999, van Kemenade 1999, 2000), and the so-called high adverbs (van Kemenade 2000, 2002). Namely, in negative main clauses, pronominal subjects precede the reinforcing negator/negative adverb *na*, while nominal subjects precede it. The word order template for negative main clauses is (20).

(20) [_{CP} [_{XP}] C [_{AgrP} *PronounSubj* Agr [_{NegP} ***Neg Adv*** Neg [_{TP} *NPSubj* T ...]]]

Van Kemenade (2002) shows that the same effect can be noted in main clause question with the high adverbs *þa* and *þonne* 'then'. Again, pronominal subjects occur on the left of the adverb, while DP subjects occur on the right. On the assumption that high adverbs adjoin to TP, nominal subjects following high adverbs can only be in TP.

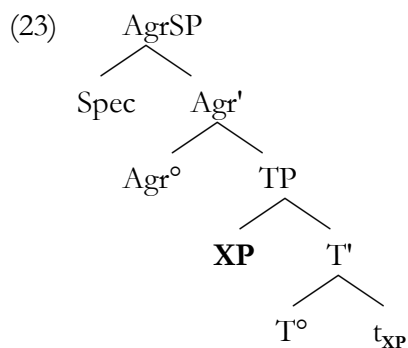
(22) [_{CP} [_{XP}] C [_{AgrP} *PronounSubj* Agr [***þa/þonne*** [_{TP} *NPSubj* T ...]]]

So the fact that outside the operator contexts the finite verb follows pronominal subjects but precedes nominal subjects can be captured by verb movement to Agr. Whenever the verb follows a nominal subject (in subordinate clauses with verb movement) the verb is in T.¹⁷

For the variation in verb positions in embedded clause, more specifically the fact that the finite verb can stay in the clause final position, Haeberli follows Pintzuk's (1991) double base hypothesis, and ascribes it the variation in the directionality of TP. So, V-final subordinate clauses have a head-final TP. Consequently, OE TP can be both head-final and head-initial. Given the much higher frequency of verb-final subordinate clauses, Haeberli is forced to conclude that OE TP is predominantly head-final. AgrSP, on the other hand, is always head initial. Given that in main clauses the verb generally moves

¹⁷ Nominal subjects also precede finite verbs in subject initial main clauses. Haeberli (1999) assumes that these clauses mirror the topic-clause structure, i.e. that the subject in such cases is a topic in SpecCP, and the verb following it is, as expected in Agr.

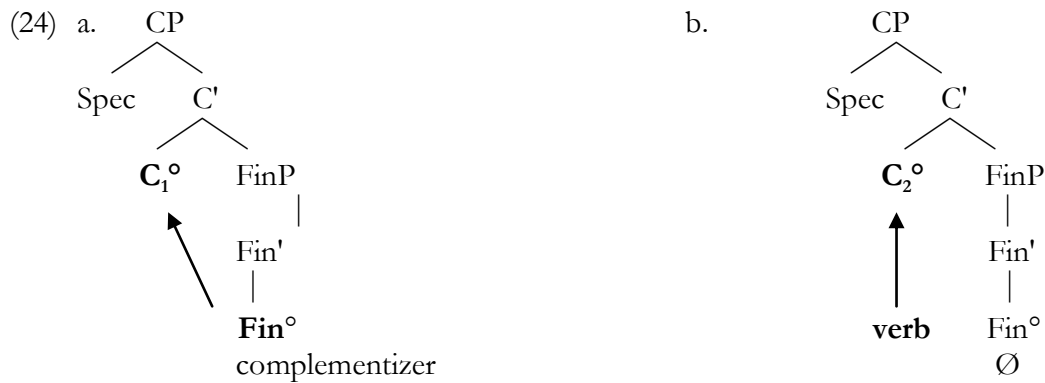
on at least to Agr, a head-initial projection, the presence of a predominantly head-final TP does not have any consequences for main clauses. Haeberli also offers a possible alternative account in a Kaynean-type framework (whereby head-final projections are banned; cf. Kayne 1994). As has been commonly proposed for verb-final orders in Germanic under the head-initial hypothesis, Haeberli, without going into precise details, also suggests a derivation by XP movement of the structure below T' to the left of T'. The variation in the position of the finite verb in OE would then reflect the presence or absence of this type of XP movement.



As for the question of why the verb targets different functional projections in main and subordinate clauses, Haeberli offers a solution in terms of the feature checking requirements of the Fin. Fin in main clauses is substantially different from Fin in subordinate clauses. What obviously makes them different is the presence and absence of a complementizer: in main clauses Fin is empty, in subordinate clauses Fin is by a complementizer. The presence of a complementizer in Fin could be related to the lack of verb movement to Agr in two ways. First, it is possible that the complementizer actually satisfies Fin's feature checking requirements itself. V therefore does not have to move into a local configuration with Fin, but only with Agr, and it therefore only moves to T'. Alternatively, Fin which allows insertion of a complementizer has different syntactic properties from the empty Fin.

As for the question of why finite verbs do not move to C in subordinate clauses, Haeberli suggests that a complementizer in subordinate clauses can check the relevant feature in C, which is generally

checked by the verb in main clauses. Alternatively, the feature content of a C which allows insertion of a complementizer is different from the feature content of an empty C.

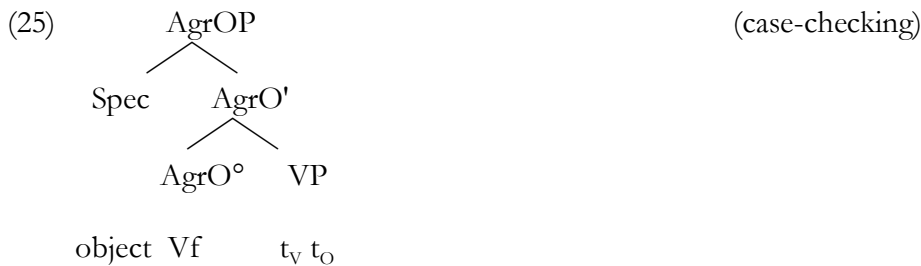


In addition to the issues raised by Haerberli himself (two different types of Fin), the variation in the embedded clauses still remains mysterious. Again, the question is why TP should be head-final (or alternatively, on the Kaynean approach, why 'larger chunks' move to SpecTP in verb-final orders).

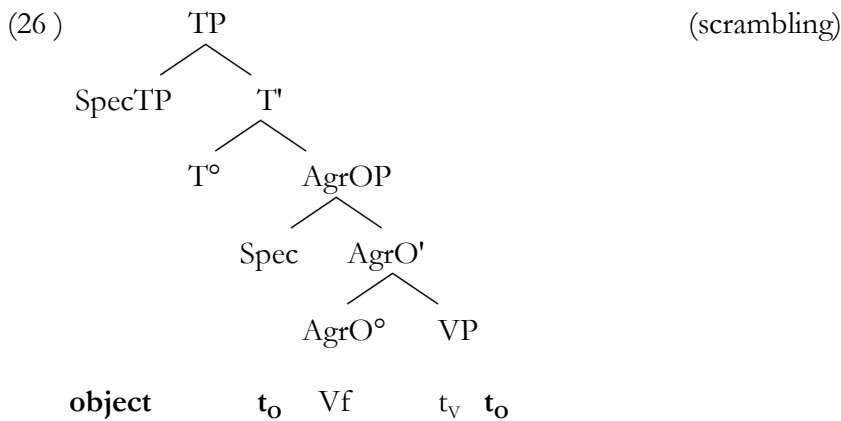
2.6 Roberts 1997

Following Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis, Roberts (1997) argues that OE is uniformly head initial. Word orders in which complements (non-finite VP or object) occur to the left of head are derived by movement. Overt movement is triggered by strong features on functional heads.

The account of OV orders is the following: AgrO has strong V features and attracts the finite verb (which can consequently move higher up). AgrOP has a strong N feature, which attracts DPs to SpecAgrOP, and this feature correlates with case checking. The notion of case is relatively abstract (1997: 415), as N feature is present on small-clause predicates (one of them being particles), non-finite complement clauses, and even some PPs (for p-stranding cases). For Roberts, the loss of overt case morphology in Early Middle English (EME) is directly related to the loss of OV order.



In addition to leftward movement for case checking purposes, objects can also undergo scrambling to a higher functional projection (SpecTP; with the subject in yet higher one, SpecAgrSP), and end up preceding the finite auxiliary/modal verb. This how a typical Verb Raising construction is derived.



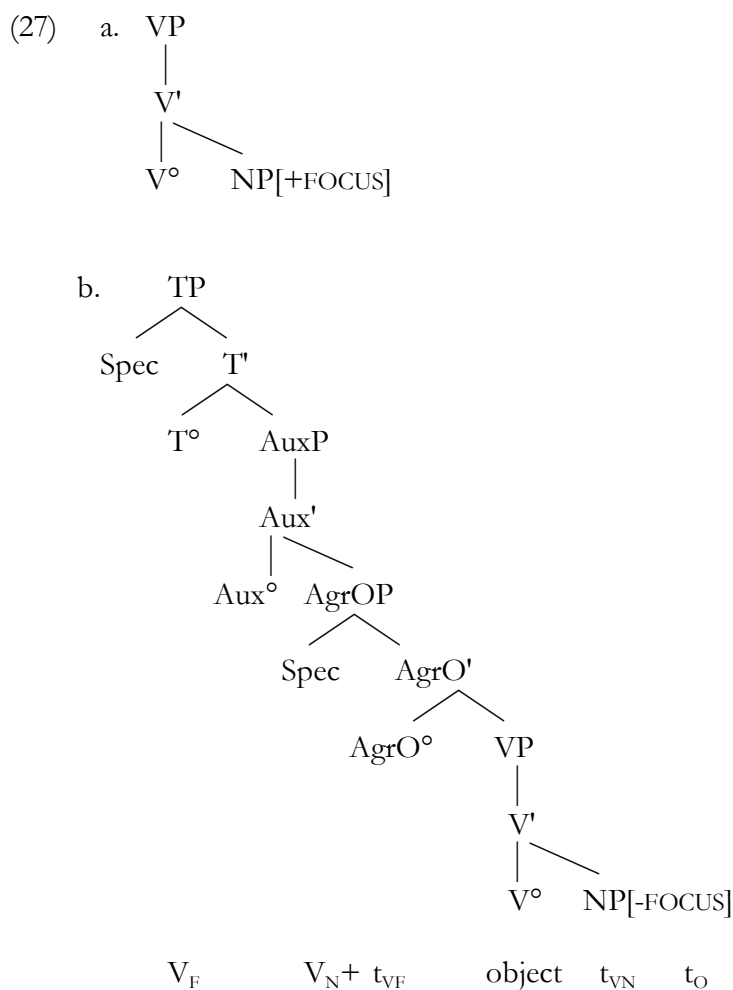
For clauses containing a finite and a non-finite verb, Roberts assumes that the finite verb in such cases is a restructuring verb and that their non-finite complements are larger than VP, containing, in addition to the case checking projection (AgrOP), a projection reserved for scrambled objects (Roberts 1997: 412).

On Roberts' account, the O-Vn-Vf order, the hallmark of the head-final phrase structure, is principally derived in two steps. First, the object moves to a case checking position (AgrOP), and then the whole non-finite complement raises to a position preceding the auxiliary (TP or AgrSP).¹⁸

To account for the OE VO orders, Roberts argues that DPs can escape case-checking (leftward movement to AgrOP) when they are focused. For the cases where VO orders do not correspond to

¹⁸ Another possibility is via the non-finite verb incorporation to Aux/Mod, with subsequent scrambling of the object to a functional projection in the TP domain (crucially, preceding the Vnf+Aux/Mod position).

focus on O, he offers an alternative analysis in terms of verb raising. Hence, some VO orders are derived by leftward movement of the object (case-checking) to SpecAgrOP. But then the non-finite verb undergoes head movement and attaches to the finite verb (V_n+V_f), which in turn excorporates and moves further up, ensuring the correct ordering of the finite and non-finite verb. This derivation requires that the two verbs must be adjacent (1997: 417). However, as pointed out by Pintzuk (2002: 286), there is no adjacency restriction on V_f-V_n in such cases, as second objects in double object constructions can be found between between the finite verb and the non-finite VP with the VO order.



For leaning patterns (V_n-V_f-O), Roberts assumes a derivation by two types of movement: movement of the object out of VP (SpecAgrOP), and movement of the remnant VP before the finite verb.

To account for unattested *Vn-O-Vf, Roberts assume that in such cases the object would have to be focused (recall, if allowed to stay inside VP, it is because of focus). He suggests that this is actually a restriction on focus realization. Specifically, he proposes that focussed elements must raise at LF, but that elements cannot raise out of a constituent on a left branch; thus the focused object in Vn-O-Vf cannot be interpreted (1997: 418).

As far as the change from OE to early ME is concerned, in Roberts' analysis it involves the change in the strength of the N feature of Agr from strong to weak. Roberts argues that the acquisition of strong and weak features is influenced by the following criteria (Roberts 1997: 420 (28)):

- (28) a. Morphological trigger: if a head H has the relevant L-morphology, then H has strong L-features
- b. Syntactic trigger: if a well-formed representation can be assigned to a given string by assuming that H has strong L-features, then H has strong features
- c. In general, weak features are the default value. These are assumed in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary of the type in (a) or (b)

In OE, the trigger for the acquisition of a strong AgrO feature was both morphological (overt case-marking on nominals) and syntactic (numerous instances of OV order). In early ME case markings are lost, which affects the morphological trigger. The syntactic trigger is also weakened, as more VO orders are found.

Roberts also argues that movement for case-checking is prerequisite for scrambling, and scrambling is a prerequisite for cliticization of pronominal objects – thus he can explain the simultaneous loss of scrambling and cliticization in EME (Roberts 1997: 419). Roberts, as many other working on comparative Germanic syntax, correlates OV orders with scrambling. The generalization that only OV languages allow scrambling seems odd from the perspective of Slavic syntax, as it is well known that Slavic languages are VO and employ scrambling. The major objection for Robert's derivation of VO orders in OE is the proposed correlation with focus, because the link between postverbal position and focus is not a direct one (cf. Pintzuk 2002, 2005; Trips 2002).

Roberts, however, does leave it open that not all VO orders should be interpreted in the same way, and the alternative derivation in terms of (non-finite) verb raising clearly does not require focus interpretation of the object (as it moves out of VP). But then the problem is that Roberts does not make it explicit what triggers or constraints the process of verb raising.

Pintzuk (2002) provides a number of arguments against analyses which assume a uniform head-initial structure for OE, with a specific focus on Roberts 1997. She shows that the frequency of postverbal objects increases during OE (before 950: 27.5%; after 950: 48.4%; Pintzuk 2002: 287). If postverbal position is related exclusively to focus, it would mean that the increase in VO structures is due to speakers using more and more focused objects with time. This is, of course, unlikely, and some VO orders must have featured unfocused objects. Without the focus trigger, one is forced to assume that leftward movement for case-checking purposes is optional (perhaps due to optionality in feature strength). If movement of the object out of VP is optional, then we would expect that non-finite VP fronting (assumed in the derivation of O-Vn-Vf orders) with a VO order would be possible, contrary to fact.

The second problem Pintzuk points out to is certain restrictions on the postverbal position in leaking constructions. Namely, she shows that pronouns and particles do not appear in Vn-Vf-O orders. Postverbal pronouns and particles can be found when the non-finite verb follows the finite verb.

- (29) a. *Vn-Vf-O_{pro/Prt}
b. Vf-Vn-O_{pro/Prt}

According to Pintzuk, this restriction is a problem for any account which assumes that both postverbal objects are derived in the same fashion. The only way these facts can be accommodated is by assuming two different underlying structures for (29a) and (29b). Leaking constructions are head-final, and the restriction on postverbal pronouns and particles is in fact a restriction on extraposition (light elements do not extrapose).

Nunes (2002) responds to Pintzuk's 2002 arguments against a universal base hypothesis for OE.

First, regarding *Vn-Vf-Opro, he proposes that pronoun scrambling to a high position blocks long-distance remnant vP movement. Objects move to SpecvP for case-checking, and then objects of all types may scramble to a higher position, SpecYP (30c). At this point, remnant vP movement may apply; vP can move to SpecAux, deriving V Aux O order for nonpronominal objects. Pronouns, however, need to move higher to a special pronominal position, SpecWP (30d). The pronoun in this high position blocks remnant vP movement by Relativized Minimality. Nunes thus captures the special pronominal syntax and the restriction noted by Pintzuk (2002).

(30) (a) underlying structure

[_{AuxP} Aux [_{WP} [_{YP} [_{vP} [_{VP} V O-pro]]]]]]

(b) case-checking (movement of O-pro to SpecvP)

[_{AuxP} Aux [_{WP} [_{YP} [_{vP} O-pro_i [_{VP} V t_i]]]]]]

(c) scrambling (movement of O-pro to SpecYP)

[_{AuxP} Aux [_{WP} [_{YP} O-pro_i [_{vP} t_i [_{VP} V t_i]]]]]]

(d) pronoun scrambling (movement of O-pro to SpecWP)

[_{AuxP} Aux [_{WP} O-pro_i [_{YP} t_i [_{vP} t_i [_{VP} V t_i]]]]]]

(e) remnant vP movement (movement of vP to SpecAuxP) is blocked

* [_{AuxP} [_{vP} t_i [_{VP} V t_i]]]_k Aux [_{WP} O-pro_i [_{YP} t_i t_k]]]]

As for the problem with the optionality of movement for case-checking purposes noted in Roberts' analysis, Nunes (2002: 304, fn. 6) suggests an adaptation in base on the copy theory of movement. He proposes that object movement to SpecvP is obligatory rather than optional. Under the copy theory of movement, the object can be pronounced either in preverbal position, to derive (30a), or in postverbal position, to derive (30b); focal stress forces the pronunciation of the lower copy.

Pintzuk (2005), in turn, points out that this account also faces the same problem: if movement for case-checking purposes is obligatory, and if either copy of the object can be pronounced in (30b), then there is no reason why either copy of the object cannot be pronounced in (30c); again, in the case of focussed objects, the lower copy is pronounced, deriving the unattested V O Aux order.

2.7 Biberauer and Roberts 2005

Biberauer and Robert's (2005) analysis brings a novel approach to the word order patterns in OE, as well as the change in the ME period. Even though theoretically appealing, in that it offers a constrained repertoire of movement operations, which are capable of deriving major word order pattern in OE, many aspects of their analysis remain mysterious in the face of the empirical data. In other words, the variety of word order variation is such that it simply needs to admit IS/discourse related factors that underlie free word order languages. These factors may be implied in their analysis, or the analysis can serve as a starting point for adding solutions for these extra factors, but this is not what they offer

Biberauer and Roberts (2005) (henceforth, B&R) give an elaborate system for the derivation of OE word order patterns, following the so-called pied-piping analysis put forward in Biberauer & Richards (2003, 2004) and Richards & Biberauer (2004a, 2004b). They offer a version of the theory of movement and checking/agreement of features proposed in Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004), namely that of being a Probe, on the one hand, and that of being associated with an EPP-feature, on the other. Unlike Chomsky's Agree, and the idea that the relation between Probe and Goal can be established *in situ* (i.e. without movement), the Agree-based theory B&R adopt allows for the possibility that feature-checking (Agree) and movement may not only coincide, but is in fact obligatory: 'wherever a Probe-bearing head is associated with an EPP-feature, convergence is possible only if the Agree relation is accompanied by movement of the Goal-bearing category' (Biberauer & Roberts 2005: 7). The most important characteristic of this system is that there is nothing which prevents a Goal G from being properly contained inside a category which is moved in order to satisfy the Probe's EPP-feature.

(31) ... X_{PROBE} ... [YP ... Z_{GOAL} ...] ...

Biberauer (2003), Biberauer & Richards (2003, 2004) and Richards & Biberauer (2004a, 2004b) use the possibility of pied-piping (the Goal taking the larger category containing it with it) to account for

aspects of word order variation in Germanic and to provide a unified analysis of T-related EPP-satisfaction in this language family. Specifically, they propose that, in terms of the schema in (31), X may be T, YP may be vP and Z an element with D-features (either a subject-DP/expletive or nominal morphology on the verb) since T is assumed to probe for a D-bearing Goal. This allows vP-movement to Spec TP, since T with a D-oriented Probe may in fact attract a vP containing an element with a D-feature. The D-features of the Goal contained in vP satisfy the active uninterpretable formal feature (i.e. the D-feature) of T, while vP-movement (i.e. pied-piping) satisfies T's EPP-feature.

For OE, B&R extend the analysis to include vPs as Probes with D and EPP feature, and VPs as D-bearing goals. A v with D-features may attract a VP into its specifier in order to agree with the D-element contained in the VP, and in order to satisfy its EPP-feature. Again, as in the previous case, wherever the targeted D-element is a DP, there are two options for the satisfaction of v's EPP-feature: VP-raising or DP-raising, i.e. pied-piping or exclusive movement of the Goal ('stranding').

The central proposal for OE is that it was a uniformly spec pied-piping language. As such, it allowed optional pied-piping wherever T and v probed a phrasal D-element, thus giving rise in the TP-domain to a choice between subject DP-movement to SpecTP or vP-movement to this position, and, in the vP-domain, to either object DP-movement to SpecvP or VP-movement to this position. The word order variation in OE is the result of the optional pied-piping.

Their second proposal is that the loss of the optionality and its subsequent replacement with just the non-pied-piping/stranding variant (i.e. subject DP-movement to SpecTP and object DP-movement to SpecvP) underlies the word-order change in the ME period.

B&R stress that optionality in the applying pied-piping is not the reflection of an optional parameter setting or of competing grammars, but the result of a single, fixed set of parametric choices available in the grammar of OE.

Let us now see how the optional pied-piping mechanism can derive the major word order patterns in OE. The data are restricted to subordinate clauses, as main clauses include additional, operator triggered movements.

2.7.1 V-final orders

Following Biberauer (2003), B&R assume that the characteristic V-final subordinate-clause word order (as found regularly in languages such as Modern German) is derived by two movement operations: VP-movement to (inner) SpecvP, and vP-movement to SpecTP. Note that they assume that vP can have multiple specifiers. The inner one is responsible for EPP/D features, the outer one is where the subject is generated.

According to this system, the derivation of the prototypical word order in German embedded clauses includes the steps given in (32). The same scenario applies to OE S-O-Vn-Vf clauses.

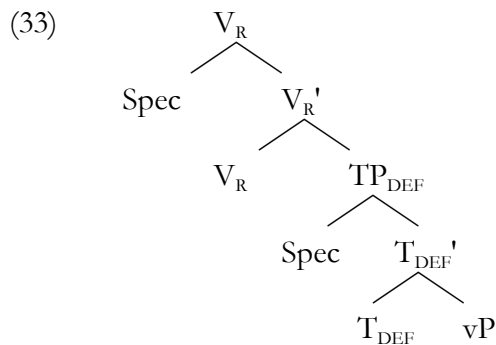
- (32) a. head-initial merger in VP: [_{VP} V O]
b. merger of v: v [V O]
c. movement of V to v v+V [tV O]
d. movement of remnant VP [tV O] to inner SpecvP
e. merger of the subject in the outer SpecvP
f. merger of auxiliary (in T⁰)
g. vP movement to SpecTP

Since OE also shows variation in the position of the Vf in relation to the Vn, as well as in the position of the object with respect to the lexical verb, B&R need to introduce some amount of optionality in the way D- and EPP features on T and v are satisfied. Let us see how these specific constructions are derived on their account.

2.7.2 Verb Raising

In the Verb Raising (VR) constructions, the finite verb precedes the non-finite verb (S-O-Vf-Vn). As the object still precedes the lexical verb, VR is generally assumed to differ minimally from 'default' V-final orders, in the position of the non-finite verb. To account for this minimal difference, some type

of verb movement needs to be assumed to take place here. Recall that on the traditional head-final analyses, VR is derived via rightward movement of the non-finite verb. As B&R's adopt the Kaynean approach, where rightward adjunction is prohibited, this option is excluded. Therefore, B&R argue that OE verbs such as *willan*, *scullan*, etc. are lexical verbs, selecting infinitival TP complements. In addition, they are 'restructuring',¹⁹ in that they require clause-union. Following Zwart (2001), they assume that such verbs select what Chomsky (2001) refers to as T_{DEF} , i.e. defective (non-phi-complete) T, or T which is selected by V rather than C.²⁰ Unlike Zwart, however, B&R take that TP_{DEF} projects a specifier (for arguments they refer to Chomsky 2004). Postulating a specifier for T_{DEF} allows them to relate the analyses of Verb Raising and Verb Projection Raising with a minimal difference.



The head T_{DEF} will attract v (which contains V); the remnant vP will be used to satisfy D- and EPP features of the specifier. First, the remnant vP (S-t_v-O) will move to $SpecTP_{DEF}$. Next V_R merges; its EPP features are satisfied by the remnant vP material in $SpecTP_{DEF}$. This is possible since TP is not a phase, and the edge material is subject to further movements. The remnant vP (S-O) will move to $SpecV_R$, and from there to $Spec(matrix)vP$, and consequently to $SpecTP_{MATRIX}$.

¹⁹ Verbs do not need to be lexical in the strictest sense to be restructuring. Cf. Cinque's (2001) argument that all restructuring verbs fill functional positions, and Wurmbrand's (2004) distinction between functional and lexical restructuring.

²⁰ Chomsky distinguishes two types of inflectional functional heads $T_{COMP(LETE)}$ and $T_{DEF(ECTIVE)}$, whereby completeness/defectivity refers to the presence of a full set of phi-features (Chomsky 2001). T_{COMP} is found in finite clauses and control complement clauses, while T_{DEF} in raising and Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) complement clauses. They are also selected by different heads: C selects T_{COMP} , while V selects T_{DEF} .

(34) [TP [vP S [VP tv O] tv+v tvP] T [tvP] V_R [TP tvP V+v tvP]]

Thus, in VR constructions, all the EPP/D features are satisfied by remnant vP movement (SpecTP_{DEF}, SpecV_R, SpecvP, SpecTP) – only the lowest vP takes remnant VP in its specifier. v+V needs to move to T_{DEF}, and stay there to get the right ordering with the V_R.

This elegant analysis, however, requires some complicated explanations regarding more complex instances of VR, specifically those where, on their analysis, only one object is found in the remnant vP in SpecTP, while the other one is lower. Some such examples are given in (35).

(35) a. ...þæt hi **mine þeawas** magon **him** secgan,
 ... that they my way may him tell
 '...that they might tell him of my ways'

(coaelive,ÆLS[Agnes]:313.1932)

b. gif þa lareowas **þis** nellap fæstlice **Godes folce** bebeodan ...
 if the preachers this not-want constantly God's people announce
 'if the preachers do not want to constantly announce this to God's people'

(coblick,HomS_14_[BIHom_]: 47.150.591)

c. ...for þam ðe he **hys wundra** wyle **manna bearnum** gecyðan
 ... because he his wonders will men's children tell
 '...because he will tell men's children about his wonders'

(conicodA,Nic_[A]:21.2.3.489)

d. ...þæt he **eall his megen** wolde **mannum** miðan.
 that he all his powers would from-men conceal
 'that he would conceal all his powers from men'

(cohad,LS_3_[Chad]:4.4)

e. þæt hi eac **þam folce** magon wisdomes **gife** gelæstan.
 that he also to-the people may wisdom's gift accomplish
 'that he also may provide the people with the gift of wisdom'

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:62.24.863)

B&R are made aware of the problematic cases by an anonymous reviewer (35a &b, precisely), and in Footnote 8 they give the following explanation. In all the cases where the second object is 'stranded' lower in the clause, V_R is actually a control predicate. Consequently, the subject of the lower clause, more precisely, the external argument of vP is PRO. This stipulation leaves room for the possibility of Spec of the matrix vP attracting the first *overt* D-bearing element, which would be the direct object, instead of the (PRO) subject.

(36) v [_{VP} V_R [_{TP} [_{VP} PRO_{SUBJ} [_{VP} **O** **tV** **O**]] $V+v$ tvP]]

In (35e) the first element is the indirect object, and it is not clear why it has been chosen to move to SpecvP, rather than the direct object, which should be closer, as in other cases. It cannot be 'less D-bearing', as it is categorially nominal. I will not go into further details of this problem. My major objection regards the analysis of modals in such cases as control verbs, rather than raising verbs. The suggested translation of the negated modal *willan* as 'want' in their paper is taken to support the analysis of the verb as a control predicate. The translation in *Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation* (Kelly 2003), however, offers 'will' as the Modern English equivalent of OE *willan*. The semantic difference is then stipulated. Also, since 'stranded' objects can be found with the auxiliary *habban* 'have' (37), we would have to assume that auxiliaries too can be control predicates.²¹

²¹ 'Have'-perfects in OE seem to be fully grammaticalized. Wischer (2004) shows that 'have' is often devoid of the meaning of possession; if in (i) the poison has been drunk, then it cannot be possessed anymore. Also, 'have' can be combined with atelic participles, which is one of the criteria for the grammaticalization of 'have'-perfect (cf. Migdalski 2006).

(i) Gif he ær hæfþ attor gedrunčen...
if he before has poison drunk...

'If he has drunk poison before...' (Old English, Wischer 2004)

Furthermore, 'have'-perfects are possible with ditransitive verbs such as 'give', as well, which clearly indicates that the subject of have-perfects is devoid of any meaning of possession (as it is the recipient argument who is now 'in possession of' the theme argument). Hence, it is unlikely that the subject argument can get a theta role from 'have', with a PRO argument in the participle phrase, as control analysis of perfects would imply.

(37) a. þæt ealle Iudeisce and þyne agene þeoda and þa yldestan sacerdas **þe** habbað
 that all Jewish and your own people and the oldest priests you have
me geseald
 me given
 'that all the Jewish people, your people and the oldest priests have given you to me'
 (conicodA,Nic_[A]:3.2.4.135)

b. þeh þa senatus **him** hæfden **þa dæd** fæste forboden
 although the senate him had the deed strictly forbidden
 'although the senate had strictly forbidden him the deed'
 (coorosiu,Or_4:10.104.11.2150)

In addition, the structure of the embedded VP [O-V-O], that moves to the inner Spec of vP, clearly would have to rely on the assumption that with ditransitives the direct object is merged 'leftward' of the verb, while the indirect/dative one is merged 'rightward' (whatever the exact details of the structure might be). (35a) would have to be derived as (38).

(38) v [VP magon [TP [VP PRO_{SUBJ} [VP **mine þeawas** t_V **him**]] **secgan**+v t_{VP}]]]

This structure captures the unmarked ordering of accusative and dative arguments with ditransitives, where accusative objects precede the dative objects (cf. Milićev 2006). However, when the dative argument is a pronoun, the structure clashes with the empirical facts: dative pronouns (generally) precede accusative DPs.²² How the dative pronoun would come to precede the accusative NP in (39) is left open. Clearly, the lower vP needs to have space to accommodate pronoun movement to the leftmost position, so that it is then the first overt element attracted to matrix SpecTP.

(39) a. þæt sio wyrd **þe** ne mæg **nane gesælða** sellan
 that the fate you.DAT not may no happiness.ACC give
 'that fate may not give you any happiness' (coboeth,Bo:11.25.28.436)

²² 'Exceptional' cases are licensed only when the accusative object has (a kind of) contrastive interpretation.

- b. þæt þa Deniscan **him** ne mehton **þæs ripes** forwiernan.
 that the Danish them.DAT not might the reaping.GEN withhold
 'that the Danish might not withhold them the harvest'
 (cochronA-2b,ChronA_[Plummer]:896.6.1103)
- c. forþam se cyng **him** naper nolde ne **gislas** syllan
 because the king them.DAT neither not-would not hostages.ACC give
 'because the king would neither give them hostages'
 (cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1095.18.3209)
- d. ðætte ða ðe him underðiedde sien **him** dyrren **hira dieglan ðing** for scome
 that those that them subjugated are them dare their secret this for shame
 geandettan
 confess
 'that their subjects may not through shame fear confessing to them their secrets'
 (cocura,CP:16.103.19.684)

Since the movement of the accusative DP is merely for the purpose of EPP feature checking, in the absence of an overt subject in the lower remnant vP, no interpretative conditions are expected to hold for the 'exceptional' cases when dative pronouns surface in a lower position. Ignoring the special syntax of pronominal elements in OE will remain to be a problem in B&R's analysis

Some other problems with this analysis of VR can be noted. Examples such as (40a) provide evidence that the matrix T does not attract the whole remnant vP (i.e. [S t_v O]), as the accusative quantifier *ealle* 'all' is clearly stranded in the lower position, while the accusative pronoun has moved across the finite auxiliary. A similar situation is found in (40b), with a nominal object raised.²³

- (40) a. & þonne seo sunne *hi* hæfð **ealle** underurnen, ðonne bið an gear agan.
 and when the sun them has all underrun then is one year gone
 'when the sun underruns them all/all of them, then is one year gone/over'
 (cotempo,ÆTemp:4.16.133)

²³ Under some analysis (cf. Bobaljik 2002 for an in-depth discussion), quantifiers behave as adjuncts. Even if one adopts the non-stranding analysis, the adjunction site of the quantifier would have to be TPdef. Why the quantifier would *have* to adjoin to TPdef rather than vP or VP in such cases remains puzzling.

- b. swelce he *þa uterran yflu* hæfde **eall** gesett
 as-if he the external evil had all settled
 'as if he had settled all external evils'

(cocuraC,CP_[Cotton]:33.222.9.68)

Further complications for B&R's analysis are even clearer cases of the split-DP material. In (41), the genitive demonstrative pronoun undergoes movement out of the accusative NP²⁴, together with the dative pronoun, stranding the rest of the accusative NP behind the modal.

- (41) ... þæt he him **[þæs]_{GEN}** wolde [_{GEN} wyrðelice þoncunce] don
 that he them of-this would honourable gratitude do
 'that he would give them this honourable gratitude'

(cobede,Bede_2:9.130.1.1236)

The second challenge posed by the data is the position of adverbs/PPs. B&R do not address the position of adjuncts in their paper, nor the relative ordering of arguments with respect to adverbs or PPs. However, one can always assume one or the other approach to adverbial syntax and see how it can relate to B&R main proposals for the syntax of arguments. Soon it becomes clear that their analysis cannot capture all details of the intricate interplay between arguments and adjuncts.

Consider (42). While in (42a), the PP *on hym* seems to be part of the remnant vP in the matrix SpecTP,²⁵ in (42b), the PP *on him sylfum* must be 'stranded' in the Spec of TP_{DEF}, as it follows the finite verb. Following the reasoning of the explanation for 'stranded' objects, one would again have to assume that the sentence in (42b) is an instance of a control predicate, attracting the first overt element (the object), as opposed to (42a), where it will behave like a raising predicate, attracting the remnant vP, containing all the arguments and adjuncts. Now it is no longer the question of why the auxiliary *habban* would be considered a control predicate, but also why it has this unexpected dual nature/behaviour. I will, therefore, continue to treat such cases as problematic for their analysis.

²⁴ Genitive pronouns, personal or demonstratives, often create discontinuous constituents (NP/DP) by moving to a higher position (cf. Milićev 2007).

²⁵ As the PP follows the object, it would have to be assumed to be adjoined to VP, rather than vP.

- (42) a. for þan ic **nan yfel on hym** næbbe gemet
 because I no evil on them not-have met...
 'because I have met no evil on them' (conicodA,Nic_[A]:4.2.1.159)
- b. for þan þe se ælmihtiga Drihten **ure gecynd** hæfde **on him sylfum** genumen
 because the Almighty God our nature had on him self taken
 'because the Lord Creator had taken our nature on himself'
 (coaelhom,ÆHom_18:256.2637)

A further problem is raised by the cases where the subject and the fronted object are separated by adverbs (frequency adverb *gelomlice* 'often, frequently' in (43a), temporal adverb *eft* 'afterwards', *ðonne* 'then' in (43b), *eac* 'also' in (43c), or various types of PPs, even by two of them together (44c). If we still assume that these orders involve remnant vP in SpecTP, the adverbials in (43) and (44) would have to be merged higher than the object in the vP, i.e. between two specifiers inside vP [S – **Adv/PP** – O].

- (43) a. in þam se cyning *gelomlice* **his gebedo** meahte gesecean & godcunde lare gehyran
 in which the king often his prayer might seek and divine teaching hear
 'in which the king could often seek his prayer and hear divine teachings'
 (cobede,Bede_3:17.230.3.2354)
- b. ðæt he *eft* **ðæt good ðære mildheortnesse** ne ðyrfe gesciendan mid
 that he afterwards the good of-the generosity not have-to disgrace with
 gidsunge & mid reaflice
 greed and with extortion
 'so that he may not afterwards have to disgrace the virtue of generosity with greed and
 extortion'
 (cocura,CP:45.341.9.2292)
- c. Gif he *ðonne* **ðæt wif** wille forsacan, ðonne hræce hio him on ðæt nebb foran
 if he then that woman will reject then spit she him on the face in-front
 'if he then will reject the woman, she should spit in front of his face'
 (cocura,CP:5.43.15.238)

- d. þæt hi *eac* **þam folce** magon wisdomes gife gelæstan
 that they also the people may wisdoms' gift accomplish
 'that they may also accomplish the gift of wisdom to the people'
 (cochdrul,ChrodR_1:62.24.863)

- (44) a. þæt þa Wylisce men *on Wealon* **sumne castel** heafdon tobroken
 that the Welsh men on Wales some castle had destroyed
 'that Welsh men had destroyed a castle in Wales'
 (cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1095.39.3229)

- b. þæt we *butan gedwylde* **þæt weorc** magon began
 that we without doubt the work may begin
 'that we without doubt may begin the work'
 (cobyrhtf,ByrM_1_[Baker-Lapidge]:1.2.163.268)

- c. butan he *mid þam reafe* **þa drohtnuncge** wylle underfon.
 unless he with the garment the conduct will receive
 'unless he will receive the (monastic) conduct with the vestment'
 (cochdrul,ChrodR_1:51.12.678)

- d. & gif hwa *on þam winlandum for Godes lufon* **win** wylle forgan
 and if anyone on that vineyard for God's love vine will destroy
 'and if anyone in that vineyard for God's love will destroy the vine...'
 (cochdrul,ChrodR_1:6.26.166)

When more material is included, such as stranded modifiers (intensifiers and appositives), it gets harder to get a clear picture of the structure of the (remnant) vP. So, in (45a), in addition to the PP *on uferan dage* 'on later day', the appositive *gehadud oððe læwede* 'ordained or layman' is also found in the position between the subject and the object. The ordering is even more complex in (45b), where the subject is separated from the object by the adverb *ða* 'then', the intensifier *syf* 'himself', another adverb (*eac* 'also') and a PP (*þurb hine* 'through him'). All these adjuncts would have to be adjoined between the outer and inner specifier positions inside vP.

(45) a. & gif ænig man [on uferan dagan] [gehadud oððe læwede] **þisne cwyde** wille awendan
 and if any one on later day ordained or layman this guilt will confess
 'and if anyone, ordained or layman, on a later day will confess this guilt...'

(codocu3,Ch_1471_[Rob_101]:31.206)

b. þæt he [ða] [sylf] [eac] [þurh hine] **þa bysene** wolde onstellan
 that he then self also through him the example would set
 'that he himself would then also set an example through him'

(coverhom,HomS_2_[ScraggVerc_16]:40.2050)

Even more questions arise when objects separated from subjects by adjuncts are followed by PPs (46a) and adverbs (46b).

(46) a. swa hi **nu** *beora swuran* **to his geþylde** nellað gebigan
 as they now their necks to his patience not-will bow
 'as they now will not bow their necks to his patience'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_40:526.69.7949)

b. þæt hi **ofer ealle oþre þingc** *anne God æfre* woldan lufian & wurðian
 that they over all other things one God ever would love and worship
 'that they would, above all other things, ever love and worship one God'

(colaw1cn,LawICn:1.4)

If part of the remnant vP, in those cases they would have to be adjoined rightward from the object, i.e. to VP. This itself is not necessarily a problem. However, the variation in the position of the object is found with same type of adjuncts. In (47) the instrument *mid*-PP can both precede and follow the finite verb. If the lower position of the adjunct reflects its original VP-adjoined position, the question again is how we get the same adjunct in the higher position preceding the object.

(47) a. gif hi *þæt Cristene folc* **mid lufan** ne mihton gecyrron þæt hi Godes æwe
 if they the Christian people with love not might convert that they God's law
 on riht geheoldan
 correctly observe

'if they could not **by love** convert Christian people to observe God's law correctly'

(coblick,HomS_14_[BIHom_4]:45.113.572)

b. þæt he þæt Godes hus wolde **mid fyre** forbærnan

that he the God's house would with fire destroy

'that he would destroy the house of God with fire'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Maccabees]:612.5238)

The same can be observed for manner adverbs.

(48) a. hu hi heora æwe **rihtlicost** sculon healdan

how they their law most-rightly should observe

'how they should observe their law most correctly'

(coinspolX,WPol_2.1.1_[Jost]:187.271)

b. hu hy þam deofle Antecriste sylfan **wærlicast** magan þonne wiðstandan

how they the devil Antichrist self most-cautiously may then withstand

'how they may then most warily withstand the devil Antichrist himself'

(cowulf,WHom_1b:30.14)

Note, however, that the difference in the position is not due to the possible subject-oriented interpretation of the manner adverb, which the adverb gets in a higher clausal position. In (49), the subject-oriented interpretation also seems to be available for both the adverb *gepyldiglice* 'patiently' and the PP *mid smolte mode* 'with calm heart', even though they are both found in a lower position.

(49) ðæt he þæt saar mihte **gepyldiglice mid smolte mode** aberan & aræfnan.

that he the pain might patiently with calm heart bear and endure

'that he might bear and endure the pain patiently with a calm heart'

(cobede,Bede_4:32.378.28.3789)

Whatever adjunction-type one assumes for VP adjuncts, it would have to hold for NP adjuncts, such as secondary predicates in (50).

- (50) a. *ðæt Ceadda, be þam ðe we ær bufan spræcon, Myrcna mægðe wæs biscop*
 that Ceadda about whom we earlier above spoke Mercians people was bishop
seald
 given
 'that Chad, whom we earlier mentioned above, was given to the Mercians as bishop' (i.e. made
 bishop of the Mercians)'

(cobede,BedeHead:4.18.4.86)

- b. *þæt he se cyning seolfa, se ðe Scyttisc fullice geleornad hæfde, his aldormonnum &*
 that he the king himself who Scottish fully learned had his commanders and
his þegnum þære beofonlecan lare was **walhstod** geworden.
 his ministers the heavenly teaching was interpreter become
 'that the king himself became the interpreter of heavenly teaching to his commanders and
 ministers'

(cobede,Bede_3:2.158.19.1528)

The variety observed in the examples including VP adjuncts, as well as the object-NP related material (quantifiers, secondary predicates) seem to suggest that it would be difficult to maintain that all VR structures are derived by remnant vP movement to SpecTP. Rather, it seems that in certain cases one simply has to assume individual movement of the object.

2.7.3 Verb Projection Raising

The next order to consider is the Verb Projection Raising (VPR), exemplified in (51).

- (51) *þæt hie mihton swa bealdlice Godes geleafan bodian*
 that they could so boldly God's faith preach
 'that they could preach God's faith so boldly'

[The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church I 232; van Kemenade, 1987: 179, 7b]

B&R argue that VPR is similar to Verb Raising (VR) in that it involves the same class of matrix verbs.

For that reason, they assume that VPR structures are also biclausal. The derivation they propose for

VPR proceeds exactly as that for VR: V raises to v; T_{DEF} is merged, the remnant vP (S – t_v – O) moves to SpecTP_{DEF}; the raising verb is merged, and then the matrix v and T. At this point the crucial difference between VPR and VR takes place. Rather than attracting the remnant vP to its specifier, the matrix v and the matrix T satisfy their respective EPP-features by DP-movement (the non-pied piping option) of the subject from infinitival SpecTP. This gives the following structure:²⁶

$$(52) [{}_{TP} S T [{}_{VR} [{}_{TP} [{}_{vP} t_s [{}_{VP} t_v O] t_{v+v}] V^{+v} t_{vP}]]]$$

The difference between VR and VPR thus boils down to the choice of pied-piping vs. non-pied-piping to satisfy the matrix T's EPP-feature: the pied-piping option applies in VR, whereas the non-pied-piping yields VPR.

Here too the unaddressed issues regard the relative ordering of elements inside vP. Once again, when adjuncts are taken into consideration, the exact vP structure becomes puzzling. If preverbal objects in VPR are purely the result of remnant vP movement to SpecTP_{DEF}, we expect them to show the same ordering patterns relative to adverbs (if no scrambling is assumed to take place, the object will always either precede or follow certain types of adjuncts). But recall that we find the following orders:

- (53) a. Adv Vf O Vn
 b. Vf Adv O Vn
 c. Vf O Adv Vn
 d. Adv Vf Adv O Vn
 e. Vf Adv O Adv Vn

- (54) a. þæt he sylfa wolde **mid ealre his ðeode** *þone þeaw* **symble** onhyrian
 that he self would with all his people the service ever follow
 'that he himself would with his people ever follow the service [to the Roman church]'
 (cobede,Bede_5:19.468.26.4723)

²⁶ B&R's representation of the derivation lacks 'matrix v', even though it is assumed to be present with raising verbs.

- b. þæt þu scoldest **myd swilcum æagum** þa bean sunnan **æac** geseon?
 that you should with such eyes the high sun also see
 'that you should see the high sun with such eyes'
 (cosolilo,Solil_1:35.5.459)

The examples above might hypothetically involve different adjunction sites for adjuncts (for instance, PP being adjoined to V_R , with the modals raised to matrix T, while adverbs could be adjoined to TP_{DEF}). But the obvious problem arises when the same type of adverb is found in different positions with respect to the object.

- (55) a. þæt hio scoldan **þær** Godes word bodian & læran.
 that they should there God's word preach and teach
 'that they should preach and teach God's word there'
 (cobede,Bede_5:10.414.7.4156)

- b. þæt ic wolde *onsægdnisse* **þær** onsecgan,
 that I would sacrifice there offer
 'that I would offer sacrifice there'
 (coalex,Alex:36.13.459)

- (56) a. þæt þu ne mæge **eft** þinne weg aredian.
 that you not may again your way find
 'that you may not find your way again'
 (coboeth,Bo:40.139.30.2785)

- b. þæt heo meahte þæt forlorene leoht **eft** onfon.
 that she might the lost sight again receive
 'that she might recover her lost sight'
 (cobede,Bede_4:13.292.19.2950)

- (57) a. for ðan ðe he wolde. *ða ealdan .æ.* **ær** gefyllan.
 because he would the old law earlier fulfil
 'because he would first fulfil the old law [and afterwards salutarily begin the new covenant]'
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_14.1:139.63.3081)

b. þam þe he nolde ær his cruman syllan.
 to-those that he not-would earlier his crumbs give
 'whom he earlier would not give his crumbs' (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_23:367.64.4580)

(58) a. þæt man sceolde ofer eall Angelcyn scyppu fæstlice wyrcan
 that one should over all England ships quickly make
 '[Here the king ordered] that people should quickly build ships all over England'
 (cochronC,ChronC_[Rositzke]:1008.1.1424)

b. þæt he wolde fæstlice þam deofolgildum wiðsacan ond Cristes geleafan onfon
 that he would quickly the idolatry reject and Christ's faith receive
 'that he would quickly reject idolatry and receive Christ's faith'
 (cobede,Bede_2:10.136.20.1322)

(59) a. þæt hi cunnan rihtlice beora fulluhtes gescead.
 that they can rightly their help divide
 'that they can divide their help rightly'
 (cowulf,WHom_8b:10.547)

b. hu we symle magon Godes agene beboda rihtlicost healdan
 how we always may God's own commands rightly hold
 'how we may always rightly hold God's own commands'
 (coinspolD,WPol_2.1.2_[Jost]:120.163)

Clearly, it is unlikely that the same type of adverb is attached to different positions in the examples above. Rather, the object scrambles across adverbs.

Finally, let us address the issue of interpretation. The proposed derivations for VR and VPR relies on variation in two syntactic options, and does not assume differences in meaning. This, however, does not seem to be supported by the data. Namely, one can note certain IS related effects. Objects in VR exhibit 'topical' features, when compared to those in VPR. Consider the following example, where the first conditional (*gif-*) clause has the VPR structure, and the second one is a VR construction. The object in both is definite ('the song'). But its discourse status is different. In the first conditional clause

the topic is the subject pronoun, while the object is part of the predicate; in the second clause, the predicate provides information about the new relation between the subject and the object.

(60) and sege gif hi nellað þone sang gelæstan, þonne geswicað eac sona ða wundra,
 and said if they not-will the song perform then cease also soon the miracles
 and gif hi þone lofsang willað æt þam wundrum singan...
 and if they the praise-song will at the miracles sing
 'and said that if they will not sing the song, then the miracles will also cease, and if they will sing
 the praise-song about the miracles...'

(coactive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:237.4375)

In Chapter 5, I will argue that in VR the fronted object creates a complex topic-structure together with the subject. Objects in VR can also have (contrastive) focus interpretation. What is then common to both types of the moved object is that it is 'topicalized' or 'focalized' in the sense that it escapes the new information predicate focus. It is a way of scrambling, the motivation of which is to mark the IS status of the object at the topic-predicate level. More details about the properties of VR will be given in Chapter 5.

While B&R provide an attractive syntactic analysis that relates VR and VPR, it is still incapable of accounting for the relatively rich variation we find in both constructions. What seems to be clear is that individual movements of elements for IS reason simply have to be assumed.

2.7.4 Postverbal objects

The last word order B&R address is the one where the object follows the verb, either just the non-finite verb, or both the non-finite and finite verb.

- (61) a. Vf Vn O
 b. Vn Vf O

Word orders with postverbal objects are not found in modern West Germanic languages. Recall that postverbal objects are analyzed as instances of extraposition of the object in van Kemenade 1987, and as unmarked VO order in head-initial VPs in Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999. The problems these two types of analyses face are the following: (a) the object can be 'light', which is not typical material for extraposition; (b) objects need not be adjacent to the verb, which is a typical unmarked VO structure.

B&R argue that Vf-Vn-O patterns are similar to VPR, with the single difference that the movement of the subject DP alone (the non-pied-piping option) satisfies the **lower** (i.e. infinitival) T's EPP-feature. On their analysis, the structure in (62) therefore underlies superficially Modern English-like

(62) [TP **S** T V_R [TP **ts** V+v [vP **ts** [VP t_v O] t_v+v]]]

The second type of postverbal objects is found in what is commonly referred to as 'leaking constructions'. Recall that this order is unique to OE, and does not show up in any other West Germanic language.

(63) ... þæt ænig mon **atellan** **mæge ealne þone demm**
 that any man relate can all the misery
 'that any man can relate all the misery'

[Orosius 52.6 – 7; Pintzuk, 2002: 283, 16b]

As the finite verb here follows the non-finite verb, 'leaking' cannot be assumed to involve VPR, even though the matrix verb behaves as a restructuring verb when the non-finite verb follows it. B&R are therefore forced to propose that in leaking structures verbs such as *magan*, *willan*, *cunnan*, etc., behave like 'proper' modal verbs which do not trigger restructuring (as in German). So, in OE these verbs are *optional* restructuring triggers.

As leaking constructions are not restructuring construction, and the modal is assumed to be base-generated in T, the weight of explanation is now on the non-finite vP – the alternation between O-Vn-

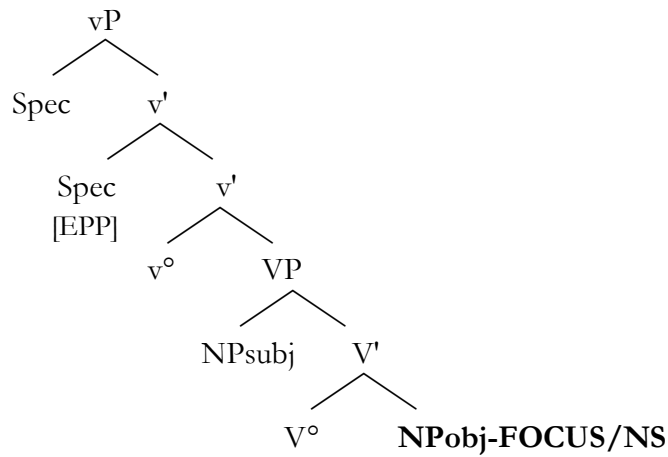
Vf and Vn-Vf-O has to be related to some kind of optionality inside vP. The feature B&R take as relevant here is the EPP feature on v. Namely, they argue that OE v can have an optional EPP-feature and an obligatory EPP-feature.

The optional EPP feature on v comes with an interpretative effect ('optional' should be understood in the sense that its effects need not be realized in every clause with the head featuring it (i.e. v); wherever the effects are present, the EPP-feature is present too, and vice versa). What is the interpretation then? Based on Pintzuk and Kroch's (1989) analysis of postverbal objects in *Beowulf*, B&R claim that focus is exactly what licenses postverbal objects in leaking structures. They suggest that OE underwent a change in the Nuclear Stress position (correlating with the default focus position), from preverbal to postverbal. They refer to Cinque 1993 for the difference in nuclear stress position, even though they do not further address the implication of this change. Namely, Cinque argues that nuclear stress position is the most deeply embedded position, rather than, say, clause final position, as in Germanic OV languages it falls on the object. Note that Cinque's account of nuclear stress is structural in essence. If OE changed the locus of nuclear stress, it also need to have changed the structure or headedness of VP. But on B&R analysis, the change is rather related to the status and the interpretation of the EPP-feature of v.

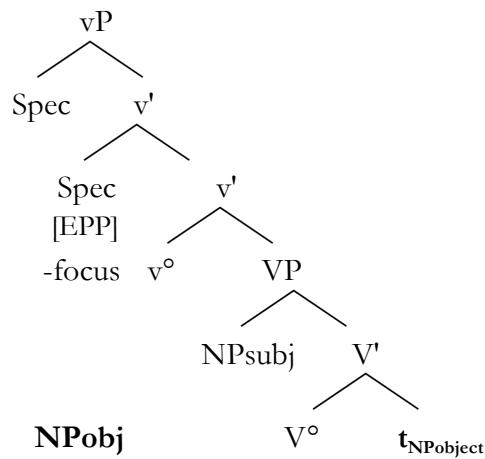
Also, if the object is *not* to be interpreted as focused, it needs to move out of the (remnant) VP, i.e. it needs to be scrambled.²⁷ In other words, whenever the object is not to be interpreted as part of the wide VP focus, it has to move out of the focus position.

²⁷ In essence, scrambling is movement out the focus domain or focus projection. Focus assigned to the most embedded element is able to project to the whole VP or clause, and so produce either the wide VP/predicate focus or maximally wide, sentence focus (cf. Selkirk 1995, Reinhart 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, among many others). When the object scrambles out of VP, this presumably disrupts focus projection (Junghanns & Zybatow 1997: 300-313).

(64) a.



b.



Under the Phase Impenetrability Condition (cf. Chomsky 2000: 108), as soon as the vP phase is complete, the complement (i.e. the VP) is spelled out and becomes inaccessible. B&R interpret this to mean that the VP is fixed in place and cannot move when the vP containing it is fronted. It thus appears that a non-constituent (the left branch and the head of vP) has moved, but instead the vP has moved with the complement VP remaining behind. The only way to move the complement VP is to first move it to SpecvP, and ensure it is in the position of the left branch, as only vP's edge material can undergo further movements upon the completion of the vP phase. This also accounts for the fact that *V_n-O-V_f orders are non-existent in OE, as their derivation would have to allow for the (remnant) VP material in situ to move together with the vP.

On this revised version of the EPP-feature of *v*, it follows that OE has a mixed system of EPP-features. The *vP*'s EPP feature can be optional, i.e. present only when we need to defocus the object; otherwise, *vP* has no EPP-feature. EPP-feature can be obligatory, when it has an 'operator' interpretation, [+Op]. This ensures that all negative and quantified objects always occur in preverbal orders. The consequence of this altered view of the EPP-feature on *v* is that all other OV orders, where object is neither defocused nor [+Op], need to be derived via remnant-*vP* fronting to SpecTP. In other words, once the EPP feature on *vP* is removed, only SpecTP is available for further movements of the *vP* material.

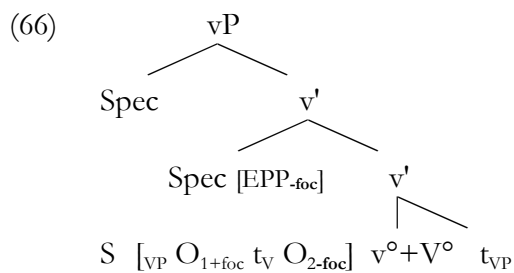
Let us now examine the implications of this analysis. First of all, we have two types of EPP-features. Those associated with some kind of interpretation (defocusing or 'operator'), and those which have no semantic/pragmatic effects. EPP-features associated with certain interpretations can be optional (when the interpretation is pragmatic) or obligatory (when the interpretation is semantic). EPP-features of *v* can be satisfied by both options: pied-piping (remnant *vP* movement) and non-pied-piping option (DP movement). Pied-piping option would have to assume that the pragmatic features of the rest of the remnant *vP* (for instance, in double object constructions) will have to be ignored when it is pied-piped together with the object bearing the relevant interpretational feature. In other words, it is possible to have a focused object moving together with the non-focused object. Also, the prediction of this account is that when 'traditional' cases of scrambling are observed (typically, movement across VP adverbs), it will have to feature a clause where the *vP* has no EPP features, as it would otherwise take care of the interpretation (defocusing). Also, objects in OVnVf orders would always have to be defocused or +Op, as there is no other feature on *v* available to trigger the (remnant) VP movement to (inner) SpecvP and place it on the left-branch to be able to move with the subject.

Clearly, OV orders in OE can be ambiguous. Some objects will be focused, some defocused. But what happens in clauses with two objects? If both objects are defocused, the EPP feature on *v* would take care of their interpretation. If both objects are focused, we will assume the lack of EPP feature on *v*, and the objects will be focused, inside VP. When the first object is defocused, the second one, even

though it might be focused, will be pied-piped together with the first one. However, there are cases when the higher object is focused, and the lower one defocused. These are generally word orders where nominal objects precede pronominal ones. In Milićev 2007b, I argue that in such cases the nominal object receives contrastive focus interpretation. This is illustrated in (65). The remnant VP movement containing two interpretationally different types of object to SpecvP is represented in (66).

- (65) Gif ic eorðlice þing openlice eow secge, and ge þæra ne gelyfað, hu gelyfe ge
 if I earthly thing openly you say and you them not believe how believe you
 þonne gyf ic þa heofenlican þing eow secgan wylle?
 then if I the heavenly things you say will
 'If I will openly tell you about the earthly things, and you don't believe them, how will you then believe if I tell you about the heavenly things?'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_13:186.1972)



Following B&R, for these cases we would have to assume that the second object (the pronoun) triggers movement to the inner specifier with the defocusing-related EPP feature. But then the question is how we obtain contrastive focus interpretation (rather than new information, if the object were simply pied-piped). Also, contrastive focus is often realized in different structural positions than new information focus. While elements with new information focus are allowed to remain in situ, contrastive focus is generally realized in derived positions. If B&R's assumption regarding v's EPP features is to be maintained, it seems more plausible that it is the +Op feature that triggers contrastively focused objects, given that focus movement in many respects resembles operator movement (cf. Rizzi 1997, for

instance). In (65), the remnant vP containing a DP with [+Op/+CF] feature will move to SpecvP, pied-piping the second defocused object.

As for leaking orders, B&R analysis correctly captures the fact that pronouns, particles, and quantified and negative objects are generally do not 'leak' out of VnVf structures, as they are not typically associated with (new information) focus. However, it also predicts that all postverbal objects will be focused, contrary to fact. The interpretation of 'leaked' objects will be dealt in more detail in Chapter 5; for the time being, let us consider (67). From the context, it is clear that the postverbal object *þæt feoh* 'the treasure' is not associated with (new information) focus interpretation. Rather, it is quite topical in the discourse segment (67a).

(67) a. Then came a certain liar, and betrayed **the treasure**, said to the governor, called Apollonius, that **the treasure** might come to the hand of the king; and the governor soon said it to the king.

b. Hwæt ða se cynincg sende sona ænne þegen, Heliodorus gehaten, to ðam halgan
 what then the king sent soon one thane Heliodorus named to the holy
 temple, þæt he *feccan sceolde* **þæt feoh** mid reaflice.

temple that he fetch should the treasure by plundering

'Thereupon the king sent soon a thane, Heliodorus named, to the holy temple, that he should fetch the treasure by plundering'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Maccabees]:760.5326-5327)

All in all, B&R provide a solid syntactic mechanism of deriving the familiar word orders in OE. It misses to account for the more intricate details of relative ordering of arguments themselves and of arguments and adjuncts. The biggest problem, though, is the failure to capture the interpretational differences that are associated with different word orders. It seems any syntactic account of OE word order variation must allow for individual movements for IS reasons. This assumption will be further supported in Section 2.9, where it will be shown that the variation in the placement of arguments (subjects and object pronouns, in particular) is influenced by their IS status.

2.8 Pintzuk 2005

Pintzuk (2005) offers an extension and elaboration of the original proposal of the varying headedness in OE. She compares her double base hypothesis with the accounts which rely on the uniform base hypothesis, specifically the 'many movements analysis' (Roberts 1997, with insights from Nunes 2002) and 'pied-piping analysis' (Biberauer & Roberts 2005). She argues that uniform-base analyses cannot capture the empirical facts from OE on such theoretical notions.

The main ingredients of her proposal, slightly modified from the original one proposed in Pintzuk 1991, are the following: both IP and VP can be either head-initial or head-final; I and V take VP complements, with no further functional projections above VP; OE strong overt verbal morphology triggers obligatory verb movement to I, regardless of the position of I.

(68) (a) head-initial IP, head-final VP1 and VP2, deriving Aux O Vn

$$[\text{IP Aux+I} [\text{VP1} [\text{VP2 O V}] \text{t}_{\text{Aux}}]]$$

(b) head-initial IP, head-initial VP1 and VP2, deriving Aux Vn O

$$[\text{IP Aux+I} [\text{VP1 t}_{\text{Aux}} [\text{VP2 V O}]]]$$

(c) head-final IP, head-final VP1 and VP2, deriving O Vn Aux

$$[\text{IP} [\text{VP1} [\text{VP2 O V}] \text{t}_{\text{Aux}}] \text{Aux+I}]$$

(d) head-final IP, head-initial VP1 and VP2, deriving *Vn O Aux

$$*[\text{IP} [\text{VP1 t}_{\text{Aux}} [\text{VP2 V O}]] \text{Aux+I}]$$

For 'leaking' construction, Pintzuk maintains an analysis in terms of postposition of the object out of the head-final structures (both VP and IP). Specifically, this type of movement is viewed as adjunction to IP. A novel insight into 'leaking' comes from Pintzuk 2002 and Pintzuk & Taylor 2003, and their quantitative analyses of verb-object orders. Namely, they show that the factor with the most significant

effect on postposition is the length of the complement: the heavier the DP, the more likely it is to appear postverbally (Pintzuk, 2002; Pintzuk and Taylor, 2003).

(69) head-final IP, head-final VP1 and VP2, with postposition, deriving Vn Aux O

[IP [IP [VP1 [VP2 to V] t_{Aux}] Aux+I] O]

Finally, to account for the ungrammatical *Vn-O-Vf, Pintzuk suggests that VO orders have head initial VP which cannot be combined with a head final IP. She herself admits that this is only a stipulation, but it still accounts for the presence or absence of restrictions on the postverbal object type when the object follows Vn-Vf and when it follows Vn only. Namely, postverbal objects in Vn-Vf are derived through rightward movement (extraposition), postverbal objects in Vf-Vn-O are simply in their base position. Being in the base position, no restriction would apply to object following Vnf. In linking constructions, however, objects following Vnf-Vf cannot be pronominal or negative. Nor do we find particles in this position.

- (70) a. *Vn-Vf-Opro
b. *Vn-Vf-NPneg
c. *Vn-Vf-Prt

The restriction can only be made sense of if postverbal objects in Vn-Vf-O are derived through rightward movement (extraposition). Since pronouns and particles generally do not extrapose, as they do not meet the pragmatic criteria for this type of movement (focus), the lack of these elements in postverbal position is an expected outcome. Negative objects, on the other hand, are banned from moving to the right as they would then escape the negative island.

According to Pintzuk, the restriction observed is a serious problem for the approaches based on the head-initial hypothesis. I will not go into the specifics of her (counter)argumentation, but only focus on issues I find relevant for assumptions of uniform head-initial structures.²⁸

The fact that of DP objects only negative ones are banned in leaking constructions is a problem for B&R who assume that all quantified objects must move due to the [+Op] feature on v. They will then have a problem explaining the derivation of sentences which have a QP object 'leaked' out. Pintzuk gives the example in (71).

- (71) þæt ænig mon **atellan** mæge ealne þone demm
 that any man relate can all the misery
 '... that any man can relate all the misery ...'

(coorosiu,Or_2:8.52.6.1011)

The example as presented in (71), however, is not complete, as it doesn't include the relative clause following the postverbal object. This means that the object is in fact 'heavy' and could have been subject to extraposition due to its heaviness.

- (72) þæt ænig mon atellan mæge **ealne þone demm þe Romanum æt þæm cirre**
 that any man relate can all the misery that to-Romans at the time
gedon wearð
 done was

'that any man can relate all the misery that was done to the Romans at the time'

(coorosiu,Or_2:8.52.6.998)²⁹

²⁸ Pintzuk's discussion of B&R's (2005) analysis is limited to their conference presentations and handouts. For instance, she does not assume a biclausal structure for auxiliaries and modals, even though in B&R's account they are treated as optional restructuring verbs. Pintzuk, on the other hand assumes that auxiliaries and modals are merged in T, and, unlike V_R, they do not have a TP_{DEF}. So, instead of having V+v movement to T_{DEF}, and remnant vP movement to SpecTP_{DEF}, the V+v stays inside the vP, and the remnant VP moves from SpecvP to SpecTP. On that view, VR constructions, for example, can never involve pied-piping, but only DP-movement to SpecTP, contrary to B&R's analysis.

(i) V to v, VP to inner SpecvP, S to SpecTP, deriving Aux O V:
 [TP S Aux [vP tS [vP tV O] V+v tVP]]

Also, her insight into their analysis lacks the existence of an obligatory [+Op] feature triggering movement of negative, quantified/indefinite objects out of VP.

In Chapter 5 we will see that non-heavy quantified objects can indeed leak, but only when they meet the right IS related conditions.

Pintzuk further offers quantitative data on the distribution of quantified and negative objects. As for quantified objects, Pintzuk claims to have found 25 instances of leaking quantified objects, whereas there is not a single instance of a negative object following the finite verb. But it is not true that negative objects cannot leak, as can be verified from (73).

(73) Nu synd we swa asolcene þæt we swincan nellað **nan þincg** fornean ne urum
 now are we so slothful that we toil not-will no thing nearly nor our
 lustum wiðcweþan wið þam þæt we moton þa micclan geþincða habban on heofonum
 lusts deny in-order-that we may the great dignities have in heaven
 mid þam halgum martyrum
 with the holy martyrs

'Now are we so slothful that we will not toil in hardly anything, nor deny our lusts in order that we may have in exchange those great dignities in heaven, together with the holy martyrs'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Maurice]:132.5757)

Some grounds, however, need to be cleared before we can seriously consider postverbal quantified objects. Out of the 25 examples (which I have also found in my searches), 12 are followed by a relative clause, as in (71). The presence of a relative clause is an important factor in leaking constructions with other types of nominal objects. A relative clause, presumably contributes to the heaviness of a nominal object, with heaviness being one of the condition for the clause-final position. On the other hand, relative clauses do not extrapose obligatorily, as they can be found adjacent to their antecedents in higher position, or separated from their antecedent in clause medial positions (typically appositive relative clauses). Also, negative NPs can also be antecedents of (restrictive) relative clauses, and yet they are still less compatible with the clause final position, despite their heaviness (admittedly, examples such as (73) are rare). Clearly, the [+Op] feature driving negative objects to the preverbal position is more

²⁹ The difference in the line number in Pintzuk's example (71) and the line number from YCOE (72) cannot be explained.

difficult to be overridden by the heaviness or other factor responsible for the postverbal position. Be it as it may, the factor of heaviness in postverbal objects cannot be neglected, to the extent that heavy objects should be kept apart from the non-heavy ones. In other words, it is only when the impact of heaviness is eliminated that we can truly see the type and interpretation of leaking objects.

With quantified objects followed by relative clauses taken out of the count, as well as 4 other cases where the object consists of three and more words, we are left with 9 cases of non-heavy quantified objects. We find the following quantifiers: *eall* 'all' (4), *ænig* 'any' (3) and *sum* 'some' (2). The examples with the quantifier *ænig* are two manuscript versions of the same text. In addition, the quantifier *sum* in one case seems to modify the numeral, rather than quantify over the noun. Of the four instances with the quantifier *eall* 'all', three examples are with definite DPs (one with a weak demonstrative *þa*, one with a possessive genitive pronoun, and one with a possessive DP). In principle, there are only 7 cases where we find quantified objects in leaking constructions. It is clear that quantified objects are not so freely allowed to leak, as Pintzuk's analysis might suggest. Again, the slight preference of quantified objects over negative ones in leaking shows that quantified objects can more easily ignore the feature assumed to trigger movement of both object types to the preverbal position. It is also not clear why quantified and negative objects should behave the same way. The practice of treating quantified and negative objects on a par is motivated by the fact that in ME only these two types of objects are found in OV orders, while other types are exclusively postverbal, or VO (Kroch & Taylor 2000; for Early Modern English cf. van der Wurff 1997, 1999).³⁰ Pintzuk's own figures for different object types in postverbal position in OE Vf-Vn-O orders strongly suggest that quantified objects behave more like positive than negative objects.

³⁰ OV orders in ME are treated as instances of scrambling. In that respect, ME is treated as Icelandic, a VO language, which only allows leftward movement of quantified and negative objects (cf. van der Wurff 1999, Svenonius 2000, a.o.).

Table 2.1: The distribution of objects in Aux...V orders (Pintzuk 2005: 128)

I-initial (Aux ... V)	postverbal	preverbal	postverbal %
positive	1815	3893	46.6%
quantified	150	376	39.9%
negative	25	143	17.5%

Therefore, whatever restriction holds for negative objects, it does not apply to quantified objects. Quantified objects do prefer postverbal position, and do not leak that easily, but whatever interpretation is associated with these two postverbal positions, quantified objects are compatible with it, whereas negative objects generally prefer the preverbal one.

In her comparison of the distribution of objects in what she calls 'I-final' and 'I-initial' structures, Pintzuk apparently takes into her count main clauses as well, as representatives of I-initial structures. This is an unfair move since postverbal objects occur more freely in main clauses. This is especially evident with negative objects in Vf-Vn-O. Out of 24 cases I have found, only 11 are in subordinate clauses (2 of them are *for ðan ðe* 'because'-clauses, which are ambiguous between the main and subordinate clause status).³¹ Leaking structures, on the other hand, are not found in main clauses. But if they indeed involve head-final I and an extraposed object, it is plausible that such structures would be found in main clauses as well, only 'masked' by finite verb movement to a higher position.

(74) [_{XP} Aux [_{IP} [_{IP} [_{VP} V t_O] t_{Aux}] O]]

Pintzuk's second argument comes from the constraint on distribution of pronouns and scrambled objects. If the postverbal constituent is a negative object or a prosodically light element (pronominal object or particle), the position of additional objects is constrained in the following way: negative

³¹ I have only looked at the cases with an overt subject, so this might be the reason why there is a slight difference between my and Pintzuk's counts of postverbal negative objects.

objects, quantified objects and pronominal objects can appear preverbally, but positive nominal objects cannot.

(75) a. Aux O-neg V O-neg/O-pro/particle

þæt þu ne mihtst nænne weg **findan** ofer
 that you NEG can no way find across
 '... that you cannot find a way across.'

(coboeth,Bo:34.85.22.1646)

b. Aux O-quant V O-neg/O-pro/particle

þysra feower wyrta man sceal mæst **don** to
 these four herbs(GEN) one must most(ACC) add thereto
 'To that one must add most of these four herbs ...'

(colacnu,Med_3_[Grattan-Singer]:63.23.360)

c. Aux O-pro V O-neg/O-pro/particle

ac we nu wyllað mid fægerum andgite hi **gefrætewian** eow
 but we now will with agreeable understanding them adorn (for) you
 '... but we will now with agreeable understanding adorn them for you ...'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_8:50.1197)

d. * Aux O-pos V O-neg/O-pro/particle

She takes this to be a constraint on scrambling in VO structures: only pronouns, quantified and negative objects can move leftwards in VO underlying orders. In OV languages, on the other hand, there are no constraints on scrambling. Hence, postverbal particles, pronouns and negative objects constitute solid diagnostics for VO structure. When these diagnostics are absent, we are potentially dealing with an OV structure, which will show no requirements on preverbal objects.

Again we need to clear some grounds here. If postverbal pronominal and negative objects are indeed a reflection of an VO structure, we would expect strict V-O adjacency, since pronouns and negative objects, as Pintzuk has often pointed out, do not extrapose (otherwise, they would be permitted in leaking orders).

While negative objects are always adjacent to the verb, this is not the case with pronouns. Consider the orderings in (76).³² The pronominal object can follow both adverbs and PP (76a&b), even two adverbs, as in (76c).

- (76) a. þis godspel is nu gesæd *sceortlice* **eow** þus
 this gospel is now said shortly to-you thus
 'This gospel is now thus shortly said to you'
 (coaelhom,ÆHom_16:25.2270)
- b. and hi ne magon folgian *on forðside* **eow**
 and they not may follow on departure you
 'and they may not follow you on your departure [i.e. after your death]'
 (coalive,ÆLS_[Thomas]:188.7659)
- c. Ic wille nu secgan *eft sceortlice* **þe** be þære niwan gecyðnisse
 I will now say again shortly to-you about the new testament
 'I will now again shortly tell you about the new testament'
 (colsigewZ,ÆLet_4_[SigewardZ]:844.333)

Pintzuk also cannot explain why postverbal pronouns can be separated from postverbal nominal objects (77).

- (77) We habbað anfealdlice gesæd eow nu þis godspell
 we have simply told you now this gospel
 'We have now simply told you about this gospel'
 (coaelhom,ÆHom_3:46.433)

Nor is it clear why nominal objects can precede pronominal ones in postverbal position (78).

³² Pintzuk's analysis extends to main clauses as well, so we will here also include examples from main clauses as relevant for any conclusions regarding the headedness of the non-finite VP. Even when main clauses are included, Pintzuk's figures for postverbal pronominal objects reveal that pronouns rarely show up in postverbal positions. Only 5% of postverbal pronouns (51 vs. 932 preverbal) are found in Aux...V clauses. Compared to 0.5% of postverbal pronouns in leaking constructions (1 vs. 202 in preverbal position), the difference is significant. However, the overall small percentage indicates that the general lack of postverbal pronominal objects is due to pronoun movement out of the head-initial VP.

(78) ac we wyllað swaðeah sceortlice secgan þas geendunge eow
 but we will however shortly tell the meaning you
 'but we will, however, shortly tell you the meaning'
 (coaelhom,ÆHom_13:224.1990)

Second, the number of relevant cases in OE is very small.³³ There are only 44 examples with the relevant diagnostics: 40 with positive objects and 4 for quantified objects (cf. Table 2.2). Even if we ignore this issue, it is still mysterious why pronouns as diagnostics are so frequent in the postverbal position (29 examples) compared to negative objects (2 examples) and particles (9 examples).

Table 2.2: Distribution of positive and quantified objects in 'unambiguous' head-initial clauses
 (Pintzuk 2005)

Clauses with postverbal diagnostic elements	Preverbal	Postverbal	Total	% Preverbal
Positive objects (total)	1	39	40	2.5%
+postverbal neg object	0	2	2	0.0%
+postverbal pronoun	0	29	29	0.0%
+postverbal particle	1	8	9	11.1%
Quantified objects	3	1	4	75.0%

Therefore we conclude that the data is too scarce and not well understood to support Pintzuk's rather strong claim that the lack of leftward movement of positive objects can only be understood as a syntactic blocking effect, which cannot be explained on any other account.

Pintzuk also does not consider the implications the scrambling data has on her analysis. If scrambling of positive objects is a feature of head-final structures, O-V-O orders with positive objects

³³ For that reason, Pintzuk also uses data from Early Middle English (based on Kroch & Taylor 2000) for support.

can only be derived by rightward movement of the postverbal object. Recall that this type of rightward movement correlates with heaviness and focus interpretation. As a consequence, all postverbal positive objects in cases such (79), would have to be either heavy or focused. Or, they would have to have the same interpretation as leaking objects.

- (79) a. þæt ælc mann sceolde ... **his geleafan** andettan **oþrum menn**
 so-that each man had-to ... his faith-ACC acknowledge other man-DAT
 '... so that each man had to acknowledge his faith to another man.'
 (coaelhom, ÆHom_18:130.2555)
- b. þæt he scile **þæm goodum** leanian **hiora good**
 that he must the good-DAT reward their virtue-ACC
 '... that he must reward the good for their virtue ...'
 (coboeth,Bo:39.134.24.2683)

However, consider the actual interpretation of the sentence in (79b). That the good people are rewarded good things is not only given in the preceding discourse, but quite topical as well. The whole segment is dedicated to this issue, which can be verified from the first sentence of this paragraph:

- (80) Ac hwæt wille we cweðan be þæm andweardan welan þe oft cymð to ðæm
 but what will we say about the present prosperity that often comes to the
 goodum, hwæt he elles sie buton tacn þæs toweardan welan, & þæs edleanes
 good what he else is but sign of-the future prosperity and of-the reward
 angina þe him God tiohhod hæfð for his goodan willan?
 beginning that him God assigned has for his good will
 'But what will we say about the present prosperity that often comes to the good, what else is that
 but a sign of prosperity to come and the beginning of the reward that God has assigned him for
 his good will?'
 (coboeth,Bo:39.134.9. 2659-2660)

The sentence Pintzuk gives, however, is not complete. When the missing part is recovered (81), the interpretation becomes clear: the sentence has a pair-list reading. Pair-list reading requires the presence

of (contrastive) focus on both elements.³⁴ If both elements are focused, then extraposition (seen as focus-related movement) of the second object, to the exclusion of the first, cannot be assumed to derive such cases.

- (81) Manegum men bioð eac forgifene forðæm þas weoruldgesælða þæt he scile
to-many men is also given for-that these worldly-felicities that he shall
þæm goodum leanian **hiora good**, & **þæm yflum hiora yfel**
the good reward their good and the evil their evil
'Many people are given these worldly felicities so that they shall reward the good for their
goodness and the wicked for their evil'

(coboeth,Bo:39.134.24.2665)³⁵

A further problem for Pintzuk's view of postverbal objects is that they are able to scramble across adverbs/adverbials. If the objects are in their base position, this is not expected to be possible. If on the other hand, these sentences involve head-final VP, this would mean that both objects and the adverb are extraposed, without a clear idea how their ordering (O-Adv-O) is obtained.

- (82) a. forðæm ðe he sceal gemetgian *swa cræftlice* his stemne
because he shall adjust so carefully his voice
'because he should adjust his voice so carefully'

(cocura,CP:60.453.10.3267)

- b. He cwæð þæt he nolde [cyðan] **þa** [his synna]
he said that he not-would say then his sins
'He said that he would not confess his sins then'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_20:152.3014)

Although Pintzuk raises some interesting issues regarding restriction tendencies regarding postverbal objects, she does not really manage to offer clear counter-arguments that would be crucially problematic for head-initial analyses of the OE major word order patterns.

³⁴ I assume that both elements need to be contrastively focused in order to evoke alternatives on both elements in the second pair.

³⁵ The line number is different in Pintzuk's example.

2.9 Van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012; Van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen 2008

Van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012³⁶ is the first analysis which explicitly proposes that the variation in the position of subjects and pronouns in the high clausal area is conditioned by IS factors. They start from the observation made in van Kemenade 1999, 2000 (cf. also Haeberli 1999, 2000) that nominal and pronominal subjects are positioned differently, not only with respect to the finite verb (subject pronouns trigger V3 orders in topic-initial clauses, as opposed to nominal objects, which do not disrupt the V2 effect), but also with respect to the reinforcing negative adverb *na* 'not' and the so-called 'short' or 'high' adverbs such as *þa/þonne* 'then'.

- (83) a. XP_{topic} – **Spro** – Vf...
b. XP_{topic} – Vf – **NPsubj**

- (84) a. ... **Spro** – Adv/Neg –
b. Adv/Neg – **NPsubj**

The same variation relative to these adverbs can be noted in embedded clauses. The first subject position can also host object pronouns, and in Fischer et al. 2000, the position is identified as a special functional projection (FP), which predominantly serves as a clitic/weak pronoun position. The second subject position is the standard SpecTP, and is typically reserved for nominal subjects .

- (85) CP – FP – *þa/þonne* – TP

The first subject position, however, can also host nominal objects, i.e. nominal objects can be found both preceding and following the diagnostic high adverb (86).

³⁶ In the citation of the paper I will use both the date of composition (2005) and the date of publication (2011). This paper was the original source of the assumptions regarding the role of 'high' adverbs as discourse particles and the partitioning of the OE clause structure into 'background-focus' domain. These assumptions were later taken over in van Kemenade & Los 2006 and van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen 2008. The late date of publication creates chronological confusion and blurs the significance of the original paper.

(86) a. Ða **þæt folc** þa þæt gehyrde...

when the people then that heard

'when the people then heard that'

(coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BiHom_13]]:149.213.1856)

b. Gif þonne **swiðra wind** aras, þonne tynde he his bec

if then stronger wind arose, then closed he his books

'If stronger wind then arose, then he closed his books'

(cobede,Bede_4:3.268.18.2727)

Van Bergen (2000) shows that not only nominal subjects, but pronominal ones as well can occur in a position lower than FP, following the high adverb. That object pronouns can also occupy positions lower than FP has been shown in Koopman 1997 and van Bergen 2000. This is usually attributed to the potential non-clitic/weak status of lower pronouns, and a result of the possible ongoing decliticization process in OE. In van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012, we show that lower pronouns are equally 'deficient' (in terms of Cardinaletti & Starke 1999) as those in the high position, and that the variation in the position of pronouns cannot be analyzed as the change in the internal properties of pronouns. This can be verified from (87), where the lower genitive pronoun *his* 'it' is inanimate, and as such can only be deficient and in a derived position.

(87) ...þæt ge þonne **his** gelyfon þonne hit gedon bið

that you then his.GEN believe when it done is

'...that you then believe it when it is done'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_10:22.1418)

As Agr1P/FP is not (exclusively) a subject position, and not (exclusively) a weak pronoun position, its properties clearly needed to be reanalyzed.

In van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012 we propose that the high subject/pronoun position is best analyzed as SigmaP (following Nilsen 2003), a position for discourse-linked elements.³⁷ We start from the assumption that the function of the high adverbs *þa/þonne*, which have been recognized as the most convincing indicator of different argument positions in the work on OE clauses structure, is that of discourse particles, separating discourse-linked material from the rest of the clause. 'Discourse-linked' is a cover term for a set of features such as anaphoricity, topichood/topicality, and presupposition, which can operate jointly or independently, depending on the type of referring expression found in the high position. Material satisfying these features is found in SigmaP, while the rest is given in the form of focus relative to SigmaP.³⁸

(88) [_{SigmaP} presupposition (*þa/þonne*) [_{Focus domain} new information about SigmaP material]]

Using adverbs as indicators of different semantic or pragmatic properties of the material found to their left or their right is a standard practice in most syntactic work, but especially in the work on the Germanic clause structure. As pointed out by Svenonius 2002, adverb placement has been a critical diagnostic in the location of arguments, both for objects (objects shift and scrambling) and subjects. As pointed out by van Kemenade & Milićev (2005/2012), the class of adverbs which could be treated as discourse particles is rather elusive; in addition to *þa* and *þonne*, it includes the adverb *nu* 'now', the interjection *la* 'alas' (cf. Kato 1995), reinforcing negative adverbs, *eac* 'also', and possibly some others.

Van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen (2008) offer a statistical analysis of the properties of definite nominal subjects in subordinate clauses, which can be found in both high and low position. They build directly on van Kemenade & Milićev's proposal, and again the diagnostic adverbs are *þa* and *þonne*. Only

³⁷ The term Sigma Phrase is probably one of the most popular labels for a functional projection hosting material associated with special semantic/pragmatic features. Starting with Laka's SigmaP and polarity and focus features (Laka's 1990 SigmaP) to Cardinaletti and Starke's 1999 SigmaP for prosody-related features, derived from the same set of features as polarity (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, especially fn.64). Nilsen's (2003) notion of SigmaP is closest to our understanding of this projection, as he assumes that it hosts 'topic' material. It is merged above vP, and after 'topic' material has moved to out of the vP to SigmaP, it gets fronted to the clause initial position.

³⁸ For the distribution of demonstratives between SigmaP and lower position see Milićev 2007a and Milićev 2014, while 'high' and 'low' indefinite subjects are discussed in Milićev & Milićević 2006.

subordinate clauses are included, since different types of main clauses are also characterized by a specific position of the nominal subject, i.e. there is very little variation in the position of NP subjects. On the sample of about 1030 clauses with a definite NP subject to the left and to the right of *þa/þonne*, they show that the definite NP in the high position correlates with specificity (specificity understood as uniquely identifiable by the speaker), while the specific definite NP in the high position correlates with the presence of an antecedent.

What is novel in van Kemenade & Milićev's approach, further explicated in Milićev 2008, is that SigmaP presupposition domain is truly discourse related. Although it strongly correlates with certain semantic features, these arise only as a consequence of SigmaP's primary function - to properly link the proposition of its clause to the preceding utterance. Therefore, D-linked on our account really means linked to the immediately preceding discourse. Since utterances are not linked in a uniform way - some are linked through a sequential relation, some through comparison or contrast, for example, discourse presupposition cannot be characterized in a unique way, for instance in terms of discourse oldness.

Object pronouns are also distributed between SigmaP and lower 'pronoun positions'. Again, similar conditions apply when objects are found in SigmaP – they have to be highly accessible and topical.

(89) [SigmaP (subject1) (Opro1) [*þa/þonne* [TP subject2 [AgrOP Opro2 [VP ...]]]]]

The analysis offered in Van Kemenade & Milićev and Van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen 2008 is not only significant because it clearly establishes the influence of IS factors on the distribution of arguments. The other crucial insight is the identification of 'high' adverbs as discourse particles, as indicators of the IS status of the material preceding and following them. The overwhelming presence of *þa/þonne* in OE, and their radical disappearance in ME, strongly suggests that OE is to a great extent a discourse-configurational language, and that OE syntax largely maps IS interpretation.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented what we find to be the crucial analyses or approaches to the major word order patterns, as well as the variation found in the OE clause structure. The major point of difference regards the assumptions about the directionality of headedness. While the idea that OE is a (uniformly) head-final language has been abandoned, Pintzuk's Double Base Hypothesis is still considered a viable approach to the OE word order variation. More recent work based on Pintzuk's original proposal include Haerberli & Pintzuk's (2012) analysis of Verb Raising and Verb Projection Raising, Pintzuk & Taylor 2006, Taylor and Pintzuk 2012a, 2012b, Taylor and Pintzuk 2014, where more arguments are provided for the 'underlying VO' orders in OE, as well as Pintzuk 2014. Despite the theoretical and empirical issues (some of which have been brought up in this chapter), on these analyses OE is still considered to have a grammar competing between head-initial and head-final phrase structure. While the system of some kind of grammatical competition is necessary to account for the language change in terms of acquisition, it is difficult to uncover how the competition is actually reflected in a language at a certain stage. In OE the competing grammars assumed by Pintzuk are often reflected within the same sentence, and it is mysterious why the speakers of OE would make use of them so playfully.

The main problem for the uniform-headedness ('Kaynean') analyses is twofold. First, they cannot successfully capture the motivation for the variation in the position of the object, nor the wide array of scrambling options available both for arguments and adjuncts. Even though IS/pragmatic factors have recently started to be investigated as possible influence on the word order variation, we still lack a comprehensive account of the mechanism and range of this impact. In this thesis, we will attempt to clear the ground in that respect. If we manage to show that the major variations in OE are indeed driven by IS-related interpretations, the subsequent syntactic derivations of the word order patterns in OE will not be burdened by the need to treat optional, 'stylistic' rules as core grammar rules.

3. PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION IN V_n-V_f ORDERS

In Chapters 1 and 2 we have established that the central proposal in this thesis is that word order in OE largely reflects IS/pragmatic considerations. This is not a novel or an unusual suggestion. However, this is, to the best of my knowledge, the first attempt to account for the variations in the position of the finite verb in embedded clauses in terms of IS/pragmatics.

For embedded clauses, the central claim is that the position of the finite verb serves to indicate the pragmatic status of the whole proposition – how what is expressed by a certain clause integrates in the global discourse. Put simply, the position of the finite verb indicates the discourse status of a proposition.

One of the key features of subordinate clauses is that the finite verb is in the clause final position. Although the clause final position is not imperative for finite verbs in subordinate clauses, in main clauses it is virtually unavailable for the finite verb. The asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses is not so sharp with respect to the position of the lexical finite verb, as much as with the modal or auxiliary verb. In other words, V_n-V_f orders are almost absent from main clauses. There are in principle two ways to account for this restriction in main clauses: (a) the finite verb must move to a higher position in main clauses; (b) non-finite v/VP fronting, yielding the finite verb in a lower position, is not available in main clauses.

Before we can address the issue of the asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses, we first need to understand what actually happens in subordinate clauses, or why they can exhibit features of main clauses. If the position of the finite verb is taken as one of defining properties of subordinate clauses, the fact that it can vary undermines its defining power. I will claim that what feeds the variation in the position of the non-finite VP with respect to the finite modal/auxiliary is of pragmatic and/or information-structural nature. More precisely, the set of factors assumed to be responsible for the variation seem to be most closely related to the notions of pragmatic presupposition and assertion.

Namely, subordinate clauses with Vn-Vf orders are added to the discourse as pragmatically presupposed or non-assertive. Vf-Vn order, on the other hand, indicates that in a given context, the propositional content cannot be delivered as presupposed, or is not intended to be used that way by the speaker.

Relating the word order variation to pragmatic issues is not an easy task, especially for a dead language. Any such investigation is necessarily restricted to observation of contexts where certain word orders are found, without the availability of negative evidence. However, under the hypothesis that the differences in word order do not reflect free syntactic variation, a careful examination of the texts can help us discover certain regularities, which are not incidental and should be taken seriously.

OE has long been known for its (relatively) free-word order syntax, and it comes as a surprise that the correlation between free word order and IS/pragmatic consideration has not been (fully) explored for OE as well. The strictly syntactic approaches essentially assume that the variation is due to two competing syntactic options, reflecting a state of an ongoing change. For Pintzuk (1991, 1993, 1999), it is a competition between INFL-medial vs. INFL-final structure, with Vf-Vn orders reflecting the first grammar, and Vn-Vf the second one. Biberauer & Roberts (2005) see it as a competition between the pied-piping and non-pied piping option for satisfying the EPP feature on T (OE T either attracts the subject (giving **S-Vf-Vn** order) or the non-finite vP to its specifier (giving **S-Vn-Vf**). Both accounts crucially rely on the assumption that the finite verb (i.e. auxiliary or modal) is always in T. Biberauer & Roberts take that the verb is base-generated there, while Pintzuk assumes that it moves to T due to its strong features.

Under the syntactic approaches, the syntactic variation should not bring about interpretative differences (while this is in a way tacitly assumed in Biberauer & Roberts, Pintzuk's double-base hypothesis clearly predicts that). Upon a closer inspection, however, we see that these two orders do not quite mean the same, or more precisely, do not have the same pragmatic uses. In addition, one of the two orders is associated with subordinate clauses only, while the other is a feature of main clauses as well. In Biberauer & Roberts, this fact is obliterated, as their analysis covers only subordinate clauses,

while main clauses are deliberately left aside, presumably due their 'special' syntax. However, outside the special (operator or operator-like) contexts, which involve verb movement to projections higher than T, it is difficult to maintain that main clauses involve a derivation that is crucially different from the one(s) responsible for verb fronting patterns in subordinate clauses. If the modal verb/auxiliary can be in T in main clauses, then we also need an answer to the question why the pied-piping option (vPn-Vf) is never available in main clauses.

Before we can see the effects of the pragmatic status of a proposition on the word order, we need to first address the issue of pragmatic presupposition and assertion.

3.1 Pragmatic presupposition: definitions and general issues

On a broad characterization, the presuppositions of an utterance are the pieces of information that the speaker assumes (or acts as if he assumes) in order for his utterance to be meaningful in the current context. Depending on a particular type of analysis, it can include everything from general conversational norms to how specific linguistic expressions are construed (cf. Potts 2015). Generally, two types of presupposition are distinguished: pragmatic and semantic. The lack of presupposition is often identified as assertion.

3.1.1 Pragmatic vs. semantic presupposition

The theory of pragmatic, or speaker/conversational presupposition is attributed to Stalnaker (1970, 1973, 1974, 2002). On this view, presuppositions directly relate to linguistic interaction, norms of turn-taking in dialogue, and conversational plans and goals, as they provide crucial preconditions or information relevant to these components of communication. Therefore, pragmatic presuppositions cannot easily be traced to specific words or phrases, but rather seem to arise from more general properties of the context and the expectations of the discourse participants.

Semantic (conventional, lexical) presuppositions are part of the encoded meanings of specific words and constructions, called presupposition triggers (cf. Frege 1892/1980, Strawson 1950, Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990, and Heim & Kratzer 1998). Potts (2015) points out that although the label 'semantic' suggests a clean split from pragmatics, even semantic presuppositions are pragmatic in the sense that they must be evaluated in the discourse participants' common ground; most presuppositions hold only in specific contexts, so one always needs to know at least what the background store of knowledge is in order to evaluate them. The correlation between the two types of presupposition is of concern to Karttunen (1974) and Soames (1982), who try to capture the mix of semantic and pragmatic properties in terms of utterance presupposition.

Semantic accounts are potentially compatible with pragmatic ones, in the sense that using a presupposition trigger is an excellent way to achieve the speaker action of presupposing. However, the semantic view at least allows for the possibility that a speaker's utterance could presuppose a proposition *p* (as a matter of convention), even as that speaker did not intend to presuppose *p* (Soames 1982: 486; Levinson 1995), whereas this is impossible on an account based entirely in speaker intentions.

Semantic and pragmatic presupposition also have different outcomes in cases of their failure. On the semantic account, presupposition is a relation holding between a sentence and a proposition; if a presupposed proposition fails to be true, the result is lack of truth value, or undefinedness for the presupposing sentence. On the pragmatic account, presupposition is as a relation holding between speakers and/or utterances and propositions, and failure results in infelicity or anomaly.

Presupposition is in opposite relation to assertion. Assertion is commonly understood as the main point of the utterance, what the sentence/utterance is about and what the speaker commits to. Assertive propositions mainly correspond the main clause of the uttered sentence, while presupposed propositions, again only typically, correspond to embedded clauses. Assertion is then often linked to the Force of a sentence.

The opposition between presupposition and assertion, however, is not so clear-cut or easy to capture, on either account.

2.1.2 Presupposition projection

One of the core properties of presupposition is the so-called projection. It has been long noted that presupposed content typically survives when the presupposition triggering expression occurs under the syntactic scope of entailment-cancelling operators, or in entailment cancelling contexts. These contexts include negation, modals, conditional antecedents, and interrogative operators. They constitute what is commonly referred to as 'family of sentences' tests, and are typically used as a diagnostic for presupposition (cf. Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990, Geurts 1999, and Karttunen 1973).³⁹ So, if B is a presupposition of A, then B should survive if the initial utterance A is embedded under negation, a question operator, an epistemic modal, or if it constitutes the antecedent of a conditional. For instance, a sentence such as (1), there are two implications: (i) Sam smokes, (ii) Sam quit it.

(1) Sam quit smoking

When the family sentence tests are applied, only the first implication (i), projects, or 'survives', despite the presence of entailment-cancelling operators.

- (2) a. Sam didn't quit smoking.
b. Sam might quit smoking.
c. If Sam quit smoking, he'll be grumpy.
d. Did Sam quit smoking?

The family sentence tests detect semantic presuppositions.

³⁹ These context are also known as 'presupposition holes' (Karttunen 1973).

2.1.3 Presupposition/assertion and 'root phenomena'

Presupposition is often used as an explanation of the syntactic variation found in the embedded clauses.⁴⁰ More precisely, the so-called root phenomena in embedded clauses have been related to the presence or absence of presupposition.

The idea that certain syntactic operations are allowed only in main clauses ('root transformations') goes back to Emonds (1970). Topicalization, for instance, would be a typical example of a root transformation, as it (generally) occurs in main/root clauses.

(3) This book, you should read.

Hooper & Thompson (1973), however, show that certain embedded clauses also allow root transformations (topicalization in (4a)), while others reject them (4b).

- (4) a. John believes that this book, Mary read.
b. *John regrets that this book, Mary read.

Based on the possibility of licensing embedded root phenomena (ERP), Hooper and Thompson divide verbs with sentential complements into five classes. What allows a complement clause to exhibit root transformations, according to Hooper & Thompson, is assertion. ERP are possible only in asserted environments. For instance, it is possible in the complements of verbs of saying and thinking such as *say*, or *suppose*, because such embedded statements have the characteristics of (direct or indirect) assertions. In example (5) from Hooper & Thompson (1973: 474), the predicate *explain* selects a

⁴⁰ The notion of presupposition was first used to characterize the fact that definite descriptions come with the 'existence assumption', i.e. that definite descriptions presuppose the existence of the referent which cannot be cancelled even when the proposition containing it is negated (Strawson 1950, based on Frege's insight (1892, 68ff). Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970) transport the notion of presupposition to clausal complements, in their discovery of 'factive' and 'non-factive' verbs. Factive verbs such as 'regret' or 'know' trigger the presupposition that their clausal complements are true.

complement that expresses reported discourse. Such embedded clauses even express the main assertion in the utterance.

(5) The inspector explained that each part he had examined very carefully.

In contrast, factive predicates such as *regret* or *be strange* select a sentential complement which is presupposed and therefore cannot undergo root transformations (6).

(6) *It's strange that this book, it has all the recipes in it. (Hooper & Thompson 1973: 479)

Besides the complements of factive and non-factive predicates, the analysis is also adopted for relative and adverbial clauses. According to Hooper & Thompson (1973), non-restrictive relative clauses are not presupposed and, consequently, admit ERP. In contrast, restrictive relative clauses on definite heads express presupposed content, therefore, ERP are blocked.

Hooper & Thompson do not provide an absolute definition of assertion. They state that the assertion of a sentence is "its core meaning or main proposition," and that it "may be identified as that part which can be negated [and] questioned by the usual application of the processes of negation and interrogation" (Hooper and Thompson 1973: 473). Sentences may contain more than one assertion (in coordination, for example). Crucially, some subordinate clauses are asserted, and this is what allows them to exhibit root phenomena.

Green (1976) provides evidence that disputes Hooper & Thompson's claim that root phenomena can occur in all and only asserted clauses. First she points that their claim about assertion of a particular clause is based on a circular argument, as (some) assertive clauses are identified as such only on the basis of the grammaticality of root transformations occurring in them (root transformations occur in assertive clauses, assertive clauses are those that allow root transformations). Also, she notes that some root phenomena are possible in the complements of the counterfactive verb 'pretend' and performatives, such as 'bet', 'promise', and 'predict' (1976: 390–391), which, semantically, should be

presupposed. Green's solution to these issues is in terms of a pragmatic hypothesis. Embedded root phenomena are licensed "just in case the proposition they affect, and therefore emphasize, is one which the speaker supports" (1976: 386). She further argues that this is only one constraint out of many which may affect the acceptability of ERP.

Lambrecht (1994) offers evidence that the main-embedded clause distinction cannot be reduced to assertion-presupposition.⁴¹ Although in an utterance, main clauses generally add new content and update the common ground, and subordinate clauses are 'backgrounded', if not entirely presupposed, still the correlation between pragmatic assertion/presupposition and a type of clause is not so strict. Lambrecht points out to the familiar cases where the relation is inverted, when an embedded clause presents material that crucially updates the common ground. The temporal clause in (7), when used, for example, as an answer to the (implicit) question 'When will you clean your kitchen?', is the most informative part of the utterance.

(7) I'll do it when I have more time.

Also, there are cases where neither the main nor the embedded clause brings in 'new information' to the common ground. In (8), both propositions are 'familiar' or 'known' to both the speaker and the addressee. The fact that the sentence is still informative is because what is asserted is the relation of causality between two presupposed propositions, which were previously unrelated.

(8) I did it because you're my friend.

⁴¹ Lambrecht also emphasizes that pragmatic presupposition/assertion should not be identified with semantic notions of presupposition and assertion (the clash between the two is found in factive complements that essentially have a (narrowly) focused element. His definition is in terms of shared knowledge, but he doesn't dismiss the role of semantic presupposition ('lexicogrammatical'): "Pragmatic presupposition is the set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered." (Lambrecht 1994: 52).

Most of the more recent work translate the semantic concept of assertion and presupposition into more pragmatic terms, by claiming that only embedded clauses which have their own illocutionary force potential allow root transforms. In part, the approaches establish a connection between syntax and semantics by assuming that illocutionary force is encoded in a syntactic head Force (Haegeman 2003, 2006).

Since the alternation in the position of the finite verb is spread across all embedded clause types, the semantic view of presupposition cannot be applied to the OE situation. We will see that even the more pragmatic approaches fail to provide a full account of the variation. The root of the problem seems to be that both semantic and pragmatic account essentially identify key properties of embedded clauses and their propositions *in relation* with the main clause. While this relation certainly plays a role, it is not crucial for proper characterization of the proposition itself. I will rather claim that propositions should be first inspected independently, before we consider their relation with the main clause. The word order variation with respect to the position of the finite verb will be shown to come with interpretational differences which can be best attributed to the pragmatic presupposition and assertion. Before we illustrate these effects in OE, let us first present the major issues regarding pragmatic presupposition.

3.2 Stalnaker's Common Ground Theory

3.2.1 Pragmatic presupposition

The notion of pragmatic presupposition is originally stated by Stalnaker (1973, 1974), who argues that presupposition is not a property of linguistic items, but rather of utterances. As pointed out in 2.11, the pragmatic view of presupposition crucially differs from the semantic view in that presupposition is not seen as bearing on the truth conditionality of sentences. Rather, presupposition deals with constraints that utterances impose on contexts in which they may be uttered appropriately. Contexts themselves are viewed in terms of speaker's beliefs about the common ground of a conversation.

According to Stalnaker's pragmatic analysis: "A proposition P is a pragmatic presupposition of a speaker in a given context just in case the speaker assumes or believes that P, assumes or believes that his addressee assumes or believes that P, and assumes or believes that his addressee recognizes that he is making these assumptions, or has these beliefs." (Stalnaker 1974: 473)

In Stalnaker 1978:321, he introduces the notion of common ground as the key defining property of presupposition: "Presuppositions are what is taken by the speaker to be the COMMON GROUND of the participants in the conversation, what is treated as their COMMON KNOWLEDGE or MUTUAL KNOWLEDGE." When uttered assertively, sentences are meant to update the common ground. When accepted by the participants, the proposition of a sentence is added to the common ground. On this view, sentences can have pragmatic presuppositions in the sense of imposing certain requirements on the common ground. These requirements center around the speaker's assumptions or beliefs that the proposition he/she utters has the same cognitive status in the mind of the hearer.

As for the question of the source of presupposition within the pragmatic account, Stalnaker leaves it open that some presuppositions still remain to be conventional properties of particular words or sentences ('semantic presupposition'). But the key notion of understanding presupposition is in terms of conversational inference ("one can explain many presupposition constraints in terms of general conversational rules without building anything about presuppositions into the meanings of particular words or constructions" (Stalnaker 1974: 212)).

Von Stechow (2000) elaborates and further clarifies Stalnaker's point: "One natural source of pragmatic presuppositions may be semantic presuppositions associated with the sentence: conditions that need to be satisfied for the sentence to have a determinate semantic value. Stalnaker assumes that a sentence cannot be used to update a common ground unless it has a determinate semantic value in all of the worlds in the context set described by that common ground. If a speaker asserts such a sentence and intends for it to successfully do its job of updating the common ground, that speaker can do so only if he assumes that the semantic presuppositions of the sentence are entailed by the common ground." (von Stechow 2000: 2).

As 'classic' test for presuppositions detect semantic presupposition, von Stechow (2004) proposes the 'Hey, wait a minute' test for identifying pragmatic presuppositions. The test works under the assumption that the hearer may complain or express surprise if the speaker has uttered something he treats as a fact (a presupposition), if it has not been established before the speaker's utterance. Assertions, on the other hand, do not trigger complaints or surprise on the part of the hearer. In (9), the addressee can use 'Hey, wait a minute' only to respond to the presupposed part of A's utterance (the content of the relative clause), but not to the asserted part (the main clause predicate, the mathematician being a woman).

- (9) A: The mathematician who proved Goldbach's Conjecture is a woman.
B: Hey, wait a minute. I had no idea that someone proved Goldbach's Conjecture.
B': #Hey, wait a minute. I had no idea that that was a woman. (Von Stechow 2004: 217)

3.2.2 The problem of informative presuppositions and accommodation

It has been often pointed out that the common ground theory of presupposition runs into problems when it comes to the content which the speaker presents as presupposed even though it is not part of the common ground. The common argument is that in the standard cases of presupposition triggers, one often finds propositions which cannot be treated as part of the common ground. The problem has been recognized early by Stalnaker himself (Stalnaker 1974: 480, fn. 3), and the classic example which illustrates this effect is given in (10).

- (10) A: Are you going to lunch?
B: No, I've got to pick up my sister.

The definite NPs such as *my sister* involves a presupposition of the existence of a denotation. According to the common ground view, the utterance can be felicitous only in a conversation where the hearer knows that the speaker has a sister. Obviously, this does not need to be the case, since the

speaker can rather appropriately and successfully deliver such utterances in the contexts where the hearer is unfamiliar with the existence of the speaker's sister.

Abbot 2000 is a good source of other cases where conventional, or as she calls them 'grammatical', presuppositions are informative, i.e. cannot be treated as part of the shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer.⁴² In addition to definite descriptions, constructions which trigger presuppositions which are not part of the common ground are it-clefts, embedded announcements/complements of factive verbs and non-restrictive relatives. For it-clefts, Abbot refers to Prince's (1978) example of an 'informative-presupposition it-cleft'.

- (11) The leaders of the militant homophile movement in America generally have been young people. IT WAS THEY WHO FOUGHT BACK DURING A VIOLENT POLICE RAID ON A GREENWICH VILLAGE BAR IN 1969, AN INCIDENT FROM WHICH MANY GAYS DATE THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN CRUSADE FOR HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS. (PG, p. 16) [= Prince 1978: ex. 41b, small caps in Prince's paper; PG = Pennsylvania Gazette]

Prince characterizes this construction in the following way: "...not only is the hearer not expected to be thinking about the information in the that clause, but s/he is not expected even to KNOW it. In fact the whole point of these sentences is to inform the hearer of that very information" (Prince 1978: 898).

Complements of factive verbs containing announcements are given in (12).

- (12) a. We regret that children cannot accompany their parents to commencement exercises. (= Karttunen, 1974: ex. 26a)
b. We regret that H.P. Grice is ill and will be unable to attend the conference. (= Horn, 1986: ex. 54)

(13) illustrates that complements of factive complements can also contain propositions which are not common knowledge prior to the utterance (recall that the content is presuppositional due to the fact that it 'survives' under negation and question operator).

⁴² The problem is also recognized in Hooper (1975: 117) in terms of 'weak presupposition': "I must say that either presupposition needs to be redefined to exclude this weaker type of presupposition, or we must admit that weakly presupposed propositions may also be asserted."

- (13) a. I bet Mary isn't sorry that she stocked up on supplies before this snow storm.
b. I wonder whether you realize that Bahle's is closed today.
c. Do you think it's odd that that guy over there is trying to flag down a bus?

Finally, non-restrictive relative clauses can often contain new information. According to Abbot, the problem is that non-restrictive relative clauses are backgrounded or parenthetical to the main assertion of the sentence, and thus should be always understood as presupposed.⁴³

Abbot argues that the cases of informative presuppositions show that grammatical presuppositions cannot be simply reflections of the common ground (understood as common, mutual or shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer), and the crucial question is then where they come from.

A standard response to the issue of informative presuppositions within the pragmatic view of presupposition is accommodation. Namely, speakers can presuppose things that have not already been established as part of the common ground. In such cases, the speakers are implicitly asking the addressees to accommodate (Lewis 1979) that information, by adding it to the common ground, or at least by adding to the common ground that the speaker is publicly committed to that information.⁴⁴ The hearer recognizes that the speaker has presupposed something as if it was common ground, and adjusts his common ground accordingly.

Potts (2015) points out that accommodation happens with ease, when the speaker is known by the hearer/addressee to be knowledgeable and trustworthy, and the information is straightforward. Untrustworthy sources and surprising information (for example, when a student offers as an excuse a statement such as 'My giraffe ate my homework') will not be easy to accommodate. Thomason 1990 is an excellent source of arguments for the process of accommodation. According to Thomason, the social and communicative reasons which trigger the speaker's use and the addressee's acceptance of

⁴³ For an elaborate account of the non-presuppositional nature of non-restrictive (supplemental) relative clauses see Potts 2003, as well as the crucial difference between being non-presupposed and being 'at issue'.

⁴⁴ The exact formulation of Lewis' rule of accommodation for presupposition is given in (i).

(i) If at time *t* something is said that requires presupposition *P* to be acceptable, and if *P* is not presupposed just before *t*, then – ceteris paribus and within certain limits – presupposition *P* comes into existence at *t*. (Lewis 1979: 340).

accommodation include the need to speed the exchange of information along, to indicate that certain information should be adopted as uncontroversial, and to be discrete or polite as part of a broader negotiation.

While accommodation seems to be an easy and a natural process, the question that arises, however, is how exactly, and at what point accommodation takes place. How exactly can the speaker have beliefs or assumptions that the hearer/addressee will be willing or able to share those beliefs or assumptions about the common ground status of a proposition? Or, how do we recognize the social and communicative factors mentioned above?

Stalnaker was immediately aware of the problematic cases of informative presuppositions, and the fact that the speaker is clearly not actually assuming that the presupposed proposition is already part of the common ground. His first solution to the problem (Stalnaker 1973, 1974) is to treat such examples as involving a kind of pretense. The speaker is pretending to make this assumption, he is acting as if he is making the assumption.⁴⁵

In his later work, Stalnaker (1978: 321) follows up on the pretense-theory and defines presupposition as following: "A proposition is presupposed if the speaker is *disposed to act* as if he assumes or believes that the proposition is true, and as if he assumes or believes that his audience assumes or believes that it is true as well." This definition makes it possible to for the speaker to make a presupposition although he does not take the presupposed proposition to be common ground material. On this view, presupposing is simply pretending that or acting as if the presupposed proposition is common ground.

While the pretense-view offers a description of what the speaker might be occasionally doing when presupposing new material, it still does not offer a satisfactory solution to the problem of the hearer. It is difficult to maintain that in cases of informative presuppositions the hearer is already presupposing

⁴⁵ Pretense of communication occurs in situations in which the speaker's assert common knowledge. In the so-called phatic communication, which often occurs among casual acquaintances or strangers (Beautiful day, isn't it!, 'We sure need rain') the speaker does not intend to communicate any particular information, other than that human beings should in principle not ignore one another, even when they have no information to exchange (Stalnaker 1974: 474).

the relevant proposition, even if they are disposed to act as if the proposition is true as soon as the speaker presupposes it. On a closer inspection, it soon becomes obvious that the assumption of pretense or exploitation does not seem to be valid for the speaker himself either, as there are many cases where no pretense or exploitation can be noted on behalf of the speaker.

Stalnaker considers the suggestion offered by Sadock (who was the first to point out the problem examples with informative definites) that the common ground should be revised, so that the speaker no longer needs to assume that the addressee *believes* that P, but rather only assume 'that the addressee *has no reason to doubt* that P'.⁴⁶ However, Stalnaker immediately points out a problem with such definitions of presupposition. It would mean that anything that the speaker assumes to be uncontroversial for the addressee is automatically a presupposition of the speaker. If that were the case, the pragmatic principle that one should not assert what they already presuppose would not hold. In other words, the weakened criterion on common ground obliterates the distinction between presupposition and assertion. "If what you presuppose is what you assume your addressee has no reason to doubt, then you would be prohibited from asserting many things" (von Stechow 2008: 150). To illustrate the point, Stalnaker offers the example of "a routine lecture or briefing by an acknowledged expert. It may be that everything he says is something that the audience has no reason to doubt, but this does not make it inappropriate for him to speak" (Stalnaker 1974: 480, Fn. 2).

Soames (1982) believes that the phenomenon of informative presuppositions "undermines all definitions which make the presence of presupposed propositions in the conversational context *prior* to an utterance a necessary condition for the appropriateness of the utterance" (Soames 1982: 461, Fn. 5). He does not adopt Stalnaker's pretense-definition of speaker's presupposition but retains the simpler notion that presuppositions are 'assumed' to be common-ground. He argues that in the cases of informative presuppositions, "a speaker's utterance presupposes a proposition, even though the speaker

⁴⁶ 'Abbot (2008) points out that a similar explanation is also offered by Grice: 'So the supposition must not be that it is common knowledge but rather that it is noncontroversial, in the sense that it is something that you would expect the hearer to take from you (if he does not already know). (Grice 1981: 274).

himself does not presuppose it" (Soames 1982: 487). Soames also believes that the crucial property of utterance presupposition is that a proposition is uncontroversial. The exact formulation of utterance presupposition is given in (14).

- (14) An utterance U presupposes P (at t) iff one can reasonably infer from U that the speaker S accepts P and regards it as uncontroversial, either because
- a. S thinks that it is already part of the conversational context at t, or because
 - b. S thinks that the audience is prepared to add it, without objection, to the context against which U is evaluated. (Soames 1982: 430)

Sentence presupposition is then defined as follows: "A sentence S presupposes P iff normal utterances of S presuppose P."

Von Stechow (2000) points out the problem with defining sentence presupposition in terms of utterance proposition. He argues that in Soames' definition it is left open "why one would be able to reasonably infer that the speaker thinks that the audience is prepared to add the presupposed proposition P, without objection, to the context against which U(utterance) is evaluated. We can't say that that is because the sentence presupposes P, since sentence presupposition is defined in terms of utterance presupposition. Somehow, the semantics of the sentence would have to directly stipulate the fact that it gives rise to utterance presuppositions" (von Stechow 2000: 8).

Stalnaker (2002) offers a way to maintain the common ground view of presupposition in terms of common belief. His crucial step is to extend the notion of the common ground of an utterance to include information contained in the utterance itself which may not have been believed to be commonly accepted by the interlocutors *prior* to the utterance. Stalnaker summarizes the argument as follows: "I have argued that, in general, if it is common belief that the addressee can come to know from the manifest utterance event both that the speaker is presupposing that *p*, and that *p* is true, that will suffice to make *p* common belief, and so a presupposition of the addressee as well as the speaker.

(Stalnaker 2002: 710).⁴⁷

This view has received a lot of criticism as the process of accommodation is left as 'mysterious' (Burton-Roberts 1989, Gauker 1998, Simons 2003, a.o.). Von Stechow (2000, 2008) provides arguments in defence of the view that the common ground theory can be maintained,⁴⁸ and that informative presuppositions can be handled. He points out that presuppositions are requirements that the common ground needs to be a certain way for the sentence to do its intended job, namely updating the common ground. Thus, the common ground must satisfy the presuppositional requirements **before the update** can be performed, **not actually before the utterance occurs**. He claims that that an utterance will affect the common ground in two steps: (i) first, the fact that the utterance was made becomes common ground (and the participants may immediately draw inferences based on that fact, and perhaps adjust the common ground accordingly), (ii) then, assuming that the proper (implicit) negotiation has occurred, the asserted proposition is added to the common ground. On this two-stage picture of utterance interpretation, presupposed content is added to the common ground prior to the acceptance or rejection of the utterance as a whole.

Von Stechow gives more precise details on how accommodation is usually handled. Informative use of presupposition may be successful in two particular kinds of circumstances: (i) the listeners may be genuinely agnostic as to the truth of the relevant proposition, assume that the speaker knows about its truth and trust the speaker not to speak inappropriately or falsely; (ii) the listeners may not want to

⁴⁷ Stalnaker (1998) supports this idea with an analogy to the interpretation of indexicals: "Suppose Phoebe says "I saw an interesting movie last night." To determine the content of her remark, one needs to know who is speaking, and so Phoebe, if she is speaking appropriately, must be presuming that the information that she is speaking is available to her audience – that it is shared information. But she need not presume that this information was available before she began to speak. The prior context that is relevant to the interpretation of a speech act is the context as it is changed by the fact that the speech act was made, but prior to the acceptance or rejection of the speech act." (Stalnaker 1998: 101).

⁴⁸ Von Stechow insists that on an important difference between his view and that of Stalnaker. "For him, pragmatic presuppositions of sentences are requirements on the speaker's presuppositions, not on the common ground. I beg to differ from this. I find it much easier to think of the presuppositional component of the meaning of a sentence as being a requirement on the information state it is used to update. Since the information state a sentence is used to update in the ideal case is the common ground, the presuppositional requirements are imposed on the common ground.

challenge the speaker about the presupposed proposition, because it is irrelevant to their concerns and because the smoothness of the conversation is important enough to them to warrant a little leeway.

Still, it is not clear what the utterance needs to be like to be able to be recognized by the addressee as presupposed by the speaker. For Simons (2003, 2006) this seems to be the major problem for the common ground view of pragmatic presupposition. She points out that on the common ground view of presupposition, accommodation can be achieved only if the speaker is relying on the conventional properties of the utterance for the hearer to be able to recognize that the speaker is treating it as presupposed. Even though Stalnaker himself does not dismiss the influence of 'general conversational rules' on getting presuppositional information, Simons argues that such rules are incompatible with the common ground theory. "To give an account of conversationally generated presupposition on the common ground view, we must now construct some conversational reasoning that has as its primary conclusion that utterance of S is appropriate only if the speaker has the belief that some proposition *p* will be common ground immediately after the utterance. But why should *future* common ground determine the conversational appropriateness of an utterance? What grounds could a speaker have for such a belief except that the utterance she has made constitutes evidence of her utterance-time belief that *p*?" (Simons 2006: 14). She argues that presupposition should rather be defined in terms of conversational inferences. Conversationally generated inference is "an inference about intended interpretation which is due in part to general principles governing reasonable, rational conversation, such as those posited by Grice (1967), or the interpretational heuristics posited by Levinson (2000). In generating conversational inferences, an interpreter relies on these principles together with observations about the literal content of the utterance, or of some part of the utterance, or the form in which that content is expressed, and observations about the situation of utterance, the goals of the conversation, and so on" (Simons 2006: 2).

I will leave it open to what extent these issues represent a problem for the common ground theory. Clearly though, as presuppositions can contain 'new information', common ground should not be understood strictly as 'shared/mutual knowledge', but also as shared beliefs and assumptions of the

speaker and the hearer that the set of propositions in the common ground of a conversation is taken for granted and not subject to (further) discussion (cf. von Stechow 2000, 2008).

I will take that the differences observed between Vn-Vf and V-Vn largely correspond to the notions assumed to underlie pragmatic presupposition. The closest characterization is that the variation reflects the pragmatic status of a proposition at the point of utterance.

3.2.3 Assertion

On the common ground view, assertion is seen as update of the common ground. Stalnaker (1978: 323): "(...) the essential effect of an assertion is to change the presuppositions of the participants in the conversation by adding the content of what is asserted to what is presupposed." Even though the notion of 'update' is not fully explicated in Stalnaker's account, many people understand that 'update' should correlate with new information, i.e. something that is not part of the mutual/shared beliefs/assumptions between the speaker and the hearer, or part of the common ground of conversation.⁴⁹ The main problem then is that assertion, whose function is to update the common ground, should correlate with new information, but, as we have seen before, new information is not restricted to assertion (i.e. can occur in the so-called informative presuppositions).⁵⁰ Also, assertion itself does not always correspond to new information. Recall the example from Lambrecht 1994: 58, where both the proposition found in a subordinate clause and the one in the main clause are known both to the speaker and the addressee, and where what is asserted is the new relation between the two 'old' propositions.

⁴⁹ When compared to presupposed propositions, the effect of 'more relevance' is noted for assertion. Hooper (1975:97), for instance, uses the term assertion "to mean a declarative proposition or a claim to truth that, on at least one reading, may be taken as the semantically dominant proposition in the discourse."

⁵⁰ Abbott (2008) argues that the most problematic part of the common ground view of presuppositions is that it blurs the distinction between assertions and presuppositions, as they do not map onto the new/old information distinction.

(15) A: Why did you do that?

B: I did it because you are my friend

Abbott (2000, 2008) provides a number of arguments why assertion/presupposition cannot be viewed in contributing new/old information. Just as there are informative presuppositions (non-restrictive relative clauses, for instance, that contain new information, but are still somehow backgrounded to the main assertion, or complements of factive verbs of emotion ('regret') in announcements), there are assertions which do not provide new information. Such are 'assertions of common knowledge' ('Linguistics is a science – I need hardly remind this group of that'), as well as are reminders (assertions of propositions the speaker assumes the addressee has not thought about for a while ('You have a dentist appointment next Tuesday'), or propositions which *are* in the addressee's consciousness, but not 'at the current forefront or property in focus' ('But I've just agreed that I'll pick Sue up'). Assertions with old information's are also often used when speakers (especially politicians, preachers, etc) repeat assertions for rhetorical effect to gain maximal impact from them. Logical truths ('It ain't over till it's over', 'Either you saw him or you didn't') often get asserted, without an intention to be informative, but rather with different functions (excuses, comforting, warnings, and so on), (Abbott 2008: 533).

Based on such evidence, she proposes that presuppositions should simply be viewed as non-assertions. In Abbott 2000: 1431 she explicitly proposes that "(...) what is asserted is what is presented as the main point of the utterance - what the speaker is going on record as contributing to the discourse." For Abbott, an ideal assertion is 'one atomic proposition, consisting of one predicate', typically, but not necessarily corresponding to the main clause in the sentence.

3.2.3.1 Assertion vs. main point of utterance

Simons (2007) argues that assertion cannot be equated to the main point of the utterance (MPU):

"The main point of an utterance U of a declarative sentence S is the proposition p, communicated by U, which renders U relevant" (2007:1035). MPU can be detected if the content can serve as an answer

to a question (thus making the utterance relevant). Assertion, on the other hand, is the part of utterance to which the speaker commits. While these two notions often overlap, they are not the same. Simons shows this by the denial test. Only when assertion is targeted by denial, the utterance gets rejected (as speaker's commitment gets cancelled). Denial of MPU does not lead to the rejection of the utterance. This can be verified when the MPU is found in the embedded clause, as in (10B).

- (16) A: Why isn't Louise coming to our meeting these days?
B: Henry thinks that she's left town.
C: a. But she hasn't. I saw her yesterday in the supermarket.
b. No he doesn't. He told me he saw her yesterday in the supermarket.

The MPU in (16B) is the proposition of that-clause as it directly provides an answer to the question in (16A). While it is possible to reject this proposition as an explanation, we still do not reject the utterance as a whole. However, when the main clause proposition is denied, the whole claim is rejected. Therefore, even though the MPU is in the embedded clause, the speaker commits to the proposition in the main clause, and this kind of commitment accompanies assertion.

3.2.3.2 Assertion vs. At-issueness

Another way of avoiding the standard problems of the presupposition-assertion distinction is the notion of 'at-issueness'. 'At-issue' is a kind of meaning necessary to distinguish in order to account for the fact that it is possible to get projection with propositions that are not presupposed. Namely, it has been noted that propositions which do not contain old, background information are able to project, i.e. survive under the syntactic scope of entailment cancelling operators and in entailment cancelling context (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990; Beaver 2001; Potts 2005; Roberts 2006; Roberts, Simons, Beaver & Townhauer 2009). As the family of sentences tests are normally taken to detect presupposed meaning, either the definition of presupposition as old/background information is wrong, or these tests

target different kind of meaning, and we can no longer maintain that correlation between survival under embedding and presupposition is absolute.

Simons et al. (2010), Potts (2005), and Roberts et al. (2009) argue that implications which survive under embedding need not be presupposed. This is best illustrated by non-restrictive relative clauses, as in the example from Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990. In (27b), the non-restrictive relative clause contains information that cannot be considered to be presupposed in this context. Yet, the non-restrictive clause shows typical projection behaviour in all the familiar tests (18). However, non-restrictive clauses cannot be treated as presupposed, as they (typically) deliver new information, and in that sense cannot be considered part of the common ground. Again, it should be pointed out that common ground here is understood in its rather literal sense (old, backgrounded information), without including the process of accommodation of novel propositions as part of the common ground.

- (17) a. Let me tell you about Jill Jenson, a woman I met while flying from Ithaca to New York last week.
b. Jill, who lost something on the flight, likes to travel by train

- (18) a. embed under negation:
Jill, who lost something on the flight, doesn't like to travel by plane.
b. embed under interrogation:
Does Jill, who lost something on the flight, like to travel by train?
c. embed under a modal:
Jill, who lost something on the flight, might like to travel by train.
d. embed in the antecedent of a conditional:
If Jill, who lost something on the flight, doesn't like to travel by train, she should buy a car.

Based on cases such as (18), Beaver et al. (2010) and Roberts et al. (2009) argue that projection is not tied to presupposition but to discourse structure. Propositions show projective meanings when they have a particular discourse status: they are not part of the main point, i.e. they are not-at-

issue.⁵¹ Assuming that operators such as negation target the main point of an utterance, meanings, which are not part of the at-issue content, are ignored by operators and hence project.

(19) "<...> projection is a consequence of the scope of sentential operators such as negation, conditionals and modals typically being limited roughly to what is understood as the main point, or, in the terminology we will use, the at-issue content of the utterance. Whatever does not belong to the main point — the not-at-issue content — is left out of the scope of the operator, and hence projects." (Roberts et al. 2009)

(20) "Our hypothesis claims that material projects if and only if it is actually not-at-issue" (Roberts et al. 2009).

According to Beaver et al. (2009) and Simons et al. (2010), the best way to distinguish at-issue from not at-issue content, is by Question Under Discussion (QUD) test (originally proposed by Roberts 1996). QUD is essentially the (actual or implicit) question corresponding to the current discourse topic (or immediate discourse goal).⁵²

At-issue content is content either addresses the QUD or raises another QUD which is relevant to the present one or to make a suggestion (via an imperative). Non at-issue content, on the other hand, is the additional material in an utterance, which, although it may be new and of interest to the interest, and adds to the information store of the addressee, still does not move the conversation forward in the direction established by discourse goals.

Relevance to the QUD, as the fundamental notion in the definition of at-issueness is best tested via the yes/no question associated with a proposition (?p, or 'whether p'). "A proposition p is at-issue relative to a question Q iff ?p is relevant to Q" (Simons et al. 2010: 317).

⁵¹ Roberts (1996) calls it 'proffered' content, which, like 'at-issue', helps to convey that hearers will expect this information to constitute the speaker's central message

⁵² According to Roberts' (1996) model of information flow in discourse, the main of discourse is information exchange. Felicity of an utterance is constrained by the so-called intentional structure of discourse exchange. Roberts assumes that two basic discourse moves (essentially, speech acts) are questions (which establish immediate discourse goals) and assertions (which lead towards the accomplishment of these goals). Assertions are subject to Gricean Relevance constraint as they need to address the question established as the immediate goal of the discourse. This question is the current Question Under Discussion, or QUD.

To show at-issueness test works, I will present two examples from Antomo 2012. The utterance in (21) contains the embedded clause which projects ($p = \textit{Marge had her hair done}$). It can be assumed that QUD is the reason for Marge's being angry, and that A's utterance provides an answer to it.

(21) QUD: Why is Marge so angry?

A: Homer didn't notice that she got her hair done.

To test the contribution (relevance) of the proposition in the embedded clause, it needs to be established whether the question $?p = \textit{Did Marge get her hair done?}$ has any complete or partial answer relevant to the QUD. In (21) it does not, and the proposition is not at-issue. Being not at-issue, it is ignored by negation of the main predicate and is able to project.

Non-factive complement clauses, on the other hand, can entail an answer to the current QUD. In (22A), the proposition in the embedded clause is relevant with respect to the QUD.

(22) QUD: Why is Marge so sad?

A: Homer said that they won't be able to buy a car.

Non-restrictive clauses are not at-issue in the same way. Neither $?p = \textit{Did Jill lose something on the flight}$, with the answers $p = \textit{Jill lost something on the flight}$, nor $\neg p = \textit{Jill didn't lose something on the flight}$, entails an answer to the QUD, and consequently, the proposition is not at-issue, and that is why the content of the relative clause projects.

(23) QUD: Will Jill take the car or will she take the train?

A: Jill, who lost something on the flight, likes to travel by train.

At-issueness as defined in Beaver et al. 2010 is not conventionally triggered but depends on the actual use in discourse. However, there are cases where the effect of conventional triggers of not at-issueness can override the relevance of such propositions to the QUD. Thus, a non-restrictive relative clause

cannot be felicitously uttered as an answer to QUD even if the content of the relative clause is at-issue (24).

(24) QUD: Why is Jill upset?/Did Jill lose something on the flight?

A: #Jill, who lost something on the flight, likes to travel by train.

The same holds for other types of clauses. Even though the proposition of the embedded clause (that it is raining) is directly relevant to the QUD, still the whole utterance as an intended answer is unacceptable (25).

(25) QUD: What's the weather like?

A: #Bob realizes/doesn't realize that it's raining.

Therefore, both non-restrictive and factive complements conventionally rule out at-issueness. However, in certain cases, utterances with projective meanings can be used as relevant to the QUD are in fact possible. This is illustrated in (26), where the propositions of non-restrictive relative clauses seem to be able to provide answers to the QUD.

(26) QUD: Who's coming to the dinner tonight?

A: Well, I haven't talked to Charles, who probably won't be able to come, but I did talk to Sally, who is coming.

To account for such cases, Beaver et al. revise the original definition of at-issueness (27), and propose that the crucial point in examples such as (26) above is lack of the speaker's intention. Namely, in such cases the content of the $p = \text{Charles won't be able to come}$ and $p = \text{Sally is coming}$ are not intended by the speaker as an answer to the QUD. Therefore, Beaver et al. propose a more complex (and less clear-cut, in their own admission) characterization of at-issueness which now include the intention of the speaker.

(27) Revised definition of at-issueness

- a. A proposition p is at-issue iff the speaker intends to address the QUD via $?p$.
- b. An intention to address the QUD via $?p$ is felicitous only if:
 - i. $?p$ is relevant to the QUD, and
 - ii. the speaker can reasonably expect the addressee to recognize this intention.

Thus at-issueness is determined by speaker intention, which is constrained by (a) the relevance to the QUD, and (b) the need for the speaker to be able to recognize the intention. Beaver et al. assume that such cases arise when a proposition is 'linguistically' marked as being not at-issue: "if some proposition is linguistically marked as not-at-issue, then, as long as the resulting interpretation is felicitous in other respects, the addressee will take it that the speaker does not intend to address the QUD via that proposition." (cited in Simons et al. 2010: 323). In (26), the fact that the propositions potentially relevant to the QUD are delivered by non-restrictive relative clauses (which are now seen as conventional markers of non-at-issueness) serves as an indication to the addressee to treat them as not-at-issue in the speaker's utterance. In Chapter 4 we will see that the same restriction of being conventionally marked for a certain interpretation can be noted for the presumably assertive Vf-Vn orders in OE.

The main test for at-issueness is direct denial (Roberts et al. 2009, Beaver et al. 2009), as it identifies the speaker's commitment to a proposition. If replying with 'no' can deny the truth of the clause, the proposition in it is at-issue. If direct denial does not affect the truth of the clause, the proposition is non at-issue.

(28) Jill, who lost something on the flight, likes to travel by train

A: #No (that's not true). She didn't lose something on the flight

B: No (that's not true). She doesn't like to travel by the train.

Simons et al. 2010 also suggest that von Stechow's 'Hey, wait a minute'-test, even though originally intended for detecting presuppositional content, can also be used as indirect rejection of non at-issue content.

(29) Jill, who lost something on the flight, likes to travel by train

A: Hey, wait a minute! She didn't lose anything on the flight.

Interestingly, in addition to projection, the availability of only an indirect denial, represents another property shared by non at-issuence and presupposition. Recall again that the only distinction between presupposition and non at-issuence is in terms of 'old' vs. 'new' information. While proponents of the (non) at-issuence account take that the main problem for assertion-presupposition distinction are cases of 'informative presuppositions', to me it seems that they run into the same problem as the Stalnakerian solution in terms of accommodation. Just as accommodation requires the addressee to recognize the speaker's intention to deliver something as presupposed, so does at-issuence. In other words, just like 'old information' is not the only deciding factor for presupposition, neither is new information for at-issuence.

Even though the concept of at-issuence is used to divorce projection from presupposition, it is not clear how it relates to assertion. We must distinguish then the proposition to which the speaker commits and what he wants to communicate as relevant to QUD.

3.2.4 Pragmatic presupposition and givenness

Despite the problem of informative presupposition and the fact that assertive proposition need not contain new information, still, at the core of the distinction between presupposition and assertion is the opposition between givenness and non-givenness/newness (in whatever relevant sense or perspective). As I will be treating propositions as discourse entities, whose discourse states are directly reflected on their word order, it would be useful to see how referentially simpler discourse entities (nominal expressions) behave in the discourse context, i.e. how the notions of givenness and newness are mapped on them, and what characterizations and descriptions of 'being new/given' in discourse apply in those cases.

The distinction between 'given' and 'new' discourse states has been stated in a number of different terms, by different authors. For Clark and Haviland (1977), the distinction between given and new is in terms of shared knowledge: given is the information that the speaker believes the listener already knows and accepts as true, whereas new is that information which the speaker believes that the listener does not yet know (Clark and Haviland 1977: 4). Chafe's (1976) explains the opposition between given and new in the sense of cognitive activation/salience: "Given (or old) information is that knowledge that the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. So-called new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says" (Chafe 1976: 30). Kuno (1978) argues for the distinction between given vs. new in the sense of predictability/recoverability: "An element in a sentence represents old, predictable information if it is recoverable from the preceding context; if it is not recoverable, it represents new, unpredictable information" (Kuno 1978: 282–283).

Prince (1981) argues that none of the explanations of the given/new distinction – whether in terms of cognition (the cognitive state of the interlocutors) or in terms of discourse status on the basis of the immediate context - is sophisticated or elaborate enough to cover all the instances of the interpretations given/new. She proposes a scalar model in which features 'given' and 'new' are further subcategorized. In her model three pragmatic states are distinguished: (i) new, (ii) inferable, and (iii) evoked. Each is further subdivided. The notion of 'newness' covers (a) brand new items, or items whose existence in the mental world of the listener is being created at the time of the utterance, and (b) 'unused' items which are 'known' to the hearer but not activated at the time of utterance. Brand-new referents can be (i) 'anchored' or (ii) 'unanchored', depending whether or not a brand-new item is linked/anchored to another entity that is not brand-new itself. This occurs e.g. in the case of modified NPs like *a person I know* or *a girl I work with*.

On the opposite end of the scale are entities already evoked in the discourse model. They can be (i) evoked textually, i.e. they are explicitly mentioned in previous context, or they are (ii) evoked

situationally, e.g. when they refer to the interlocutors themselves, or to referents which are salient in the communicative situation.

In between the two are the so-called inferable entities. An inferable entity is a referent that may be inferred by the addressee from other information that has already been given. Inferables are new in the discourse model, in the sense that their existence has not been given prior to the utterance, but the addressee can logically infer the referent from other entities already evoked in the context. Here, one subclass is represented by the so-called 'containing inferables', i.e. by referents staying in a set-member relationship (*picnic supplies-beer*), and another one is formed by the so-called 'noncontaining inferables', i.e. by referents staying in an analogy relation to one another (*bus-driver; party-music* etc.).

An attempt to apply the notions of cognitive/discourse statuses on propositions has been made by Dryer (1996), who discusses the cases of what he calls 'activated propositions'. He points out that the distinction between pragmatic presupposition and assertion goes beyond the strict definition in terms of 'shared beliefs' and 'common knowledge', and that notions such as 'activation' and 'representation' are also relevant.⁵³ Propositions do not only differ with respect whether they are believed or not, but also whether and how much they have been activated before the utterance, and how they are represented in the mind of the speaker and the hearer. Dryer argues that something can be part of common knowledge/believed by the speaker and the hearer, and still be used as asserting, because it has not been activated in the discourse at the point of utterance. With the parameter of mental representation, the notion of 'knowledge or shared knowledge' goes beyond including only those proposition that are believed.

In the discussion of the interpretations associated with Vn-Vf orders in embedded clauses, I will make recourse to these concepts and descriptions. Adopting a version of cognitive/discourse status terms makes it easier to discuss interpretational characteristics of a particular word order. The intention

⁵³ Dryer's main concern is the proper characterization of non-focus in a simple sentence. He discusses pragmatic presupposition as relevant for the understanding of what the 'complement of focus' is.

is not to make an explicit claim that propositions should be treated on a par with individual discourse referents, but rather to make use of correlations, which certainly can be found.

3.3 Verb Movement in OE embedded clauses and Embedded Root Phenomena

In the investigation of the effect of pragmatic presupposition on the variation in the position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses, I focus on two types of subordinate clauses: temporal and conditional clauses. The main reason why these two types of subordinate clauses have been chosen is that they generally show somewhat special behaviour when it comes to embedded root phenomena (ERP), in comparison to other embedded clause types. Namely, temporal and conditional clauses, at least across Germanic languages, are most resistant to ERP. In fact, they are typically treated as presupposed. Conditional clauses, or more precisely, conditional clause antecedents, are one of the standard tests of presupposition. Temporal clauses, especially those introduced by 'before' and 'after' are often treated as typical presupposition triggers.

Recall that one of the issues most discussed in the literature on Germanic subordinate clauses is the presence or absence of ERP. Root phenomena roughly comprise structural phenomena such as subject-auxiliary inversion, verb movement (either V2 or short verb fronting), topicalization and other kind of fronting/preposing operations. In addition, certain lexical items such as modal particles and speaker-oriented adverbials are also taken as root clause properties (cf. Green 1976, Haegeman 2003, 2006, 2007, 2010).⁵⁴

When it comes to OE, it is not so straightforward what operations would count as potential embedded root phenomena. Topicalization, at least the one across the pronominal subject, is undoubtedly a feature of main clauses, and can be found only in certain types of embedded clauses.

⁵⁴ In English root phenomena comprise Left Dislocation, VP Preposing, Negative Constituent Preposing, Directional Adverb Preposing, Participle Preposing, PP Substitution, Subject Replacement, Direct Quote Preposing, Complement Preposing, Adverb Dislocation, Right Dislocation Tag Question Formation, and Topicalization.

Verb movement to a high(er) position is a more complicated matter. Recall that verb movement in main clauses is not the same in operator contexts (questions, negative and *þa/þonne* clauses) and topic-clauses (possibly including subject initial clauses as well). While in the first type of main clauses, verb movement yields V2 effect and subject-verb inversion across the board, in topic clauses, V2 effect or subject-verb inversion is observed only with nominal subjects, and the assumption is that in such sentences the verb is in a lower position than in the operator contexts. As far as the 'true' V2 is concerned, one rarely finds instances of subject-verb inversion in embedded clauses. As noted by Haeberli (1999), the word order whereby the fronted verb immediately follows the complementizer, are non-productive in OE. On the other hand, subject-verb inversion with fronted topics can occasionally be found in embedded clauses, and such cases can in principle count as an embedded root phenomenon, i.e. as involving a type of verb movement characteristic only of main clauses. In Chapter 2, we have shown that the issue of embedded topicalization is not so straightforward. Pintzuk (1991) argues that XP-Vf-Subject orders are true instances of embedded topicalization, coupled with verb movement, of the kind found in main clauses. However, van Kemenade (1997) shows that subject-verb inversion with fronted topics is restricted to 'unaccusative verbs' (passives, impersonal constructions, and ergative verbs, such as 'come', 'go', 'burst', etc.). To these, I add verbs of saying/communication and certain experiencer verbs (such as 'hear', 'love', etc.). These verbs are special in that the syntactic subject/the nominative argument is merged in the position within VP other than the one reserved for agentive subjects (SpecvP), and is simply not forced to target the higher subject position, SpecTP (or SpecSigmaP on van Kemenade and Milićev's 2005/2012 analysis). As they can be in the position lower than TP, the verb preceding such subjects is not necessarily in (extended) C-domain. Examples such as (30), where a non-unaccusative verb is inverted with the subject are extremely rare, if not exceptional.

- (30) and he him cwæð to andsware þæt naht eaðe **ne mihte** ænig camplic meniu swilc weorc
 and he him said to answer that not easily not might any armed multitude such work
 tobrecan mid swa wundorlicum hefe
 break with such wonderful weight

'and he said to him in answer that not easily could an armed multitude break in pieces such a work of such wondrous weight'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:1235.6780)

Therefore, verb movement can be taken as a root phenomenon only in the sense that that in main/root clauses, it is rare in clause final position (according to Koopman 1995, figures across texts range from: 0.5 to 6 per cent), and that clearly some kind of verb movement is obligatory in main clauses, whereas in embedded clauses, this movement is optional.

Let us now consider the cases of embedded topicalization in more detail. As embedded topicalization is rarely accompanied by verb movement, the only diagnostic for topicalization in embedded clauses will have to be movement of the nominal object across a pronominal subject. As pronominal subjects almost categorically occupy the highest position in OE embedded clauses (cf. van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012), instances where a nominal object precedes a pronominal subject can be viewed as mirroring the situation in main/root clauses, and such orders qualify as ERP.

In Milićev 2008, I show that in OE embedded topicalization is restricted to certain types of clauses. We find it in complements of bridge verbs⁵⁵ (*cwæðan* 'say', *tiðian* 'grant', etc.), comparative *swa*-clauses, extent clauses, licensed by *swa* 'so' or *swylc* 'such', *to ðan* 'to such an extent' and a degree phrase, as well as in clauses introduced by *forðam/for þan þe* 'because' (similar observation for the special behaviour *forðam/for þan þe* clauses have also been noted in Koopman 1992 and Kroch & Taylor 1997).

- (31) a. & he þæt swa gelæste, þæt þone dæl he Wilferðe biscope for Gode gesealde
and he that so performed that the part he Wilferth bishop for God gave
'and he did it so, that he gave that part to Bishop Wilferth for God'

(cobede,Bede_4:18.306.25.3110)

⁵⁵ The following set of verbs take root-like complements: *seġan* 'say', *cyðan* 'say, make known', *tellan* 'tell, reckon, announce', *geundan* 'grant, allow, give; wish, desire', *tiþian* 'grant, allow', *getacnian* 'mark, indicate, denote, signify, demonstrate, express', *seon* 'see', *ongietan* 'understand', *witan* 'know'. Even though 'bridge verbs' always escape any semantic classification (cf. Heycock 2005), we can quite clearly observe that OE bridge verbs most commonly include verbs of communication and perception.

- b. ne hi na mare don ne mihton, buton **bitere tearas** hi simle aleton
 nor they not more do not might except bitter tears they always shed
 'nor could they do anything anymore, except that they always shed bitter tears'
 (cosevensl,LS_34_[SevenSleepers]:35.28)
- c. Ac he... bebead ... þæt **þa þing, þe hi gesawon**, hi no nanum men ne asædon
 and he ... ordered ... that the things that they saw they not no men not said
 'and he ordered that they didn't tell anyone about the things they had seen'
 (cogregdH,GD_1_[H]:9.59.28.574)
- d. Nu ge secgað þæt **þæt** ge geseon
 now you say that that you saw
 'now you say that you saw that'
 (cowsgosp,Jn_[WSCp]:9.41.6592)
- e. forþon þe **manega tintrega** hie þe on bringað
 because many punishments they you on bring
 'because they bring many punishments on you'
 (coblick,LS_1.2_[AndrewMor[BiHom_19]]:237.140.3041)

OE embedded topicalization is found in typical environments for ERP in other (Germanic) languages. It most often occurs in complements of non-factive verbs and causal (because-) clauses. Degree clauses have also been noted to allow ERP (cf. de Haan 2001 for Frisian). Crucially, there are no temporal and conditional clauses with embedded topicalization. The resistance of temporal clauses (at least, of some types) to ERP has been shown to hold for other languages as well (cf. Haegeman 2007, Sawada & Larson 2004).⁵⁶

There aren't many studies which provide a comprehensive account of the distribution of ERP (V2, topicalization/fronting or other) across adjunct/adverbial clause types (as opposed to nominal clauses). Bentzen (2009), however, offers us more details on how root phenomena correlate with specific adverbial clauses in Norwegian and English.

⁵⁶ Interestingly, relative clauses, which in other Germanic languages have been noted to permit ERP are not documented with embedded topicalization in the corpus. In English, non-restrictive relatives and relatives with an indefinite antecedent allow topicalization. In German, V2 can be found in relatives with an indefinite antecedent (cf. Antomo 2011 and the references there).

Bentzen takes into account Haegeman's (2003, 2006, 2007, 2010) influential proposal that ERP are allowed in the so-called 'peripheral' adverbial clauses. Namely, Haegeman argues that adverbial clauses split into central and peripheral clauses. Central clauses modify the propositional content of the main clause, whereas peripheral clauses are interpreted with respect to discourse structure (they express propositions which can be processed as part of the discourse, and thus are in a way independent of the main clause proposition). The two types are assumed to have different internal and external syntax. According to Haegeman, central clauses have a reduced C-domain (without ForceP and TopP), while peripheral clauses have a full-fledged C-domain. This is what allows ERP in peripheral clauses. Also, central clauses merge lower in the structure than peripheral clauses, and this captures their interpretational differences.

Using the (a) non-subject topicalization (topicalization of arguments/adjuncts, which is accompanied by S-V inversion in Norwegian), (b) V-Neg word order, (c) epistemic expressions, and (d) evidential markers, Bentzen shows that Norwegian and English adverbial clauses disallowing root phenomena are the following: (a) central temporal adverbial clauses (*i)mens* 'while'), (b) central cause clauses (*fordi* 'because'); (c) purpose clauses: (*sånn/for at* 'so that'), (d) concessive clauses (*selv om/enda* 'although'; including adversative concessive clauses in English); (e) *just as*-clauses (*samtidig som* 'just as'); (f) *until*-clauses (*inn)til* 'until'); (g) conditional clauses (*bvis* 'if' in Norwegian; with peripheral conditional clauses are only degraded in English). As for adverbial clauses in Norwegian and English allowing root phenomena, according to Bentzen they include (a) peripheral temporal adverbial clause (*mens* 'while'); (b) peripheral cause clauses (*fordi* 'because'); (c) consequence clauses (*sånn at* 'so'), and (d) adversative concessive clauses in Norwegian (*skjønt* 'although'). The differences between English and Norwegian ERP are with respect to conditional clause and concessive clauses. While English ERP shows sensitivity to whether conditional clauses are peripheral or not, Norwegian ERP is impossible in either type. While Norwegian ERP is sensitive to whether a concessive clause is adversative or not, in English, all types of concessive clauses disallow ERP. Having applied the familiar tests for pragmatic presupposition, (non-)at-issueness and MPU on those clauses which allow ERP, Bentzen concludes that MPU is an indicator

of the availability of ERP in embedded clauses (similar findings are present in complement that-clauses; cf. Wiklund et al. 2009).

German embedded V2, on the other hand, shows no concern for the interpretational domain of a clause, i.e. the factor of a clause being central or peripheral. V2 order is excluded from content modifiers (32a), as well as from a relevance conditional such as (32b), even if relevance conditionals are syntactically disintegrated, as shown in (32c) (Antomo 2012).

(32) a. *Peter bleibt zu Hause, wenn Maria **kommt** heute.

Peter stays at home if Maria comes today.

b. *Im Kühlschrank ist noch Pizza, wenn du **bist** hungrig.

In the fridge is still pizza if you are hungry.

c. Wenn du hungrig bist: Im Kühlschrank ist noch Pizza. "

The same holds for temporal clauses. The adverbial temporal clause introduced by *nachdem* ('after') modifies the speech act. Nevertheless, V2 is not possible (iii).

(33) *Hilf mir mal, nachdem du bist ja schon hier

Help me PART after you are PART already here.

Antomo (2012) proposes that the licensing condition for ERP in German is at-issueness of the proposition in the embedded clause.

While most studies of ERP focus on the identification of ERP contexts and establishing their licensing conditions based on the meaning/structure of the context, very few (if any) studies deal with the possibility of variation within one clause type. More precisely, we still fail to understand what the variation of the verb position, for example, indicates in one and the same type of context.

Consider the following case Antomo (2012) discusses to show how relative clauses are 'at-issue' and then allow V2. (34) is supposed to show that relative clauses can express the main point of the whole utterance, because without it, the utterance would be uninformative. Being the main point of utterance and/or at-issue, it will allow V2. However, verb movement/V2 in this context is not obligatory, as the

finite verb is also allowed in the clause final position. The relative clause in either word order should be interpreted as MPU or being at-issue. Clearly, there is no strict correlation between what the licensing condition for V2/verb movement is and what V2 actually indicates/signals.

(34) In Leipzig gibt es Häuser, die (stehen) leer (stehen)

'In Leipzig, there are houses which are vacant

In conclusion, languages seem to differ with respect to licensing conditions for ERP. On most accounts, it is the interpretation (usually, pragmatic and/or semantic) that makes a certain context eligible for ERP. It seems, however, whatever type of condition is assumed (assertion, MPU, or at-issueness), this condition alone is not sufficient, at least when it comes to verb movement/V2.

Turning back now to OE, the lack of embedded topicalization, as a clear instance of ERP, in temporal and conditional clauses indicates that these clauses lack the licensing condition for ERP. As we have mentioned earlier, there is little evidence that verb movement is an unambiguous root phenomenon. The fact that it quite freely occurs in all clause types strongly suggests that it should be treated as a different phenomenon. On the other hand, since verb movement is obligatory in main clauses, at least in the sense that very few of them are verb final, the study of the variation in the position of the finite verb in embedded clause should still be restricted to those clause types which are least likely to hold properties of root clauses, and these are temporal and conditional clauses.

Since verb movement applies in all temporal and conditional clauses, may they be central or peripheral, sentence initial or sentence final, the difference in the position of the finite verb does not seem to be related to the internal or external syntax of these clauses, nor their role/interpretation in the sentence (whether they modify the event in the main clause, or relate to the discourse). Rather, I hypothesize that that presence or lack of verb movement in temporal and conditional clauses indicates the discourse/pragmatic status of the propositional content of these clauses. I will make use of Stalnaker's notion of pragmatic presupposition and the common ground (henceforth, CG) theory, and propose that the interpretation of verb-final clauses is closest to that of being pragmatically

presupposed. This is novel and somewhat controversial take on the presupposition effect. One should bear in mind that the standard tests for presupposition are based on the relation between the main clause and the proposition in the embedded clause. Even the less semantics-oriented tests, such as von Stechow's 'Hey, wait a minute test' can detect potential infelicity of an utterance, not their impossibility. On top of it all, no test can apply to OE data, as they all count as positive evidence. We are then forced to a priori adopt the hypothesis that all verb-final orders in OE are pragmatically presupposed, while the non-verb-final ones are pragmatically assertive, and examine whether the interpretation of these two types of clauses indeed matches those typically associated with the notions of presupposition and assertion. To test the hypothesis, we will first examine verb-final orders. Then, in Chapter 4, we will see how what 'non-presupposed' propositional content correlates with, i.e. whether we can speak of assertion, MPU or at-issueness in such cases, as opposite notions.

The distribution of verb-final (Vn-Vf) and verb non-final orders in conditional and temporal clauses is given in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1: Vf-Vn and Vn-Vf orders in OE conditional clauses

	VF VN	VN VF
Cura Pastoralis	44	13
Bede's Ecclesiastical History	7	29
Lives of Saints	52	24
Catholic Homilies	67	37
Blickling Homilies	27	6
Orosius	0	6
TOTAL	197	115

Table 3.2: Vf-Vn and Vn-Vf orders in OE temporal clauses

	VF VN	VN VF
Cura Pastoralis	85	43
Bede's History	15	34
Lives of Saints	17	12
Catholic Homilies	79	64
Blickling Homilies	9	14
Orosius	12	25
TOTAL	217	235

Let us briefly comment on the corpus data choice. Clearly, I have not investigated all temporal and conditional clauses in the YCOE. Rather, I have focused on what I believe are best representatives of different periods of OE, as well as different styles and genres. Bede, even though considered controversial due to possible influence of Latin and the translation practice, still offers an excellent insight into the features of early OE narratives. Ælfric might seem to be over-represented by two large texts; however, it is important to point out that *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* differ significantly in a number of syntactic features, which presumably reflect different ways of discourse organization.⁵⁷

The difference in figures in individual texts in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 should not be treated as a reflection of an ongoing syntactic change from Vn-Vf to Vf-Vn. For instance, if we only compare the figures from *Cura Pastoralis* and *Bede's (Ecclesiastical) History (of the English People)*, we can conclude that Vf-Vn order is preferred in *Cura Pastoralis*, whereas Vn-Vf is more used in *Bede's History*. However, as

⁵⁷ The two texts, for instance, significantly differ with respect to subject-verb adjacency in main clauses, as well as the use of high discourse adverbs. As opposed to *Catholic Homilies*, which is similar to other OE texts in that subject-verb adjacency is the preferred option for pronominal subject only, and where high adverbs such as *þa* and *þonne* 'then' have primarily a discourse function, in *Lives of Saints* nominal subject-verb adjacency is as frequent as with pronominal subjects, and high adverbs are more used with a temporal sequencing function (cf. Milićev 2008). I take this to signal a change in the marking of discourse or IS-related relations. It remains to be established what other areas got affected, and what the change can be attributed to. I suggest that the comparison between these two texts by the same author can be a solid starting point into the investigation of the possible change in how IS marking is reflected syntactically.

we will show later, the pragmatic interpretation of the two word order patterns is exactly the same in both texts. Also, consider the difference in preference for Vf-Vn order in conditional clauses, as opposed to temporal clauses in *Blickling Homilies*, or *Orosius*. To me it seems more reasonable to attribute the differences to different style, general theme of the discourse context, etc., rather than preferences in one or the other 'grammar'.

To claim that all subordinate clauses with the verb final orders are pragmatically presupposed is a bold move, considering the number of such clauses in OE texts. It predicts a picture of discourse where the speaker overwhelmingly communicates the content already familiar to the addressee. Since this cannot be the case, a significant number of subordinate clauses would have to be instances of informative presuppositions. In other words, the speaker will present content which is new to the addressee as presupposed when he thinks the addressee can successfully 'come to know' that the speaker is presupposing p and that p is true, and consequently evaluate it appropriately (accept or reject it). If this analysis is on the right track, it will shed more light on the conditions of accommodation. Hopefully, we will be able to see how the speaker's expectations on what the addressee can accommodate actually work – what content can be treated as 'common knowledge' at the point of the utterance (and not necessarily before it) – what content can make the speaker assume that the CG will entail it, and the addressee will be able to infer this assumption, when the assumptions which need to be accommodated are uncontroversial, highly plausible and subject to no further debate.

We are fully aware that attributing the Vf-Vn/Vn-Vf variation to the speaker's evaluation of a proposition in terms of communicative weight and relevance for the discourse is a hypothesis that is hardly falsifiable. In principle, we can always find a reason why a certain proposition is of less importance for the development of discourse from the point of view of the speaker. Even if we cannot, there is still an option that the speaker is simply unconcerned with the proper CG management. For that reason, we will try to establish, as clearly as we can, other correlates of pragmatic presupposition.

3.4 Types of presuppositional meaning in OE temporal and conditional clauses

In this section I will go through a number of examples to show what meanings can be identified as presupposed and how they actually arise in a given context. Since the matter of pragmatic presupposition is far from being settled in the literature, and since theoretical issues regarding presupposition are secondary in this investigation, I will not refrain from making reference to various kinds of insights and characterizations of this phenomenon in literature. The main point is to demonstrate that the variation in the position of the finite verb in OE subordinate clauses is not free, nor does it reflect two competing grammars.

I will assume that pragmatically presupposed propositions fall into the following categories: (a) 'given', i.e. mentioned earlier in the discourse; (b) inferable, and (c) plausible. The distribution of propositions with these characteristics is given in Tables 3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.3: The interpretation of Vn-Vf orders in temporal clauses

	GIVEN	INFERABLE	PLAUSIBLE	UNCLEAR	Total
Bede's History	18	13	2	1	34
Cura Pastoralis	26	12	4	1	43
Lives of Saints	5	4	2	1	12
Catholic Homilies	18	32	14	-	64
Blickling Homilies	4	8	2	-	14
Orosius	12	11	-	2	25
	83	80	24	5	

Conditional clauses with Vn-Vf orders distinguish a group of propositions which, for the lack of better understanding, I will characterize as 'modality' propositions. These cases will be dealt with in more detail in Section 3.4.4.

Table 3.4: The interpretation of Vn-Vf orders in conditional clauses

	GIVEN	INFERABLE	PLAUSIBLE	MODALITY	UNCLEAR	Total
Bede's History	9	10	6	4	1	30
Cura Pastoralis	6	1	2	1	3	13
Lives of Saints	7	4	5	6	2	24
Catholic Homilies	15	9	7	5	1	37
Blickling Homilies	2	1	2	1	-	6
Orosius	2	2	1	1	-	6
	41	27	23	18	7	

In what follows I will provide illustrations for the interpretation of 'pragmatic presupposition' I assume to hold in Vn-Vf orders. I will try to provide a balance between the requirement to be precise and to the point, for the sake of theoretical assumptions, and the concern with the intricacy and multitude of the corpus data. Generally, the first concern will be given priority, and the illustrative examples I provide will be the ones that are most straightforward, take the least effort to process, and require no additional considerations. The corpus certainly includes more difficult cases, which will be ignored only for reasons of space and unnecessary complications which burden the ease of exposition. I need to emphasize this because I do not want to create an impression that things are as easy as they might seem. After all, there must be a good reason why the difference in the interpretation between these two word orders has been so difficult to uncover.

3.4.1 Given propositions

Pragmatically presupposed propositions are often directly linked to the content of the preceding discourse, sometimes to the extent of a near-anaphoric relation. In (35b), for example, the temporal clause essentially repeats the proposition that David had cut off a piece of Saul's coat, given two lines before (35a).

- (35) a. Sua sua Daid cearf swiðe digellice suiðe lytelne læppan of Saules mentle his
so as David cut very secretly very small peace of Saul's coat his
ealdhlafordes, sua doð ða ðe hira hlafordas diegellice tælað [...]
liege-lord so do those that their lords secretly blame
'As David very secretly cut off a very small corner of Saul's coat, his liege lord, so do those
who secretly blame their lords...'

(cocura,CP:28.199.10.1334)

- b. Forðæm hit is awriten ðætte Daid, ða **he ðone læppan forcorfenne hæfde**,
therefore it is written that David when he the peace cut-off had
ðæt he sloge on his heortan
that he struck on his heart

'Therefore it is written that David, when he had cut of the piece [of the coat], struck his heart'

(cocura,CP:28.199.16.1336)

The same can be observed in (36). The event of Elfwin (king Egrid's brother) being killed is first introduced, or asserted in the main clause (36a), and then repeated in the embedded clause (36b). In Prince's terms, these propositions are textually evoked, i.e. explicitly mentioned earlier in the discourse.

- (36) a. þa wæs ofslegen in þæm gefeohte be Treontan þære ea Ælfwine Ecgfrides broðor þæs cyninges,
geong æðeling eahtatynewintre.

'Then in the battle near the river Trent, **Elfwin, brother to King Egrid, was slain**, a youth
about eighteen years of age'

(cobede,Bede_4:22.324.15.3253)

- b. In þam foresprecenan gefeohte, þa ælfwine þæs cyninges broðor ofslegen wæs, wæs sum in the aforesaid battle when Elfwin the king's brother slain was was some gemyndelic wise geworden, seo nis to forswigienne, memorable event happened which not-is to pass-in-silence
'In the aforesaid battle, wherein **Elfwin, the king's brother, was killed**, a memorable fact is known to have happened, which I think ought not to be passed by in silence'
(cobede, Bede_4:23.326.1.3259)

Conditional clauses show the same. In (37), the conditional is counterfactual. The content of this proposition - Mary not being martyred bodily - has been explicitly given earlier in the discourse model, and the proposition in the conditional *gif*-clause can be delivered as pragmatically presupposed.

- (37) a. The blessed Mary **was** not slain **nor martyred** bodily, but spiritually. When she saw her child taken, and iron nails driven through his hands and through his feet, and his side afterwards wounded with a spear, then was his suffering her suffering; and she was then more than a martyr,
- b. ðon þe mare wæs ða hyre modes þrowung þonne wære hyre lichoman: gif heo for greater was then her minds suffering than was her body's if she **gemartyrod wære** martyred were
'for her mind's suffering was greater than her body's would have been, **had she been martyred.**'
(cocathom1, ÆCHom_I,_9:254.174.1724)

The proposition of the conditional *gif*-clause in (38b) virtually repeats the proposition given two lines before (38a).

- (38) a. Hi axodan þa heora witan hwæt him wislicost þuhte, hu him to donne wære they asked then their wisemen what them wiser seemed how them to do were embe þæt halige scrin, hwæðer hi hit ham asendon, oððe hi hit hæfdon þar about the holy shrine whether they it home sent or they it had there longer
leng

'They then asked their wisemen what was wiser for them to do about the holy shrine, whether they should send it home or they should keep it there longer'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_22:249.3420)

- b. gif ge þæt halige scrin ham **sendan wyllað**, ne sende ge hit na æmtig, ac
if you the holy shrine home send will not send you it not empty but
arwurðlice mid lacum
reverently with gifts

'I you want to send the holy shrine home, do not send it empty, but reverently, with gifts'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_22:252.3422)

The effect of givenness, naturally, goes beyond the simple word-by-word repetition of a proposition. A proposition can be d-linked in other ways as well. Consider (39), where the proposition that Christ was about to ascend to heaven has already been added to the CG by virtue of the deverbal NP 'the holy ascension of our Lord' a few lines earlier.⁵⁸

- (39) a. þonne sceolon we nu hwylcum hwego wordum secggan be **þisse halgan drihtenlican upastigennesse**, þa we nu on andweardnesse weorþiað.

'We must now in few words tell you of the holy ascension of our Lord that we at this present time are celebrating

(coblick,HomS_46_[BIHom_11]:117.10.1477)

- b. þa halwendanmen cwædon, & þa geleafsuman, þa þe to urum Drihtne coman
the holy men said and the believing who to our Lord came
þa **he to heofonum astigan wolde**,
when he to heaven ascend would

'The holy and believing men who came to our Lord as he was about to ascend to heaven questioned [and asked him as follows...]

(coblick,HomS_46_[BIHom_11]:117.14.1481)

⁵⁸ Note that the NP itself is introduced as definite. This is not only because this event is surely part of every Christian's shared knowledge, but also because it is the topic of the chapter called 'Ascension Thursday' and because *Blickling Homilies* deal primarily with the time of Lent.

A similar situation obtains in (40). The deverbal NP *þa bote* 'the reparation' in the immediately preceding context facilitates the pragmatic presupposition of the conditional clause with the proposition of us repairing (*gebetan*) various distresses in our fellow beings.

- (40) Swa we sceolon eac gif bið an ure geferena on sumere earfoðnyse. ealle we sceolon so we shall also if is one our fellows on some distress all we shall his yfel besargian. & hogian ymbe þa bote gif we hit gebetan magon. his evil lament and mediate about the reparation if we it repair may
'[If one limb be diseased, all the others suffer with that one.] So also should we, if one of our fellows be in any distress, all lament his evil, and meditate concerning its reparation, if we can repair it'
(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_19:334.238.3817)

A given event is also commonly expressed in the presupposed clause by using a synonymous expression. This is the case in (41). The verb used in the preceding discourse is *aræran* 'raise', and in the repeated proposition, it is replaced by the synonymous verb *edncwician* 'quicken, revive, restore to life'.

- (41) a. Then appeared there Christ's Angel, and **raised the youth**, and
b. And he arn þærrihthe ut, þa he geedcucod wæs, clypigende ofer eall, and he ran immediately out when he revived was crying over all
'And he immediately ran out, when he was revived, crying everywhere...'
(coaelive,ÆLS[Agnes]:202.1850)

What makes the conditional clause presupposed in (42b) is the proposition given in (42a): mankind being foully leprous with divers sins in 'the inward man'; the *gif*-clause delivers the same content by changing 'the inward man' to 'soul' and 'be with' to 'seized with'.

- (42) a. In a spiritual sense this leper betokened all mankind, which was foully leprous **with divers sins** in the **inward man**; but it inclined to the belief of Christ, and wisely conceived that it could not receive a cleansing of the soul, save through the Lord, who wrought no sin, nor was any guile found in his mouth. Loathsome is the body of the leper with many ulcers and tumours, and with divers scabs;

- b. ac se inra mann þæt is seo sawul bið micele atelicor gif heo mid
 but the inward man, that is the soul is much more-loathsome if she with
 mislicum leahtrum begriwen bið.
 diverse sins seized is
 'but the inward man, this is the soul, is much more loathsome, if it is seized with diverse sins'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_8:242.44.1430)

The pragmatically presupposed clause is often a paraphrase of the event/proposition introduced earlier. In (43) the proposition that Christ would become man is a paraphrase of the assertion from two sentences before – that Christ assumed the mortal life (as opposed to the immortal life), since being mortal is a property of men.

- (43) a. The one life is mortal, the other immortal. But Jesus **came and assumed the one life**, and made manifest the other. The one life he manifested by his death, and the other by his resurrection. If he to us mortal men had promised resurrection and life eternal, and yet had not been willing to manifest them in himself, who would have believed in his promises?
- b. Ac þa ða he man **beon wolde**. þa gemedemode he hine sylfne. eac to deaðe: Agenes
 but when he man be would then humbled he himself also to death of-his own
 willan
 will
 'But **when he would become man**, then he also voluntarily humbled himself to death, [and he arose from death through his divine power, and manifested in himself that which he had promised to us]'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_15:304.126.2856)

The conditional clause from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* can illustrate the same. The event of the sinful turning to Christ is introduced in the preceding sentence (in the conditional clause). The conditional clause in the following sentence expresses the same, only by using different lexical material (*gebugan to Criste* 'turn to Christ' – *gecyrran* 'turn/convert').

- (44) a. Now are the Jews and the shameless traitor who plotted against him, guilty of Christ's death... and none of them shall ever come to Christ's kingdom, unless they have repented of it **and turn to Christ** (*gebugan to Criste*).

b. Swa milde is se hælend þæt he miltsian wolde his agenum slagum gif hi
 so merciful is the Saviour that he mercy would his own murderers if they
gecyrran woldon, and biddan his miltsunge,
 turn would and bid his mercy

'The Saviour is so merciful, that he would have mercy upon his own murderers if **they would turn** and pray for his mercy'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Exalt_of_Cross]:181.5659)

The effect of givenness can also be observed when the author shifts from delivering a direct quote back to narration. This often happens in *Cura Pastoralis*, for instance, where the discussion of topics concerning moral and religious issues is always supported with a quote from the Old and New Testament. One such case is the sentence in (45), where the author summarizes what Solomon said regarding 'the lovers of strife', and tries to clarify why Solomon refers to them as apostates and how they are related to the fallen angel, i.e. Satan.

(45) a. Those who sow strife are to be admonished in one way, in another the peaceful. The lovers of strife are to be admonished to consider whose followers they are. Of the expelled angel it is written in the Gospel that he sowed the weed in the good fields. Therefore it was said of him "An enemy of ours did this." Of the same enemy's members is thus spoken through Solomon: "An apostate is always useless, and goes with perverse mouth, and winks with the eyes, and treads with the foot, and speaks with the finger, and does evil with perverse heart, and is always sowing strife."

b. Her we magon gehieran, **ða he be ðæm wrohtgeornan secgean wolde**, ðæt he
 here we may hear when he about the strife-lover speak would that he
 hine nemde se aworpna;
 him called the apostate

'In this passage we can bear how, when he wished to speak of the lover of strife, he called him the apostate'

(cocura,CP:47.357.22.2429)

3.4.2 Inferable propositions

Pragmatically presupposed propositions are also those propositions which are inferable from the context. The key ingredient here is the relation between something mentioned earlier on the basis of which a proposition can be logically inferred as being presupposed, or added to the CG as bringing no essential new update.

I will assume that such propositions behave as discourse entities identified by Prince as inferables. In other words, the pragmatic state of such proposition resembles the one of inferable referents. Recall that discourse-familiarity can be determined by a) prior evocation in the discourse; b) inferability based on the prior discourse; c) recency of mention within the discourse. According to Prince (1981), inferables is a category that is technically inactivated (not explicitly evoked in the context) but can be identified by an addressee through its relationship to an activated element or to another inferable. Referents of inferable expressions, although not present in the addressee's current consciousness, are pragmatically accessible and easier to activate than referents of noninferable inactivated elements. Typically, the addressee can infer the discourse existence of the referent of an inferable via some independent logical or culture-based assumptions.

I believe that presupposed propositions can also be such discourse entities. Specifically, propositions can be delivered as pragmatically presupposed by virtue of being inferable if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer it, via logical or plausible reasoning, from discourse entities already evoked or from other inferables.

Inferential relations (that is, relations between the inferable constituent and information in the preceding discourse) are commonly assumed to include relations such as part/whole, entity/attribute, type/subtype, possession, set/subset, temporal ordering, and spatial proximity, or analogy (from Birner: 2004). This is so with individual discourse referents. When it comes to propositions, matters become more complicated because of the more complex meanings expressed by propositions, compared to those of individual discourse referents.

Still at the core of the relation between the proposition and the prior discourse is logical consequence. If sentence X is a logical consequence of a set of sentences K, then we may say that K implies or entails X, or that one may correctly infer the truth of X from the truth of the sentences in K (Matthew McKeon, Logical Consequence, *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/logcon/>, retrieved on August 22, 2013). However, the relation of logical consequence assumed to license certain propositions as presupposed is not a formal logical relation, but rather includes extra-linguistic, empirical knowledge.

Let us now go through some typical cases of what I believe include inferable propositions. The first set involves what I broadly call completion of an event mentioned earlier in the discourse. The inference of the completion of an event is influenced by extralinguistic factors such as general knowledge of the world (of human interaction, perception of time, social norms and practices, and so on).

Propositions expressing that an order given in the prior discourse has been carried out can be considered inferable, given that the context establishes that the execution of such orders is non-controversial, nor subject to uncertainty. Such propositions then cannot be added to the CG as update.

The proposition in the temporal clause in (46b) - that Stranguilio and Dionysias were brought to the king Apollonius - is delivered as presupposed, since the speaker can safely assume that the hearer/reader would be highly unlikely to doubt that in this context the king's order for the two men to be brought to him would not be respected.

(46) a. and het sona gelæccan Stranguilionem and Dionisiadem and lædan beforan him
 and ordered soon seize Strangulio and Dionysias and led before him
 'and immediately ordered Stranguilio and Dionysias to be seized and led before him where he
 sat on his throne'

b. ða ða hi **gebrohhte wæron**, þa cwæð he beforan ealre þære gegaderunge:
 when they brought were then said he before all the assembly
 'When they were brought, then he said before all the assembly: ...'

(coapollo, ApT:50.5. 530-531)

Similarly, the proposition in the temporal clause in (47) that the army (including the speaker, the subject 'we') had encamped is not asserted, since, based on the fact that the order for the army to rest and encamp has been added to the CG in the preceding line, the speaker assumes that the addressee will be able to accommodate it as part of the CG due to the high plausibility that in the military system orders are usually respected and executed.

- (47) Mid þy we ða **gewicod hæfdon** ða wolde ic minne þurst lehtan & celan.
 when we then encamped had then would I my thrust relieve and quench
 'After we had encamped there, I wanted to quench my thirst'
 (coalex,Alex:13.3.105)

Such propositions are typically associated with temporal clauses, but conditional clauses are also found to express inferable propositions. Consider (48), where the conditional clause in (48b) express the speaker's conviction that the order given in (48a) would be carried out.

- (48) a. frægn hine þa geornlice, hwonon he wære
 asked him then eagerly from-where he was
 '[The earl..] eagerly asked him of what origin he was'
- b. ond him wæs gehatende, þæt he him noht laðes ne yfeles gedon wolde, gif he
 and him was promised that he him nothing harmful nor evil do would if he
 him þæt hlutturlice **gecýpan wolde**, hwæt he wære.
 him that clearly say would what he was
 'and promised him that he would do no harm or evil to him if he ingeniously told him who he was'
 (cobede,Bede_4:23.328.17. 3297-3298)

Propositions expressing completion of a communicative event are also inferable from the context. In (49 & 50) we see that such propositions usually follow direct speech segments (where the communicative content is expressed): completion of speech (49); completion of reading a message/letter (50).

(49) a. Then said our Saviour... [Quote.]

b. & þa he þis **gecweden hæfde**, þa astah ure Drihten on heofenas.
and when he this said had, then rose our Lord to heavens
'When he had said that, our Lord ascended to heaven'

(coblick,LS_20_[AssumptMor[BiHom_13]]:149.191.1832)

(50) a. 'Wherefore then, you worshipful king, if you want to know now what was done concerning Christ in the land of Judea, order Pilate a letter to be brought to you...' And he then commanded it to be brought and to be read before him. And it read thus: 'Pilate greets Claudius...'

b. þa sona þa þæt gewrit **aræded wæs**, þa cwæþ Neron, Saga me, Petrus
as soon as the letter read was then said Nero tell me Peter
'As soon as the letter was read, then said Nero, 'Tell me, Peter...'

(coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:177.127.2268)

Completion of a planned activity is another case. If the discourse establishes that one seeks learning

(51a), the proposition that he ends up as 'well learned' can be quite easily inferred.

(51) a. Se ærra wæs Æðelwines broðor Gode þæs leofan weres, se seolfa eac swilce þære
æfterfylgendan eldo Hiberniam gesohte **fore intingan godcundre geleornunge**.

'The former [Etheihun] was Ethelwin's brother, a man loved by God, who also afterwards went over to Ireland to study [sought Ireland for the sake of religious learning]

b. Ond þa he **wel gelæred wæs**, þa hwearf he eft to his eðle
and when he well learned was then returned he back to his home-country
'Having been well instructed, he returned into his own country'

(cobede,Bede_3:19.242.13. 2473-2474)

Completion of transitory states, such as drunkenness, and its passing off in (52b), can be also said to be easily inferable.

(52) a. Therefore, the woman called Abigail very laudably concealed the folly of her drunken lord,
 who was called Nabal,

b. & eft, ða him ðæt lið **gescired wæs**,
 and afterwards when him the drunkenness passed was
 'and afterwards, when his drunkenness had passed off...'

(cocura,CP:40.295.4.1942)

We also find presupposed propositions whose content comes as logical consequence on the basis of the knowledge of the physical world. Thus, for example, if something is brought to someone's eyes, one can infer that it will be seen.

(53) Hi sint eac to manienne ðæt hi unaðrotenlice ða gedonan synna gelæden before
 they are also to admonish that they indefatigably the committed sins bring before
 hira modes eagan, & ðonne hi hi **gesewene hæbben**, gedon ðæt hie ne ðyrfen
 their mind's eyes and when they them seen have prevent that they not dare
 bion gesewene æt ðæm nearwan dome
 be seen at the severe judgment

'They are also to be admonished to bring the sins they have committed indefatigably before their
 mind's eye, and when they have seen them, to prevent them being seen at the severe examination'

(cocura,CP:53.413.14.2850)

If the discourse establishes that someone cannot stand, it is likely that they might fall.

(54) ...ðætte ða ðe gestondan ne meahton, gif hi **afeallan scolden**, ðæt hi afeollen
 that those that stand not could if they fall should that they fall
 on ðæt hnesce bedd ðæs gesinscipes, næs on ða heardan eorðan ðæs unrythæmdes
 on the soft bed of-the marriage not on the hard earth of-the fornication
 'that those who could not stand, if they had to fall, might fall on the soft bed of marriage, not
 on the hard earth of fornication'

(cocura,CP:51.397.19.2701)

Inferable propositions are also those that involve the so-called verbs of creation. I will assume the following characterization of such predicates: verbs of creation generally denote coming into being of the referent of their direct internal argument as a result of the event named by them (Piñón 2008). The description is broad enough to include verbs of (human) coming into existence, which are of relevance here, without necessarily implying the creationist view of the world.

As the arguments of creation verbs are familiar from/given in the preceding discourse, the event of their coming into existence is delivered as presupposed/inferable, i.e. needs not be asserted. This is regularly the case with the following predicates: *beon gesceapen* 'being created', *beon acenned* 'being conceived', *beon geboren* 'being born'. The interpretation of such propositions as presupposed is consistent with all clause types (55b), i.e. they always show up in the Vn-Vf orders.

- (55) a. þæt wæs siþþan **Crist geboren wæs** þæt we wæron of ælcum þeowdome aliesde
 that was after Christ born was that we were of each slavery released...

'It was after Christ was born that we were released from slavery...'

(coorosiu,Or_5:1.114.2.2372)

- b. him wære betere þæt **he næfre geboren nære.**
 him were better that he never born not-were

'It would have been better for him if he had not been born'

(coblick,HomS_8_[BlHom_2]:25.198.341)

However, if the predicate, such as 'being born', contains information that cannot be taken to be inferable from mere existential introduction of the referent (being born in a certain 'non-default' way), the proposition is delivered as non-presupposed. More details are given in Chapter 4.

The proposition of someone (existentially introduced in the CG earlier) being born is delivered as presupposed, with Vn-Vf orders even in main clauses. In the main clause in (56), the proposition of the bishop Felix being born and raised in the Sabinian tribe is added to the CG as presupposed, while the communicative intention the sentence is emphasis (also indicated by the sentence initial adverb *soplice* 'indeed, verily').

- (56) *Soplice þæs arwyrðan lifes wer Felix þære cæstre biscop Poruensis,*
indeed this of-honorable life man Felix of-the city bishop of-Portuensis
in Sabinensi þære mægþe **geboren wæs** & afeded.
in Sabines the tribe born was and brought-up
'Indeed, this man of honorable life, Felix, the bishop of the city of Portensis was born and raised
in the tribe of Sabines' (cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:53.340.12.5138)

Also, proposition containing predicates which refer to stages of man's life (being a child, growing up, reaching maturity, growing old) are also delivered as inferable. Note that (57) also exhibits the effect of givenness, since the period of being a child is equated with the period of a person's baptism.

- (57) a. Let us be mindful of what we promised to God at our baptism.
b. *Nu cweþst ðu. ' hwæt behet ic ða ða ic cild wæs. and spreca ne mihte?*
now say you what promised I when I child was and speak not could
'Now you say, 'What did I promise when I was a child, and could not speak?''
(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_3:26.246.630)

- (58) *ac þa he gewexen wæs, ða wilnode he & onfeng munuchade*
but when he grown-up was then wanted he and received monastic-life
'but when he was grown up, he wanted a monastic life, and he took it up'
(cobede,Bede_4:28.360.25.3625)

- (59) *þa ða he geðogen wæs. þa com him to Godes bebod. þæt he ...*
when he grown-to-maturity was then came him to God's commandment that he
'When he was grown to maturity, God's commandment came to him, that he...'
(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_3:19.20.451)

- (60) *Iohannes ða ða he gestiðod wæs ða wolde he forbugan ða unðeawas þe menn begað*
John when he grown-up was then would he eschew the vices that men commit
'John, when he was grown up, would eschew the vices which men commit'
(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_3:19.14.444)

(61) & ðus cwæð, þæt he ða geta nolde his synna ondettan, ac eft, **ðonne he eldra**
 and thus said that he then yet not-would his sins confess but later when he older
wære
 were
 'And said that he wouldn't confess his sins then yet, but later when we was older'
 (cobede,Bede_5:14.438.7.4390)

Events can be inferred based on the knowledge of customs. If someone's death has been subject of the preceding discourse (62a), being buried afterwards (62b) needs no special assertion.

(62) a. When he heard these words, he fell down and departed.
 b. ...ða þa he **bebyrged wæs** þa com his wif Saphira:
 when he buried was then came his wife Sapphira
 'When he was buried, his wife Sapphira came' (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_22:357.95.4400)

In the counts in Tables 3.3 and 3.4, all the propositions whose cognitive status is interpreted on the basis of extralinguistic knowledge are under the interpretation 'inferable' because the trigger for the activation of this knowledge is more or less explicitly present in the discourse. Without it, propositions are counted as 'plausible' (Section 3.4.3).

The relation of logical consequence can be observed when the proposition delivers an event which is a precondition for the event given in the immediately preceding discourse. If, after a fight, someone needs to surrender (become someone's slave), then the proposition that they could not defeat their enemy is logically inferable.

(63) & þa he þærto com, he wæs VI dagas on þa burg feohtende, oþ þa burgware bædon
 and when he thereto came he was six days on the city fighting till the citizens bade
 þæt hie mosten beon hiera underþeowas, þa hi hie **bewerian ne mehton**.
 that they must be their slaves when they them defend not could
 'And when he came there, he was fighting for six days, until the citizens bade that they be their
 slaves, when they could not defend themselves' (coorosiu,Or_4:13.112.16.2352)

A somewhat more complex case is given in (64). Even though the possibility of the English accepting Christian religion (the content of the conditional clause) has not been explicitly discussed in the immediate discourse segment, the information exchanged up to that point ensures that the speaker can safely assume the hearer to be able to accommodate it as part of the CG. In other words, if Augustine and his monks have been sent to England for the purpose of spreading Christianity in England, if, furthermore, Augustine has been appointed future bishop, from the perspective of the pope who initiated their mission, and the narrator who is relating his perspective, the English receiving their teaching in no way updates the CG.

(64) Ond þa sona sendon Agustinum to þæm papan, þone þe him to biscope gecoren hæfde, and then soon sent Augustine to the pope who him to bishop chosen had gif **heora lar onfongen wære**, þæt he scolde eaðmodlice for heo þingian, þæt heo if their teaching received was that he should humbly for them obtain that they ne þorfte in swa frecne siðfæt & in swa gewinfulne & in swa uncuðe not-be compelled in so dangerous journey and in so toilsome and in so uncertain elpeodignesse faran.

journey go

'And then soon they sent back (to the pope) Augustine, who had been appointed to be consecrated bishop in case their teaching was received [by the English], that he might, by humble entreaty, obtain of the Holy Gregory, that they should not be compelled to undertake so dangerous, toilsome, and uncertain a journey' (cobede,Bede_1:13.56.6.521)

Finally, let us emphasize that in principle very few propositional contents alone are enough for the proposition to be strictly logically inferable from the context surrounding it (i.e. they are rarely clear cases of entailments).

Inferability, even in the loose sense assumed here, definitely plays a role, but the question remains whether this is a sufficient condition for a proposition to be treated as pragmatically presupposed. It is still in essence the speaker's decision or estimation that he can plausibly assume that the hearer will be

able to integrate a proposition as part of the CG. Relations between the propositional content and the preceding discourse only facilitate this decision.

3.4.3 Plausible propositions

The interpretation of plausibility is probably the most difficult to prove since it is not related to any particular linguistic expression in the discourse, but rather relies on the general context (or topic of the discourse segment) and world knowledge. Plausible propositions are those which the speaker assumes to be non-controversial, valid, likely, credible and generally acceptable, and that the speaker, given the context up to that point or given the shared knowledge, will have no difficulty integrating them as such. Recall that non-controversiality is often taken to be one of the key ingredients of pragmatic presupposition (Soames 1982, Simons 2006:16, but also von Stechow 2000, 2008, Roberts et al. 2009).

Thus what I call plausible propositions differ from inferable ones in that the latter can be directly linked to a specific linguistic expression in the preceding discourse. This expression helps the addressee to activate the logical (or plausible) reasoning, which facilitates integration of propositions which the speaker delivers as presupposed. With plausible propositions, the speaker can only rely on his assumptions that in a given context, with a given topic of the discourse, the addressee will be able to accept the proposition as part of the CG.

The distinction between 'inferable' and 'plausible' propositions is not always absolutely clear, especially in cases where a proposition is deemed plausible based on a given context. Whether the distinction is needed at all (recall that in Prince's (1981) model, 'inferables' cover both) is a matter of further consideration. But for the purpose of providing a detailed description of the OE cases, I will keep these two apart.

On a broad definition, plausible equals accessible through encyclopaedic knowledge. Let us see in more detail what typically counts as common/shared knowledge in OE texts, and, as such, underlies the cases which represent instances of plausible propositions.

Most commonly, plausible propositions express (well-known) facts regarding religious beliefs and practices. The presence of plausible propositions in texts naturally correlates with style and intended audience. For instance, a rather overwhelming number of plausible propositions is found in *Catholic Homilies*. What makes these homilies different from others is the fact that the sermons in the collection are specifically aimed at 'the more learned in his audience and readership' (Godden 1978). It is not surprising to find so many cases where the speaker/writer assumes common knowledge regarding basic matters of religion and religious life. Therefore, in religious texts, propositions such as us Christians wanting to have heavenly land (65), follow in Christ's footsteps (66), seek God's kingdom (67), people being fordone/doomed (68), Adam having sinned (69), Christians wanting to do good (70), God being willing to offer peace (71) and so on, can rather straightforwardly be argued to be plausible in that context.

(65) þisum heafodleahtrum we sceolon symle on urum ðeawum wiðcweðan. and ðurh Godes
 these chief-sins we should always on our conduct resist and through God's
 fultum mid gastlicum wæpnum ealle oferwinnan. **gif we ðone heofenlican eard habban**
 help with spiritual weapons all overcome if we the heavenly earth have
willað

will

'These chief sins we should ever oppose in our conduct, and with God's support overcome them all with ghostly weapons, if we are desirous to have the heavenly country'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_12.2:125.542.2752)

(66) Ac he forbead þæt gewinn. mid wordum ðearle. þæt nan Godes ðeow ne sceolde. on
 but he forbade the battle with words strongly that no God's servant not should on
 him sylfum truwan. ne mid wæpnum winnan wið woruldlicum cempum. gif **he**
 him self trust nor with weapons strive against worldly soldiers if he
Cristes fotswaðum filigan wile;

Christ's footsteps follow will

'But he strongly forbade the contest of his words, that no servant of God should trust to himself, nor with weapons strive against worldly soldiers, if he will follow the footsteps of Christ'

(cocathom2, ÆCHom_II,_14.1:141.109.3122)

- (67) Gregorius papa us sæde. þæt se man ðe ða micclan feorme worhte. is ure hælend Crist.
Gregory pope us said that the man who the great feast made is our saviour Christ
se ðe is God.and mann. on anum hade. se ðe gearcode ðurh his tocyme. us ða ecan
who is God and man on one person who prepared through his advent us the eternal
feorme on his rice gif **we ða gesecan willað;**
feast on his kingdom if we it seek will

'Gregory the pope has told us, that the man who made the great feast is our Saviour Christ, who is God and man in one person, who by his advent has prepared for us the eternal feast in his kingdom, if we will seek it'

(cocathom2, ÆCHom_II,_26:213.21.4720)

- (68) We sceolon geðancian þam heofonlican fæder gode ælmihtigum. þæt he wolde asendan
we should thank the heavenly father god almighty that he would send
his ancennedan sunu to ðysum life for ure alysednysse. ða ða **we forwyrhte wæron;**
his only-begotten son to this life for our redemption when we fordone were
'We should both believe God's wonders, and also with great love thank the Heavenly Father, God Almighty, for having sent his only-begotten Son to this life for our redemption, when we were fordone'
(cocathom2, ÆCHom_II,_1:10.272.234)

- (69) ða ða **Adam agylt hæfde.** ða cwæð se ælmihtiga wealdend him to...
when Adam sinned had then said the almighty ruler him to...
'When Adam had sinned, the Almighty Ruler said to him'

(cocathom1, ÆCHom_I,_21:348.83.4165)

- (70) ... we magon on þyssum stowum gode & medeme weorþan for urum Drihtne,
we may on these places good and moderate be for our Lord
gif we nu soþ & riht on urum life don willaþ.
if we now truth and right in our life do will
'We may in these place be good and moderate for our Lord, if we now will do truth and right in our life'

(coblick,HomS_46_[BlHom_11]:127.221.1597)

(71) Ond he þa gehet, **gif Drihten him sige sellan wolde**, þæt he wolde his dohtor
and he then promised if Lord him peace give would that he would his daughter
Gode forgeofan...

God give

'He then promised, if Lord would give him peace, that he would give his daughter to God...'

(cobede,Bede_3:18.234.31.2402)

Plausibility or non-controversiality of a proposition can stem from common or shared knowledge of certain social conventions, practices, and habits. Consider (72). The context preceding the conditional clause describes a Jewish custom. It can be assumed that it is common knowledge that customs should be respected, otherwise social repercussions (among them, reprehension) ensue, which people generally wish to avoid. Wanting to be without reprehension is thus safely used by the speaker as presupposed.

(72) and sceolde ælc ðe inn come his handa aðwean. ær ðan ðe he gesæte. gif he buton
and should each that in came his hands wash before he sat if he without
tale **beon wolde;**

reprehension be would

'[The Jews were so accustomed that they set water-vessels on the floor at their entertainments;]

and every one who came in must wash his hands before he sat, if he would be without
reprehension'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_4:32.79.727)

Finally, let us point out one interesting effect observed with plausible propositions. Plausible propositions often have the effect of backgroundedness (in the sense of Hopper 1979). From the perspective of information packaging, the information of plausible/non-controversial propositions is somehow secondary to the discourse, and their content is never subject to further interest. Consider (73). Arguably, it is common knowledge that in the course of life, animals (elephants, in this particular case) may or may not become crippled, and that it can have an impact on their longevity. Since the crippling-of-elephants is of no significance to further discourse, the proposition is delivered as presupposed, with nothing in it that would require the hearer's attention. Even if the speaker is aware

that the content of the conditional clause in (73) is, for some reason, unfamiliar to the hearer, he still chooses to treat it as part of the CG, also as a way to instruct the reader not to dwell on this information too long.

(73) and þreo hund geara hi libbað gif hi **alefede ne beoð**
and three hundred years they live if they crippled not be
'and they live three hundred years, if they are not crippled'

(coalive,ÆLS_[Maccabees]:569.5202)

Plausible propositions which do not contribute to future discourse have the property of not being at-issue. Recall that at-issue content in essence relates to the discourse topic identified by Question Under Discussion (Roberts 1996). Even though on a strict definition at-issueness is a conventional property, in the revised version, at-issueness also includes the speaker's intention to use a proposition to contribute something relevant for the discourse. The same effect can be noted here. Even though the speaker knows that certain propositions contain information that essentially increases the hearer's knowledge about the sentence topic/subject (in the example above, the predicate presents the possibility of elephants being (or not being) crippled, and this is something new predicated of them), but, as it is secondary, if not irrelevant, for future discourse, it is not given as CG update. The hearer/addressee can easily accommodate new information via the logical relation of plausibility.

In these examples we can note the problem of the Stalnakerian view of presupposition in terms of CG, as the content of the proposition can only indirectly serve as facilitator of presuppositional reading. Even though the views of presupposition without the CG seem to be more appropriate here, as presupposing largely relies on conversational inferences (cf. Simons 2003, 2006), I will still maintain that these are instances of accommodation. In all the examples found, the information, even though novel in the discourse exchange to that point, is never controversial and the speaker can always safely assume that, given the discourse context and common/shared extralinguistic knowledge, the addressee can accept that the speaker utters them as being part of the CG.

3.4.4 'Modality propositions' in conditional clauses

Conditional clauses distinguish a special type of case where pragmatic presupposition surfaces. These are propositions that generally express some kind of modality related to the main clause proposition. The conditional clause contains the lexical verb whose meaning expresses either deontic or epistemic modality.

Conditional clauses containing (mostly, but not exclusively, passive) verbs such as *aliefan* 'grant, permit' (74) or *geþafian* 'approve of, allow, permit' (75), hypothesizes about the permission for the main event to be carried out.

(74) a. The Holy Ghost led Jesus to the waste, that he might be tempted there. Now everyone will wonder how the devil **dared** approach Jesus to tempt him:

b. Ac he ne dorste Cristes fandian **gif him alyfed nære**
but he not dared Christ tempt if him allowed not-were

'but he would not have dared tempt Christ if it had not been allowed him'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_11:267.29.2006)

(75) Nolde he syllan ealle his æhta þeah þe he welig wære, wið þan þe he libban
not-would he sell all his possessions although he wealthy was provided-that he live
moste, gif man him þæs **geðafian** wolde?
must if one him this permit would

'Would he not sell all his goods, though he were wealthy, provided that he might live, if one

would permit him this/if he was permitted?' (coaelive,æLS[Ash_Wed]:117.2762)

(76) Hit wære gelimplic gif þises dages scortnys us **geþafian** wolde þæt we eow
it were suitable if this day's shortness us allow would that we you
þæs halgan apostoles Andrees þrowunge gerehton:

this holy apostle's Andreas suffering expound

'It would be suitable, if the day's shortness would allow us, to tell you about the suffering of the holy apostle Andreas'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_38_[App]:531.1.7806)

Epistemic modality is expressed by propositions containing predicates such as *beon* 'be', *weorðan* 'be, become' and the subject *hit* 'it' or *ðæt* 'that'.

- (77) a. Cwæð þæt he mihte ða. ma ðonne twelf eoroda heofenicra engla. æt his fæder
 said that he could the more than twelve legions heavenly angels at his father
 abiddan. gif hit **weorðan** ne sceolde. swa swa witegan cwædon
 ask if it be not should so as prophets said
 'Said that he could obtain from his father more than twelve legions of heavenly angels from
 his father, if it were not to be as the prophets said'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_14.1:140.95.3111)

- b. þa wolde Dionisius, gif hit **gewurðan** mihte, þrowian martyrdom mid þam
 then would Dionisius if it become might suffer martyrdom with the
 apostolum,
 apostles
 'Then Dionisius would, if it could be, suffer martyrdom with the apostles'

(coalive,ÆLS_[Denis]:109.5847)

- c. Ic wolde, gif hit swa **beon** meahte, ðæt ge wið ælcne monn hæfden sibbe eowres
 I would if it so be might that you with each man had peace of-your
 gewealdes
 power
 'I would, if it could be so, that you had peace with every man, as far as is in your power'

(cocura,CP:46.355.18.2405)

- d. oðþe gif ðæt **beon** ne meahte, þurh ðæt he wolde Rome gesecan, & ða halgan stowe þara
 eadigra apostola & Cristes martyra geseon & him ðær gebedigan.

'[There are also in the same parts many other nations still following pagan rites, to whom the
 aforesaid soldier of Christ designed to repair, sailing round Britain, and to try whether he could
 deliver any of them from Satan, and bring them over to Christ;]

or if this could not be done, to go to Rome, to see and adore the hallowed thresholds of the
 holy apostles and martyrs of Christ'

(cobede,Bede_5:9.408.24.4114)

Presuppositional interpretation also characterizes conditional clauses which hypothesize about carrying out of an event, with the emphasis either on completion (*ðurbteon* 'accomplish') or performance (*don* 'do').

(78) ond hwæðere ðæt mod hæfð fulfremedne willan to ðære wrænnesse butan ælc
and although the mind has worked-out will to the lasciviousness without any
steore & wearne gif he hit **ðurbteon** meahte.
restrain and hesitation if he it accomplish could
'although the mind is altogether desirous of lasciviousness without any restraint or hesitation if he
could accomplish it' (cocura,CP:11.73.3.481)

(79) Ac hie gecyðdon raðe þæs hwelce hlafordhyldo hi þohton to gecyþanne on
and they said quickly of-it which loyalty they thought to say on
hiora ealdhlaforðes bearnum, gif hi hit **þurbteon mehten**:
their lord's children if they it accomplish could
'And they quickly said which loyalty they thought to say on their lord's children if they could
accomplish it' (coorosiu,Or_6:37.155.18.3303)

(80) & gif hie þonne þis **gedon magan**, þu ongytest þæt hie syndon lease &
and if they then this do may you know that they are deceitful and
unlærede men
unlearned men
'and if they can then do this, you (will) know that they are deceitful and unlearned men
(coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:183.202.2348)

(81) gif þu þis **don ne miht**, drece us, loca, hu þu wylle.
if you this do not might afflict us see how you will
'if you are unable to do this, torture us, see!, however so you will'
(coaelive,æLS[Agnes]:114.1793)

What is common to most of these clauses (with the exception of (76)) is that they contain anaphoric reference to events or propositions, and the lexical verb provides modality- or aspectual-like perspective regarding the event or the proposition.

Why such clauses are commonly given as presupposed and why they do not update the CG cannot be accounted for in terms of a specific state either in the discourse or in the minds of the interlocutors. Instead, I hypothesize that the notion of relevance is the key reason why they are not seen as updates. For some reasons, propositions containing notions of permission, ability, performance and completion regarding the event in the main clause do not contribute to the discourse topic and the development of discourse. I further speculate that such lexically impoverished verbs hardly form predicates which can establish topic-predicate focus structure. In Chapter 4 an attempt of correlating the lack for predicate focus and pragmatic presupposition will be made, which will shed more light on the cases such as those above.

3.4.5 Summary

Most Vn-Vf orders represent propositions which have the properties of pragmatic presupposition. They are either already present in the CG, or the addressee can easily infer or accept that the speaker is treating them as part of the CG. I have translated some of the properties in terms which are more familiar when it comes to analyzing states of discourse entities (inferable, plausible).

The choice of those types of clauses which are typically conventionally presupposed might seem to be biased, as presuppositional interpretation is given its best shot. However, the same clause types will have to be shown *not* to be pragmatically presupposed with Vf-Vn orders, which restores the balance in the explanation.

Note also that some of the Vn-Vf orders discussed above are found in peripheral conditional and temporal clauses (cf. Haegeman 2003, 2006, 2007). Such clauses should be 'more assertive', yet, the discourse status of the proposition in them is not different from the one in central temporal and

conditional clauses. This supports the hypothesis that the position of the finite verb does not reflect how the whole clause is integrated in the discourse, but rather what the discourse status of the propositional material is.

3.5 Presupposition in conventionally assertive embedded clauses

Finally, let us look at the word order variation in the types of embedded clauses which are generally assumed to be non-presupposed: non-restrictive relative clauses and complements of the verb 'say'. Even in this brief and sketchy inspection, we will see that more or less the same interpretational differences arise in these contexts as well, and that the same factors license presupposed propositions. Here we will make use of the notion 'assertion' only in terms of 'non-presupposition'. A more detailed examination of assertive orders is given in Chapter 4.

3.5.1 Relative clauses

Pragmatic presupposition in relative clauses is illustrated in (82) and (83). The proposition of the non-restrictive relative clause in (82b) – that Basilla had chosen Christ for her bridegroom – has already been added to the CG earlier in the discourse segment (82a).

(82) a. Basilla had a heathen suitor [...] to whom the emperor granted the royal maid. But she had chosen Christ for her bridegroom (*ac heo hæfde gecoren Crist hyre to bryd-guman*)

b. þa nolde Basilla brydguman geceosan nænne butan Crist þe heo gecoren
 then not-would Basilla bridegroom chose none but Christ that she chosen
hæfde
 had
 'Then would not Basilla choose as her bridegroom any other but Christ, whom she had
 chosen' (coelive, *ÆLS_[Eugenia]:365.409*)

In the relative clause in (83b), the proposition that Seustius suffered from madness has already been given in the preceding paragraph, which describes how he was finally saved from it by the apostle Bartholomew.

- (83) a. The apostle then said, 'Be dumb, you unclean devil, and depart from the man.' And immediately the man was cleansed from the foul spirit, and spoke rationally, who had been mad for many years (*se ðe for manegum gearum awedde*).
 'Then the king Polymius heard of the maniac, how the apostle had saved him from that madness, and he commanded him be fetched to him, and said 'My daughter is cruelly frantic:'
- b. nu bidde ic þe ðæt ðu hi on gewitte gebringe. swa swa þu dydest Seustium
 now beseech I you that you her on wits bring so as you did Seustium
 se þe for manegum gearum mid egeslicre wodnysse gedreht **wæs**
 who for many years with dreadful madness afflicted was
 'now I beseech you to bring her to her wits, as you did Seustius, who for many years had been
 afflicted with dreadful madness' (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_31:441.57.6123)

Restrictive relative clauses (with a definite antecedent), on the other hand, which typically disallow ERP in other Germanic languages, allow verb movement, if the content of the proposition is 'informative' in the sense that it is not yet part of the CG. In (84), the information that the fiftieth day after Christ's ascension is called Pentecost is presumably not treated by the speaker as familiar to the addressee, and the proposition is delivered as informative.⁵⁹

- (84) he cwæþ, Mid þon dæge wæs gefylled se dæg þe is nemned Pentecosten ymb fiftig
 he said when day was filled the day that is called Pentecost about fifty
 nihta æfter þære gecyþdan æriste, þa wæron ealle þa apostolas wunigende on anre.
 night after the said ascension then were all the apostles living in one
 stowe
 place

⁵⁹ Even though the issue of the *Blickling Homilies'* target audience is still under debate, it seems that these homilies are primarily intended for the secular audience (Kelly 2003). It is unlikely that the speaker will take it for granted that the audience is familiar with Greek terms for concepts and events in the Christian religion.

'He said, when the day arrived, the day that is called Pentecost about fifty night after the mentioned ascension, then all the apostles were living together in one place'

(coblick,HomS_47_[BIHom_12]:133.37.1621)

Similarly, in the relative clause in (85) the fact that the daughter is a Christian needs to be asserted, because there is nothing in the preceding discourse that could indicate that such a proposition is plausible.

(85) a. In those days there was a certain general called Gallicanus, victorious in his fights, and very dear to the emperor for his great victory, though he was not baptized. He wooed Constantia, the emperor's daughter, at the time that the Scythians were warring much against him. Then the emperor was troubled on account of the wooing.

b. wiste þæt seo dohtor, þe Drihten **hæfde gecoren**, hraðor wolde sweltan þonne ceorlian
knew that the daughter who Lord had chosen rather would die than marry
'knowing that his daughter, who had chosen the Lord, would rather die than get-married/take
a husband'

(coelive, ÆLS[Agnes]:301.1925)

Word order variation with respect to the position of the finite verb in relative clauses has been discussed by Bean (1983). She notes that verb final structures correlate with the type of relative clause. Namely, she argues the invariable relative complementizer *þe* tends to introduce relative clauses with the verb final order, while those introduced with the demonstrative pronoun *se* tend to be non-final.

Suarez-Gomez (2008), however, shows that in her late OE corpus, the Vf-Vn and Vn-Vf orders are perfectly balanced in *þe*-relative clauses, which indicates that it is not the invariable relativizer that triggers verb-final orders. Based on her investigation of the OE data, Suarez-Gomez argues that the correlation between type of clause and word order is not with respect to the type of relativizer, but with respect to the type of clause: restrictive relatives tend to show verb-final order (this increases with the invariant relativizer), while non-restrictive relative clauses favour non-final word order (this further increases if the relativizer is pronominal).

It is, of course, not clear what exact feature or property of non-restrictive relative clauses the verb position should indicate. Suarez-Gomez does refer to the views that restrictive/non-restrictive difference has to do with the level of 'integration' in the sentence – restrictive relatives, functioning as modifiers of nominal heads need to be 'more integrated' than non-restrictive relatives, which are only loosely related to the head noun, and act as appositions, or peripheral dependents. Again, we face the same problem which arises every time we attempt to relate the position of the verb with conventional properties of embedded clauses. Non-restrictive clauses, for example, always have the same properties (they are always 'less integrated', non at-issue, etc), but the word order still varies in them. If, however, the variation is related to discourse state of a proposition itself, we can understand why certain discourse states show a preference for a certain clause type, or how structural and/or semantic factors influence pragmatic ones.

3.5.2 Argument **That**-clauses

That complements of semifactive verbs such as 'say' usually express assertion is well known. This is also the case in OE. Recall also that complements of 'communication' verbs, in addition to non-final verb orders, also allow embedded topicalization. They can be considered to be par excellence examples of assertive embedded clauses. This however does not prevent them from having verb-final orders.

In an informal investigation of these cases, we note that complements of the verb *cwæðan* 'say' can in fact be pragmatically presupposed, in which case they usually serve to express confirmation. The condition of confirmation, i.e. the restriction of possible uses of presuppositional content in complements of 'say' is due to the conventional assertive meaning of such complements.

The propositional content of (86), the heathen father's decision to accept Christianity, is not only highly plausible from the fact that he calls first for a bishop, and then for a priest; the whole paragraph is about the attempt of his Christian daughter and his son-in-law to make him accept baptism before he

died. When he says that he will 'believe in God and humbly submit to baptism', he confirms the strong expectation, and this is exactly what is asserted in this context.

(86) a. There was a certain heathen man named Martial, ripe in years; he zealously shunned the religion of Christian men. Now his daughter was a Christian very believing, and he husband had, in the same year, been baptized. Then they saw him sick, and with weeping **prayed that he would become a Christian** before his end. Then it seemed advisable to the son-in-law to go to the church of the aforesaid martyr, and to pray for the intercession of the blessed Stephen to the Almighty, that he would grant good will to the sick heathen, **that he might no longer delay his belief**. Then the son-in-law did so with infinite groaning and weeping, and purely with burning piety; and took some flowers from the holy altar, and laid them under the heathen's head. He then, on the same night, after his sleep, anxiously cried, **praying that they would fetch the bishop to him**. His friends then answered, that he was not in the neighbourhood. He then eagerly **entreated that they would send for a mass priest**.

b. cwæð þæt he on God gelyfan wolde. and eadmodlice to fulluhte gebugan;
 said that he in God believe would and humbly to baptism submit
 'He said that he would believe in God, and humbly submit to baptism'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_2:13.37.285)

In (87) the content of what Martin said (that he would not go to a sick/possessed man's house to heal him) is added to the CG as presupposed or taken for granted. When Martin is asked to heal a sick man, he specifically orders that the sick man is brought to him (with the implication that he himself would not go to the sick man's house). In addition, the context specifies that no one dared go to the possessed man. When the master of the sick man comes to Martin and begs him to go to his house, Martin's rejection cannot be appropriately delivered as new/updating the CG. In other words, Martin only confirms his earlier decision.

(87) a. There was a certain great noble called Tetradius, and one of his slaves was raving mad; then prayed he the saint to lay his hand upon him. So Martin ordered them to bring the man to him (*Martinus þa het þa þone man him to lædan*), but no man dared go to the possessed one (*ac nan man ne*

dorste to þam deofolseocan gan), because he wondrously foamed at the mouth, and attempted to tear every one who went in to him. Then Tetradius himself came and sought the saint, praying him humbly that he would go to the poor man.

- b. þa cwæð se halga wer þæt he to his huse gan **nolde** hæþenes mannes
 then said the holy man that he to his house go not-would of-heathen man
 and manfulles lifes
 and of-evil life

'Then said the holy man that he would not go to his house, as he was a heathen man, and of evil life'
 (coaelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:506-515.6292)

The backgroundedness/givenness effect is present when the verb 'say' itself is embedded in the temporal clause. In (88b) the proposition of that-clause (sins being forgiven) is a paraphrase of what has been given earlier in the discourse as direct speech (God forgiving sins).

- (88) a. Of which it is very well said through the Psalmist in the thirty-first Psalm; he said: 'I will pronounce against myself my injustice, Lord, because **you have forgiven** the impiety of my heart.' He had committed to God his sins, when he determined to confess to him.

- b. ða cyðde se witga hu iedelic bið to forgiefenne sio geðohte synn, ða he
 then showed the prophet how easily is to forgive the thought sin when he
 cwæð ðæt hio him sona forgiefen **wære** swa he geðoht hæfde ðæt he hi ondettan wolde.
 said that she him soon forgiven was as he thought had that he her confess would
 'The prophet showed how easily the meditated sin can be forgiven, when he said that it was
 forgiven him as soon as he had resolved to confess it' (cocura,CP:53.419.10.2911)

In (89) the proposition – that all year's quantity of wheat was wasted – is given in the preceding discourse. The preceding segment describes how an extremely good man gave all his possessions to the poor, including most of the wheat he and his mother had. When his mother finds out about this she starts beating herself and says what is already known, that all that year's reserves have been wasted. She repeats the familiar content to express how she is affected by it.

(89) & cwæð, þæt þæs gearæs help hire **forspilled wære**
 and said that this years reserves to-her wasted were
 'and said that all this year's reserves were wasted'

(cogregdH,GD_1_[H]:9.68.21.666

Finally, consider the two that-clauses both of which are complements of the verbs of saying ('say' and 'tell'). The first one, on the approach assumed here, constitutes an assertive that-clause, whereas the second one, with the auxiliary final word order, should be interpreted as pragmatically presupposed. Clearly, the mere fact that they both present the content of St. Augustine's message to the Pope plays no significant role – in other words, being a complement of a 'communication' verb does not guarantee that the proposition would necessarily be asserted. However, due to the content of the propositions, they are delivered in different ways. The first one – that the English people have accepted Christianity – is what constitutes new information to the Pope. The content of the second proposition, that Augustine was appointed bishop is given as presupposed, due to the fact that the Pope in the first place sent Augustine as bishop to England, once they agree to receive Christianity. In other words, the fact that he was appointed bishop there need not be asserted to the Pope, as it is a consequence of the English accepting Christianity.

(90) & sona sende ærendwrecan to Rome, þæt wæs Laurentius mæssepreost & Petrus munuc,
 and soon sent messengers to Rome that was Laurentius mass-priest and Peter monk
 þæt heo scoldan secgan & cyþan þam eadigan biscope Sancte Gregorii, þætte
 that they should say and tell the blessed bishop Saint Gregory that
 Ongelþeod hæfde onfongen Cristes geleafan & þætte he to biscope gehalgad wære:
 the-English had received Christ's faith and that he to bishop consecrated were
 'And soon he [Augustine] sent messengers to Rome, Laurentius, the mass-priest, and Peter, a
 monk, to say and report to the blessed bishop Saint Gregory that the English had received
 Christian faith, and that he was consecrated to bishop'

(cobede,Bede_1:16.62.29.592)

3.6 Summary

In this chapter we have attempted to show that embedded clauses with the finite verb in the clause final position match the interpretation which is closest to that of pragmatic presupposition (as understood in Stalnaker 1973, 1974, 1978, 2002). Despite many issues that arise with the common ground view of presupposition, it is still pragmatic presupposition, rather than 'being the Main Point of Utterance (MPU)' or 'being at-issue' is what underlies V_n-V_f orders, even though some cases are better characterized in terms of MPU and non-at-issueness. In other words, we assume that presupposition-as-common ground can share properties of 'non-at-issueness' and of 'not-being-MPU', as all three notions are non-assertive.

To isolate the role of the variation in the position of the finite verb, we have focused on the clause types which do not allow (other) embedded root phenomena (ERP), such as embedded topicalization. In OE, these are temporal and conditional clauses.

Having looked up the interpretations of temporal and conditional clauses in six OE texts, we show that in OE pragmatically presupposed embedded clauses are those whose content is given in the preceding discourse (either the whole proposition (or parts of it) is repeated or paraphrased), inferable or plausible from the preceding context (inferables rely on the linguistic context, while plausibles make us of extralinguistic/encyclopedic knowledge).

In addition to their 'being part of the CG' status, pragmatic presuppositional readings are also influenced by conversational principles (plausible propositions) as well as semantic factors (modality propositions; predicates which carry existential presupposition ('being born')). Conventional properties of embedded clauses play a role only in the way they restrict the use of presupposed content. A conventionally assertive clause, whose contribution to the CG is determined by its relation to the main clause, if not strictly in terms of 'full assertion', then at least as a MPU, can make use of pragmatically presupposed propositions to the effect of emphasis or confirmation. Non-at issue clauses, such as appositive relative clauses, which escape semantic tests for presupposition, can in fact encode the

discourse status of the proposition they contain, and seem to be most sensitive to the givenness factor, and use Vn-Vf orders for propositions which are given in the preceding discourse.

Why should the speaker make such an extensive use of given propositions, i.e. why should he communicate discourse old material, and violate the Gricean maxims of quantity or manner ('Make your contribution as informative as required' and 'Be perspicuous (avoid ambiguity, avoid obscurity, be brief, be orderly)'; Grice 1975)? We assume that in such cases, what is communicated as 'novel' is not the propositional content of the embedded clause but its relation with the main clause ('temporal' or 'conditional'). This assumption, however, only partially explains the rather overwhelming presence of given propositions in the OE discourse. It seems that repetition and paraphrase are a popular cohesive device employed by the OE authors, which primarily serves the purpose of expressing parallelisms.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Repetition is considered to be a feature of spoken discourse, while in the written discourse it is deemed acceptable only in certain types of written texts: legal register, poetry, dramatic writing or rhetorically oriented work (Bublitz 1992). However, both repetition and paraphrase in other types of written texts (e.g. narratives) are successfully used as devices that contribute to discourse cohesion.

4. PRAGMATIC ASSERTION IN Vf-Vn ORDERS

In this chapter we examine the hypothesis that non-verb-final orders in embedded clauses reflect the change in the pragmatic status of propositions contained in them. As we have shown in Chapter 3 that there is enough ground to treat verb-final embedded clauses as pragmatically presupposed, non-verb-final embedded clauses would consequently have to be pragmatically assertive. Using the same type of embedded clauses (temporal and conditional) as a corpus sample, we will test whether assertion is indeed what underlies their interpretation, indicated by the change in the position of the finite verb.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.1 describes the interpretations observed in the Vf-Vn orders in temporal and conditional clauses. Sections 4.2-4.6 provide illustrations of these interpretations. Finally, in Section 4.7 we speculate about the possible syntactic correlates.

4.1 Interpretations of Vf-Vn orders in temporal and conditional clauses

Having examined the interpretation of Vf-Vn orders in temporal and conditional clauses in the same six texts as in Chapter 3, we arrive at the generalization that the main ingredient of the Vf-Vn orders is focus. Interpretations of Vf-Vn orders involve the following: (1) contrastive/emphatic focus; (2) new discourse segment; (3) topic-focus switch between main and the embedded clause. Conditional clauses with Vf-Vn orders are additionally used to express requests or suggestions. Finally, those cases for which the context is not clear enough, does not provide enough information, or simply does not match any of the interpretations above, are classified as 'unclear'. The figures for these interpretations are given in Table 4.1 for temporal clauses, and Table 4.2 for conditional clauses.

Table 4. 1: Vf-Vn order interpretations in temporal clauses

	<i>Bede</i>	<i>Cura</i>	<i>Lives</i>	<i>CathHom</i>	<i>BlickHom</i>	<i>Orosius</i>
F-Vf	1	24	4	6	-	-
F-lexical verb	-	9	2	5	-	-
F-subject	1	8	2	7	3	1
F-object	2	7	-	12	2	-
F-adverbial	3	10	2	15	-	2
F-VP	1	1	-	3	-	-
F-TP	-	4	1	7	1	2
new discourse segment	5	8	5	8	3	6
topic-focus shift	*	9	1	12	-	-
request/suggestion	*	-	-	-	-	-
unclear	2	5	-	4	1	-
TOTAL	15	85	17	79	9	12

Table 4.2: Vf-Vn order interpretations in conditional clauses

	<i>Bede</i>	<i>Cura</i>	<i>Lives</i>	<i>CathHom</i>	<i>BlickHom</i>	<i>Orosius</i>
F-Vf	1	14	30	25	14	-
F-lexical verb	-	6	7	4	-	-
F-subject	1	3	2	7	1	-
F-object	2	4	5	8	6	-
F-adverbial	1	14	6	12	5	-
F-VP	-	-	-	3	-	-
F-TP	-	1	1	3	-	-
new discourse segment	2	2	-	-	1	-
topic-focus shift	-	-	-	2	-	-
request/suggestion	-	-	1	2	-	-
unclear	-	-	-	1	-	-
TOTAL	7	44	52	67	27	0

From the figures in the tables above, it is clear that the dominant interpretation is that of narrow focus on one of the elements in the proposition. Before we attempt to correlate the influence of focus to the interpretation of Vf-Vn propositions, let us first see the details of the proposed interpretations. Again, we will need to go through a good number of examples to see how the interpretations are actually detected in the context of utterance. As we have pointed out before, IS related interpretations are quite

difficult to establish (with certainty) in 'real' discourse. If things were as simple as our proposal might suggest, the impact of focus would have been observed much earlier.

4.2 Contrastive and emphatic focus in Vf-Vn orders

What characterizes most of the propositions with Vf-Vn orders is contrastive focus on one of the elements in the clause.

The focus can be on the arguments (subject, object), adjuncts, the lexical verb and the auxiliary/modal verb. When the focus is on the lexical material, it performs its usual function of evoking alternatives (cf. Rooth 1985, 1992, Krifka 2007). When the modal/auxiliary verb is focused, it calls for the consideration of alternatives, with the addition of the speaker's perspective (the same additional component of contrastive focus has been proposed by Zimmermann (2007)). In some cases, a proposition as a whole is given in comparison or contrast to another proposition, without there being one particular sentence element that can be diagnosed to be the 'main carrier' of focus.

4.2.1 Focus on the subject

The most common type of interpretation with focused subjects seems to be the one of additive focus. Additive focus is usually taken to express that the predication holds for at least one alternative of the expression in focus. The alternative proposition can be explicitly given in the preceding discourse, as in (1). The additive focus on the subject *hi* 'they' signals that the predication 'overcoming the devil' also holds for the alternative subject referents, i.e. Christ (the referent of the subject pronoun *he* 'he', in the proposition in (1a), ten lines before (1b)). Additive focus marking then serves as an indication that the proposition containing the expression in focus should be interpreted in relation to some other proposition, and the relation is usually that of comparison.

- (1) a. he hine mid geþylde oferswiðde
 he him with patience overcame
 'He (Christ) overcame him (the devil) with patience'
- b. On þisse bysene is gecyþed þæt eallum geleaffullum mannum englas þegnaþ,
 on this example is said that all faithful men angels serve
 þonne **hi** habbaþ deofol oferswiþed
 when they have devil overcome
 'By this example it is shown that angels serve all the faithful men when they overcome the devil'

(coblick,HomS_10_[BlHom_3]:35.140. 452 & 462)

The alternative for the expression in focus can also be found in the following discourse. This happens, for example, when a conditional or temporal clause containing a focused element is followed by a comparative clause, as in (2). The expression in focus is the subject *ge* 'you', while the alternative for the predicate *onþwegene* 'washed' is the subject *eower fæder* 'your father' in the comparative clause (with the same predicate curiously given in a slightly modified spelling version *aðwegen*). Note that additive focus requires that the alternative proposition is presupposed. The word order in the comparative clause (Vnf-Vf) indicates that the speaker treats this proposition as part of the common ground (i.e. presupposed). This strengthens the assumption that the subject in the conditional clause is indeed focused, which then affects the word order in the verbal domain of this embedded clause.

- (2) Gif **ge** willað onþwegene beon ðy halwendan wellan fulwihtes bæðes, swa eower fæder
 if you will washed be in sanctifying well baptism's bath as your father
 aðwegen wæs...
 washed was

'If you will be washed in that laver of salvation, as our father was washed'

(cobede,Bede_2:5.112.12.1055)

Focus on the subject can also be contrastive. Contrast can be established via focusing a property of the subject. The focus on the adjective *unclæne* 'unclean' in (3) instructs the reader to consider that an alternative property (*clæne* 'clean') should be considered as relevant in the rest of the sentence.

- (3) ðonne an **unclæne** **gast** bið adrifen of ðæm men, ðonne bið ðæt hus clæne
 when an unclean ghost is driven-away of the man then is the house clean
 'When an unclean ghost is driven out of the man, then the house is clean'

(cocura,CP:39.283.21.1852)

Expressions of contrastive focus described here clearly go beyond the prototypical cases discussed in the literature, where the alternative propositions are identical to the 'original' one, except for the different substitutions of the contrastively focused element. Rather, the pragmatic use of focus here is to highlight parallels in interpretation (Krifka 2007). The focus on the subject *ge* 'you' in (4) points that an alternative subject should be considered for the predicate 'forgetting someone their sins'. The expression of a parallel relation between the two propositions in this case requires that the contrast on the subject also triggers contrast on the other VP material (specifically, the indirect object and the possessive inside the direct object). The two propositions still have one identical element (the verb), but there are more complex cases where parallels are more elusive in the sense that the exact or overt point of comparison/contrast is not expressed.

- (4) Gif **ge** þonne nellað forgifan: Nele eac eower fæder eow forgifan eowre gyltas
 if you then not-will forgive not-will also your father you forget your sins
 'If you will not forgive them, neither will your father forget you your sins'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I_3:203.137.584)

There are also instances where the identificational or restrictive focus (Erteschik-Shir 1997) interpretation is found. This type of focus on the subject is evident in list-contexts, as in the example (5) from *The Laws of Alfred*, where different injuries resulting from cutting (off a body part) are listed. The

segment specifically focuses on the situation where one is hurt with an axe on the hand. In Erteschik-Shir's terms, in (5) the focused element is selected from a restrictive set of fingers (and parts of them).

- (5) a. Gif **se ðuma** bið of aslægen, þam sceal XXX scillinga to bote.
 if the thumb be off-struck to-it shall 30 shillings to compensation
 'If the thumb is struck off, it shall be compensated with 30 shillings'
- b. Gif **se nægl** bið of aslegen, ðam sculon V scillinga to bote.
 if the nail be off struck to-it shall 5 shillings to compensation
 'If the nail is struck off, it shall be compensated with five shillings'
- c. Gif **se scytfinger** bið of aslegen, sio bot bið XV scillinga;
 if the index-finger be off struck the compensation be 15 shillings
 'If the index-finger is struck off, the compensation is 15 shillings'
- d. Gif **se midlesta finger** sie of aslegen, sio bot bið XII scillinga;
 if the middle finger be off struck the compensation be 12 shillings
 'if the middle finger is struck off, the compensation is 15 shillings'
- e. Gif **se goldfinger** sie of aslegen, to þam sculon XVII scillinga to bote;
 if the ring-finger be off struck, to it shall 17 shillings to compensation
 'If the ring-finger is struck off, it shall be compensated with 17 shillings'
- f. Gif **se lytla finger** bið of aslegen, ðam sceal to bote VIII scillinga
 if the little finger be off struck to-it shall to compensation nine shillings
 'If the little finger is struck off, it shall be compensated with nine shillings'
- (colawaf, LawAf_1:60.174-181)

Scalar focus interpretation can also be noted. The focus on the subject (*Crist* 'Christ') indicates that the predication in the temporal clause is less likely than the alternative predication in the main clause (i.e. not even Christ could ascend to heaven without tribulations, let alone ordinary people). Presumably, this interpretation is reinforced by the intensifier *ȝy/f* '(him)self'.

(6) Wite þeahhwæðere gehwa þæt nan man buton earfoðnyssum ne becymð to þære
 know however everyone that no man without tribulation notcomes to the
 ecan reste.þa ða **Crist sylf** nolde his agen rice buton micelre
 eternal rest when Christ himself not-would his own kingdom without much
 earfoðnyse astigan
 tribulation ascend

'Let every one, however, know, that no man comes to the eternal rest without tribulations, when
 Christ himself would not ascend to his own kingdom without great tribulation'

(cocathom1,ÆHom_I,_31:450.325.6336)

Interestingly, in all the cases noted, the finite verb is adjacent to the subject. In other words, no VR constructions (S-O/A-Vf-Vn) have been observed to have this type of interpretation of the subject. Whether the subject-finite verb adjacency is incidental, is a matter of further consideration.

4.2.2 Focus on the object

Let us now consider the cases where the object receives focus interpretation. In (7), the object in the temporal clause *þam menn anum* 'a man alone' is contrasted with the object *eallum gesceafte* 'all creatures' in the preceding main clause. Or rather, the focus here instructs us to consider alternatives for the object 'all creatures'.

(7) a. He said, "Go over all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."... He said, "Preach to every creature:" but by that name is man alone betokened... [about stones, trees, beasts, and angels – what they have or don't have). Now man has something of all creatures... [what he has in common with stones, trees, beasts and angels]. Man is therefore called 'every creature', because he has something in common with every creature.

b. ðæt godspel bið gebodad **eallum gesceafte**: þonne hit bið **þam menn anum**
 the gospel is preached to-all creatures when it is to-the man alone
 gebodad...

preached

'Gospel is preached to all creatures when it is preached to a man alone'

(cocathom1, ÆHom _I,_21:349.132.4216)

In Chapter 5 we discuss some instances of postverbal objects in terms of focus. In those cases, the focus interpretation is linked to the change in the word order (from OV to VO). This is a problem, since the examples presented here show that focus interpretation does not require the object to be associated with a particular structural position. In other words, contrastive focus can be noted in preverbal objects as well. One possibility is to distinguish contrastive topics (and the view that they contain a focus feature in them) from contrastive focus. In (7b), the referent can be considered a contrastive topic since the proposition of gospel being thought to man alone has already been discussed. In many other cases, however, it is more difficult to argue for the topic status of the contrastively focused element (or, an element with a contrastive interpretation). This is the case in (8).

In (8b) the focus on the object *sōð* 'truth' relates the proposition in the conditional clause to what the context (8a) establishes as an alternative one, whereby the judge wants to hear something that does not have the property or importance associated with 'truth' (he finds it trivial that someone's true identity could be revealed by information about their family and social status). The object is contrastively focused and preverbal. The issue of contrastively focused preverbal objects in Verb Raising constructions, such as the one in (8b) are discussed in more detail.

- (8) a. Then asked the judge immediately, and said, 'Of what family are you, or of what rank among men?' Then Alban answered the wicked man thus: 'What does it concern you of what family I may be?'

b. Ac gif ðu **soð** wylt gehyran ic þe secge hraðe, þæt ic cristen eom and Crist
 but if you truth will hear I you say quickly that I Christianam andChrist
 æfre wurðige
 ever worship
 'but if you desire to hear the truth, I tell you quickly that I am a Christian, and will ever worship
 Christ'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Alban]:57.4031)

Contrast relation can be established locally, i.e. within the clause, as in (9), where the properties of the indirect object (*hean* 'high' and *heofonlican* 'heavenly') is contrasted with the property of the direct object (*eorðlicu* 'earthly'). Note that the propositional content of the temporal clause is familiar to the hearer (we already know that Satan, in order to tempt Christ, has offered him all the worldly riches). What the speaker brings as 'new' or 'update' to the CG is the contrast he indicates (or emphasizes) between the recipient (Christ) and theme (riches).

(9) Ac se forhwyrfda gast spræc forhwyrfedlice word, þa he wolde þæm **hean**
 but the perverted spirit spoke perversely words when he would the exalted
 cininge & þæm **heofonlican** eorþlicu ricu syllan
 king and the heavenly earthly kingdom give
 'But the perverted spirit spoke perverse words when (he said) he would give earthly kingdoms to
 the exalted and heavenly king'

(coblick,HomS_10_[BlHom_3]:31.70.407)

A similar situation is found in (10). The object *anwerdan myryhðe* 'the present mirth' is contrasted with the object of preposition *towardan ungesælde* 'future unhappiness'. Both the referents (mirth-unhappiness) and their properties (present-future) are in a parallel, contrast relation.

(10) Heo hæfð ðonne sibbe on hire dæge þonne heo nele þa **andwerdan myryhðe**
 she has then peace on her days when she not-will the present mirth
 gewæcan mid nanre care þære **towardan ungesælde**. Ac gæð mid beclýsedum eagum to
 afflict with no care of-the future unhappiness but goes with closed eyes to

þam witniendlicum fyre
the penal fire

'It [the soul] has then peace in its day, when it will not afflict the present mirth with any care for the future unhappiness, but goes with closed eyes to the penal fire'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_28:414.120.5535)

The focus interpretation of the object need not be contrastive. Focus can be employed only to indicate the presence of a relevant alternative. This seems to be the case in (11). Presumably, the postverbal object *Gerusalem* 'Jerusalem' is focused in order to indicate the relevance of an alternative location – the village of Bethphage – which was also visited by Jesus Christ (the Saviour).

- (11) Matheus se godspellere sægde, þa Hælend wolde genealæcean **Gerusalem**,
Matthew the evangelist said when Saviour would approach Jerusalem
þa com he ær to Betfage.
then came he first to Bethphage

"The evangelist Matthew said, 'As the Saviour approached Jerusalem, he first came to the village of Bethphage'"

(coblick,HomS_21_[BIHom_6]:77.196.964)

4.2.3 Focus on the adjunct

The presence of contrastive focus can be found on adjuncts. In (12) the complement of the preposition, *Galliscum fyre* 'Gallic fire' in the temporal clause contrasts with *hefenisc fyr* 'heavenly fire', the subject of the following clause. The modal verb is also to be interpreted contrastively (could not vs. could be destroyed), but it seems that the main point of contrast is between two types of fire, and consequently the results they have on 'brazen beams and statues'.

- (12) ðær was gesiene Godes irre, þa hiora ærenan beamas & hiora anlicnessa,
there was seen God's anger when their brazen beams and their statues

þa hie ne mehton **from Galliscum fyre** forbærnde weorþan; ac hi **hefenisc**
 when they not could from Gallic fire burnt be but them heavenly
fyr æt ðæm ilcan cyrre forbærnde.

fire at the same time burned

'There God's anger was seen, when their brazen beams and their statues could not be destroyed
 by the fire of the Gauls, but, at the same time, fire from heaven consumed them'

(coorosiu,Or_2:8.52.36.1015)

In (13), the focus is on the adverb *utane* 'outside, externally', which contrasts with the adverb *innan* 'inside, internally' in the matrix clause. Again, similar to the previous example, the contrast in the adjuncts also triggers the contrast between the predicate *ymbhringed* 'surrounded' (in the embedded clause) and the predicate *aidlad* 'deprived' (in the main clause).

(13) Ond ðonne he bið **utane** ymbhringed mid ungemetlicre heringe, he bið **innan**
 and when he is externally surrounded with immoderate praise he is internally
 aidlad ðære ryhtwisnesse,

deprived of-the righteousness

'And when he is surrounded externally with immoderate praise, he is internally deprived of
 righteousness'

(cocura,CP:17.111.8.737)

In (14), the contrastive focus is on the PP *on ða lænan sibbe* 'on the heavenly peace', with the purpose of evoking the alternative proposition where the focused element is substituted by an alternative location with contrasting properties 'transitory peace'. What is interesting is that the contrast between the two types of peace has already been established in the preceding context. The question is then why this contrast needs to be indicated again. I speculate that focus in such cases also serves as a means of including the speaker's perspective, or evaluation of the proposition containing the focused element. Usually, the evaluation is negative, in the sense that the speaker finds the alternatives to be more plausible, more likely, or more appropriate. In a sense, the speaker disassociates himself from the commitment commonly noted with presupposed propositions. As we will see in Section 4.2.5, the same effect will be crucial in the discussion of contrastive focus on the finite verb.

- (14) a. Of this same Christ spoke through himself, when he distinguished between this earthly and the heavenly peace, and diverted his apostles from the present to the eternal peace, saying: 'My peace I give to you, and my peace I leave with you.' As if he had said: 'I lend you this transitory, and give you the lasting peace.'
- b. Gif ðonne ðæs monnes mod & his lufu bið behleapen eallunga **on ða lænan sibbe**, if then the man's mind and his love are devoted entirely on the transitory peace ðonne ne mæg he næbre becuman to ðære ðe him geseald is then not may he never attain to that which him given is 'If, then, the mind and love of man are entirely devoted to the transitory peace, he can never attain to the one which is given to him'

(cocura,CP:46.351.14.2372)

4.2.4 Focus on the lexical verb

The presence of contrastive focus can be observed on the lexical verb (infinitive or participle). The first illustration is given in (15), where the infinitive is contrastively focused. In this example, the contrast is between how one should and should not act in the presence of a dead body. One should sorrow for the dead (*besargian þone deadan*, (15b)), rather than jest (and be immoral) at dead men's corpses (*þlegað æt deadra manna lice*, (15a)).

- (15) a. menn unwiselice doð þa ðe dwoollice þlegað æt deadra manna lice, and ælce fulnysse þær forð teoð mid plegan,
'men do unwisely when they doltishly jest at dead men's corpses and introduce by their sport any licentiousness,'
- b. þonne hi sceoldon swyðor **besargian** þone deadan, and ondrædan him sylfum þæs when they should rather sorrow the dead and dread him self the deaðes tocyme death's coming
'when they should rather sorrow for the dead, and dread the coming of death for themselves'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:307.4414)

An example of contrastive focus on the participle is given in (16). In (16b) the participle *onpennad* 'opened' contrasts with the state the subject referent (the dam) is in when it serves to prevent the water from flowing, i.e. when it is closed (expressed by the proposition in (16a) 'when the water is dammed up').

(16) a. When water is dammed up, it increases and rises and strives after its original place, when it cannot flow whither it would

b. Ac gif sio pynding wierð **onpennad**, oððe sio wering wirð tobrocen, ðonne toflewð
 but if the dam is open or the weir is broken then flow-off
 hit eall
 it all

'But if the dam is thrown open or the weir bursts, it runs off'

(cocura,CP:38.277.8.1800)

The focus alternative can be found in the context following the proposition with the focused lexical verb. Thus in (17), the alternative proposition for the one containing the contrastively focused infinitive *gewemman* 'pollute, defile' in (17b) is the following conditional clause (17c), where the focused verb is substituted by *lufast* 'love' ('and continue in pure virginity').

(17) a. 'Oh, you, my dear husband, I say to you with love, I have God's angel who holds me in love,

b. and gif þu wylt me **gewemman**, he went sona to ðe
 and if you will me pollute he goes soon to you
 'and if you pollute me, he will quickly turn to you (and will slay you in anger)'

c. Gif þu þonne me lufast and butan laðe gehylst on clænum mægþhade...
 if you then me love and without evil continue in pure virginity

'If you then love me and without evil continue in pure virginity, (then Christ will love you...)'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Cecilia]:31.7128-7130)

As in the case of other focused elements, focus on the lexical verb can serve to relate the proposition of the embedded clause to an alternative one, which is not given in the strict sense, but rather present in the CG as an inference based on what the general context has established to the point of utterance. This is illustrated in (18). The focus on the participle *oftogen* 'withdrawn' (i.e. food being withdrawn from a person) indicates that this predicate contrasts with what has already been established in the segment. The topic of the segment is the spiritual and material senses of the *Pater Noster* line 'give us our daily bread'. So, the context establishes that our body should be given food regularly (this is also indicated in the proposition of the comparative clause (18a), immediately preceding (18b)). Being withdrawn (*oftogen*) can thus be considered to be contrastively focused.

- (18) a. swa swa se lichama leofað be lichamlicum mettum...
as the body lives by bodily food
'so as the body lives by bodily food...'
- b. Hraðe se lichama aswint. & forweornað gif him bið **oftogen** his bigleofa
quickly the body wastes-away and decays if him is withdrawn his food
'The body quickly wastes away and decays, if its sustenance is withdrawn from it'
(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_19:329.113. 3709-3710)

Contrast relation becomes overtly indicated when the clause with a focused lexical verb is followed by an adversative second conjunct containing the alternative element. In (19), the lexical verb *aweorp* 'reject' contrasts with the participle *healdað* 'hold' in the second conjunct.

- (19) a. The envious are also to be taught to perceive to what great danger they are exposed, and how they increase their perdition,
- b. ðonne hie of hira heortan nyllað **aweorpan** ðone æfst, ac hine healdað
when they of their heart not-will reject the envy but it hold
'when they will not reject envy from their hearts but preserve it'
(cocura,CP:34.233.23.1535)

4.2.5 Focus on the modal/auxiliary

Finally, let us discuss the cases where the contrastive focus is present on the finite verb, i.e. modal or auxiliary verb.

In (20b) the young boy (the referent of the pronominal subject *he* 'he') confirms that he would do exactly what the devil asks him to do in (20a), namely, renounce Christ and believe in the devil (the conditional clause in (20a) also has Vf-Vn order, and its interpretation is that of parallel/contrasting VPs, discussed in Section 4.2.6).

(20) a. and se deofol befran þone dweligendan cnapan gif he **wolde** on hine **gelyfan**,
and the devil asked the erring youth if he would in him believe
and his hælende **wiðsacen**, wið þam þe he gefremode his fulan galnysse
and his Saviour renounce, after he furthered his foul lust
'[Then the sorcerer brought the youth to his devil,] and the devil asked the erring youth if he
would believe on him and renounce his Saviour, as soon as he had furthered his foul lust'
(coalive, *ÆLS_[Basil]:367.700*)

b. and cwæð he **wolde** wiðsacan his Criste, and gelyfan on hine gif he his lust gefremode
and said he would renounce his Christ and believe in him if he his lust fulfilled
'[Then stood the miserable one before the wicked devil, where he sat his hellish servants,]
and said that he would renounce his Christ and believe in him if he fulfilled his impure lust'
(coalive, *ÆLS_[Basil]:371.702*)

In the propositions (21b) and (21c) the focus is on the modals (*woldest* 'would' and *mihdest* 'might'). The focus interpretation of *woldest* 'want, would' is emphatic, as it repeats the proposition introduced earlier (cf. 21a, where the alderman expresses his willingness to pardon/have pity on the wrongly accused woman), while the focus on the modal in *mihdest* 'might' in (21c) is contrastive, as the speaker (Basil) considers the possibility alternative to the one presented by the alderman (of him not being able to do it, (21a)).

(21) a. Basil then wrote for the poor woman a writing to the alderman, with this purport: 'This poor woman sought me, saying that I could intercede for her to you, therefore shew not, I pray, if I may [prevail] as well with you as the woman trusts. Then the alderman read the letter, and sent to him in return immediately in writing, saying, that he **would** pardon the woman for his intercession, but nevertheless **could not** remit the tax which she had to render. Then the bishop sent to the aforesaid alderman again another writing, with this purport:

b. Gif þu **woldest** myltsian and swa þeah ne mihtest, þær is sum beladung on
 if you would pity and nevertheless not could there is some excuse in
 þære sægne
 the assertion
 'If you would pity and nevertheless could not, there is some excuse in your assertion'

c. Gif þu þonne **mihtest** myltsian and noldest,
 if you then could pity and not-would...
 'If you, however, could pity but would not...'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Basil]:182.572-573)

The effect of focus on the finite verb can most easily be observed with negative modals. In (22) the negative modal *nellap* 'will not' introduces a proposition that contrasts with the presupposed proposition that teachers should teach other people to be good Christians.

(22) & þa lareowas beoþ syþþan domes wyrþe, gif he **nellap** þæt folk læron
 and the teachers be afterwards condemnation worthy if they not-will that folk teach
 þæt hi heora synna geswicon & Godes bebodu healdan
 that they their sins cease and God's commands hold
 'The teachers thereafter will be deserving of condemnation if they will not teach the people to
 cease from their sins and observe God's commands'

(coblick,HomS_14_[BlHom_4]:47.153.593)

However, contrast alone is not a sufficient condition for the modal/auxiliary to be focused. If that were so, most negative finite verbs would never be clause final, which is not the case. In fact, contrastive propositions can be delivered as both presupposed and asserted.

The effect of pragmatic presupposition and assertion on contrasting propositions can most clearly be observed if we compare two conditional clauses with varying word orders, whose propositions are presented as two different alternatives. Both conditional clauses require some degree of backgroundedness of the (non-finite) VP content. Presupposed propositions regularly match the speaker's belief which of the two presented alternatives/possibilities is more likely to hold in a given context. On the other hand, the speaker regularly 'asserts' propositions he does not believe to be possible to hold, and consequently cannot deliver them as something that can be taken for granted. In that way, the speaker's 'commitment-effect' arising from the fact that he 'believes' in the proposition, is eliminated.

Associating the speaker's commitment with presupposition seems to be in contrast with the assumption that assertion is a proposition to which the speaker commits in his utterance. I suggest that what distinguishes presupposition from assertion is the absence of the speaker's perspective. The speaker's perspective serves to express (or brings to the CG) his attitude towards the proposition. Assertions, unlike presuppositions, come with an overt expression of commitment or disassociation, by virtue of utterance. In other words, it is by uttering an assertive proposition that the speaker is actually expressing his general attitude towards the proposition. Presuppositions, on the other hand, which lack the expression of the speaker's perspective, seem to be interpreted as 'taken for granted' by default. The speaker's commitment is only a sideeffect with presupposed propositions. Now the question is why the speaker's attitude in the assertive propositions discussed above is negative, and resembles lack of commitment to the focused alternative. I believe that this is because the effect shows up in conditional clauses. Whether this is because conditional clauses are typically conventionally presupposed propositions, and focusing an element in them looks like presupposition cancellation (with negative evaluation), or because of some other semantic properties of conditional clauses, remains to be established. What I find relevant is the very presence of the speaker's attitude. This is what resembles 'regular' assertions, and what is regularly expressed by a certain word order.

Let us illustrate the effect of speaker's commitment (and lack of it). In (23) two contrasting conditional clauses are given, varying in the position of the non-finite VP relative to the modal. By using the 'assertive word order' in (23), the speaker indicates that under the circumstances discussed so far, he does not expect the cows to abandon their calves and start pulling the cart with the shrine. The opposite, on the other hand, matches the speaker's belief, and this proposition is given as presupposed, in the Vn-Vf order.

- (23) a. and nimað twa geonge cy, þe under iuce ne comon, þæt hi þæt halige scrin ham ferian magon mid þam gyldenum lacum þe ge Gode geoffriað, and healdað þa cealfas æt ham getigede
 'Take two young cows, that have not been under yoke, so that they can take the holy shrine with the golden gifts that you offer God, and keep their calves at home tied'
- b. þonne mage ge tocnawan, gyf þa cy **willað gan** forð on þone weg fram heora then may you know if the cows will go forth on the way from their cealfum, þæt hit Godes yrre wæs þe eow swa geswencte.
 calves that it God's anger was that you so tortured
 'Then you may know, if the cows will go forth on the way from their calves, that it was God's anger that tortured you so'
- c. Gif hi þonne **gan nellað** mid þæs Godes scrine heonon, þonne mage ge tocnawan if they then go not-will with the God's shrine away then may you know þæt se cwealm næs forþi, þurh Godes yrre, ac gelamp elles
 that the torment not-was for-that through God's anger but happened otherwise
 'if they will not go with the God's shrine away, then you may know that the torment was not because of God's anger, but happened otherwise'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_22:268.3426-3429)

(24) provides more support that contrast need not be delivered as 'update' if the speaker commits to the proposition. In (24), the proposition of the conditional *gyf*-clause in (24b) contrasts with the proposition of the *gyf*-clause in (24 a). However, the option that the cruel judge Aegeas, who 'forced the Christians to idolatrous worship', would not believe that Christ is true God is possible, if not expected, given the previous exchange between him and Andrew (the speaker, in this segment).

(24) a. You have heard the mystery of the holy offering; now **if you believe** that Christ, the Son of God, who was hanged on a cross, is true God, then I will disclose to you how the lamb continues sound and undefiled in its kingdom, after it is offered, and its flesh eaten, and its blood drunken.

b. Gif þu þonne gelyfan **ne**lt. ne becymst þu næfre to insihte þissere soðfæstnysse
 if you then believe not-will not become you never to insight of-this truth
 'but if you will not believe, you will never come to an insight of his truth'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_38:515.229.7699)

(25) illustrates the same effect. In (25), Agatha, the speaker, is certain that heathen gods could not make the Christians worship them (the proposition of the conditional clause in (25b)). This proposition contrasts with the possibility added to the CG in the preceding discourse, of heathen gods being able to command the Christians to worship them (25a). Even though the speaker brings in the relation of contrast to the discourse context, the fact that she commits to the alternative proposition, the proposition is delivered as presupposed, and not as a focus alternative.

(25) a. Agatha answered him, "The Almighty approves the minds of men rather than their great age; and faith is not in years, but dwells in prudent understandings. Let your gods be angry if they can do anything. Let themselves command us to worship them.

b. gif þu þis **don ne miht**, drece us, loca, hu þu wylle
 if you this do not might afflict us lo how you will
 'if you cannot accomplish this, afflict us, lo, how you will' (coelive,ÆLS[Agnes]:114.1793)

(26) is a part of the conversation between the apostle Bartholomew and the king Astryges, who turned to heathen worship. When Bartholomew challenges the king to demonstrate that the Christian God is meaningless, he certainly presupposes that this is not possible (as reflected in the V-final order in (26c)). The conditional in (26b), with the non-final *miht* 'might' indicates that Bartholomew considers the alternative of the king being able to prove that Christian God is meaningless less likely, or even unlikely to hold.

- (26) a. Then said the king, 'So as you have made my brother forsake his god and believe in your god, so also I will make you forsake your god and believe in mine.' Then answered the apostle, 'The god that your brother worshipped I showed to him bound, and I commanded that he himself should break his image.'
- b. gif þu **miht** ðis don minum Gode þonne gebigst þu me to þines godes bigencgum
if you might this do to-my God then turn you me to your god's worship
'If you can do this to my God then will you incline me to the worship of your god'
- c. Gif þu ðonne þis minum Gode don **ne miht**. ic tobryte ealle þine godas
if you then this to-my God do not might, I break all your gods
'but if you cannot do this to my God, I will break all your gods [and you will then believe in the true God whom I preach]' (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_31:447.220.6257-6258)

In (27), again there are two contrasting conditional clauses.⁶¹ However, when Jesus addresses his disciples, he certainly does not commit to the proposition that they will *not* follow his instruction. Consequently, the proposition is not added to the common ground as presupposed.

- (27) a. Jesus said, '**If you forgive** those men who sin against you, then will your heavenly Father forgive you your sins:
- b. Gif ge þonne **nellað** forgifan: Nele eac eower fæder eow forgifan eowre gyltas
if you then not-will forgive not-will also your father you forgive your sins
'but if you will not forgive, your Father will not forgive you your sins'
(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_3:203.137.584)

Similarly, in (28), the modal *wilt* 'will, want' has narrow, contrastive focus. Focus in this case serves to cancel the strong presupposition that the addressee (*þu* 'you') should not believe the words and deeds of a sorcerer (accomplished through 'devil's wisdom'). From the speaker's perspective, the option that one would still persist on wanting to hear words of deception is unexpected and wrong, he cannot commit

⁶¹ The original OE is not given here because the conditional clause does not contain a modal/auxiliary verb, and the position of the lexical verb here is not very informative with respect to the pragmatic status of the proposition

to it, so he delivers it as a focus alternative. Again, the focus is to be interpreted contrastively, as the focus set has only two members: wanting and not wanting to hear the words.

- (28) Gif þu **wilt** his wordum hyran & his bebodu læstan, þu forleosest þin
 if you will his words hear and his commands do you lose your
 rice & þines sylfes feorh
 kingdom and your self's money
 'If you will hear his words and obey his commands, you will lose your kingdom ad your own
 money' (coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:183.232.2371)

The same effect is present in other types of clauses. In the temporal clause in (29b), the focus on the negative modal *noldon* 'would not' cancels the strong presupposition established in the preceding context, that, after God has sent his invitation twice (first through prophets, then through apostles), it is expected that the people, being so decisively invited, would come to celebrate the marriage between Christ and the Church. Again, the speaker adds his perspective that the alternative – not wanting to come to the wedding – was unlikely to hold.

- (29) a. God sent his messengers, that he might invite everyone to this marriage. He sent once and again; for he sent his prophets, who announces his Son's humanity to come, and again, afterwards sent his apostles, who announced his advent accomplished, as the prophets had first prophesied it.
- b. ða ða hi **noldon** cuman to þam gyftum. þa sende he eft þus cweðende
 when they not-would come to the marriage, then sent he again thus saying
 'When they would not come to the marriage, he sent again, thus saying'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_35:477.51.6939)

In (30b) the speaker expresses his disbelief that the church door, locked and sealed (30a), would open after heathens' prayer. The relevant focus alternative is the church door opening after Christian prayer.

- (30) a. Then said Basil, 'Let us lock up this church, and seal the lock, and do you all afterward watch three nights, continuing in prayer

- b. and gif seo cyrce **bið geopenad** þurh eowre gebena, habbað hi eow æfre siððan
 and if the church be opened through your prayers have it to-you ever later
 'and if the church be opened through your prayers, you shall have it ever afterward'
 (coelive, ÆLS_[Basil]:328.670)

As this use of contrastive focus on the modal involves the speaker's perspective on the likelihood of the proposition, it is not surprising that contrastive focus is often found in rules associated with certain moral expectations. When a proposition expresses something that is opposite to what rules of moral conduct impose, it is given as non-presupposed. Thus, for instance, the negative modal *ne willað* 'not want' in the temporal clause in (31b) does not only evoke the set of alternatives ('woman wanting to abstain from her husband' and 'woman not wanting to abstain from her husband'), but also adds the evaluation that the focused proposition should not hold, as it violates the obligation of women to take proper care of their children all the time.

- (31) a. Husband shall not enter his wife's bed, before the baby is weaned from the breast. A culpable habit indeed has arisen in places between the married pair, that the woman neglects to feed her child, that she has borne, and hands it over to others to feed
- b. þæt is þonne gesegen gemeted fore intingan unforhæfdnisse anre, forþon, þonne heo **ne**
 that is then said found for reason incontinence alone because when she not
willað ahabban from heora werum, þætte heo forhycgað fedan þa ðe heo cennað.
 will abstain from her husband that she neglects feed those that she bore
 'Now this seems to occur through incontinence only, for they neglect to feed their own babes,
 when they **will not** live apart from their husbands.'
 (cobede, Bede_1:16.76.31.713)

4.2.6 Contrasting and parallel VPs/predicates

A special type of focus interpretation in Vf-Vn orders is also distinguished. I label these cases as contrasting and parallel VP/predicates. The contrast or parallel between the two propositions is

expressed on the VP/predicate material. Put simply, the VP (excluding the subject) is in a comparison/contrast relation with another VP. In (32) this is the case with predicates 'cannot say a homily (to the lay folk)' and 'should...set (them) a good example'.

(32) a. It is written, 'The foolish will not be corrected with words'

b. Gif se sacerd ne mæg ðam læwedum mannum larspel secgan.

if the priest not may to-the lay people homily say

huru he seal þurh his lifes unsceððignysse him wel bysnian;

at-least he shall through his life's example them well exemplify

'If the priest cannot say a homily to the lay folk, he should, at least, through the innocence of his life, set them a good example'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_41:306.66.6963)

4.2.7 Contrasting TPs

An example of what I classify as contrasting TP interpretation is given in (33). The proposition of the temporal clause (the mind of the rich being turned to anger through pride) is in a comparison relation with the temporal clause in the preceding sentence (the unclean spirit coming on Saul). The author clearly wants to draw a parallel between these two situations. It is difficult to establish the presence of focus on one particular element. Presumably, the subject 'the mind of the rich' is a good candidate, with the (rest of the) VP being a paraphrase of the predicate in the preceding sentence (31a) (e.g. '(being) possessed by the unclean spirit'), but the intended comparison is not about David and the mind of the rich, but rather between these two situations.

(33) a. Therefore, when the unclean spirit came on Saul, David with his song alleviated Saul's fit of madness.

b. Sua ðonne, ðonne ðæt mod ðara ricena for upahæfenesse bið to ierre gehwierfed,
so then when the mind of-the rich for pride is to anger turned

ðonne is cynn ðætte we for hira modes hælo olicende hi on smyltnesse
 then is proper that we for their mind's healing soothing them on tranquillity
 gebringen mid ure spræce, sua sua Daid dyde Saul mid ðære hearpan
 bring with our talk so as David did Saul with the harp
 'So, when the mind of the rich through pride is turned to anger, it is proper for
 us to heal their mind by soothing them and restoring them to tranquillity by our talk, as David
 did Saul with the harp'

(cocura,CP:26.185.5.1221)

I classify as cases of contrasting TP those clauses where several clausal elements are compared or contrasted. Some of them essentially include cases of parallel focus (the predicate is the same, arguments/adjuncts in parallel/contrast relation). This is the case in (34). The proposition 'the mind of the sinful being touched by fear of the heavenly doom' is compared with the proposition in the preceding discourse 'bier being touched by the Lord'. The lexical verb ('touched') is the same in both, what is compared/contrasted is the theme argument (the bier vs. the sinful) and agent/cause argument (God vs. fear of heavenly doom).

- (34) a. When the Lord touched the bier, the biermen stood still
- b. swa eac gif þæs synfullan ingehyd bið gehreþod mid fyrhte þæs uppligan domes.
 so also if the sinful's mind is touched by fear of-the heavenly doom
 þonne wiðhæfð he þam unlustum
 then withstands he the evil-lusts
 'So also, if the mind of the sinful is touched by fear of heavenly doom, then he withstands evil
 lusts...!'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_33:460.54.6595)

In (35), the temporal clause is in contrast relation with the preceding main clause in the polarity of the main verb (positive vs. negative), and in the object (you vs. themselves).

(35) Hu **magon** hi ahreddan **ðe** fram frecednyssum, þonne hi **ne mihton** hi **sylfe**
 how can they deliver you from perils when they not can them selves
 ahreddan?

deliver

'How can they deliver you from perils, when they cannot deliver themselves?'

(coaelive,ÆELS_[George]:149.3160)

Similarly, in (36), the only common element in both proposition is the theme argument (he; implicit in the main clause), while the agent arguments (men-dogs) and the verbs (reject- approach) contrast.

(36) Ac þa ða he wæs **fram mannum** forsewen þa genealæhton **ða hundas**
 but when he was from men rejected then approached the dogs
 'when he was rejected from men, then the dogs approached (and licked his wounds)'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_23:367.59.4575)

In (37), the conditional clause contrasts with the preceding main clause with respect to the temporal adjuncts (later, future life vs. here/now) and the object (the more evil vs. the good), while the lexical verb is the same in both (receive).

(37) a. About this same it was also said of the rich man, of whom it was said that he suffered in hell;
 it was said : 'You have received all your good here in the world.'

b. Forðæm anfehð se yfla auht goodes on ðisse worulde ðæt he eft ðy maran
 therefore receives the evil portion of-good in this world that he later the more
yflæs on ðæm towardan life, gif he **her** nolde **for ðæm goode** to Gode gecieran.
 evil in the future life if he here not-would for the good to God turn
 'The evil man receives a portion of good in this world, that he may hereafter receive the more
 evil in the future life, if here he would not for the good turn to God'

(cocura,CP:50.391.15.2657)

Contrasting VPs and TPs could possibly be reduced to the (contrastive) focus on one particular element that then 'projects' to other elements to get what is recognized as parallel focus interpretation.

However, at this point it is difficult to establish how exactly this would work, so I will keep contrasting VPs and TPs as separate cases.

4.3 New discourse segments

Vf-Vn orders have been observed to occur at the beginning of new discourse segments. The identification of what counts as a new discourse segment is rather intuitive and unsophisticated, i.e. without a reference to any particular theory of discourse organization and segmentation. I will assume that new discourse segments correlate with basic units of textual organization: new chapter, new section, and new paragraph. New discourse segments presumably arise with changes in the discourse aboutness topics, as well as changes in discourse participants. None of these factors alone is a sufficient condition for the non-presuppositional interpretation of a proposition, but the correlation is strong and worth taking seriously.

Propositions are quite regularly given as non-presupposed at the beginning of a direct speech segment. The proposition 'anyone be afflicted with any sins' is the first sentence that opens St. Paul's quote in (38). Even though the propositional content itself (people being prone to sin) is at least highly plausible in the given context, by virtue of opening a new discourse segment, the proposition is delivered as non-presupposed.

(38) Be ðæm suiðe wel Paulus us manode, ða he cuæð: Gif hwa **sie abisegod**
about it very well Paulus us admonished when he said if anyone be afflicted
mid hwelcum scyldum, ge ðonne ðe gæsðlice sindon gelærað ða suelcan mid
with any sins you then who spiritual are instruct the such-ones with
monnðwærnesse gæste
humanity spirit

"Therefore Paul admonished us very well, saying : "If any one be afflicted with any sins, you who are spiritual instruct such ones with the spirit of humanity"

(cocura,CP:21.159.9.1081)

Propositional content can be closely related to the general topic of the discourse segment, as in (39), where the quote directly contributes to the situation of interest in the preceding discourse (bringing offering to God), and could qualify as being part of the CG. Still, it is not given as presupposed, because of its position within the quoted segment.

(39) a. The quarrelsome are to be told to know, that as long as they keep aloof from the love of their neighbours, and are at variance with them, they cannot bring anything good to please God.

b. Be ðæm is awriten on Cristesbocum: Gif ðu **wille** ðin lac **bringan** to ðæm
 about that is written in Christ's-books if you will your offering bring to the
 wiofude, & ðu ðonne ryhte ofðence hwæthwugu ðæs ðe ðin niehsta ðe
 altar and you then well remember something that your neighbour you,
 wiðerweardes gedon hæbbe
 against done has
 'Of which is written in the books of Christ : "If you will bring your offering to the altar, and
 there remember well something that your neighbour has done against you..."

(cocura,CP:46.349.8.2358)

The influence of the shift from narration to direct speech on the presuppositional interpretation of a proposition is rather straightforward. Insertion of quoted speech essentially involves change of the speaker, i.e. introduction of a new speaker's perspective. If common ground building is viewed as a cooperative act between the speaker and the hearer, it is no surprise that the introduction of the perspective of a 'third party' in the discourse would disrupt what has been established, agreed upon, or believed to be shared at a particular point in the discourse.

Propositions (of temporal clauses, at least) delivered as non-presupposed at the beginnings of new discourse segments also show some correlations with the discourse topic status of the referents they contain (mostly the subject referent). Namely, if a temporal clause relates to a new discourse referent, the proposition is less likely to be presented as pragmatically presupposed.

In (40), the proposition of the Saxons wanting to fight with the Romans is given as non-presupposed. If we take a look at the discourse status of the Saxon, we see that they have just been introduced in the discourse segment (the preceding sentence (40a) is about Athanric, a Gothic king). In addition, the Saxons are of interest only in (40b), as (40c) moves on to a different tribe (Burgundians). Even though the proposition of the Saxon fighting with the Romans could be treated as inferable from the preceding context (if Valentinianus forced the Saxons back to their own land, this must be because they were a threat to Rome), it is clear that what the speaker treats as something that can be inferred by the hearer is influenced by other discourse factors as well. If that were not the case, the inferability condition would be trivial and unconstrained.

- (40) a. On þæm ilcan geare Godenric, Gotena cyning, gedyde fela martyra on his
 on the same year Athanaric Goths' king made many martyrs on his
 þeode cristenra monna.
 people of-Christian men
 'In the same year [A. D. 364], Athanaric, king of the Goths, made many martyrs of the
 Christians among his people'
- b. On þæm dagum Ualentinianus geniedde eft þa Seaxan to hiera agnum lande, þa hie
 on the days Valentinianus forced again the Saxons to their own land when they
woldon winnan on Romane
 would fight with Romans
 'In those days Valentinian forced the Saxons back to their own country, when they would
 wage war against the Romans'
- c. & Burgendum he gestierde eac þæt hie on Gallie ne wunnon;
 and Burgundies he withheld also that they on Gallia not lived
 'He also with-held the Burgundians from waging war upon the Gauls'
 (coorosiu, Or_6:33.152.3.3217-3220)

Non-presupposed temporal clauses at the beginning of new discourse segment also correlate with the change of discourse topic. Even though the propositional content of the temporal clause (Simon

making a prophesy about Christ) has been activated (twice), and is part of the CG, it opens a new paragraph as non-presupposed. This is because the new paragraph establishes a new discourse topic. We are no longer interested in Simon and his prophecy. Rather, the main clause introduces a new discourse participant, a widow called Anna, and the discourse continues about her. Simon's prophecy only serves as a temporal frame. The non-topical status of Simeon and the cancellation of the link with the preceding discourse can also be verified by the lack of pronominalization. Even though Simon is present in the preceding discourse, a referential expression rather than a pronoun is used. As it has been often emphasized, the presence and distance of a referent in the preceding discourse alone is not a sufficient factor for the choice of a pronoun. Topichood is also highly relevant (Ariel 1990, Reinhart 2004: 299). For a referent to be resumed by a pronoun, it needs to be highly accessible, and accessibility is effected by topicality of the referent.⁶²

- (41) a. Then **said the old Simon** to the blessed Mary, 'His sword shall pierce through your soul'.
 The sword betokened The blessed Mary was not slain nor martyred bodily, but spiritually. When she saw her child taken, and iron nails driven through his hands and through his feet, and his side afterwards wounded with a spear, then was his suffering her suffering; and she was then more than a martyr, for her mind's suffering was greater than her body's would have been, had she been martyred. **The old Simeon said** not that Christ's sword should pierce through Mary's body, but her soul. Christ's sword is here set, as we said, for his passion. Though Mary believed that Christ would arise from death, her child's suffering went, nevertheless, very deeply into her heart.
- b. ða ða se Simeon **hæfde gewitegod** þas witegunge be Criste: þa com þær
 when the Simeon had prophesised this prophecy about Christ then came there
 sum wuduwe seo wæs Anna gehaten.
 some widow who was Anna called

⁶² This does not mean that every referential personal pronoun is of the same topic-strength. Different degrees of topicality can be marked in a number of ways: from the choice of pronoun form (stressed or unstressed) to the position in the sentence structure – lower pronouns of the same type are generally interpreted as less topical (cf. van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012 for the distribution of weak object pronouns).

'When Simeon had prophesied this prophecy concerning Christ, then came there a widow,
 who was called Anna' (cocathom1, ÆCHom_I,_9:254.181.1728)

The topic change effect can also be observed in (42). (42) is found at the beginning of the episode whose function is to illustrate one of the holy Bishop Fortunatus's miracles, as required from one of the discourse participants of the other ('Then I beseech you', said I, 'tell me whether you know of any miracles which he did, and because I am very desirous, let me understand what manner of man he was'. 'This man,' said he, 'was far different from all those which live in our days; for he obtained at God's hands whatsoever he requested. One of his miracles which comes to my mind, I will now tell you'). The episode then opens with the introduction of Goths travelling near the city of Tuderti (established earlier as the hometown of the bishop), with two boys, who have been accused of stealing in that area. Even though Bishop Fortunatus is a topic of the larger discourse unit, in this particular episode, he is (re-) introduced in the temporal clause (42b). In addition, nothing said earlier makes it possible for one to infer the proposition that the news of the previous event is communicated to the bishop. Therefore, it needs to be asserted.

(42) a. Certain Goths, upon a day, travelling not far from the city of Tuderti, as they were in their journey to Ravenna, carried away with them two little boys from a place which belonged to the said city.

b. þa þa þis **weaðð gecyðed** þam halgan were Furtunate, þa sende he sona...
 when this was made-known to-the holy man Fortunatus, then send he soon
 'When this was made known to the holy man Fortunatus, then he soon sent...'

(cogregdH, GD_1_[H]:10.80.10.793)

As can be seen from figures in Table 4.2, conditional clauses are rather rarely found at the beginning of new discourse segments in the texts investigated. There are, however, other texts where the effect of new discourse segment/new discourse situation evidently correlates with the change in the word order. Generally speaking, this effect is found in instruction books, such as the handbooks on herbal remedies and leechcraft (*Herbarium*, *Leechdoms*, and *Remedies (Lacnunga)*), on the one hand, and books of laws (*Laws*

of *Inne*, *Laws of Alfred*, *Laws of Æthelred*, and so on). The structure of these texts is often such that the sentence initial conditional clause introduces a new situation or scene (malady, illness, criminal act, social situations), and the main clause then provides instruction as to what is to be done in that situation.

- (43) Gif ðu þonne **wylle** mannes wambe **þwænan** þonne nim ðu þa wyrte
 if you then will one's womb clean then take you these herbs
 'If you will clean one's womb, then you should take these herbs'

(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:2.7.154)

- (44) Gif man **scyle** mugcwyr to læcedome **habban**, þonne nime man þa readan
 if one shall mugwort to healing have then take one the red
 wæpnedmen & þa grenan wifmen to læcecræfte.
 males and the green females to leechcraft
 'If one will use mugwort for healing, then one should take the red males and green females for
 leechcraft'

(colacnu,Med_3_[Grattan-Singer]:178.30.805)

- (45) Gif þu **wille** lim **aceorfan** oððe **asniðan** of lichoman þonne gesceawa þu ...
 if you will limb remove or cut-off of body then inspect you
 'If you will remove or cut off a limb from the body, you should inspect...'

(colaece,Lch_II_[1]:35.3.9.1058)

- (46) Gif mon **sie** on þa herðan to ðam swiðe **wund**, þæt he ne mæge bearn gestrienan
 if one be on the testicles so-much hurt that he not may children conceive
 gebete him ðæt mid LXXX scillinga
 compensate him that with 80 shillings
 'If one's testicles are so injured that he cannot have children, compensate him with 80 shillings'

(colawaf,LawAf_1:65.192)

- (47) Gif ðeof **sie gefongen**, swelte he deaðe,
 if thief is caught suffer he death
 'If a thief is caught, he should suffer death'

(colawine,LawIne:12.36)

Again, the lack of presupposition in the cases described above is fairly straightforward. It would be highly unlikely that the speaker, or the one who gives instructions, would expect the reader to treat propositions introducing new situations/scenes as being part of the common ground. Even though one might argue that the context of the whole discourse in the book is thematically fixed to the discussion of various illnesses, herbal remedies, relatively fixed set of social conduct, so the reader can be assumed to be able to accommodate each illness as activated, inferable, or part of the general shared knowledge. However, developing discourse on such assumptions would certainly lead to incoherence. Considering the vast number of different situations discussed, and presumably, the non-strict-expert orientation of the book, the speaker/writer's choice to pragmatically assert new situation is well justified. Importantly, not all conditional clauses found in instruction texts are of this type. If the illness/malady condition/situation describes an event inferable from the preceding discourse, it will be delivered as presupposed.

(48) a. Gif hæto oþþe meht ne wyrne læt him blod on þam winestran earme of
 if heath or strength not decline let him blood on the left arm of
 þære uferran ædre,
 the upper artery

'If one is warm and strong enough, let the blood out of the artery on his left arm'

b. gif þu þa **findan** ne **mæge** læt of þære midmestan ædre
 if you it find not may let of the middle artery

'If you can't find it, let the blood out of the middle artery'

(colaece,Lch_II_[2]:42.1.5.2985-2986)

(49) a. ride þam ealdormen; bidde hine fultumes
 ride to-the alderman ask him for-help

'ride to the alderman and ask him for help'

b. gif he him **fultuman** ne **wille**, ride to cyninge...

if he him help not will ride to king...

'If he will not help him, ride to the king' (colawaf,LawAf_1:42.3.141-143)

4.4 Topic-focus switch

Embedded clauses tend to exhibit Vf-Vn order, or be pragmatically assertive, when the typical 'topic-focus' configuration between the embedded and main clause is changed.

With respect to its relation to the main clause, the embedded clause is typically interpreted as 'backgrounded', irrespective of the actual cognitive status of the proposition they contain.⁶³ However, it is well known that this way of information packaging can switch, i.e. that main clauses can sometimes contain 'less important' or 'less new' information. This issue is often addressed in the discussion of assertion, main point of utterance and at-issueness, and correlation, or lack of it, between new information and assertion.

In what I informally label as 'topic-focus' switch, the proposition in the main clause presents content that is already in the CG, while the proposition in the embedded clause presents content that updates the CG. While the simplest and strictest definition of presupposition on the CG view would treat such main clauses as presupposed, I will rather propose that the main clause is still asserted, and its contribution to the CG is some kind of rhetorical effect (for example, emphasis). By asserting 'old' propositions, the speaker in effect expresses confirmation of the propositional truth of the main clause.

The exact properties and motivation for this rhetorical effect remain yet to be uncovered. Still, the question of how a sentence can contain two assertive propositions without being coordinated remains. It is clear that the approach to assertion and presupposition in this analysis hugely relativizes both notions, as assertion is identified structurally (position of the finite verb), and, consequently, conventionally as well (as most main clauses are not finite verb final, they are then always asserted). Obviously, the assertion assumed to exist in embedded clauses with non-final verb orders must be different from the one in main clauses. Whether embedded assertions should be understood as cancellation of conventional presupposition (as conditional and temporal clauses are typical

⁶³ Temporal and conditional clauses almost conventionally represent topic-frame or frame setter for the main clause.

presupposition environments) or 'impoverished'/secondary assertion can be established only after other types of embedded clauses are fully investigated.

Let us present the cases we believe illustrate the topic-focus switch between the main and the embedded clauses. The main clause in (50b) (the whelps eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table) virtually repeats the proposition added to the common ground four sentences earlier (50a). With respect to this content, the temporal clause provides new information and updates the CG.

- (50) a. þæt wif cwæð to Criste; Gea leof Drihten; Swa ðeah ða hwelpas etað of
 the woman said to Christ yea dear Lord yet the whelps eat of
 ðam crumon. þe feallað of heora hlafordes mysan
 the crumbs that fall of their master's table
 'The woman said to Christ, "Yea, dear Lord, yet the whelps eat of the crumbs that fall from
 their master's table"'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_8:70.99.1418)

- b. Soðlice æfter gastlicum andgite. þa hwelpas etað ða cruman þe of heora hlafordes
 truly after ghostly sense the whelps eat the crumbs that of their master's
 beode feallað. þonne ða ðeoda þe on hæðenscipe ær lagon. nu **sind** mid
 table fall when the nations which on heathenism before lay now are with
 geleafan to heora scyppende gebigede
 belief to their Creator turned

'But in a ghostly sense the whelps eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table, when the
 nations, which before lay in heathenism, are now with belief turned to their Creator'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_8:70.104.1422)

The same can be observed in (51). The proposition of the main clause in (51b), that the elbow is supported with a pillow and the neck with a bolster, has been added to the CG in (51a).

- (51) a. 'Woe to those who wish to **lay a pillow under each elbow and bolster under each neck** to
 catch men with! He lays a pillow under every man's elbow who with soft flatteries wished to
 doctor those who sink into the love of this world, until they fall from their righteousness.

- b. *ðonne bið se elnboga underled mid pyle & se hnecca mid bolstre,*
 then is the elbow supported with pillow and the neck with bolster
ðonne ðæm synfullan menn bið oftogen ðæt hine mon stiðlice arasige
 when the sinful man is relieved that him one severely rebuke
 'The elbow is supported with a pillow and the neck with a bolster when the sinful man is not
 sternly rebuked.'
 (cocura,CP:19.143.17.970)

4.5 Requests and suggestions

Finally, let us address the minority interpretation noted for conditional clauses only. Namely, some *gif*-clauses have the function of introducing polite requests or suggestions. Presumably, in such cases the speaker avoids imposing presuppositional content on the speaker. Whether this is related to a politeness strategy, is matter of discussion.

- (52) a. But the devil, which was within your temple, is bound, and cannot answer those who pray to him.
 b. *Gif þu wilt afandian ðæt ic soð secge. ic hate hine faran into þære anlicnyse*
 if you will prove that I truth speak I command him go into the image
 'If you will prove whether I speak truth, I will command him to go into the image,[and I will make him confess the same, that he is bound and can give no answer]'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_31:443.108.6164)
- (53) a. We have also to consider, that the holy housel is both the body of Christ and of all believing people, by a ghostly mystery, as the wise Augustine said of it,
 b. *Gif ge willað understandan be Cristes lichaman. gehyrað þone apostol Paulum.*
 if you will understand about Christ's body hear the apostle Paul
 þus cweðende;
 thus saying
 'If ye will understand concerning the body of Christ, hear the apostle Paul, thus saying...'
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_15:157.227.3482)

4.6 Presupposed vs. asserted predicate 'being born'

In Chapter 3 it has been pointed out that certain predicates, such as 'being born', are always added to the discourse as presupposed, when the subject referent has been existentially introduced in the discourse. In (54a) the referent of the subject *hi* 'they' is the sons of Saturn (*his suna* 'his sons') in the preceding clause. The same can be observed in (54b), where the subject *he* 'he' has clearly been present in the CG, since the referent has been pronominalized in the preceding clauses (*æt him* 'from him' and *hine* 'him').

- (54) a. Saturnus þe abat his suna þonne hi **geborene wæron**, swa swa his biggengan
Saturn who devoured his sons when they born were so as his worshippers
on heora bocum awriton
in their books wrote
'Saturn who devoured his sons when they were born, even as his worshippers have written in
their books'

(coelive, ÆLS_[Chrysanthus]:103.7391)

- b. and deoplice undernam Drihtnes lare æt him, oð þæt se halga apostol hine
and deeply received Lord's lore from him until the holy apostle him
gehadode to bisceope to þære Atheniscan byrig þær **he geboren wæs**
consecrated as bishop to the Athenian city where he born was
'and deeply received the divine lore from him, until the holy apostle consecrated him as bishop
of the Athenian city where he was born'

(coelive, ÆLS_[Denis]:72.5833)

When a proposition, however, also includes a secondary predicate, we get Vf-Vn orders. Even though the main predicate is both semantically and pragmatically presupposed, the secondary predicate constitutes new, non-presupposed information, and the proposition is delivered as focused or pragmatically assertive.

- (55) a. þa brohte sum man his dohtor him to, seo wæs **dumb** geboren, twelf wintre
 then brought some man his daughter him to who was dumb born twelve years
 mæden
 maiden
 'Then a certain man brought his daughter to him, who was born dumb, a maiden of twelve
 winters'
 (coalive, ÆELS_[Martin]:1103.6690)
- b. and he sona wearð hal beorhte locigende, se ðe **blind** wæs geboren
 and he soon became whole clearly seeing he who blind was born
 'and immediately he was made whole, seeing clearly, who had been born blind'
 (coalive, ÆELS_[Apollinaris]:179.4668)
- c. Mitte þe hit þa þære eadegan tide nealæhte þætte Dryhten **lichomlice** wolde
 when it then to-the blessed time neared that Lord bodily would
 wesan geboren...
 be born
 'When it neared the time that the Lord would be born bodily.. '
 (coverhom, HomU_10_[ScraggVerc_6]:16.985)

The second case where a semantically presupposed proposition is delivered as assertive is when it is at a new discourse segment. In (56b) the proposition does not introduce Joseph existentially. However, the proposition seems to open a new discourse segment (accompanied by discourse topic switch from God in (56a) to Jacob (56b)).

- (56) a. Witodlice God gehyrde Racheles bene, & he gestrynde be hyre Iosep.
 indeed God heard Rachel's prayer and he begat in her Joseph
 'Indeed, God heard Rachel's prayer and he begat Joseph in her'
- b. ða Iosep **wæs geboren**, þa bæd Iacob hys swear þæt he lete hyne faran to
 when Joseph was born, then bade Jacob his father-in-law that he let him go to
 hys lande
 his land
 'When Joseph was born, then Jacob bade his father-in-law that he would let him go to his
 land'
 (cootest, Gen:30. 22.1224-25.1226)

Finally, we also note the role of contrastive/emphatic focus. In (57) the referent of the predicate being born has been introduced in the discourse earlier. However, the predicate itself is focused, as the speaker indicates that it needs to be interpreted with respect to an alternative VP. More precisely, the VP 'being born of her (his mother, Mary)' and the VP 'create his own mother' in the preceding clause are in a parallel relation, with the purpose to emphasize the logical impossibility of the two situations: Christ first created his own mother and then was born of her. The effect, which seems to be rhetorical, would be lost if the proposition was rendered as presupposed.

- (57) Soðlice swa swa he **gesceop** his agene moder Marian. and siððan was **geboren** of hire.
 verily so as he created his own mother Mary and later was born of her
 swa eac he forgeaf þæt fulluht IOHANNE
 so also he gave the baptism to-John
 'All things are wrought through Christ] Verily as he created his own mother Mary, and was
 afterwards born of her, so also he gave baptism to John, [and was afterwards baptized by John]'
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_3:25.203.594)

4.7 Discussion

It seems quite clear that the common factor in the interpretations of Vf-Vn orders is focus. If the meanings noted above is what makes Vf-Vn orders different from Vn-Vf ones, then focus would have to be responsible for the non-presupposed interpretation of embedded clauses. On the CG approach we have adopted in Chapter 3, non-presupposition equals assertion. Now the question is how we relate these 'focus effects' to assertion.

Recall that assertion is essentially update of the CG. Focal information can easily be understood as directly or indirectly contributing to the propositional content, thus affecting the CG as update. Focus has generally been understood as an assertion-creating device (Lambrecht 1994). The contribution of focus as CG update is straightforward when focus brings in new information. In most of the cases discussed above, focus is contrastive or emphatic. Main clauses, conventionally assertive, of course,

come with no restriction of focus type assignment (probably, most interpretations are that of new information focus). I assume that the restriction comes from the fact that conditional and temporal clauses are conventionally presupposed (i.e. when a proposition is syntactically projected as a temporal or conditional clause, the pragmatic status of the propositional content gets affected by the relation of the embedded clause with the main clause). What contrastive focus seems to do is attribute as 'novel' to these propositions is the speaker's indication that the addressee needs to consider alternatives for the focused expression. The proposition is not to be taken 'for granted', as it is, but in relation to alternative propositions.

We have observed that contrastive focus is in some cases accompanied by the speaker's perspective or evaluation which alternative is likely or unlikely to hold in the given context. The change in the speaker perspective with new discourse segments also shows the effect of the 'speaker's contribution'. That the input of speaker's perspective is what contributes to the assertiveness/or non-presuppositionality of Vf-Vn embedded clauses is also supported by the fact that contrast alone is often not a sufficient condition for a proposition to be non-presupposed (this is most evident with contrastively focused finite verbs). These findings largely support Zimmermann's (2007) assumption that contrastive focus indicates that particular content or a particular speech act is unexpected for the hearer from the speaker's perspective. 'One way for the speaker to direct the hearer's attention, and to get him to shift his background assumptions accordingly, is to use additional grammatical marking, e.g., intonation contour, syntactic movement, clefts, or morphological markers' (Zimmerman 2007: 148). Consequently, contrastive focus marking does not primarily indicate the presence of contrasting alternatives, but also the contrast between the information conveyed by the speaker and the assumed expectation state of the hearer. The speaker uses contrastive focus to overtly mark the content he finds unlikely to be expected by the hearer, and thus facilitates faster update of the CG. Zimmermann points out that the notion of unlikelihood introduces subjectivity to the notion of contrastivity. Therefore, it is necessary to go beyond isolated sentence pairs and the logical relations between them, and include

knowledge states of the discourse participants, which can only be achieved by searching elaborate corpora.

Whether the speaker evaluation of likelihood is always directed by the hearer's knowledge state is not so clear in the data we have examined. In the discussion in 4.2.5, we tended to understand the effect as being purely speaker-oriented, in that the speaker expresses his subjective evaluation. However, as his evaluation is constrained by the context of the utterance, this constraint can be in principle translated to the hearer's knowledge state. Further research is needed to before we can make definite conclusions.

However, contrastive focus in many cases only indicates the relevance of alternatives for the proper interpretation of the focused element. The instances of parallel focus clearly do not come with any evaluation on the speaker's part of the increased likelihood of one alternative over the other. In such cases, the speaker's contribution can only be seen as a function of facilitating CG update.⁶⁴

If the 'speaker's perspective' is the main factor characterizing pragmatic assertion in embedded clauses, then it should be completely absent from pragmatically presupposed clauses. This is indeed the case. Clauses with Vn-Vf orders (across-the-board, irrespective of their type) are incompatible with speaker-oriented, epistemic, modal adverbs (expressing the speaker's assertions about the degree of certitude of the truth-value, expressed in terms of possibility or necessity), such as *sodlice* and *witodlice* 'indeed, truly, verily'. Out of 6923 cases of Vn-Vf orders, there are only 3 with *sodlice* (one of them being clause-final) and 2 with *witodlice*. Connective adverbs such as *swapeab* 'however' are also rare (found only in 2 examples, in one of them it is postverbal). Interestingly, in all the 7 cases, the predicate is passive. Therefore, it is clear that we are dealing with an exceptional situation with an unusual restriction on the predicate type, and we can safely assume that speaker-oriented adverbs, which are usually associated with the speaker's assertion, are absent from Vn-Vf orders.

⁶⁴ With cases of topic-focus switch I will assume that the propositions in temporal and conditional clauses simply need to be 'informative', as the main clause presents old information. The word order again serves to 'warn' the hearer/reader that he/she should add them to the CG as update.

We also need to address the question of whether the assertion in embedded clauses differs from the one in main clauses. In Section 4.4, we have suggested that we need to distinguish (at least) two types of assertion, which correlate with conventional properties of clauses. Broadly speaking, assertion in conventionally assertive clauses (main clauses) will be stronger than the one in conventionally non-assertive clauses (embedded clauses). As some embedded clause types are more presupposed than others, we need to account for that difference as well. Clearly, we need to assume that there exist different degrees of assertive force. What the exact conditions on the realizations of different degrees of assertiveness are, is far beyond our understanding. Given that even the simpler definitions of assertion and presupposition face serious problems, only a detailed and extensive investigation of the contribution of different types of embedded clauses to the CG update can give us some guidelines.

The final question is why the assumed assertion in embedded clauses needs to be indicated by the position of the finite verb, or why non-finite VP needs to follow the non-finite verb when an utterance updates the CG. If the non-final position of the final verb encodes assertion, then it seems plausible to assume that it targets a functional projection responsible for notions such as speaker's perspective. Speaker-orientation is usually associated with ForceP in Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP system. According to Haegeman (2006, 2007), the presence of ForceP in embedded clauses will licence root phenomena, such as topicalization and presence of speaker-related material. The problem, however, is that ForceP also comes with other projections such as TopP, FocP and FinP (58), and we have already seen that topicalization and verb movement in embedded clauses do not have the same status as embedded root phenomena (i.e. that clauses which allow Vf-Vn orders do not necessarily allow topicalization).

- (58) Main clauses: ForceP – TopicP – FocusP – FinP
 Type 1 Embedded clauses sub ForceP – TopicP – FocusP – FinP
 Type 2 Embedded clauses sub FinP

If the non-final position of the finite verb is uniquely associated with 'assertion', the finite verb in main clauses should, in principle, be in the same position. Main clauses, however, principally prefer the verb in positions higher than the one(s) in embedded clauses. Even in subject-initial clauses, which are outside the special operator-contexts, subject-verb adjacency can be violated only by pronouns and adjuncts. Embedded clauses, on the other hand, allow the area between the subject and the finite verb to be more complex (cf. the discussion of Verb Raising constructions in Chapter 2, Section 2.7). In other words, the domain for topic and focus markings is different in main and embedded clauses. While in main clauses, the high CP area is reserved for marking of IS/pragmatic notions, in embedded clauses, it is the area between SigmaP/TP and vP. Whether this is a restriction on topicalization/focalization which arises due to different ways of integration of main and embedded clauses in the discourse, remains to be investigated. For the time being, I will assume that the possibility of inserting more material between the subject and the finite verb in embedded clauses is indicative of the verb's lower position than in main clauses.

Rather than assuming that assertive interpretation is indicated by the position of the finite verb, I will take that it is, in fact, the position of the *non-finite* vP that reflects this interpretation. If we understand assertion and CG update as relevance for the discourse development, then it is possible to relate assertion to sentence focus. Presupposition then would correspond to the lack of sentence focus. If we adopt Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) analysis of verb-final orders as involving vP fronting across the finite verb, then the motivation for this movement would be escape from the area where the material would contribute to sentence focus interpretation. Biberauer & Roberts assume that vP moves to SpecTP. I will, however, tend to assume that it is in a lower position, because we need more space for individual movement of arguments and adjuncts outside the non-finite vP (60).

- (59) a. Vf [SENTENCE FOCUS **vP_{nf}**]
 b. **vP_{nf}** Vf [SENTENCE FOCUS t_{vPnf}]

- (60) **S O** [_{vPnf}(**Adv**) t_S (**Adv**) t_O **V_{nf}**] **Vf** [SENTENCE FOCUS t_{vPnf}]

As for pragmatically assertive orders (Vf-Vn), I will assume that they do not involve vP movement. The non-finite vP remains in the 'sentence focus area'. The finite verb will undergo movement to a higher position (T, presumably) in most cases, although for reasons still poorly understood.

4.8 Final remarks

Based on the analysis of the interpretations in this chapter and Chapter 3, we have proposed that Vn-Vf orders correspond to pragmatic presupposition, whereas Vf-Vn orders reflect assertion. This is far from being a comprehensive account of the verb-final – verb-non-final variation in OE embedded clauses, as it seems that each clause type deserves special attention. At times, the analysis has to relativize the notions of pragmatic presupposition and assertion, the consequence of which is the weakened falsifiability of the hypotheses presented here. Even though pragmatic presupposition/assertion in terms of information status and contribution to the common ground of communication definitely plays a role in the word order variation, it is still difficult to capture in a principled way all the factors that influence the speaker's decision to use a proposition in a certain way. The very fact that both information status *and* contribution/relevance for discourse development play a role makes it difficult to understand which of these factors can override the other. While information status is more or less easy to identify, the contribution/relevance is rather mysterious. I believe this is due to our poor understanding of the concept of 'new information' (as opposed to backgroundedness or givenness), or more precisely, how 'new information' behaves in the actual discourse. The role of topicality and discourse segmentation has been noted as relevant for the delivery of a proposition as assertive. But I suspect this is only a segment of the multitude of factors which influence how the information updating the CG is actually organized and delivered.

Despite all these issues, I believe that this is the right direction to pursue the differences between Vf-Vn and Vn-Vf orders. Crucially, the differences are real, and they are interpretational; now it only

remains to pinpoint and precisely characterize their main ingredients. Despite the weaknesses mentioned above, pragmatic presupposition and (a version of) assertion seem to be on the right track. If the weaknesses remain, the alternative approach in terms of some other type communicative contribution should be sought out. Crucially, the Vf-Vn/Vn-Vf alternation does not reflect free syntactic variation in OE.

5. VO/OV ALTERNATION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we focus on the variation between OV and VO orders. The investigation is based on the non-finite VPs in embedded clauses. By choosing non-finite VPs only, we follow the common practice in comparative Germanic syntax, as non-finite VPs are not influenced by independent movement requirements such as V2, which apply to finite verbs. Additionally, the domain of embedded clauses restricts the application of V2, as it is mainly a main clause phenomenon.

The accounts of the OV-VO alternation differ with respect to which of the orders is assumed to be 'basic'. On the one hand, there are uniform headedness approaches, on which either VO (Roberts 1997, Biberauer & Roberts 2005) or OV (van Kemenade 1987) is taken to represent the VP structure from which the alternative is derived. On the other hand, the double base hypothesis (Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999) provides an account in terms of a mixed phrase structure system, which allows both head-final and head-initial VPs. While the uniform headedness accounts need to address the additional types of movement in the alternative structure derivation, especially their motivation, the 'mixed headedness' approach is relatively free of such concerns, as both OV and VO orders can be unmarked.

Based on the interpretation and pragmatic inferences of OV and VO structures, I will follow the uniform headedness approach, and argue that the basic/unmarked order is OV. However, unlike the common 'underlying OV' analysis of VO orders in terms of object extraposition, I will take that VO is derived from OV by leftward movement of the verb, or possibly both the verb and the object. This type of analysis resembles those of Roberts (1997) and Biberauer & Roberts (2005), with the difference that I will explicitly claim that only OV orders are unmarked.

The main problem for the analyses which rely solely on leftward movement in the derivation of the alternations is the restriction that VO orders are only possible when the non-finite VP follows the finite

verb, while they are impossible in the position preceding the finite verb. To account for the restriction *VnOVf one needs provide reasons why the object *has* to be preverbal only when the whole VP precedes the finite verb, whereas VO is allowed following the finite verb. This is why the motivation behind the movements involved in the derivation of the OE orders is difficult to capture uniformly. In this chapter, the syntactic derivation will have to remain secondary. The main aim will be to show that the variation indeed comes with differences in interpretation, and to explicate these interpretational differences in clear pragmatic and information-structural terms, as much as possible. Specifically, I will argue that what underlies all VO orders is lack of new information focus on the entire vP/VP. In other words, VO orders involve (a) narrow focus on the object, (b) narrow focus on the verb, and (c) defocused VPs. VO orders including adverbs (V-Adv-O) further support the claim that all deviations from verb-final structures serve to indicate specific focus marking.

The idea that interpretation is a factor in the variation of the object position is present in accounts such as Roberts 1997 and Biberauer & Roberts 2005. In Roberts 1997, postverbal objects are essentially analyzed as 'focused'. The strongest criticism for this assumption comes from Pintzuk (Pintzuk 2002, Pintzuk & Taylor 2006, and Pintzuk 2005). She argues that the noted increasing frequency of postverbal objects in later periods of English is a problem for any account which links the postverbal object position with focus. She points out that it is not likely that at some point speakers would simply start using more focused objects.

In Biberauer & Roberts 2005, a different solution is offered. First of all, they argue that OV orders in Germanic are derived by an EPP feature on *v* which triggers remnant VP (i.e. object, as V° moves to v°) movement to SpecvP. In OE, however, this feature came to be reanalyzed, so it is obligatory only when it is [+Op], i.e. when it probes for elements bearing [+Op] feature, namely, negative and quantified objects. EPP feature can also be optionally present, and in such cases it comes with a change in interpretation. When it is present, it is related to defocusing.

Even though Biberauer & Roberts restrict this scenario to 'most part' of OE, it is simply not the case that all OV orders involve defocusing, at least not in the sense that it needs to escape the default,

nuclear stress position which, as Biberauer & Roberts suggest, changed from preverbal to postverbal. If OV orders were exclusively associated with [+Op] or defocused objects, it is not clear how non-specific bare plural objects would be found in the preverbal position.⁶⁵

Also, the question arises why postverbal pronouns in (1) are *not* defocused. (1b) poses an additional problem: both the non-finite verb and the postverbal pronominal object precede the adverb *giet* 'yet, still', whereas the postverbal nominal object follows the adverb. If adverbs are seen as a diagnostic tool for movement, then (1b) seems to involve movement of both the verb and the pronominal indirect object, to the exclusion of the nominal direct object.

(1) a. *æfre se ðe awent oððe se ðe tæcð of Ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal
 ever that who translates or that who interprets from Latin to English, ever he shall
 gefadian hit swa ðæt ðæt Englisc hæbbe his agene wisan
 translate it so that the English has his own sense
 'the one who translates or the one who interprets from Latin to English, he should always translate
 it so that English has its own sense'*

(coprefgen,ÆGenPref:93.67)

b. *Forðæm ge sint giet cilderu on eowrum geleafan, ðy ic sceal sellan eow giet mioloc
 because you are yet children on your faith that I shall give you yet milk
 drincan, nalles flæsc etan
 drink not meat eat*

'Since in your faith you are still children, I must still give you milk to drink, not meat to eat'

(cocura,CP:63.459.17.3315)

Even though VO orders are found in both main and embedded clauses, I will focus only the latter type (with the exception of V-Adv-O orders, where main clauses will also be considered). Embedded clauses (with an overt subject) include 656 instances of VO orders (as opposed to 738 with OV orders). The reason why main clauses have been left for subsequent research is the fact that main clauses are by

⁶⁵ The notion of [+Op] feature can be extended to include indefinites or bare plurals, but this is not what Biberauer & Roberts address in their analysis.

default assertive, and the variation in the position of the finite verb serves a different role than in embedded clauses (as argued in Chapter 4, assertive interpretations in main and embedded clauses are not the same; assertion in embedded clauses is 'impoverished'). Also, the rich left-periphery in main clauses serves as an additional, specialized domain for the expression of IS-related notions, which is absent in embedded clauses (recall that embedded topicalization is not only rare in embedded clauses, but it is also never accompanied by verb movement, as in main clauses). It is plausible that the rich CP domain in main clauses will reflect on the IS marking in the lower, (extended) vP domain.

The finite verb position in main clauses is more obviously linked to IS/discourse marking. Given that verb movement is obligatory in main clauses, and given that main clauses are always assertive, the link between the 'high(er)' verb position and assertion is difficult to ignore. In addition, the specific position of the Vf in the higher clausal domain also reflects differences in interpretation. In topicalized main clauses, for example, the alternation between V2 and V3 orders is related to the IS status of the subject. Also, in subject initial main clauses, the position of the finite verb starts to replace the role of discourse adverbs, such as *þa/þonne*, as IS/topic-status markers. If we focus on the role of these discourse adverbs in subject initial main clauses, we can note that their role changes from 'any topic' marker to 'switch topic' marker. This is especially evident in pronominal subject initial clauses.

(2) earlier pattern:

Spro – *þa/þonne* – Vf – subject can be both continued and switch topic

(3) later pattern

a. Spro – *þa/þonne* – Vf – subject is a switch topic

b. Spro – Vf – *þa/þonne* – subject is a continued topic

The latter pattern, evidenced in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*; clearly shows that the finite verb begins to serve as an indicator of unmarked topic (cf. Milićev 2008).

For all these reasons, I must leave open the option that in *some* main clauses, VO comes with an interpretation different than the one(s) in embedded clauses. It remains to be established what factors exactly could be responsible for these differences.

5.2 VO orders in OE

In this section, I will provide arguments for the hypothesis that VO orders have special pragmatic inferences. I will try to show that the OV order is 'unmarked', in the sense that this word order corresponds to new information predicate or VP focus. In VO orders, consequently, we find narrow focus on one of the VP elements (object or lexical verb), or VP lacks focus altogether, in which case the focus is on other sentence elements (the finite verb, the subject or the adverbials).

The focus interpretation on O and V can be contrastive, exhaustive/identificational, emphatic, additive, exclusive or scalar. In rare cases, the focus on the object could be analyzed as new information focus. Most often the focus has a pragmatic use (rather than semantic). It is used to provide answers or to highlight the part of an answer that corresponds to the *wh*-part of a constituent question, to correct or confirm information, highlight parallels in interpretation.

The identification of focus without prosodic cues is not a straightforward matter. The alternatives evoked by focus, which need to be relevant for the interpretation of the focused expression, can be present in the discourse in a variety of ways. Sometimes they are overtly or explicitly given in the immediately preceding or following context; often the alternatives need to be inferred from the CG content. In fact, discourse rarely provides cases where we find textbook examples of various uses of focus. We know that the alternative denotations have to be comparable to the denotation of the expression in focus, that is, they have to be of the same type, and they often need to be more narrowly restricted by the context of utterance (Krifka & Musan 2013). But how can we be absolutely certain that an expression is indeed the alternative for the expression in focus? For contrastive focus, for instance, the 'contrast' interpretation of some alternative expression, or even the very existence of an

alternative expression can be implied. I believe this is the main reason why the interpretational effects we argue for here have escaped an account for so long. One really needs to dig deep in the discourse context to find justification for a particular type of focus analysis. The most complicated part in the analysis of VO orders is certainly the one where VO corresponds to non-focus, i.e. where the VP is unfocused/defocused/backgrounded. It is difficult to establish when exactly the speaker feels safe to assume that the addressee can accept without objection that the VP content is already part of the CG. Luckily, there are enough cases where the VO ordered VP literally repeats the content already given earlier in the discourse to support this claim. If the analysis of the VO data is on the right track, then all non-OV orders arise as a strategy of escaping the wide new information of the VP.

As a corpus sample in the examination of the interpretations of VO orders, we have chosen, more or less, the same texts as in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, only the range of clause types is expanded. Whereas the effect of pragmatic presupposition/assertion has been investigated in temporal and conditional clauses, the interpretation of VO orders have been looked at in all clause types, occasionally even including main clauses.

In what follows, we will present evidence for the pragmatic inferences we have proposed for VO orders in OE.

5.2.1 Focus on the object

Focus on the object is possibly the 'default' interpretation of VO orders. The same effect is also noted with postverbal objects in earlier stages of German (cf. Bies 1996 on Early New High German). This also used to be assumed for OE, based on Kroch & Pintzuk's (1989) analysis of postverbal objects in *Beowulf*. The assumption was abandoned when it was established that the rate of VO orders increases with time, as they are more frequent in later texts (Pintzuk 2002) For that reason, VO orders are assumed to reflect an ongoing change in the OE phrase structure. While it is true that not *all* VO orders involve focused objects, it is also true that a great number of them *do* feature focused object. Let us go

through a number of examples to see what types of narrow focus are found, and how they are obtained.

The example in (4) illustrates the classical question test for focus. The postverbal object *anum suture* 'one shoemaker' fills the variable (x) in the open proposition/presupposition associated with the (embedded) question in (4a) 'The building was designed for x'. Or in terms of alternative semantics approach to focus interpretation, it evokes a set of alternatives out of which the focused element alternative is picked. The focus on the object provides new information. However, it is also possible that the interpretation is that of exhaustive focus, in È. Kiss's (1998) terms, whereby other alternatives are eliminated (X (focus expression), (and nothing else)).

(4) a. He befran ða **hwam** ða gebytlu gemynte wæron, swa mærllice getimbrode?
 he asked then whom the building designed were so gloriously constructed
 'He inquired for whom the buildings so gloriously constructed was designed'

b. Him wæs gesæd. þæt hi wæron gemynte **anum suture** on Romana byrig
 him was said that they were designed one shoemaker in Rome town
 'They told him that it was designed for a shoemaker in Rome'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_23:203.121.4501)

More often, the focus on the object is contrastive. Contrastive focus is usually differs from 'plain' new information focus in the requirement for the former that the set of alternatives is contextually defined.

The object *mannan* 'man' in (5b) is contrastively focused. The relevant alternative containing the element with which the object contrasts is given in the preceding line. (5a) establishes that God had first made a great angel, but after losing him, he decided to make something more modest – man, of earth.

(5) a. God did not create him as the devil: but when he was wholly fordone and guilty towards God
 [] then he changed to the devil, who before was created **a great angel**. Then would God
 supply and make good the loss that had been suffered in the heavenly host,

- b. & cwæð þæt he wolde wyrcean **mannan** of eorðan
 and said that he would make man of earth
 'and said that he would make man of earth'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_1:180.62.59)

The contrastive focus interpretation on the object *Marian lichoman* 'Mary's body' in (6) is overtly indicated by the adversative conjunct *ac hyre saule* 'but her soul'. In such cases, focus on the postverbal object evokes alternatives for the context following it. We will see later that this is a common focusing strategy.

- (6) Ne cwæð na se Symeon þæt Cristes swurd sceolde þurhgan **Marian lichoman**:
 not said not the Simeon that Christ's sword should pierce Mary's body
 ac **hyre saule**
 but her soul

'Simon did not say that Christ's sword should pierce pierce Mary's body but her soul'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_9:254.176.1725)

In (7) the postverbal object *ðone gesinscipe* 'the marriage' in the concessive clause indicates that there are relevant alternatives to consider with regard to the predicate *beflogen* 'escape, and in the following main clause, this alternative (*ða byrðenne* 'the burdens') is given.

- (7) Forðæm, ðonne se Godes ðiow on ðæt gemearr ðære woruldsorga befehð,
 because when the God's servant on that hindrance of-the worldly cares engage
 ðeah he ðonne hæbbe beflogen **ðone gesinscipe**, ðonne næfð he no beflogen
 although he then have escaped the marriage then not-has he not escaped
ða byrðenne
 the burdens

'[Because earthly troubles and cares grow out of marriage, the noble teacher of nations incited his subjects to a better life, lest they should be bound with earthly cares;] because, when the servant of God lets himself be impeded by worldly cares, although he has avoided **marriage**, he has not escaped (its) **burdens**'

(cocura,CP:51.401.20.2745)

The object can establish a contrast relation with another element in the sentence, as in (8), where the postverbal argument *ures mægenes* 'our kinsmen' contrasts with the subject *fremde* 'strangers'.

- (8) Ond eac cuæð Salomonn ðæt **fremde** ne scolden beon gefyllede **ures mægenes**,
 and also said Solomon that strangers not should be filled of-our kinsmen
 & ure gesuinc ne scolde beon on oðres monnes anwalde
 and our toil not should be in other man's power
 'Solomon also said that strangers were not to be filled with our resources, and our toil should not
 be in the power of another' (cocura,CP:36.249.25.1639)

In (9), the postverbal object *ðam lifiendan breðer* 'the living brother' contrasts with the possessor in the subject NP, *ðæs gefarenan broðor* 'the departed brother's'.⁶⁶

- (9) Sua sua **ðæs gefarenan broðor** wif on ðære ealdan æ wæs geboden **ðam lifiendan**
 so so the departed brother's wife in the old law was offered to-the living
breðer to onfonne, sua is cynn ðæt ...
 brother to take, so is proper that ...
 'As in the old law the wife of the brother who had died was offered to the living brother that he
 might take her, so it is proper that ...' (cocura,CP:5.43.22.248)

Other pragmatic uses of focus can also be noted. The object *anne sprout* 'one sprat' in (10) has scalar focus interpretation, which is indicated in Skeat's (1881) translation by the use of the focus adverb 'even'.

⁶⁶ The postverbal position for the object could also be influenced by the presence of the to-infinitive. Objects, even pronominal ones, often appear in clause-final positions when followed by to-infinitives and special kind of PPs ('to/on') (cf. Marelj & Milićev 2006). The influence of such PPs is illustrated in (i).

- (i) Her Eadred cyning oferhergode eall Norðhymbra land, for þæm þe hi hæfdon
 here Eadred king ravaged all Northumbria land because they had
 genumen him **Yryc to cyninge**
 taken them Eirikr to king
 'Here Eadred ravaged all Northumbria, because they had taken Eirikr for their king'
 (cochronD,ChronD_[Classen-Harm]:948.1.1095)

(10) a. On Easter-days he would eat fish if he had it. Then, on a certain Easter-day, he asked the steward whether he had fish for the festival

b. and he to andsware cwæð, þæt hi ealle ne mihton, ne fisceras ne he sylf,
and he to answer said that they all not could neither fisherman nor he self
gefon **æne sprot**

catch one sprat

'and he said in answer that they all could not, neither the fishermen nor himself, catch *even* one sprat'
(coalive, ÆLS_[Martin]:1268.6802)

Focus can be emphatic, as in (11). Focus on the indefinite postverbal object *ænigne miltsunge* 'any mercy' serves to emphasize the devil's conviction the wicked never deserve any mercy, not even when they repent them.

(11) a. Then Martin answered the wicked devil, and said that the old sins might be blotted out by their conversion and better life, and through God's mercy they might be absolved from their sins when they ceased from evil. Then the devil cried and and said openly what the sin of each of them had been.

b. and cwæð him togeanes, þæt þa leahterfullan næron **nanre miltsunge** wurðe, and
and said him to that the wicked not-were no mercy worthy and
þa þe æne aslidan, þæt hi eft ne sceoldon æt Drihtne habban **ænigne miltsunge**

when once relapsed that they later not should at Lord have any mercy

'retorted upon him, that the wicked were not worthy of **any mercy**, and, when they once relapsed, that they later should not have **any mercy** from the Lord'

(coalive, ÆLS_[Martin]:738.6439)

5.2.2 Focus on the verb

The second case where VO orders are found is when the lexical verb is marked for narrow focus. The easiest cases to identify are those where focus is contrastive, and where the alternative expression is

found in the immediately surrounding context. In (12a), the verb *fylian* 'follow' is contrastively focused, which is evident from the second conjunct which overtly introduces the focus alternative with which the first verb contrasts. The same scenario is present in (12b).

- (12) a. Swa eac gehwylc mann: hæfð agenne cyre. ær þan þe he syngie: hwæðer he wille
 so also any man has own choice before he sins: whether he will
fylian deofles willan. **oððe wiðsacan**
 follow devil's will or withstand

'In like manner everyone has his own choice, before he sins, as to whether he will follow the devil's will or withstand it'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_14.1:294.115.2658)

- b. Eac sint to læranne ða æfstigan ðætte hie ongieten under hu micelre frecenese hie
 also are to learn the envious that they perceive under how much danger they
 liecgað, & hu hie iceað hira forwyrd, ðonne hie of hira heortan nyllað
 lay and how they increase their perdition when they of their hearts not-will
aweorpan ðone æfst, ac hine **healdað**
 reject the envy but it hold

'The envious are also to be taught to perceive to what great danger they are exposed, and how they increase their perdition, when they will not reject envy from their hearts but preserve it'

(cocura,CP:34.233.23.1535)

Note that such uses of contrastive focus do not match the conditions we usually find in the literature. Krifka (2007), for instance, assumes that contrastive focus⁶⁷ presupposes that the CG content contains a proposition with which the current utterance can be constructed, or that such a proposition can be accommodated. In other words, the alternatives relevant for the interpretation of the focus element need to be present in the preceding discourse. However, in the examples above (as well as most of the examples from the previous subsection) up to the utterance of the VO order, the CG does not contain the proposition with an expression with which the verb would be constructed as contrastive. Rather,

⁶⁷ For Krifka, contrastive focus is only the one used for truly contrastive purposes, and not the one, for instance, which serves to express parallels.

the alternative expression is explicitly given in what follows. In that respect, these uses of focus resemble the familiar but still poorly understood uses of focus to express parallels. Parallel focus also evokes alternatives, but now the pragmatic requirement is that these alternatives are found in the following context, as in the famous example from Rooth 1992, 'An AMERican farmer talked to a CaNAdian farmer'). In a way, by focusing an element we create an additional presuppositional structure which will accommodate/facilitate the use of focus in the subsequent segment.

More 'common' uses of contrastive focus can also be found, where the relevant alternative proposition is found in the preceding context. We very rarely find cases where the alternative proposition has the same make-up as the one with a focus expression (x-VERB-y – x-VERB_{contrastive}-y), i.e. where the contrastively focused verb would simply replace the verb with which it contrasts. Rather, the alternative expression is often 'disguised'. Crucially, the adequate propositional meaning can always be detected. Consider (13).

- (13) a. Numerianus, the emperor, the persecutor of the Christians, when it became known to him that Claudius believed, and all the soldiers had become Christians, then he commanded to take Claudius and lead him to the sea, and throw him out bound to a hewn stone
- b. He het beheafdian siððan þa hundseofontig cempan, butan heora hwilc wolde
he ordered behead later the hunderderd-seventy soldiers unless of-them any would
awegan his geleafan
relinquish his faith
'He bade them afterwards behead the one hindered and seventy soldiers, unless any of them
would relinquish his faith' (coaelive, ÆLS_[Chrysanthus]:227.7459)

In (13b) the verb *awegan* 'relinquish, abandon' has narrow contrastive focus. The reader/hearer is instructed that the relation between the subject referent (the soldiers) and the object (their faith) is now to be interpreted as contrastive with respect to what is already present in the CG. The contrast arises from the fact that in the preceding discourse it is established that Claudius' one hundred and seventy soldiers are ordered to be punished because of their 'having' their faith, i.e. for being Christians. The

contrastively focused verb *amegan* 'relinquish' indicates that it should be interpreted as an alternative relation between soldiers and their faith, the one that contrasts with the one established in the context up to that point.

It is also possible to have the emphatic focus on the verb, whose function is often to express confirmation. In (14), in his message to Pope Gregory, Augustine uses the narrow emphatic focus on the verb *onfongen* 'received' in the proposition of the English receiving Christ's faith, because he himself had doubts as to whether he would be able to accomplish the mission of converting the English to Christianity (cf. Chapter 23, How Pope Gregory sent Augustine, with other monks, to preach to the English nation, and encouraged them by a letter of exhortation, not to cease from their labour).

(14) & sona sende ærendwrecan to Rome, þæt wæs Laurentius mæssepreost & Petrus munuc,
 and soon sent messengers to Rome, that was Laurentius priest and Peter monk
 þæt heo scoldan secgan & cyþan þam eadigan biscope Sancte Gregorii, þætte
 that they should say and tell to-the holy bishop Saint Gregory that
 Ongelþeod hæfde **onfongen** Cristes geleafan & þætte he to bioscope gehalgad wære:
 English-people had received Christ's faith and that he to bishop ordained were
 'He (Augustine) sent Laurentius the priest, and Peter the monk, to Rome, to acquaint Pope
 Gregory, that the nation of the English had received the faith of Christ, and that he was himself
 made their bishop' (cobede, Bede_1:16.62.29.592)

Note that in the messengers' report in (14), focus is present only in the first complement (that-)clause, resulting in the Vf-VPnf order, while the second one (*þætte he to bioscope gehalgad wære*) is given as pragmatically presupposed. As opposed to the first part of the message (that the English had received the faith of Christ), the proposition that Augustine became bishop could be taken for granted, because this was what the pope intended for him if they succeeded in their mission. If the English have accepted the faith, it follows that Augustine is their bishop.

Sometimes it takes more effort to recover the alternative proposition relevant for the focused expression. The verb *asceotan* 'lance' with respect to the object *þæt geswell* 'the tumour' in (15b) is contrastive, but it is not immediately clear how this interpretation is to obtain since the preceding

discourse merely establishes that there was an abbess who was afflicted with a large tumor. However, upon a closer look, we notice that the abbess believes that the tumor is a way of redeeming her sins, and she is in fact grateful to God for the illness, as it will cleanse her guilt of being vain in her youth. In other words, she wants to endure the pain, and wants nothing to be done with the tumor. Her companions, however, are concerned and afraid for her, and they call for a leech to do the opposite of what the abbess wants – lance the tumor, and try to get rid of it. We can then see that 'lance the tumour' contrasts with 'keep the tumour'. The relevance of the abbesses' strong belief can be verified from what follows – lancing the tumor was a bad decision, as she died three days after it was opened.

(15) a. Then in the eighth year after she was made abbess, she was grievously afflicted, as she had herself foretold; for a large tumour grew on her throat just under her chin-bone, and she earnestly thanked God that she suffered a pain in her neck, saying: 'I know verily that I am well deserving that my neck should be afflicted with so great a malady, because in my youth I adorned my neck with manifold neck-chains, and now it seems to me that God's justice may cleanse my guilt, since now I have this swelling, which shines instead of gold, and this scorching heat instead of sparkling gems.' Amongst that faithful band there was a certain leech named Cynefrith,

b. and hi cwædon þa sume þæt se læce sceolde **asceotan** þæt geswell;
and they said then some that the leech ought lance the tumour
'and some of them said that the leech ought to **lance** the tumour'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[æthelthryth]:61.4177)

c. he did so forthwith, and there came out matter. They thought then that she might recover, but she gloriously departed out of this world to God on the third day after the tumour was opened, and was buried, as she herself had asked and bidden, amongst her sisters, in a wooden coffin.

5.2.3 Backgrounded/defocused VP

The third interpretation found with VO orders in non-finite VPs is when there is no focus on the VP. The VP is given or inferred from the preceding, and in that sense it is backgrounded. In such structures, focus is consequently on some other element in the clause.

Defocused lexical VPs are most often found when only the modal is focused. In (16b), the VP *cyðan his hlaforde* 'make known to his lord' is a paraphrase of the VP in the preceding line *abude him* 'report to him'. The modal verb *wolde* is focused in the sense that it emphasizes the willingness of the speaker to do what he has been asked to; in addition, the modal *wolde* also contrasts with the modal (*ne*) *durste* 'not dare' in the following clause.⁶⁸ The servant (the speaker in (16b)) actually responds that he cannot make it known to his lord before he has considered whether it would be worse for him if he hid the information from his lord.

(16) a. Then the smith went there awestricken, and in the market-place met a serf of this Eadsige and told him exactly what Swithhun bade him, and earnestly prayed him to report it to him
[Eadsige]

b. He cwæð þæt he hit **wolde** cyðan his hlaforde, ac ne **durste** swa ðeah hit
he said that he it would make-known to-his lord but not dared however it
secgan æt fruman ærþan ðe he beþhohte þæt him ðearflic nære þæt he ðæs halgan hæse
say at first before he bethought that him well not-be that he the saint's behest
forhule his hlaforde
hid his lord

'He [the serf] said that he would make it known to his lord, but however he durst not tell it at first, until he bethought him that it would not be well for him if he hid from his lord the saint's behest'
(coelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:78.4264)

⁶⁸ It is difficult to establish which of the focus uses (emphatic or contrastive) is of more relevance in this context, as well as whether one focus marking can serve two functions.

Similarly, in (17), the modal *moste* 'might' is in contrast relation with the inability of the archdeacon to hear the heavenly music (*and ne mihte nan þing þisesre myrþe gehyran* 'could hear nothing of that mirth'), which the bishop Severinus was able to hear first.⁶⁹

(17) a. A certain bishop Severinus, in the city of Cologne, a man of holy life, hear in the early morning a very loud song in the heavens, and therewith he summoned to him his archdeacon, and asked him **whether he had heard the voice of the heavenly rejoicing. He answered and said that he had heard nothing of it.** Then the bishop bade him to hearken more carefully; so he stood and listened, leaning on his staff, and **could hear nothing of that mirth.**

b. þa astrehton hi hi begen biddende þone ælmihtigan þæt he **moste**
 then prostrated they themselves both praying the Almighty that he might
 gehyran þone heofonlican dream
 hear the heavenly dream

'Then they both prostrated themselves, praying to the Almighty that he might hear the heavenly mirth'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:1394.6890)

Consider now the two sentences whose propositional content is the same, but the word order inside the VP is different. Both sentences come from the same chapter ('The first Sunday in Lent'), only the first one is found in the *Second Series of Catholic Homilies*, while the second one in the *First Series*. Clearly, both have the same purpose, to explain how Moses' fasting for forty days in order to receive God's law relates to our understanding of Lent. However, they occur in different contexts and have different pragmatic conditions. (18a) establishes a predication relation between Moses (he) and the event of receiving God's law. The predicate is in focus, as the event of 'X receiving God's faith' has not been featured in the preceding segments, and the VP has the OV order. In (18b), however, the event of Moses fasting forty nights to receive God's faith is compared to that of Christ (the adverb *eac* 'also' indicates this in the sentence). The only focused part in the embedded clause is the establishment of the

⁶⁹ Even if the modal *moste* 'might' has deontic interpretation, the lack of ability of the archdeacon to hear the music can be attributed to God not permitting to him earlier, before the prayer.

subject-predicate relation. Moses, or the pronominal subject *he* 'he' in the embedded clause, is established as a new discourse topic, to which the backgrounded comment/predicate (*moste*) *underfon Godes æ* '(might) receive God's faith' is added. The fact that the subject is a new discourse topic is most likely responsible for the assertion of the subject-predicate relation (S-Vf-VPnf). As the lexical VP (without the subject) content is backgrounded or given in a sense, the word order is VO. That the indication of parallel or contrast is what is most relevant in (18b) is also evident from the continuation 'but he didn't fast through his own power [as Christ], but through God's' (18b').

- (18) a. Witodlice þis feowertigfealde fæsten wæs asteald on ðære ealdan gecyðnyse. ða ða manifestly this fortyfold fast was established in the Old Testament when se heretoga Moyses fæste feowertig daga and feowertig nihta tosamne. to ði þæt he the leader Moses fasted forty days and forty nights together in-order-that he **moste Godes .æ. underfon** might God's law receive
 'Manifestly this fortyfold fast was established in the Old Testament when the leader Moses fasted forty days and forty nights together, in order that he might receive God's law'
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_7:60.10.1189)
- b. Moyses se heretoga fæste eac feowertig daga. & feowertig nihta. To ðy þæt he Moses the leader fasted also forty days and forty nights in-order-that he **moste underfon Godes æ:** might receive God's laws
 'Moses the leader fasted also forty days and forty nights, in order that he might receive God's law'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_11:272.182.2139)
- b'. ac he ne fæste na þurh his agene mihte: ac þurh Godes. but he not fast not through his own power but through God's
 'but he didn't fast through his own power, but through God's'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_11:272.182.2140)

It should be made clear that the lack of focus on the non-finite VP is not conditioned by the narrow focus on the modal verb. Recall from Chapter 3, Section 4.2.5 that contrastively focused modals allow

OV orders. The condition for the defocused VPs is that their content is treated as given, familiar or 'presupposed'. Recall also that we assume the existence of two focusing strategies which involve verbal elements: sentence focus (assertion) and predicate focus. Although sentence focus/assertion is closely related to predicate focus, in the sense that assertive propositions most often contain topic-predicate focus structure,⁷⁰ non-finite predicates (VPs) need not to be focused in assertive propositions. Usually, some other element in the proposition is focused (modal verb, subject, adverb(ial)).

Consider now the following segment from *Gregory's Dialogues*, which provides a perfect illustration of two different interpretations of the VO order, on the one hand, and the difference between OV and VO order, on the other. In (19a), the predicate has wide focus, and the VP has OV order (*þa godan oncnawan* 'recognize the good'). The clause establishes a predicate relation between good people and the knowing of other good people, where knowing of other good people is interpreted as new information. In (19b), on the other hand, the object of the semantically related verb *ongytan* 'understand' is contrasted with the object in the preceding clause (*þa godan* 'the good' vs. *þa öþre yflan* 'the other evil'). The focus on the object renders the VO order.⁷¹ In (19c), however, the only focused element is the modal, and the lexical VP, repeated from the previous clause, has the VO order, in this case indicating the lack of focus on the VP. Crucially, the focus on the finite verb still gets us predicate-focus interpretation of defocused non-finite VP (in a sense, old predicate is 'newly' applied to the subject/topic).

- (19) a. Openlice, Petrus, mid þam wordum hit is gecyþed, þæt þa godan men magon þa
 clearly, Peter with these words it is said that the good men are-able the
godan oncnawan
 good recognize
 'Clearly, Peter, with these words it is said that the good men are able to recognize the good'

⁷⁰ The possible exception to this claim are the assertive propositions which contain indefinite/impersonal subjects, such as *man* 'one', whose content simply updates the common ground, without an obvious topic-predicate structure, as it is hard to argue that anything is being said about a non-referential subject. For those special cases, before we establish whether *man*-subjects are indeed truly impersonal or not, I will simply assume that they only have a predicate focus, or that these subject represent special kinds of topics.

⁷¹ Note that the subject also contrasts with the subject in the preceding clause.

b. & eac þa yflan magon *ongytan* þa oþre yflan

and also the evil may understand the other evil

'and also the evil may understand the other evil'

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:34.310.22.4638-4639)

c. Soðlice gif Abraham ne ongæte Lazarum, ne spræce he nænigra þinga swa to þam weligan men, þe in þam tintregum wæs, be Lazares þære agnan geswencnesse, þa þa he cwæð, þæt he onfengce manige yfel on his life

'Indeed, if Abraham did not recognize Lazarus, he would not have spoken any such things to the wealthy men who were tortured, about Lazarus's own suffering, when he said that he received many evils in his life'

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:34.310.24.4640)

d. Swa eac gif þa yflan **ne mihton** *ongytan* þa oþre yflan...

so also if the evil not might understand the other evil...

'So also, if the evil cannot understand the other evil...'

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:34.310.28.4641)

(20) also provides us with a sequence that shows how VO interpretations are obtained. In (20a), the narrow focus is on the lexical verb *demenne* 'judge', and it contrasts with the verb in the second conjunct *gehælenne* 'heal'. In (20b), the focus is on the modal verb *wolde* 'would', and the non-finite VP only repeats the VP from (20a). Alternatively, the sentence in (20b) could be interpreted as having the contrastive focus on the lexical verb *deman*, but I find it less likely that the contrast needs to be marked again.

(20) a. ac he ne com na to **demenne** mancynn swa swa he sylf cwæð. ac to **gehælenne**

but he not come not to judge mankind so so he self said but to save

'[The Savior is the Judge of all mankind] but he did not come to judge mankind, as he himself said, but to save'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_22:359.132.4432)

b. Gif he þa **wolde** deman mancynn þa ða he ærest to middanearde com: Hwa wurde þonne if he then would judge mankind when he first to earth came who would then gehealden?

be-saved

'If he then would have judged mankind, when he first came on earth, who would have been saved?'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_22:359.134.4433)

Defocused VPs arise when the subject or an adverbial has narrow focus. In (21), the subject *seo wylm* 'the servant' is the only new information in the embedded clause. The predicate 'tell the judge how it was done' is backgrounded: Eugenia (the subject of the main clause) has been asked to tell the judge what happened between her and her false accuser. Instead of giving an explanation herself, she first asks the accuser's servant to say what happened. The 'old' predicate is related to the new topic, and the establishment of this relation is what makes this structure assertive, or updating the CG.

(21) þa bād Eugenia þæt **seo wylm** sceolde sæcgan þam deman hu hit gedon wære,
 then bade Eugenia that the servant should tell the judge how it done were
 'Then Eugenia bade that the servant should tell the judge how it came to pass'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Eugenia]:211.316)

In (22) the AdvP *swa cræftelice* 'so skillfully' has narrow focus (the intended interpretation: the only manner in which a teacher needs to regulate his voice is so skillfully that he can address everyone in his audience). The VP 'regulate his voice' is not backgrounded in the strict sense. However, the preceding context makes it easily inferable (while teaching, teachers need to regulate their voice), which makes it easier for the speaker to create background structure for the focused adverbial. More examples with a focused adverb will be presented in Section 5.7.2.1.

(22) hit is ðeah earfoðre ealle ætsomne to læranne, forðæm ðe he sceal gemetgian **swa**
 it is still more-difficult all together to teach because he shall regulate so
cræftelice his stemne ðætte he æghwelcum men finde ðone læcedom ðe him to gebyrge,
 skillfully his voice that he each men find the remedy that them to belongs
 forðæm ðe ða mettrymnessa ne beoð ealra manna gelica
 because the diseases not are of-all men alike
 '[For while it is very laborious to have to teach each one separately,] it is still more difficult to
 teach them together, for he must regulate the voice of instruction with such art, that he may find
 the remedy that belongs to each man, because the diseases of all men are not alike

(cocura,CP:60.453.10.3267)

Finally, defocused VPs are also found when backgrounded propositions (or at least vPs⁷²) are reactivated. Recall that activation of 'old' material often happens after discourse switches. So, in (23), the proposition that 'the word 'belly' signifies the mind' is given in (23a). The discourse switches in (23b), from Solomon's words back to the speaker/narrator, where the proposition together with its topic-predicate relation is added to the CG as relevant update, even though nothing new is being said about the topic (the word 'belly').

- (23) a. **ðære wambe nama getacnað ðæt mod**, forðæm sua sua sio wamb gemielt ðone mete, sua gemielt ðæt mod mid ðære gescadwisnesse his geðeahtes his sorga.
 '[Solomon also said that the same is the case with the wounds inside the belly.]
 'The word "belly" signifies the mind, because, as the belly digests food, so does the mind digest its sorrows with wise reflection'

- b. Of Salomonnes cuidum we namon ðætte **ðære wambe nama scolde tacnian ðæt**
 of Solomon's proverbs we take that the belly's name should signify the
 mind when he said
mod, ða ða he cuæð...

'It was from the Proverbs of Solomon we gathered that the word "belly" signifies the mind, when he said : ['Man's life is God's lantern; God's lamp investigates and illuminates all the secrets of the belly].'

(cocura,CP: 36.259.5.1689-36.259.7.1690)

Presumably, in the cases of reactivation such as ((23) above), focus is on the finite verb (though not contrastive, as in most other cases) serves to create topic-predicate focus structure. In other words, what is focused is the (reactivated) topic-predicate relation.⁷³

⁷² vP will be used to refer to the lexical content of the entire verb phrase, i.e. including the external argument, while VP is used only for the verb and the internal arguments.

⁷³ We also might argue that the modal is the locus of new information, i.e. that the modality is added to the non-finite VP predicate, thus creating a new, modified subject-predicate relation. I do not believe this to be the case. That the modal here has no update contribution is also reflected in Sweet's (1871) translation used in this example.

5.3 VO meanings across texts & correlations with style and rhetoric

To see how the interpretations of VO orders illustrated above are distributed within and across OE texts, I have chose five of them: *Orosious*, *Cura Pastoralis*, *Lives of Saints*, *Blickling Homilies* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Again, the texts have been selected on the basis of the date of composition and genre. Table 4.1 presents figures regarding different types of interpretation of VO orders in subordinate clauses in these texts.

Table 4.1: Interpretations of VO orders in subordinate clauses in selected texts

	+F ON O	+F ON V	-F VP	UNCLEAR	TOTAL
Orosius	13	4	2	1	20
Cura Pastoralis	45	13	12	2	72
Lives of Saints	19	18	22	-	58
Blickling Homilies	7	1	4	1	13
Bede's History	1	1	2	-	4
					167

Let us briefly comment of the two extremes in the table: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, with the least number of VO orders, and Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*, with the most. I would like to suggest that what underlies the difference in the presence of 'marked' VO orders is style. The most significant feature of Bede's *History* that that the style is predominantly narrative, and, generally, Bede can be considered an accomplished storyteller.⁷⁴ *Cura Pastoralis*, on the other hand, is rhetorically very complex, with the exposition of events interrupted by detailed references to the metaphorical meaning and significance of the material presented, to the point that it is often too difficult to follow.

⁷⁴ Bede's narrative of events is often interrupted by accounts of visions and miracles. This, coupled with the fact that the context is often not overtly given or elaborated enough, makes it difficult for the reader to follow the exact sequence of historical events. Still, Bede's exposition is 'forward-looking', and he generally avoids intricate rhetorical devices in this text.

Interestingly, both King Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis* and Bede's *History* are often attributed the influence of translation from Latin – unlike the translation of *Orosius* and *Boethius*. Brown (1969) argues that the somewhat problematic quality of the *West Saxon Pastoral Care* (which he characterises as 'mediocre style and the monotonous handling of argument', Brown 1969: 684) is not due to Alfred's inexperience as a translator, but rather a consequence of Alfred's wish to 'render intact a book for priests' (Brown 1969: 684). Hence, Alfred's style in *Cura Pastoralis* is the result of his combining two translation methods: literal and paraphrase. Alfred is famous for the insistence on translation technique 'according to the sense' (cf. also Sweet 1871). Brown notices that in his translation Alfred employs paraphrase when he tries to clarify what he considers to be vague, indefinite or too abstract in Gregory's original. Thus, Latin long and complex sentences are often rendered as simple in OE (Brown notices instances where that three Latin sentences equal six sentences in the OE version). Alfred's is clearly not concerned with rhetorical elegance, but has a more utilitarian aim – to make sure he delivers the message correctly, which he does by explicating, expanding, and essentially, repeating parts of the content. In addition, the original text itself is also stylistically and rhetorically complex. Gregory's original is full of quotations and references which need to be explained or elaborated (for instance, there are 37 citations from the 'Book of Psalms'). Brown (1969: 682) states that Alfred tries to adapt the key feature of Gregory's rhetoric: (crisp) parallelism. Even though Alfred does not always manage to 'translate' Gregory's keen logic or his rhetorical subtlety, the work still remains Gregory's ("What we have is a dreary tract in Latin turned into a dreary tract in English"). Most importantly, Brown argues that Alfred does not use 'syntactic Latinisms'; he invents no 'new' construction based on Latin, so the syntax we see in *Cura Pastoralis* is genuinely OE, and involves syntactic options normally available in OE.

Having in mind that the main stylistic or rhetorical feature of *Cura Pastoralis* is parallelism and repetition, it is not surprising that it is this text that has most VO orders. As contrastive focus, the key interpretation of VO orders, also has the major major function of expressing parallels, and as defocused VPs are often found in repetitions for the purpose of explication, we see how IS factors, encoded in the word order, can correlate with a specific style.

Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* is another good source of VO orders. As far as Ælfric's style is concerned, Clemons (1966) notes the exploitation of formal stylistic devices such as parallelism, patterning, rhetorical question and simile. Sato (2012) also points out the presence of parallelism, and rhetorical figures such as chiasmus (inverted parallel structures/clauses) and simile (expression of comparison or likeness). Lipp (1969: 692) also adds word play, or repetition of the same words or closely related words. He also finds that Ælfric pays a close attention to "the relationships between the syntactic units of his sentences", careful paralleling of two sentences, and closely balanced antithesis in the second part of sentences.⁷⁵ Again we note the same stylistic devices which rely on functions of focus. It is therefore not unusual to find the orders which exploit more complex ways of focus marking in greater numbers in those texts which are rhetorically and stylistically complex.

Taylor & Pintzuk (2012a, 2012b) argue that OE reflects an ongoing change from OV to VO, and that this change, that can be traced to occur over time throughout OE (as previously argued in Pintzuk 2002 and Pintzuk & Taylor 2006), is independent of IS constraints. VO orders arise as a genuine syntactic innovation. As IS status, they take the dichotomy between given-new (based on Birner 2006), and show that the increase in postverbal objects in Vf-Vn structures cannot be related to the interpretation of these objects as focused/new.

First, let us consider the claim that the frequency of the VO orders increases with time. To show this, Pintzuk & Taylor compare VO orders from two periods of OE: OE1 (before 950) and OE2 (after 950). On this periodization, Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis* should exhibit fewer VO orders than later texts, such as *Blickling Homilies* or Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, contrary to the fact.

Secondly, dismissing the influence of IS factors on VO orders based solely on the distinction of *one* of the possible IS status of the object (given-new) is a huge oversimplification of the relation between IS and syntactic structure.

⁷⁵ Lipp also states that Ælfric's style is characterized by clarity and smoothness, with few sharp breaks or emphatic climaxes, and with subdued stylistic effects (unlike Alfred).

Even though I have not investigated the entire corpus of VO orders, what the sample studied here clearly shows is that the primary distinction between OV and VO orders indeed lies in the way VP elements are marked for focus.

5.4 OV as new information focus?

The interpretation noted for VO orders come with a clear implication for OV orders. If VO corresponds to *non*-new information VP focus, OV orders consequently equal new information predicate/VP focus.

The problem with this assumption is that OV orders are not in fact interpreted the same in asserted and presupposed propositions. In asserted proposition, i.e. when OV predicate follows the finite verb, it is interpreted as being in focus. Together with the finite verb, it establishes the relation with the subject/topic, which crucially updates the CG. If, on the other hand, the OV predicate precedes the finite verb, the relation between the subject and the predicate, even though it does not need to be given in the strictest sense, is always interpreted as backgrounded, which consequently makes the whole proposition presupposed, i.e. not CG update. Predicate focus (Focus 2) is consequently licensed only in the area of sentence focus (Focus 1). It might seem redundant to have both types of focus realized in the same position (the area following the finite verb). However, as it will be shown in Chapter 6, Section 6.2, it is possible to 'split' the predicate material between the area preceding the finite verb and the area following the finite verb, and have propositions with both presuppositional and assertive features. For descriptive reasons I will keep predicate focus and sentence focus apart. I will though leave open the possibility of reducing these two to one. At this point, I do not have a mechanism by which this can be achieved.

When the OV-VP has predicate focus, in Vf-VPnf configuration, new information focus interpretation of the VP material is relatively straightforward. What about the interpretation of OV-VP in presupposed contexts? Namely, how can it be interpreted as new information, when the whole

predicate, and even the whole proposition is interpreted as backgrounded, having no or lessened communicative relevance?

In addition, we know that VP material can undergo leftward movement out of OV orders. These displacements include clitic/pronoun movement and NP scrambling. In asserted propositions with predicate focus, these movements can be easily assumed to be motivated by factors such as accessibility and escape from the new information focus domain. Having the object removed from VP, the only element that will be interpreted as 'novel' is the verb.

- (24) a. [VP O V] – new information (predicate) focus
b. O [VP t_O V] – new information (predicate) focus

But what would motivate leftward movements in presupposed propositions? Clearly these elements have interpretations incompatible with the one they get when inside VPs. One possible reason why pronouns and nominal objects move out their base position is features such as accessibility and some kind of topicality. But, as scrambling occurs in presupposed propositions, which we assume do not have predicate-focus, and additional level of topic-focus structure needs to be postulated. Leftward movement will serve to keep track of the IS status of arguments. We will return later to the issue of how to characterize this additional level of IS related dichotomy.

The claim we have made for VO order so far has clear implications for leftward movement. If VO orders arise due to contrastive focus marking, scrambling should not be used for purposes of expressing contrast. This is not borne out. Contrastive interpretation of the object can be noted for both object moved left in Vn-Vf orders and Vf-Vn orders. In Vf-Vn orders, the object can undergo 'short' scrambling below the finite verb, or 'long' scrambling, across the finite verb (and yield the so-called Raising Construction). Examples of each option are given below.

In (25), the object *his oðer mægen* 'the rest of his power' seems to have been scrambled across the adverb *þy eað* 'more easily' for reasons of contrast: 'the rest of his powers' evokes the alternative expression 'one instance of his power' in the preceding context.

(25) Sculon we ane cyðnesse his mægenes secgan, þæt we **his oðer mægen** þy eað
 should we one testimony of-his power say that we his other powers more easily
 ongytan magon
 understand may

'We should relate one instance of his power so that the rest of his power may be more easily understood (from which the rest may be inferred)⁷⁶

(cobede,Bede_2:7.118.1.1118)

The object *heofonan rice eðel* 'the country of heavenly kingdom', scrambled across the adverb *symle* 'always' has contrastive interpretation, as it needs to be interpreted in relation to the contrasting alternative *þyssere worulde ydelnysse* 'this world's vanity' in the continuation of the clause.

(26) God ælmihtig bebytt mannum þæt hi sceolon **heofonan rices eðel** symle
 God almighty commands men that they should heavenly kingdom country always
 gewilnian. and þyssere worulde ydelnysse forseon
 desire and this world's vanity despise

'God Almighty commands men constantly to desire the country of heaven's kingdom, and to despise this world's vanity'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_13:130.82.2846)

In (27) we can note a contrastive relation between the object *his scynecraft* 'his sinful-art' and *minum drycraft* 'magical art'. Datian summons a magician (Athanasius) to extinguish what he thinks is Christian sorcery (as he couldn't harm the martyr Saint George, even after afflicting the most horrible tortures on him).

(27) a. Then the emperor ordered him to be put in prison, and bade enquire everywhere for some noted sorcerer. Then Athanasius the sorcerer heard of the matter, and came to the emperor, and asked him boldly, 'Why do you ask that I be fetch so suddenly to you?' Datian answered Athanasius thus, 'Can't you extinguish the Christian's sorcery?' Then the sorcerer answered Datianthus. 'Bid the Christian man come to me,

⁷⁶ The translation as passive tries to keep the topicalized interpretation of the object.

- b. and beo ic scyldig gif ic his scyncraeft **ne mæg** mid ealle adwæscan mid minum drycraefte
 and be I guilty if I his sinful-art notmay totally extinguish with my magic-art
 'may I be guilty if I cannot totally extinguish his magic with my sorcery'

(coelive,ÆLS_[George]:55.3095)

However, in both examples the contrastively interpreted object is backgrounded, and it seems that the primary interpretation is that of 'topicality'. Note also that in (the VR example), it is the negative modal that seems to be emphatically focused (as it expresses the speaker's belief that this is an unlikely alternative; recall from Chapter 4 that this is one of the key interpretations in conditional clauses). It seems that again contrast alone is not enough for an element to be focused. As both contrast and focus rely on alternatives in their interpretation, it is difficult to establish with certainty when an element is contrastively focused, and when it is simply 'contrastive'. Divorcing contrast from focus is present in Neeleman et al. 2009, for example. Contrast feature can be combined with a topic feature or focus feature. Both seem to result in the element occupying a 'special' position. For all the leftward movements of contrastive elements, I will assume that they are primarily triggered by their accessibility and/or topicality features.

Having an additional level of topic-focus marking, even though still poorly understood, especially with respect to its correlation with other levels, is also necessary to explain why we have specific focus marking strategies within VPs which are interpreted as predicate focus.

- (28) a. Vf O V – predicate focus; +new information on VP
 b. Vf O ... V – predicate focus; +new information on V
 c. Vf V O – predicate focus; -new information on VP or V

Details regarding the distinction between short and long scrambling will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.5 Absence of VO in VPnf-Vf orders

The second complication regarding the proposed OV-VO difference is the restriction that VO cannot precede the finite verb, while OV-VPs are eligible in both preverbal and postverbal positions. We might speculate that assertion is somehow responsible for focus marking on v/VP elements. Presupposed propositions should disallow it. If we are right in the assumption that presupposed propositions are derived by removing the vP from sentence focus (essentially, the area following the finite verb), the absence of 'narrow focus' marking on individual elements of vP would be conditioned by (lack of) sentence focus.

The few cases which violate the adjacency of the non-finite and finite verb seem to be examples of an attempt to get narrow focus on the material intervening between the two verbs. While the adjacency restriction fully holds for objects, there are few sentences where an adverb or a PP intervenes between the non-finite verb and the finite verb. It seems that in all of them the author tries to create a background-focus structure in the presupposed proposition, i.e. in all of them the adjunct is focused.

In (29), I assume, the adverb *þe bet* 'well enough' has narrow, emphatic focus. The predicate *ær gewarnod* '(being) warned in advance' is backgrounded, as it is present in the preceding clause (29a). The whole proposition is interpreted as presupposed; there is no topic-predicate focus, as him being warned in advance has been added to CG in the preceding sentence.

- (29) a. Eac ic secge to soðe þæt deofol wyle ælces mannes geðanc, gyf he mæg, swyðe gelettan þæt he hit na ne understande, þeah hit him man secge, ne hine wið þæt ne warnige & ðurh þæt wyrð mæst manna beswicen þe hy ne beoð swa wære ne **swa wel gewarnode ær** swa hy beðorfton. 'I also say truthfully that the devil will oppress each person's thoughts, if he may, so that he does not understand, although men tell him, what he is warned against, and in this way most people will be deceived who are not as mindful or as **well-warned in advance** as they need to be.

- b. La hwæt is se man on life buton hine god ælmihtig gehealde, & he ær **gewarnod**
 Lo what is the man in life unless him God almighty protected and he before warned
þe bet sy, þæt he þonne ðurh deofol beswicen ne wyrðe?
 well enough be that he then through devil deceived not become
 'Indeed, what living person is there who may be **warned in advance** well enough that he will
 not deceived by the devil, unless almighty God protects him?'

(cowulf,WHom_4:83.154)

(30) presents a slightly more difficult case, as more than one interpretation could be assumed.

- (30) þe læs he þolie þæt ylce forwyrð þæt Judas dyde, þe stæl þæt feoh þæt he Criste
 unless he suffers that same destruction that Judas did who stole the money the he Christ
 healdan **getrywlice** sceolde
 hold trustingly should
 'unless he should suffer the same destruction as Judas who stole the money that he should
 trustingly hold for Christ'

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:43.14.578)

As contrast does not need to be indicated by focus, it is difficult to establish which one of the contrastive elements in a clause is the one that actually gets assigned focus. I will take that in (30) the predicate (Judas) 'holding the money to Christ' is backgrounded as the narrator seems to presuppose that the reader is familiar with the fact that Judas was Christ's treasurer. The focus is then on the adverb *getrywlice* 'trustingly'. The focus alternative relevant for the interpretation of the adverb is the opposite manner of 'holding the money' – untrustingly – highly inferable from the immediately preceding context (Judas stealing the money). Alternatively, we may argue that the contrastive focus is on the verb *healdan* 'hold', with a more obvious alternative 'steal'. Which ever interpretation is more likely for (30), the crucial point is that contrastive focus marking is what makes the author manipulate the syntactic options.

PPs seems to show the same. In (31) the PP *mid Criste* 'with Christ', intervening between the infinitive and the modal verb is contrastively focused. The whole proposition is given as a parallel to

the preceding one: the subject (and the speaker) in the sentence, Oswio, the king of Saxons, having embraced his faith in Christ, establishes a parallel relation between him ruling his people (now) temporarily (by himself) and ruling eternally in the future together with Christ. Expressions which are in parallel relation obviously need not be focused (as neither 'in future' nor 'eternally' are in the position where we assume focus is marked). The contrastive element that is also assigned focus and which occurs postverbally is the one alternative that is most relevant for the whole utterance. More precisely, the most important part in Oswio's words is that he hopes he would rule with Christ, as this confirms his decision to accept Christianity truly and fully.

(31) Ond cwæð þæt he gehyhte, swa swa he in his þeode hwilwendlice ricsade, þæt he swa
 and said that he hoped so as he in his people temporarily ruled that he so
 in towardnesse ecelice ricsian **mid Criste** moste
 in future eternally rule with Christ must
 'and said that he hoped that, just as he temporarily ruled in his nation, that he would so in the
 future eternally rule with Christ'

(cobede,Bede_3:21.248.21.2544)

It should be stated that some of the cases of intervening PPs resemble the defocused VP interpretation (cobede,Bede_5:11.416.25.4188 and coblick,HomS_17_[BlHom_5]:59.88.735), where the clause initial element seems to be contrastively focused. The sample of these exceptional cases is too small for us to be able to make any serious generalizations. I still find it noteworthy that these 'violations', which presumably push the limits of language for the purpose of rhetorical complexity, largely match the interpretations we note for configurations where objects and adjuncts follow the non-finite verb.

Even though some interpretational correlations can be established between the possibility or impossibility of VO orders after and before the finite verb, I believe that the restriction is still syntactic.⁷⁷ No pragmatic/IS related factors could impose such a strong ban on the syntax. Why can

⁷⁷ The same kind of leaking can be observed with adjectival participles. In (i) we see that the participle has to be adjacent to the head-noun it modifies, while its complement PPs follows the noun.

adjuncts, but not objects, violate the rule? I would like to propose that this is because most adjuncts can be turned into supplemental material, which function as separate speech-acts, related, but essentially independent of the main proposition (in the sense of Potts 2003, 2005). Even though the supplements seem to have a fixed number of positions where they can be adjoined in the clause structure, the violation of the adjunction place seems to be more tolerable than the violation of the syntactic rules applied on arguments and verbs. Thus, the examples discussed above are truly exceptional.

5.6 Summary of VO interpretations and further implications

As VO structures we have investigated all have in common the absence of wide new information focus on the non-finite vP/VP, we have proposed that this order is derived, and that the displacements which take place serve to indicate that either one of the VP elements is marked for narrow/contrastive focus, or that the whole vP is defocused. This assumption has two important consequences. First, if VO is derived, OV is necessarily basic, default or unmarked order in the OE VP. This is clearly only a stipulation. As we allow objects with contrastive interpretation to be preverbal as well, we have to assume that OV orders are actually ambiguous in the sense that the object in them can match both new information and –new information interpretation. However, the prediction about the interpretation of the non-finite lexical verb is clear: in O-V_n-V_f order, it can never be marked for contrastive focus. The second consequence is that predicates (VPs) can be specially and independently marked for focus. The presence of predicate focus is indicated by the position of the non-finite VP relative to the finite verb. If the non-finite VP follows the finite verb, it is [+predicate focus]; when it precedes the finite verb, it is [–predicate focus] marked.

(i) ... se biscop was sended to **gelyfendum** Scottum **on Crist**
 the bishop was sent to believing Scotts in Christ
 'the bishop was sent to the Stotts believing in Christ'
 (cobede, BedeHead:1.8.1.14)

The idea that predicates can be focus marked just like arguments (and adjuncts) is not controversial. Even though predicate focus is usually grammatically unmarked (its interpretation is contextually resolved), there are languages which employ different grammatical strategies (nominalization, special movements, morphology, mostly in African languages; cf. Jones 2006, Aboch, Hartmann and Zimmermann 2007, Zimmermann 2015, a.o.). Therefore, it is not inconceivable that predicates too can be objects of a variety of focus marking. If predicates can be focused, nothing excludes the possibility for them to be –Focus.

Predicate is assumed to have two major functions: (a) to instantiate illocutionary act, and (b) to identify/select a state of affairs (cf. Güldemann 2013). The term predicate focus thus covers both (a) focus on verb/lexeme (state-of-affairs), and (b) focus on predicate operator (including truth value; 'verum' focus). In simplex VPs, this can lead to ambiguity as to which focus marking actually applies (e.g. in Serbian, a sentence with focus on the lexical verb such as 'Maja PRODAJE stanove' (Maja sells flats) could be interpreted as verum focus, 'Maja does sell/indeed sells apartments', or as contrastive focus, 'Maja doesn't rent apartments, she sells them'). If predicate focus instantiates illocutionary act, and if assertion (even on the relativized notion assume here), illocutionary act and sentence focus are all related, it seems plausible that predicates lacking focus will contribute to the interpretation of a proposition as lacking illocutionary force, assertion or sentence focus.

We have also somewhat misleadingly used the term 'defocused VP' for one of the interpretations of VO orders. Crucially, such VPs do have predicate focus, only this predicate serves no other function than expressing a kind of comment for the subject/topic, which is then added to the CG as update. We will deal more with this issue in Chapter 6.

5.7 Issues regarding syntactic derivation of VO orders

One of the crucial questions is how VO orders are derived syntactically. Based on the assumption that all VO orders correspond to non-VP wide focus interpretation, they would have to be derived from the 'unmarked' OV order.

To capture the unmarked or wide focus interpretation of OV orders, the simplest assumption is that the object is merged in the position left of the verb. The derivation of the unmarked OV order has always been one of the stumbling points in all the (uniform) head-initial analysis of VP structure. If all complements are base-generated to the right of the head, why would the object be forced to move leftward from a 'base' VO structure to get the unmarked order? Reasons such as case assignment or EPP feature on *v* seem to be superior to any kind of interpretational reasons, such as focus related one. Even though both EPP, as well as special mechanisms of case assignment, could be related to interpretation (cf. for instance, Miyagawa 2005 for topic/focus-related EPP feature, and Meinunger 2000 for the relation between topicality and case assignment), this is not explicitly stated in the accounts that rely on these notions in their syntactic derivations of VO orders.⁷⁸ Can we relate O-V-tO to focus assignment? If we assume Cinque's (1993) version of the nuclear stress (NS) assignment, which is related to prominence (hence focus as well) in a sentence, NS is structurally determined, assigned to the most deeply embedded element in the sentence.⁷⁹ As object is the element most deeply embedded in

⁷⁸ In Biberauer & Roberts 2005, EPP is not explicitly linked to INT feature.

⁷⁹ Nuclear Stress has always been assumed to be crucial in the identification of focus. The focused constituent must contain the rhythmically most prominent word, i.e. the word that bears the Nuclear Stress (NS) (Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972, Zubizarreta 1998, Reinhart 2006, among many others). The classic Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) by Halle and Chomsky 1968, assumes that stress is assigned cyclically, and predicts that NS placement on the last constituent of the sentence, capturing the fact that in SVO sentences, the main prominence is on the object. OV orders are an obvious challenge to this account, as the NS is not on the last constituent, the verb, but on the object (or any other type of complement). Cinque (1993) proposes that NSR can be directly derived from the syntactic structure, claims that the NS is always assigned to the most deeply embedded element in the syntactic structure. As in the head-initial languages the complement is to the right of the V-head, NS is postverbal/clause final, whereas in head-final languages, NS will not be in the clause final position. Cinque's account also predicts that specifiers and adjuncts will be invisible to the computation of NS. The problem with this account, also addressed by Cinque himself, are the SVOXP orders, where the sentence final adjunct or receives the most prominence. He proposes a different structural analysis of such orders, where the XP element is actually the complement of the verb (Cinque 1993: 264).

the syntactic structure, NS will be assigned to the object in situ, i.e. the object would have no reasons to move. If the object would somehow have to move so that the wide focus interpretation of the VP could be obtained, then it would be the verbal head, rather than the complement, that has the feature relevant for the interpretation of the whole VP as wide focus. And this would somehow require that the verb occurs in a specific position in the sentence. While focus can be projected from both heads and complements (and other elements in the sentence, as shown by Büring (2006)), still, no focus projection rule requires that focus has to be projected exclusively from the head, and not the complement. The only way we can relate possible object movement to the OV interpretation is to assume that OE has no focus projection (i.e. that in OE the projection of +focus feature from the object to the whole VP is unavailable), and that the object shift/movement renders the focus interpretation on the verb as well. I will not go any further in these speculations. For now I will simply leave it open why the object merges leftward, and why VP is the only phrase that has this direction of merge of its complement.

As we claim that the interpretations of VO orders are related to the syntactic configuration, movements from the unmarked OV structure would have to be motivated by the need to ensure that the interpretations noted for VO orders are obtained (i.e. lack of wide VP focus). The simplest step to get the verb to precede the object is by verb movement ($V [O t_v]$). IS related motivations could be understood as following: (a) the verb moves to enable (narrow) focus on the object (only the object is focused), (b) the verb moves to escape the wide focus interpretation (the verb is contrastively focused or the whole VP is defocused).

Leftward movement of the verb is also present in the derivation of VO orders which assume the underlying head-initial (VO) structure of the OE VP.⁸⁰ Recall from Chapter 2, Section 2.6, that Roberts (1997) proposes two possible scenarios. One is in terms of remnant VP movement. The object first moves to AgrOP, and the remnant VP is then fronted across it. The second option is in terms of head

⁸⁰ In other words, VO orders are derived from OV orders, which themselves are derived from the head-initial (VO) VP. Therefore, even on head-initial accounts, OV order is assumed to be somehow unmarked.

movement. The non-finite verb will left-adjoin to Aux/Mod head, which can later excorporate and move higher up, creating the Vf-Vn-O order. Biberauer & Roberts (2005) assume that Vf-Vn orders always involve a restructuring verb (V_R), whose infinitival complement contains a defective TP. This TP_{DEF} is the locus of head movement of the lexical $v^\circ + V^\circ$ complex. On Biberauer & Roberts' account, verb movement to v or T_{DEF} is obligatory. Hence we lose the optionality of movement which takes place for IS related reasons. The shortcomings of these analysis (especially, Roberts 1997) are discussed in Pintzuk 2005. In Chapter 2, we have also pointed out the problems with Biberauer & Roberts' assumption that modals and auxiliaries can optionally be restructuring verbs. Despite all the challenges, the derivation of VO orders via leftward movement of V or any other constituent containing V , is superior to the accounts which take that VO orders are 'basic'.

I believe that there are two types of evidence that the verb (optionally) undergoes movement out of the v/VP to create the configuration where non-wide VP focus interpretations are obtained. The first one comes from the variation in the relative ordering with adjuncts (adverbs, specifically), and the second one involves postverbal pronouns. Namely, orders with postverbal adverbs and postverbal pronouns, which normally appear to the left of the verb, have the same interpretation as those with nominal objects.

5.7.1 Postverbal adverbs (Vf-Vn-AdvP)

Adverbs normally occupy a preverbal position, presumably being adjoined to vP . Many of them, however, can also occur clause-finally. While some of such instances seem to involve apposition (in the sense that the adverb is attached to the entire proposition, as supplemental information),⁸¹ some of the

⁸¹ This seems to happen most often with speech-act, subject-oriented and frequency adverbs. Such clause final adverbs are possible both in Vf-VPn (ia) and VPn-Vf orders (ib&c).

(i) a. and cwæð þæt we sceoldon symle eac habban ure eorðlican neode **þærtoeacan soðlice**.
 and said that we should always also have our earthly needs moreover indeed
 'and said that we should moreover also always have our earthly needs, indeed'
 (coaelhom,æHom_21:387.3273)

clause final adverbs are found postverbally for reasons of focus. I will assume that in such cases the derivation involves movement of the VP material across the adverb to create a kind of topic-focus structure, i.e. to ensure that the adverb gets focus interpretation (32b). Postverbal adverbs then resemble postverbal objects in that they get a marked interpretation when they occur following the (non-finite) verb. Again, the verb acts as a signpost for focus interpretation of the material preceding and following it. Furthermore, just like objects, postverbal adverbs can also indicate that the non-finite verb has narrow focus (32b').

- (32) a. AdvP – VP (unmarked interpretation of the adverb)
 b. VP – AdvP - t_{VP} (focus interpretation of the adverb)
 b'. VP – AdvP - t_{VP} (focus interpretation of the non-finite verb)

5.7.1.1 Narrow focus on the adverbial

(33) is a reference to the Bible, namely, St Paul's address to the Galatians (Galatians 3:1-5). Paul rebukes the Galatians for being deluded, as they decide to 'observe the old law (the law of Moses), rather than continue believing in Christ (the law of the Spirit). The law of Moses consisted of many ceremonies, rituals, and symbols, with the purpose to frequently remind people of their duties and responsibilities. It included the law of carnal commandments and performances, and in the OE religious texts this fact is often emphasized, partly to indicate the contrast with the more spiritual nature of Christianity, or the

b. and þæt is swyðe god spell, þurh Godes tocyme us to gehyrenne þæt we habban moton
 and that is very good story through God's advent us to hear that we have must
 þa heofonlican wununge mid him sylfum æfre
 the heavenly dwelling-place with him self ever
 'and it was a very good story, for us to hear through God's advent that we shall have the heavenly
 dwelling place with him ever'

(coaelhom,æHom_8:3.1167)

c. ..þæt gescead þe hi gewysigen sceall to weldædum a
 the reason that her direct shal to goodeeds always
 'the reason which should direct it (the soul) to good deeds ever'

(coaelive,æLS_[Christmas]:148.118)

concerns of the early Christian church regarding which practices of the 'old law' were to be kept in the new religion. In the that-clause in (33), the postverbal adverb *flæsclīce* 'fleshly/carnally' contrasts with *gæsðlice* 'spiritually' in the preceding clause. The verb itself (*geendingan* 'destroy') seems to be treated by the speaker as backgrounded – Paul takes that the Galatians have been made aware that they are destroying their faith in Christ. What he wants to communicate here is a reminder of the sharp distinction between the two laws – Christ's law being spiritual, Moses' law being carnal.

- (33) & eft he cuæð: Sua dysige ge sint ðætte ðæt ðæt ge **gæsðlice** underfengon, ge
 and again he said: so foolish you are that that that you spiritually received, you
 willað geendigan **flæsclīce**
 want destroy carnally
 'and he said again: So foolish you are, that what you received spiritually you wish to end carnally'
 (cocura,CP:31.207.15.1396)

In (34) the adverb *eallunga* 'entirely' has narrow focus; it evokes alternatives for the way we understand wisdom. The alternative which seems to be relevant here is most likely in contrast relation (i.e. the idea is that we may understand wisdom to a lesser degree, rather than that we cannot understand it at all, which would be the preferred interpretation if the adverb is preverbal).

- (34) Ac se wisdom mæg us **eallunga** ongitan swylce swylce we sint, þeah we hine ne
 but the wisdom may us entirely understand such as we are although we him not
 mægen ongitan **eallunga** swylcne swylce he is;
 may understand entirely such as he is
 'But the wisdom can entirely understand us as we are, although we cannot understand it entirely
 the way it is'

(coboeth,Bo:41.145.10.2892)

5.7.1.2 Narrow focus on the verb

In (35) the participle precedes the frequency adverb *æfre* 'ever', which normally occupies a preverbal position. The verb *gehealdan* 'protect/save', preceding the adverb, contrasts with the verb *fordon* 'destroy' in the next clause. The verb in this position signals that the relation between us/people and God is crucially different from the relation between us and the devil. Again, it needs to be stressed that contrast interpretation need not be obligatorily marked by narrow focus on the verb; however, when it is, it facilitates the anticipation of the contrasting alternative.

- (35) Ures Drihtnes dæda and þæs deofles ne magon nateshwon gepwærian ne beon gelice,
our Lord's deed and the devil's not may by-no-means agree nor be alike
for þan ðe se Hælend wyle us **gehealdan** æfre, and se deofol wile us fordon gif he
because the Saviour will us protect always, and the devil will us destroy if he
mæg
can

'Our Lord's deeds and those of the devil may by no means be in agreement nor be alike because the Saviour will always protect us, and the devil will destroy us, if he can'

(coaelhom, EHom_4:200.631)

In the examples above the object is absent (33) or pronominal (34 & 35). As it is well known that pronouns move either to the highest pronoun position (SigmaP, or the functional projection between CP and TP, as argued in van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012) or a 'specialized' clause internal pronoun position, these examples do not tell us much about the actual derivation of these orders, as we cannot eliminate the option that these clause final adverbs are 'supplemental' (i.e. outside the main proposition). However, with nominal objects, we find the ordering that does not seem to involve 'extraposed' adverbs. It is the order where the non-finite verb precedes the adverb, while the nominal object follows it (Vn – Adv – O).

5.7.2 Vn – Adv – O: interpretations

The interpretations of Vn-Adv-O orders resemble the ones associated with VO orders; namely, again we have instances of narrow focus marking either on the non-finite verb, or one of the elements following it (the adverb or the object). Again we will present a number of examples to illustrate the point.

5.7.2.1 Narrow focus on the adverb

The first interpretation we will illustrate is the one where the adverb has narrow, contrastive focus. The rest of the VP is interpreted as backgrounded.

In (36), the adverb *þa* 'then', found between the non-finite verb *cyðan* 'say' and the object *his synna* 'his sins', has narrow focus, and it contrasts with the adverb *syððan* 'later' (36c). The event of the sick man confessing his sins (the VP content) is given in (36a). The verb *cyðan* 'say' in the position before *þa* 'then' facilitates the narrow focus on the temporal adverb and the introduction of the alternative temporal points which are to be considered as relevant for this predicate. The relevant alternative *syððan* 'later' is introduced in the following clause. If the temporal adverb would have been in its 'usual' preverbal position, the intended interpretation would be difficult to obtain.

- (36) a. and bæd þæt he sceolde his synna geandettan mid soðre behreowsunge huru ær he swulte
'and bade that he should confess his sins with true repentance quickly before he died'
- b. He cwæð þæt he nolde cyðan þa his synna
he said that he not-would say then his sins
'He said that he would not confess his sins then'

- c. ac syððan he gewyrpte he wolde hi geandettan, þy læs ðe hine man tælde, swylce he for yrhðe hi geandette þa on his untrumnyse, þa ða he ansund nolde
 'but after he recovered, he would confess them, so that no one says that he out of fear confessed them when he was sick, and would not when he was well'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_20: 148.3013-152.3015)

Let us now see how the same adverb is interpreted in the preverbal position with a VO order. (37) is part of the segment which relates how the Israelites led by Joshua conquered the Gibeonites. Joshua speaks directly to God and asks him to stop the sun and the moon, so that they could conquer the city of Gibeon ('Sun, stand still over Gibeon, and you, moon, over the Valley of Aijalon'). As before, God again assists Joshua and does what he asked; he creates the longest day ever, and thus helps the Israelites' victory. The adverb *ða* 'then' in the embedded clause simply picks the temporal reference introduced in the preceding main clause, no contrast or parallel involving this temporal point is relevant, and the adverb is in the 'unmarked' preverbal position.

- (37) Næs swa lang dæg ær ðam on ðisum life æfre, ne syððan on ðisre worulde,
 not-was so long day before on this life ever nor later on this world
 for ðan ðe God wolde **ða** fylstan his cempa & feohtan for Israhel.
 because God would then help his soldiers and fight for Israhel

(cootest,Josh:10.14.5457)

In (38) the postverbal adverb *widutan* 'from outside' has narrow focus, and it contrasts with the adverb *widinnan* 'from within' introduced in the second clause. The predicate 'suffering war and dissensions' is backgrounded (cf. 38a). The only new information is the ways of how people should do it, and they are given in a contrasting relation.

- (38) a. The Lord cheered us when he said, 'When you hear of battle and strife in the world, do not be afraid.' Battle applies to foes, and strife to citizens.

- b. Mid ðam wordum he gebicnode þæt we sceolon ðolian **wiðutan** gewinn fram urum
 with those words he indicated that we should suffer without war from our
 feondum. and eac wiðinnan fram urum nehgeburum. laðlice ungeðwærnyssa
 foes, and also within from our neighbours hateful dissensions
 'With those words he indicated that we should suffer war without from our foes, and also
 within, from our neighbours, hateful dissensions'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_42:311.30.7034)

The same can be observed with frequency adverbs. In (39) the focus is the adverb *a* 'always' (explicated in the following apposition 'either in life or in death'). The rest of the proposition (God watching over his men) is treated as backgrounded, as the preceding context (39a) establishes that God watches over and helps all living creatures (as not even a bird would be excluded from his care).

- (39) a. If we are afflicted, we ought to seek, restoration from God, not from the cruel witches, and
 with all our hearts please our Saviour, because nothing can withstand His might. He says in his
 gospel that, without God's command, not even a bird falls in death

- b. Wen is þæt he wille bewitan **a** his menn, ge on life, ge on deaðe, þonne
 expected is that he will watch-over ever his men either on life or on death when
 se lytla fugel ne befylþ on grin butan Godes willan
 the little bird not falls into snare without God's will
 'It is to be expected that He will ever watch over His servants both in life and in death since
 the little bird falls not into a snare without God's will'

(coalive,ÆLS_[Auguries]:187.3610)

Again, contrast alone is not a sufficient condition for the adverb to appear postverbally. For that purpose, consider (40). In (40), the preverbal adverbial 'here in life' contrasts with 'eternal life'. However, this adverbial is backgrounded (together with the VP 'having good days'), as the preceding

context already establishes contrast between present and eternal life (40b). In a sense, the adverbial 'here in life' acts as a topic with contrastive interpretation, rather than being contrastively focused. (NB. the proposition is added to the CG as assertive, as the focus is on the modal *wille* 'will', and brings in the speaker's perspective that such possibility should not hold).

(40) a. Every man who eats or drinks untimely in the holy Lent, or on appointed fast-days, let him know in sooth that his soul shall sorely abye it, though the body may here live sound.

b. We sceolan gewilnian symle ðes ecean lifes. forðan þe on þara life syndon gode dagas... .
'We should ever desire the eternal life, because in that life there are good days (not however many days, but one which never ends)'

c. þeah þe hwa wille **her on life** habban gode dagas, he ne mæg hi her findan
though who will here in life have good days he not may them here find
þeah þe he sy welig forðan þe he bið oþþe untrum oððe hohfull, oþþe his frynd
though he is wealthy for-that he is either sick or full-of-care or his friend
him ætfeallað oðð his feoh him ætbyrst. Oððe sume oðer ungelimp **on þysum life** him
him away-fall or his wealth him escapes or some other mischance in this life him
becymð, and þærtoccean he him ondræt his deaðes symble.
becomes and thereto he him dreads his death ever
'Nevertheless whoso will here in life have good days, he can not find them here, though he be wealthy, for that he will be either sick or full of care, or his friends will fall away from him, or his wealth will escape from him, or some other mischance in this life will come to him, and in addition thereto he will ever dread his death'

(coelive,ÆLS[Ash_Wed]:82.2748)

Postverbal position is available for other adverb types, with the same focus interpretation. In (41) the adverb *arwudlicor* 'more reverentially' has narrow scalar focus. It is given relative to the understood

degree of reverence. The VP 'worship the gods' is backgrounded, as the preceding context establishes how the heathens, among other things, worshiped various gods.⁸²

(41) a. Previous context: how the heathens worshipped the sun, the moon, and their various gods, so they gave each of them a day of the week

b. Hi woldan git [wurðian] **arwurðlicor** [þa godas]
 they wanted yet worship more-reverentially the gods
 'The wanted to adore the gods even more reverentially'

(coaelhom,EHom_22:181.3380)

5.7.2.2 Focus on the lexical verb

The second interpretation is emphatic/confirmative focus on the lexical verb. In (42), the verb *nyrigan* 'curse' has narrow focus. By focusing the verb, the false witness (the referent of the subject *he* 'he') confirms the reason why Naboth has been accused by the assembly, i.e. that Naboth indeed had cursed God and his royal lord. The whole vP (including the adverb) is emphatically focused: it is indeed the case that the he had impiously cursed God and his royal kin.

(42) a. Then Jezebel straightway sent a letter to Naboth's neighbors, with this proclamation, 'Hold ye a meeting and set Naboth in the midst... and bid false witness accuse him in your assembly thus: Naboth, to our knowledge has cursed God and his royal lord'. Then the chief men did even as the hateful woman had bidden them in the writ, and summoned him to a meeting and found the false witness who belied Naboth, [saying]

⁸² The interpretation could plausibly also be the one where the object has narrow, contrastive interpretation (Gods, as opposed to the sun and the moon). Either way, both interpretations are compatible with the assumption that Vn movement across the adverb signals that narrow focus is either on the adverb or the object.

- b. *þæt he sceolde **wyrigan** wælhreowlice God, and his cynehlaford*
 that he should curse impiously God and his royal lord
 'that he had [INDEED] impiously cursed God and his royal lord'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Book_of_Kings]:196.3805)

In addition to confirmation, emphatic focus on the lexical verb can be used to indicate counterfactual interpretation. The speaker uses focus on the verb to indicate that the VP content is unlikely to hold, according to his view. He indicates that there is some other alternative that is compatible with what he believes to hold/to be a fact in a given context.⁸³

(43) is part of the larger segment dedicated to the difference between real miracles performed by saints, with the help of God, and deceptions performed by witches, with the help of the devil. The episode immediately preceding (43a) describes how Macharius, a man of faith, transformed a girl from a mare back to a human, with his prayers to God. (43a) offers a different example from the Old Testament. In a moment of doubt, Saul comes to the witch of Endor, hoping she would be able to tell him what future awaits him. The writer (Ælfric) then informs us what the book of Samuel says about the event – namely that the witch summoned the prophet Samuel's spirit by him from the dead, so that he could advise Saul what to do. Ælfric's interpretation of the event as counterfactual (indicated by the position of the non-finite verb preceding all the VP related material) is then supported by referring to Augustine's denial of the possibility that Samuel could have ever been brought back from the dead (43b).

⁸³ In Chapter 3 we have seen that a similar interpretation can be obtained by the focus on the auxiliary/modal verb. I do not have an explanation for what underlies the alternation of expressing the speaker's doubt regarding an event (other than the difference in clause types, as Chapter 3 includes only conditional and temporal clauses). Whether it can be attributed to pragmatic assertion/presupposition of the clauses is difficult to establish. The speaker refers the reader to something that he, presumably, assumes to be part of the common ground (common knowledge), but also advances the discourse segment, adding new material/updating the current common ground of the discourse segment.

- (43) a. Nu segð se wyrdwritere þæt seo wicce sceolde **aræran** þa of deaþe þone Drihtnes
 now says the historian that the witch should reared then of death the Lord's
 witegan Samuhel gehaten, haliges lifes mann
 prophet Samuel called, holy life's man
 'Now the historian says that the witch should then have raised from the dead the Lord's
 prophet called Samuel, man of holy life '

(coaelhom,ÆHom_30:45.4103)

- b. Ac Augustinus se wisa wiðcwýð þyssere leasunge,
 but Augustine the wise denies this falsehood
 'But Augustine the wise denies this falsehood'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_30:50.4105)

Similarly, in (44), the verb *gewrecan* 'avenge', fronted before the adverb and the object, signals that the speaker considers the VP (including the adverb) not to be in accordance to what he believes to be true in the given context. The segment is about Ælfric's decision not to include the apostle Thomas in his account of saints' lives. To justify his decision, he refers to Augustine's doubt regarding one of the assumed episodes in St. Thomas' life. Namely, according to some sources, when Thomas was accidentally struck on the head ('ear') by a servant at a banquet, he told the unfortunate servant that the hand with which he struck him would be brought to him by a dog. As vengeance is hardly a trait of an apostle, both Augustine and Ælfric doubt that this ever happened.

- (44) a. Of this Augustine said, 'This those read with great diligence who love vengeance;

- b. ac us is alyfed be ðisum to twynienne. þæt se apostol wolde **gewrecan**.
 and us is allowed about this to doubt that the apostle would avenge
 swa wælhreawlice his teonan
 so cruelly his injury

'but it is allowed us to doubt in this, that the apostle would (have) so cruelly avenge(d) his
 injury'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II_39.2:298.12.6794)

The verb does not move because it is counterfactual, but because it is necessary to indicate it; clearly, in its base position it would be rather interpreted differently. These cases are different from those where

the counterfactual interpretation can be taken for granted, i.e. when previous context provides us with enough information to treat a proposition as counterfactual.⁸⁴

Contrastive interpretation of the lexical verb can be noted in the main clause example in (45). The verb *forseon* 'neglect' contrasts with what has been established as a fact – that Thomas obeyed his lord's hest. Even though main clauses should be kept apart because of the different role of the finite verb in them, it is interesting that the organization of the non-finite VP material in both types of assertive environments reflects the same interpretation.

- (45) a. Then said the Saviour straightway to the youth: 'I have a workman, worthy and faithful, whom I have often sent to various cities; and whatsoever he gets as meed of his labor he brings to me without fraud. This one I will send with you, if you so desire...' Then rejoiced Abbanes, and bowed at his knees, and the Savior committed the holy Thomas to him, to take home; and so they departed. Then Abbanes asked the venerable apostle: 'Tell me, in truth, if you are his slave?'
- b. Thomas him andwyrde, Gif ic his æht nære, ic wolde **forseon** sona his hæsa
 Thomas him answered if I his property not-were I would neglect soon his hests
 'Thomas answered him, 'If I were not his property, I should very soon neglect his hests; [but I am his slave, and do not the things which I myself choose, but that which my Lord tells me'
 (coaelive,ÆLS_[Thomas]:53.7572)

⁸⁴ This can be seen in cases such as (i). The counterfactual interpretation of the conditional clause in (ib) is given as presupposed (with the Vn-Vf order) because the preceding segment clearly indicates that she was not martyred bodily.

- (i) a. The blessed Mary **was** not slain **nor martyred** bodily, but spiritually. When she saw her child taken, and iron nails driven through his hands and through his feet, and his side afterwards wounded with a spear, then was his suffering her suffering; and she was then more than a martyr,
- b. ðon þe mare wæs ða hyre modes þrowung þonne wære hyre lichoman: gif heo
 for greater was then her minds suffering than was her body's if she
 gemartyrod wære
 martyred were
 'for her mind's suffering was greater than her body's would have been, **had she been martyred.**'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_9:254.174.1724)

5.7.2.3 Focus on the object

Finally, Vn-Adv-O orders can be used to indicate that the object has narrow focus. In (46), the focus on the object *eowere frecednyssa* 'your perils' facilitates the establishment of the contrast relation with the object *ure frecednysse* 'our perils' in the preceding clause.

- (46) Mine gebroðra swa swa ge gehyrað ure frecednysse gif we Godes lare eow
my brothers so as you hear our perils if we God's doctrine to-you
ofteoð. swa ge sceolon eac smeagan **carfullice** eowere frecednyssa
withdraw so you should also contemplate carefully your perils
'My brothers, as you hear our peril, if we withdraw God's doctrine from you, so should you also
carefully contemplate your perils, (for God will require from you his money with the ghostly
interest)'

(cocathom2,AECHom_II,_43:322.121.7255)

Main clauses provide us with more examples of this interpretation. In (47), the speaker, having finished the narration of an event, turns to explaining the metaphorical aspects of the story. The object *pas getacnunga* 'the interpretation' is given as a focus alternative relative to what has already been said by the speaker ('ordinary' meaning of an event, as opposed to the metaphorical meaning).

- (47) We wyllað eow secgan sceortlice **pas getacnunga**
we will you tell shortly the meaning
'We will tell you shortly the interpretation'

(coaelive,ÆLS[Peter's_Chair]:96.2339)

Narrow focus on the object is most easily noted with adverbs indicating focus (*eac* 'also', *aerest* 'first', *witodlice* 'indeed' etc). In (48), the adverb *eac* 'also' overtly indicates that the focused object (*massereaf* 'mass-vestment') should be interpreted as an alternative which is to be added to an existing alternative set (other things a man of God should possess).

(48) He sceal habban *ea* **mæssereaf**, þæt he mage arwurðlice Gode sylfum þenigan, swa
 he shall have also mass-vestment that he may reverently God self serve so
 hit gedafenlic is.
 it appropriate is
 'He shall also have a vestment- for-celebrating- mass so that he may serve God himself reverently,
 as it is appropriate'

(colwsigeXa,ÆLet_1_[Wulfsige_Xa]:55.68)

The same focus interpretation can be observed in (49). Even though the adverb *witodlice* 'indeed' itself expresses emphatic focus, the focus is additive. The *evil tilian* 'evil husbandmen' have killed two servants, sent one after the other by *se hālford* 'the lord'; he then decides to send his own son, knowing that the husbandmen would want to kill him as well. The focus on the object adds it to the list of those the evil husbandmen wanted destroyed. Note that if the non-finite verb followed the adverb, it would be in its scope, and the interpretation would change to that of emphatic focus on the verb (the speaker would confirm what is to be done to his son).

(49) a. Eft se hlaford syððan sende oðre þeowan, micele ma him to, and þa manfullan
 again the lord later sent other servants much more them to and the wicked
 tilian dydon sona embe hi swa swa embe þa oðre. He sende þa æt nextan
 husbandmen did soon about them so as about the other. he sent then at last
 his sunu to
 his son to
 'Again the lord later sent other servants, much more, to them, and the wicked husbandmen
 soon did the same with them as with the other. Finally, he sent his son'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_3:15.410-412)

b. and cwæð, Hi wyllað forwandian *witodlice* **minne sunu**
 and said they want destroy indeed my son
 'and said, They will indeed destroy my son (as well)'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_3:18.413)

Adverbs such as *ærest* 'first' (50, 51 & 52) and *huru* 'at least' (53) bring in scalar implications. The focused object is ranked on scale of alternative expressions.

- (50) a. These chief sins we should in our conduct ever oppose, and with God's support overcome them all with ghostly weapons, if we are desirous to have the heavenly country. [...]
- b. We sceolon oferwinnan *arest* **giferneysse** mid gemetegunge. ætes. and wætes;
 we should overcome first greediness with moderation of-eating and of-drinking
 Forliger. oððe galnysse. mid clænnysse
 fornication or libidinousness with chastity
 'We must first overcome greediness by moderation in eating and drinking, fornication or libidinousness by chastity'
 (cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_12.2:125.548.2756)
- (51) a. Again on one occasion after this came the wily devil to the holy man where he was in his prayers [...] Then neither of them spoke word to other for a long time, and then after a long time the devil spoke first to the Lord's servant: Acknowledge now, Martin, him who you see; I am Christ who have come down to the world
- b. and ic wolde geswutelian me sylfne *arest* **þe**
 and I wanted manifest myself first to-you
 'and I desired to manifest myself (first)[-omitted in Skeat's translation] to you'
 (coalive,ÆLS_[Martin]:754.6447)
- (52) Ac we sceolon lufian æfter Godes lare *arest* **ure sawle** and us sylfum styran...
 and we should love after God's teaching first our souls and us self steer
 'But, after God's teaching, we should first love our souls and guide ourselves...'
 (colwgeat,ÆLEt_6_[Wulfgeat]:180.76)
- (53) a. Many holy men from the beginning of the world were, before us, wondrously perfected, whom we now, the latter men, cannot equal, nor accomplish those things which they performed in life;
- b. forði we sceolan habban *huru* **eadmodnysse**
 therefore we shall have at-least humility
 'therefore we ought to have at least humility'
 (coalive,ÆLS[Ash_Wed]:279.2858)

Finally, the focus on the object can be contrastive. In (54b) the focus on the object *þæs ecean lifes* 'the eternal life' contrasts with the bodily life we live now (cf. 54a).

- (54) a. Every man who eats or drinks untimely in the holy Lent, or on appointed fast-days, let him know in truth that his soul shall sorely pay for it, though the body may live sound here.
- b. We sceolan gewilnian symle **þæs ecean lifes**, forþan þe on þam life syndon gode we should desire ever the eternal life because on that life are good dagas, na swa þeah manega dagas ac an, se ne geendað næfre. days not however many days but one which not ends ever 'We should ever desire the eternal life, because in that life there are good days; not however many days, but one which ends never'

(coelive,ÆLS[Ash_Wed]:79.2747)

As it is often the case, here too we find examples where more than one element is contrasted, so it is difficult to decide which one is actually focus marked, or if both are focused. In (55b) the verb *betæhte* 'committed' contrasts with the verb 'snatch' in the preceding sentence, while the object *engelicum bosmum* 'the bosoms of angels' contrasts with the 'their mother's breasts'. This paired contrastivity is typical of pair-list context, and I will assume that (55) is an instance of such reading.

- (55) a. They were snatched from their mothers' breasts
- b. ac hi wurdon betæhte þærrihite **engelicum bosmum** but they were committed instantly to-angels' bosoms 'but they were instantly committed to the bosoms of angels'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_5:220.101.980)

What we note in the cases of narrow focus on the object is that the rest of the VP itself (crucially, the non-finite verb) need not be 'defocused', in the sense that it is given in the preceding context or can be inferred from it. The VP predicate can be in focus, in the sense that 'something new' is said of the

topic/subject. Rearrangements inside the VP create an additional focus structure. This results the backgroundedness effect of the rest of the VP material. As most examples of the focused objects in this configuration come from main clauses, I will attribute the absence of the backgroundedness effect for the rest of the VP to special factors that essentially distinguish assertion in main and embedded clauses. Even though it yet remains to be established what the role of the finite verb in main clauses is, it seems clear that it is different from the one observed in embedded clauses. The impression is that in main clauses it is 'less marked'. Whether this effect arises from the topic-subject and the finite verb being in a different position than in embedded clauses (as now the CP area is open for the expression of a variety of interpretation regarding topic, focus, force, speaker orientation (cf. split-CP accounts and proposals for a variety of functional expression in the CP domain) remains to be investigated.

Crucially for our more modest purpose here, even in main clauses we can note that position of the lexical verb serves to indicate a specific interpretation where the focus is either on the verb itself (emphatic) or on one of the elements following it.⁸⁵

Turning now to the question of the possible syntactic derivation, these orders could be derived in two ways. The first one is by individual movement of the non-finite verb, either directly from the unmarked OV-VP (56a) or via the derived VO-VP order (56b). The second possibility is via remnant XP (VP or vP) movement. To get the remnant v/VP, the object would have to evacuate the VP prior

⁸⁵ PPs intervening between the lexical verb and the object trigger similar inferences. In the two examples below we find instances of paired focus. In (i) the contrast is on the lexical verb and on the temporal specification (then (i.e. now) vs. on departure; riches running before you vs. riches following you). In (ii), the contrast relation is established between the postverbal PP and the object. The adjective *ful(um)* 'foul' modifying the complement of the preposition contrasts with the adjective *clæn(an)* modifying the object.

(i) þonne magon eowre æhta yrnan eow ætforan and hi ne magon folgian **on forðsiðe** eow
 then may your riches run you before and they not may follow on departure you
 'then may your riches run before you, but they not may follow on departure you'
 (coelive,ÆLS_[Thomas]:188.7659)

(ii) ac ic nelle afylan on þinum **fulum** blode mine **clænan** handa, forðan þe þe
 but I not-will dirty on your foul blood my clean hands because
 ic Criste folgie...
 I Christ follow..
 'but I will not defile my clean hands with your foul blood [because I follow Christ...]
 (coelive,ÆLS_[Edmund]:83.7012)

to its movement across the adverb (57). Whether we can have remnant VP or vP movement depends on whether we adopt the phase-based constraints on movement (cf. Chomsky 2000). Namely, given that vP is a phase, upon its completion, only edge material (material in Spec or multiple Specs of vP) can undergo further movements. At this point I will gloss over this question, and only try to establish what evidence we have at hand to claim that it is indeed a constituent larger than the head V that moves to derive V(XP)O orders.

(56) **Vn** – Adv – [O **t_v**]
Vn – Adv – **t_v** [O **t_v**]

(57) [**t_O** Vn] – Adv – O [**t_{VP}**]

The second question is whether the the movement of the verb across the adverb starts from the unmarked OV-VP or marked VO structure. (58) speaks in favor of the latter. The first conjunct of the coordinated non-finite VP precedes the adverb, having moved there, whereas the second one follows it. As the second infinitive precedes the object, it seem plausible to assume that the first conjunct has moved out of a coordinated VO structure.⁸⁶

(58) þa ongan hine eft langian on his cyþþe, forþon þæt he wolde **geseon** eft &
then began him later long for his native-land because he would see again and
sceawian þa byrgenne, hwylc se wære þe he oft ær mid wlite & mid wæstmum
behold the tomb, which the-one was that he often before with face and with stature
fægerne \$m geseah.
fair - saw

⁸⁶ The interpretation is that of narrow focus on the adverb *eft* 'again/once more'. Note that although not strictly backgrounded, the predicate 'seeing and beholding the grave' is inferable enough from the preceding context ("It happened that he died, and there came to him a sudden end to this transitory life. One of his kinsmen and earthly friends loved him more than nay other man. Because of the longing and the sorrow caused by the other's death, he could no longer stay in the country; but with a sorrowful mind he departed from his native land and from his dwelling-place, and in that land lived many years. This longing of his never diminished, but much oppressed and afflicted him") that it can be given presuppositional interpretation necessary for the adverb to be focused, and get the reading where seeing the tomb/his dead friend once again is compared to seeing his friend when he was alive.

'Eventually, after a time, he began to yearn for his native land again, for he wished to behold once more the tomb and see what he was like, he whom he had often seen fair of face and stature'

(coblick,HomU_20_[BIHom_10]:113.108.1431)

Derivation from a VO order would suit our assumptions regarding focus marking. In most cases it is relatively easy to detect the complement of the focused element, as it is either backgrounded/given or inferable from the CG. To get the interpretation where the adverb needs to be marked either as contrastively focused or 'backgrounded', the verb will move one step up from VO order.

5.7.3 Postverbal pronominal objects

Another argument that leftward Vn-movement is involved in the derivation of VO orders comes from postverbal pronominal objects. Pronominal elements are known to occur in special positions. Recall from Chapter 1, Section 1.8, that in van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012 and van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen 2008, we show that there are at least two derived position for personal pronouns: SigmaP, a projection between the complementizer and TP, and a lower preverbal position.

(59) [_{CP} complementizer [_{SigmaP} **Spro** (**Opro**) [_{TP} NP_{subject} [_{XP} (**Opro**) [... [_{VP}]

While only pronominal objects can occur in SigmaP, the lower position is more difficult to tease out as a special pronoun-related position, as it is difficult to exclude scrambled nominal object from this position. The only evidence that can potentially support the assumption that pronouns indeed always show up in special positions comes from the ordering of pronominal and nominal objects in double object/ditransitive constructions. Pronominal objects always precede nominal objects. The couple of 'exceptional' examples where the nominal object precedes the pronoun seem to be triggered by 'contrastiveness' interpretation of the nominal element. The same applies to adverbs. Pronouns usually precede VP-related adverbs, but when they follow it, the adverb usually gets the same contrastive interpretation noted for nominal objects (cf. Milićev 2007b).

In (60) the nominal object *heofenlican ðing* 'heavenly things' contrasts with *eorðlice þing* 'earthly things' in the preceding clause. In both cases the pronominal object is lower than the nominal object.

(60) Gif ic eorðlice þing openlice eow secge, and ge þæra ne gelyfað, hu
 if I earthly things openly you say and you them not believe how
 gelyfe ge þonne gif ic þa **heofenlican ðing** eow secgan wylle?
 believe you then if I the heavenly things you say will
 'If I openly telly you the earthly things, and you don't believe them, how would you believe if I
 would tell you the heavenly thins?

(coaelhom,ÆHom_13:32.1903)

In (61) the adverb *aweg* 'away' is contrastively focused, as it is needs to be interpreted in relation to the alternative of being inside a place. The preceding context describes hell as a location, its immeasurable depth and height. By focusing the adverb *aweg*, the author further emphasizes that being able to get outside hell is a highly unlikely option.

(61) For þy nis nan man þæt he þonne **aweg** hine astyrian mæge,
 therefore not-is no man that he then away himself bestir may
 'Therefore there is no man that can bestir himself away'

(coverhom,HomS_4_[ScraggVerc_9]:118.1309)

Two scenarios can be assumed for pronouns in this low position: (a) pronoun movement out of VP is obligatory; 'contrastive' elements undergo further scrambling-type of movement across the pronoun; (b) pronouns normally move out of VPs, unless a contrastively interpreted element blocks it (for whatever reason, syntactic or IS related).

Let us see now whether we can assume the same kind of 'contrastive focus' interference for postverbal pronouns, i.e. whether the non-finite verb behaves like nominal objects and adverbs preceding pronouns. Contrastiveness of the non-finite verbs preceding pronominal objects is certainly one of the interpretations we note for Vn-Opro orders. This is illustrated in (62). In Christ's invitation to his disciples and the crowd around him, the focus on the infinitive *fylligean* 'follow' evokes the

contrastive alternative (not following Christ, or 'saving one's mortal life', given in the following sentence).

(62) þa sæde se hælend hys leorningcnihtum, gyf hwa wylle **fyligean** me, wipsace
then said the saviour to-his disciples if anyone will follow me, deny
hyne sylfne
himself

[And he summoned the crowd with his disciples, and said to them,]

'If anyone wishes to come after me, he must deny himself [and take up his cross and follow me.
For whoever wishes to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake and the
gospel's will save it.]

(cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]:16.24.1108)

However, as in other cases of VO orders, the pronominal object can also be (contrastively) focused. This is exemplified in (63). The object *me* 'me' following the infinitive *gewrecen* 'punish' is to be interpreted in relation to his torturers (the referent of the pronoun *him* 'them' in both clauses), who are now being punished for their inability to inflict injury to St. Vincent, by their cruel master.

(63) Se halga wer þa cwæþ: Nu þu gewrecst on him ða witu þe ic þrowige for
the holy man then said now you execute on them the tortures that I suffer for
þinre wælhreownysse, swilce þu sylf wille gewrecen **me** on him.
your cruelty as-if you self will punish me on them

'The holy man then said: now you execute on them the tortures that I suffered for your cruelty,
as if you (yourself) will punish me on them.'

(coalive,ÆLS_[Vincent]:118.7870)

We also find the 'defocused' VP interpretation associated with VO orders. In (64) the VP *bealdan hi* 'govern them' is backgrounded (as the abbot is in charge of the monks), and, in a sense, it matches the 'defocused' VP interpretation. The adverb *rihtlice* 'rightly' is the element marked for contrastive focus, as it evokes the alternative of how the abbot used to treat his monks before (*misbead his munecan* 'mistreat

his monks').⁸⁷ Note also that in the second conjunct the verb *lufian* 'love' before the accusative pronoun *hi* 'them' has contrastive focus (the abbot apparently did not love the monks before), which allows it to precede the pronoun.

(64) a. *ærest hit com of þæs abbotes unwise dome. þæt he misbead his munecan on fela þingan*
 first it came of the abbot's unwise dom that he ill-treated his monks on many things
 'First, it happened out of the abbot's unwise dom that he ill treated his monk for many things'

b. & *ða munecas hit mændon lufelice to him*
 and the monks it complained kindly to him
 'and the monk kindly complained to him about it'

c. & *beadon hine þæt he sceolde healdan hi rihtlice. & lufian hi*
 and asked him that he should govern them rightly and love them
 'and asked him that he should govern them rightly and love them'

(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1083.4. 2761-2763)

Defocused or backgrounded VPs can also be noted in (65) and (66), again with the focus on the adverbial element. In (65), mixing the oils together contrasts with keeping them all separately in different vessels/ampoules. In (66), the focus is on the manner how one should perform the process of translating from Latin into English. Both VPs can be treated as backgrounded, as the verbs refer to the process mentioned earlier ('mixing them together' and 'translate').

⁸⁷ Clause final adverb following VO orders with pronominal objects need not be focused. In (i) it is the sequence of the non-finite verbs that have narrow focus. It is difficult to tease out whether a clause final adverb is in the clause final position due to movement of the VP material across the adverb (for focus reasons), or due to its supplemental use, i.e. via adjunction of the type we assume for extraposition-type of structures.

(i) *Ac naþor þurh larleaste hi ne cunnon ne lædan, ne læran, ne lacnian hi rihtlice*
 but neither through ignorance they not can not lead not teach not heal them rightly
 'But through ignorance they can neither lead, teach nor heal them rightly'
 (coinspolX,WPol_2.1.1_[Jost]:115.161)

- (65) And ge sceolon habban þreo ampullan gearuwe to þam þrym elum. Forþan þe we and you should have three ampoules ready to the three oils because we ne durran **don hi** togædere on anum elefate, forþan ðe hyra ælc bið gehalgod not should do them together in one oil-vessel, because of-them each is hallowed on sundron to synderlicre þenunge separately to separate service
 'And you should have three ampoules ready for the three oils. Because we should not do them together in one vessel, because each of them is hallowed separately for separate services'
 (colwstan2,ÆLEt_3_[Wulfstan_2]:3.4)

The support for the derivation in terms of non-finite verb movement out of VP and across the pronoun in a derived position, rather than blocking pronoun movement, comes from examples such as (66). In the complement that-clause, the infinitive *ageldan* 'repay' precedes the pronominal indirect object *us* 'us', the temporal adverb *eft* 'later' and the direct object *þæt gemet* 'the measure'. Again we have a case of parallel structures with several elements in the contrast/parallel relation (the needy receive good from us now – the needy should give us the same later). I will leave it open if and how multiple focusing works here. Crucially, the high position of the non-finite verb enables the interpretation where either the verb or the postverbal material gets contrastive focus interpretation. As the object pronoun is clearly outside the vP (since it precedes the vP related adverb), the non-finite verb preceding the pronoun must be outside the vP as well.

- (66) He mænde þa þearfan, þe man nu deð god, þæt hy sceolon **ageldan** us eft þæt he told the needy whom man now does good that he should repay us later the gemet measure
 'He told the needy, to whom one does good now, that they should later repay us the same measure'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_14:113.2061)

I believe that postverbal adverbs and pronouns constitute strong evidence that VO orders are derived by a non-finite verb movement across the elements which either need to be marked for contrastive focus, or which need to escape wide VP focus interpretation. There is no *one* fixed position for the non-finite verb, as it can move only across the nominal object (and follow the adverb and pronominal objects), or across the adverb, pronoun or both.

(67) **(Vn)** – O_{pro} – **(Vn)** – Adv – **(Vn)** - NP_{object}

It is difficult then to assume that the non-finite verb targets a specific functional projection or a specific position associated with 'interpretative' features. Crucially this movement is allowed only when the complement of the modal verb/auxiliary has predicate focus.

As far as the question of how exactly the verb undergoes this movement, head or remnant XP, it is more difficult to establish. Head movement seems a simpler option than remnant phrasal movement, as on the latter the object would first need to move out of the phrasal segment. This movement of the object cannot be triggered by any other reason than to ensure the phrasal remnant, as no particular interpretation is linked to the postverbal object. The problem with head-movement, in addition to more theoretical ones raised in Chomsky 2000 (cf. also Matuschansky 2006), is that the verb would have to target another head position. As its position is not fixed, as seen in (67), it is difficult to establish what those other head positions are, and why they would allow the verb to adjoin there for no other reason than to escape the wide-VP focus and thus indicate that the whole VP is to interpreted differently. Having such heavy concerns regarding syntactic derivation should not weaken the assumptions made here.

5.8 Arguments against a uniform OV

Finally, let us briefly reconsider the argument against a uniform OV based on the restriction Pintzuk (2005) notes for VO orders (presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.8). She argues that in the construction with two objects, scrambling of a positive (i.e. non-negative/non-quantified/non-pronominal) is impossible when the second object is negative or pronominal, or when the particle is postverbal. When the postverbal object is positive, scrambling is possible.

- (68) a. *Aux O-pos V O-neg/O-pro/particle
b. Aux O-pos V O-pos

She takes that postverbal pronouns, particles and negative objects are diagnostic elements of head-initial VPs. Following the common assumption found in the comparative Germanic syntax that scrambling is possible only in OV languages, Pintzuk claims that O-V-O orders with 'positive' (non-negative, non-quantified) objects involve the base generation the first object as complement of V, while the second one undergoes rightward movement. As pronouns, particles and negative objects do not extrapose, we consequently do not find them in O-V-O orders. Pintzuk does point out that the number of clauses with the relevant diagnostics is too small, but the fact of the matter is that O-V-O clauses are generally very rare, irrespective of the postverbal object type. Therefore, the absence of (68a) could be for entirely different reasons.

Let us consider the interpretation of the case that Pintzuk offers as an illustration of the head-final VP, whose second object is moved to the right of the VP. On the assumption made so far, as in all VO orders, some element (the verb or the postverbal object) needs to be contrastively focused. This really seems to be the case, as the postverbal object *oþrum menn* 'other men' is to be interpreted in relation to the subject *alc mann* 'each man'. The main point of the segment is to communicate the importance of spreading Christianity, so just like God instigates faith in us, so shall we 'illuminate' other men by confessing what is in our hearts.

(69) þæt ælc mann sceolde, þa God his mod onliht, his geleafan andettan **oþrum**
 that each man should when God his heart illuminates his belief confess other
menn
 men

'That, each man, when God illuminates his heart, should confess his belief to other men'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_18:130.2555)

The fact that preverbal objects are rare in the presence of postverbal objects strongly suggests that it is difficult to obtain both the OV (either as wide VP focus, or focus on V, with the object scrambled) and VO interpretations in the same clause.

If VO orders were unmarked, there is no reason why scrambling out of VP would be impossible. Even though scrambling in Germanic is indeed correlated to (unmarked) OV orders, this is not so crosslinguistically (Slavic languages, obviously, represent clearest counter-evidence, being SVO and allowing scrambling). If, as claimed by Pintzuk, OE also has a parallel 'OV' grammar, where scrambling is legitimate, it is unclear why the 'VO' grammar would disallow it, despite the positive evidence that accessible, d-linked, topical NPs can move to a higher clausal area.

5.9 Interactions of different levels of focus marking

Let us summarize the assumptions we have put forward so far regarding focus marking. For the alternation between the VP_n-V_f and V_f-VP_n orders, we have claimed that it reflects the difference in the presuppositional and assertive interpretation of the proposition. We also assume that the orders do not differ in the position of the finite verb, but rather in the position of the non-finite VP. We have also identified the area after the finite verb as the one where sentence focus interpretation is obtained. When the sentence focus area is void of the non-finite VP, the proposition is interpreted as backgrounded. As assertive propositions come with both OV- and VO- non-finite VPs, while presupposed propositions allow only OV orders, we need to assume that OV orders are not interpreted

the same way in assertive and presupposed propositions. For that reason, we have proposed the existence of another level of focus marking: predicate focus. All VPs following the non-finite verb are part of the predicate focus (together with the finite verb), irrespective of their internal ordering (OV or VO).

OV orders preceding the finite verb correspond to lack of predicate focus. Consequently, VPn-Vf orders lack topic-predicate focus structure. Even though something is 'said' or predicated of the subject, this relation is not communicated as relevant or CG update. Note that this does not mean that in all Vf-VPn order the subject is necessarily a topic. The clearest refutation of this is the clauses with indefinite, impersonal *man* 'one, man' subjects. Non-referential subjects can hardly be (aboutness) topics. The only clear correlation is that sentence focus licenses predicate focus, and that topic-predicate focus is possible only in assertive propositions, not that assertion equals topic-predicate focus structure.

The common feature of all VO order interpretations is lack of wide new information focus, as either one of the VP elements is contrastively focused.⁸⁸ To capture this fact, yet another level of focus marking is assumed. It becomes clear immediately that VO focus marking is dependent on predicate-focus, and sentence focus. On the other hand, neither predicate-focus nor sentence focus depend on the VO order.

We have suggested that presupposed interpretation is the result of vP movement out of the sentence focus area. Being outside the focus area also results in the vP lacking predicate focus. But what about the finite verb in presupposed propositions? Since we identify pragmatic presupposition as lack of sentence focus (which is understood as relevance for the discourse development), the finite verb as well would have to lack sentence focus. And somehow this is the consequence of vP fronting across it. One possible way to account for this is to assume that non-finite vP movement out of the sentence focus area serves to block focus projection onto the whole sentence/clause. In the sentence focus area,

⁸⁸ Here I use the term contrastive to cover the case of exhaustive focus as well, which has been seen to obtain for some postverbal objects.

vPs are +F_{sentence} marked, and from this position they can project +F_{sentence} marking onto the whole proposition/clause. When they move out of the sentence focus area, nothing can project +F_{sentence} onto the finite verb. The problem with the proposal that leftward movement out of a focus area can serve to block focus projection to higher elements is that it cannot be generalized to focus projection at the VP level, at least not in terms of leftward movement of the complement. Rather, it is always the movement of the verbal element or a larger segment containing it that blocks the projection of focus. What about the relation of predicate focus and the finite verb? We assume that the finite verb forms a kind of complex predicate with the non-finite lexical verb. If only the lexical vP 'loses' predicate focus by moving across the finite verb, the finite verb could in principle be the exponent of predicate focus. However, I do not find it to be the case. Even if we could imagine a situation where only one part of the complex predicate is focused, while the other one is not, the contribution of the finite verb does not seem to be that of predicate focus. Presupposed propositions do not have a topic-predicate focus structure at all. I believe that is why embedded topicalization is generally illicit in VPn-Vf orders. If the finite verb in VPn-Vf orders had predicate focus, the non-finite v/VP would have to be topical. Although in many cases the vP material is backgrounded, it is not topical.

Finally, let us address the third level of focus marking, which yields VO orders. This level enables the assignment of contrastive focus to one of the elements in the vP that has predicate focus. In a way, it superimposes a background-focus structure on the material which is predicated of the topic/subject. In Chapter 6 we will show that this level is responsible for leftward movements of arguments and adjuncts. These movements are always driven by a topicality feature.

If the position of the lexical verb is crucial in the availability of focus projecting onto higher constituents, we might assume that in OE it is always the lexical verb that has +F feature that then projects onto the VP, from VP to TP. As we have already mentioned, having focus projection from heads of phrases is an option predicted by Selkirk's (1984, 1995) theory of focus projection. But, when only the verb head, for example, is focused, the other material needs to be given. And this is not what we need to apply here, where focus should project from the head to other constituents in the VP. At

this point, we are unable to suggest a particular theory of focus assignment that would apply to the situation we believe holds in OE. Needless to say, many of the questions are still left open. But I believe that the crucial ingredients for the proper account have been detected.

5.10 Speculations about the change to unmarked VO

The assumptions made here are based on a limited set of data. The number of VO structures with non-finite verbs in the corpus is 1944 (including the main clauses as well). Even if the cases where we notice a clear influence of extraposition (345 examples)⁸⁹ are eliminated, due, perhaps, other factors, the number remains substantially high, and needs thorough, comprehensive research. Before such investigation of the IS related properties of VO orders is carried out, I must leave open the option that at least some of the VO orders in OE are not related to narrow focus marking. It is plausible that at some point in the OE stage the intricate discourse/IS properties between OV and VO orders got obliterated, and VO orders simply came to be associated with any type of focus: wide/predicate or narrow focus on any of its elements. We know for a fact that the change to a 'more VO' and subsequently to an 'exclusively VO' language throughout later stages of English is related first to the loss of scrambling, then the loss of pronoun movement, as in the ME period only pronouns and quantified objects are generally preverbal. Hence, the only relevant factors in leftward movement in ME are +anaphoric/accessible and +Op(erator) feature. We also know that discourse markers such as high adverbs are lost (cf. van Kemenade, Milićev and Baayen 2008). As argued in Milićev 2008, one OE text where the change in the function of discourse adverbs can clearly be noted is *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*. As we have mentioned earlier (Chapter 3, fn. 19), in this text, as opposed to other *Ælfric's* texts (*Catholic Homilies* is a good parallel due to its size), and especially all other texts, we notice that in subject-initial main clauses with adverbs *þa/þonne* 'then', the subject-verb adjacency is more prominent

⁸⁹ In addition to 'heavy objects' consisting of more than three words, we also note the influence of relative and complement clauses. As these clauses optionally extrapose, they sometimes seem trigger the postverbal position of the antecedent.

than in others, especially for pronominal subjects. Nominal subjects, on the other hand, are rather immediately followed by the high adverb. The cases where pronominal subjects are not adjacent to the verb, match the situation found with nominal subjects: discourse adverbs are now used to mark non-highly accessible topics. With highly accessible subjects (pronominal, continued topics) there is no need to mark the 'given' area (SigmaP, on van Kemenade and Milićev's (2005/2012) account). It is possible that the presence of this strategy has influenced the reinterpretation of S-Vf adjacency as a topic-marking device, irrespective of the actual status of the element in the subject position. We therefore see that the discourse organization change also affects the high portion of the clause, which in OE is generally reserved for topical, anaphoric/accessible elements. From the limited set of data for VO interpretations, we notice that again that *Lives of Saints* deviates from other text in the use of the VO order to mark defocused VPs (in all other texts, VO most often indicates narrow focus on the object). While again the difference can be attributed to style (indicating parallels), it is also possible that the heavy exploitation of defocused VPs has led to the reinterpretation of defocused VP being simply unmarked, once the finite verb assumed the role of topic marking, reflected in its adjacency with the subject. For further research that would help us get the crucial insight into the possible ongoing change in OE is, I suggest we should start from comparing Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* with his other texts, and then with other texts from the same and earlier periods. At this point, we do not have any evidence that VO orders in Ælfric are any different from those found in other texts.

6. SPLIT VP MATERIAL: VERB RAISING AND LEAKING CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter we examine the interpretation of Verb Raising and Leaking constructions which involve a split of the VP material to positions before and after the finite verb. In Verb Raising constructions, the object precedes the finite verb, while the non-finite verb follows it, whereas in Leaking constructions, the object follows the finite verb, with the non-finite verb in the preverbal position. The parallelism between these two constructions is represented in Table 1.

Table 6.1: Preverbal and postverbal material in Verb Raising and Leaking constructions

	PREVERBAL	POSTVERBAL
Verb Raising	object	non-finite verb
Leaking	non-finite verb	object

We will attempt to show that what Verb Raising and Leaking constructions have in common is movement of the element X (i.e. object or the non-finite verb) to the preverbal position in order to escape new information interpretation of the predicate.

In Section 6.1 we present arguments why Verb Raising should be treated as involving (high) object scrambling out of the predicate-focus domain. Restrictions on the object type and further focus markings (Focus 3) in the predicate, discussed in Section 6.1.2, will be taken to support the hypothesis that object movement in Verb Raising constructions is driven by topicality-related factors, and that the object, together with the subject, forms a complex topic area. Section 6.2 is dedicated to Leaking Constructions. After we present the interpretations of leaking structures in subsections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3,

we turn to the issue of potential syntactic derivation of these orders in 6.2.4. In Section 6.3, we summarize our findings and examine the implications for the proposed multi-layered model of IS.

6.1 Verb Raising

Verb Raising (VR) constructions involve the orders where the non-finite VP material is split and occurs before (the object) and after the finite verb (the lexical verb), i.e. S-O-Vf-Vn. The term Verb Raising reflects the common assumption in the comparative West Germanic syntax that such orders are derived via rightward movement of the non-finite verb, out of the head-final structures. VR (as well as Verb Projection Raising, or S-Vf-O-Vn orders) is assumed to occur only in head-final West Germanic languages, and to involve reordering of the finite and non-finite verb. It can be found in a variety of contemporary languages/dialects (Swiss German, West Flemish and Dutch, cf. Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986; Haegeman 1992). Depending on the language/dialect, it can affect non-finite complements of lexical verbs, modal verbs, or even auxiliary verbs 'be' and 'have'. VR in OE can contain yet more complex structures including adjuncts as well. Adjuncts can precede the subjects (cf. Haerberli 2005, Haerberli and Pintzuk 2006), or can be found between the subject and the object.

In Chapter 5 we have suggested that VR constructions involve high scrambling of the object, out of the predicate-focus VP, in an assertive proposition. Leftward movement deriving VR constructions is the reflex of ascribing a certain status to a VP element (argument or adjunct) at the third level of IS marking.

6.1.1 VR as scrambling out of the predicate-focus area

There are two interpretations available for the object in the position preceding the finite verb. The first, and possibly the dominant one, is that it is highly accessible and topical, in the sense that it has some relevance in terms of aboutness. The second one is contrastive, i.e. it is interpreted in relation to some

contrasting alternative. We have pointed out that these assumption raise important question about both topicalization and focalization strategies. Namely, we have claimed that (some) VO orders arise due to the need to mark contrastive focus on the object, and an obvious question is how contrastive objects moved leftward are different from those in VO orders. We have tentatively suggested that what distinguishes contrastively interpreted objects in VR from those in VO is the backgroundedness of the first, i.e. that scrambled contrastive objects resemble contrastive topics, in the sense that just like regular contrastive topics (as described in Buring 1997, 2003, among others), they involve a mix of topic and focus features. Here we repeat the example (27) from Chapter 5, Section 5.4, as (1).

(1) a. Then the emperor ordered him to be put in prison, and bade enquire everywhere for some noted sorcerer. Then Athanasius the sorcerer heard of the matter, and came to the emperor, and asked him boldly, 'Why do you ask that I be fetch so suddenly to you?' Datian answered Athanasius thus, 'Can't you extinguish the Christian's sorcery?' Then the sorcerer answered Datianthus. 'Bid the Christian man come to me,

b. and beo ic scyldig gif ic his scyncraeft **ne mæg** mid ealle adwæscan mid minum drycraefte
and be I guilty if I his sinful-art not may totally extinguish with my magical-art
'may I be guilty if I cannot totally extinguish his magic with my sorcery'

(coelive,ÆLS_[George]:55.3095)

In (1), the scrambled object *his scyncraeft* 'his magic' is backgrounded (cf. (1a) and the Datian's question, which establishes a relation between Athanasius, the sorcerer and Christian sorcery). The speaker in (1b) essentially repeats the relation, and evokes an alternative expression, *minum drycraefte* 'my sorcery'.

A yet clearer indication that the high object has focus interpretations comes from the cases such as (2), where this interpretation is indicated by focus adverbs such as such as *furdum* 'even'. The scrambled object *anne anlepne* 'a single one' can hardly be treated as a contrastive topic. Why is then this object is not postverbal? The reason again is backgroundedness. In this case, the referent, or a superset out of which the focused expression is picked, has already been added to the CG (people who could understand the English language).

(2) Swæ feawa hiora wæron ðæt ic *furðum* **anne** **anlepne** ne mæg geðencean besuðan Tamese
so few of-them were that I even one single not may remember south-of Thames
ða ða ic ærest to rice feng.

when I first to kingdom receive

'[There were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English; and I believe that there were not many beyond the Humber.] There were so few of them that I cannot remember **a single one** south of the Thames when I came to the throne.'

(coprefcura,CPLetWærf:17.7)

Hence, as far as the difference between focused postverbal objects and scrambled focused objects is concerned, I will retain the assumption that the element with focus interpretation in VR constructions is always backgrounded, either implicitly mentioned or inferred in the preceding context. Before we have carefully examined all the interpretational details of these scrambled objects, our proposal will have to remain speculative. Crucially, these objects will never be interpreted as part of the predicate focus in a given utterance.

Let us now consider the cases where the scrambled object is 'purely' topical, i.e. without the contrastive/focus interpretation. I will assume that in such cases the subject and the object together create a topic structure, and VP focus provides new information about the relation between subject and object referent. Recall from Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3 that topicality is a relational notion, and that topic role is not unique, which makes it possible to have more than one referent under discussion. As long as a referent is salient enough and pragmatically linked in the minds of the interlocutors, it can form a 'secondary topic', or what we call complex topic structure. The example in (3) provides an excellent illustration of this strategy. In (3a) the object *þone sang* 'the song' is part of the predicate focus, while in (3b) it is scrambled across the finite verb. The preceding contexts establishes that the monks (the referent of the subject pronoun *hi* 'they' in both clauses) will not praise Christ by chanting *Te Diem* (i.e. 'the song'), even though the bishop ordered them to do so. Swithun appears to a man in a dream and instructs him to go and warn the monks of what will happen if they do not perform the song (the

content of (3a)). Even though the relation between the monks and the song has been established earlier, the discourse switch to a new discourse topic (Swithun, and his interaction with a new discourse referent (a man)), requires the reactivation of this predicate. In the second conditional clause, however, both the monks and the song are highly accessible, and now can act as a complex topic about which something new is now predicated. The difference between the two conditional clauses is also evident in the different IS status of the subject: in (3b) it is a continued topic, while in (3a) it is not.

(3) .a. and sege gif hi nellað þone sang gelæstan, þonne geswicað eac sona ða wundra,
and say if they not-will the song perform then cease also soon the miracles

b. and gif hi þone lofsang willað æt þam wundrum singan, swa oft swa wanhale
and if they the praise-song will at the wonders sing so long as sick
menn þær wurðað gerihte; þonne wurðaþ mid him wundra swa fela, þæt nan
men there remain on-service then remain with them wonders so many that no
man ne mæg gemunan on life þæt ænig man gesawe swylce wundra ahwær.
man not may recollect on life that any man saw such wonders anywhere
'and say if they will not perform the song, then the miracle will also soon cease, and if they the
song of praise will sing at the miracles as long as there are sick people at the service, then there
will remain with them so many wonders that no man may not recollect in his live seeing such
miracles anywhere'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:237.4375)

A similar case of having a scrambled and an unscrambled object in a sequence within the same sentence is given in (4). The object *mynster* 'monastery' is part of the focused VP, whereas *his gebedo* 'his prayers' in the following clause (4c) is not. The reason is that the first object does not meet any of the relevant criteria for topicality– the king gives land to the holy man, but nothing indicates that the purpose could be building a monastery. In the second case, however, *his gebedo* 'his (i.e. the king's) prayer' is backgrounded, or at least inferable from the fact that king's request is related to his being religious and that he would go there to seek prayers. The subject referents in both clauses are highly accessible from

the preceding discourse. The subject 'the king' in (4b) has enough properties of continued topic to accept the topical object as well.

- (4) a. þa hine þa Æðelwald geseah Oswaldes sunu þæs cyninges, se hæfde Dera riice, & ongeat haligne wer & snotorne & gecorene on his þeawum, þa bæd he hine, þæt he sumne dæl londes æt him onfenge,
 'When Æthelwad saw him, who was the son of Oswald the king, who had the kingdom of Dera, and recognized a holy man, wise and chosen in his service, then he bade him that he received some land from him
- b. þæt he meahte **mynster** getimbran & Godes þeowas tosomnigan;
 that he might monastery build and God's servants gather
 'that he might build a monastery and gather God's servants'
- c. in þæm se cyning gelomlice **his gebedo** meahte gesecan & godcunde lare gehyran,
 in which the king often his prayers might seek and religious lore hear
 'in which the king could often seek his prayers and hear religious lore..'
- (cobede,Bede_3:17.230.3.2354)

It should be pointed out that the requirement that the subject or the 'primary topic' be a continued topic does not apply to all cases of VR.

6.1.2 Restrictions on VR

That the complex topic area in VR has to be of a certain type is supported by the restriction we note on the type of subject and object in VR. In VR the subject is predominantly pronominal. There are 149 examples with pronominal subject and a nominal object, and only 32 cases where both arguments are nominal. In the second situation we can note a clear tendency that one of the nominal elements is indefinite (23 cases). In the remaining nine cases, with a definite subject, we find two generic NP objects, four NPs with a possessive pronoun coreferential with the subject argument, and three definite

NP objects. I believe that that these facts indicate that the topic area cannot be referentially 'heavy'. In cases of complex topic structures, we cannot have elements of equal referential status.

The second tendency we note is that subject and the object need to be adjacent. We find eight examples with a PP intervening between the subject and the object, and only 3 with adverbs (2 instances of high discourse adverb *þonne* and one instance of a frequency adverb *gelomlice* 'often, frequently').⁹⁰

If VR were not derived by individual movement of arguments to the 'higher scrambling' position, but via rightward movement of the non-finite verb, it is unclear how this restriction would arise. If VR were indeed derived from O-Vn-Vf orders, then we would expect to find more adjuncts between the subject and the object in VR, as in those orders. In fact, adjuncts preceding the object in O-Vn-Vf orders reflect the unmarked position of the object.

Let us briefly comment on the cases of adjunct intervention in what we believe is a complex topic area. Those eight cases with intervening PPs come in two forms. In 6 of them the subject is pronominal, while the object shows a clear tendency to being quantified (4 examples) or bare (indefinite/generic (2 examples)). In the two cases where the subject is nominal, it is indefinite. Some of the PPs are interpreted as topical, as in (5), for example. The complement of the P^o (*reaf* 'garment') is topical enough as the preceding segment is about it.

⁹⁰ The interaction of adverbs/PPs with subjects and objects in VR constructions has been discussed in Chapter 2, where it has been raised as a problem for Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) analysis. We have shown there that in addition to occupying a position between the subject and the object, adjuncts can also be found following the object and preceding the finite verb. Based on the interpretation of examples such as (i), it seems that the varied adjunct positions are also motivated by focus interpretation. Both adjuncts in (ib) are to be interpreted contrastively, in relation to the alternatives given in the preceding discourse (ia). The adverb *nu* 'now' contrasts with the adverb 'then', while the PP *to his gefylde* 'to his patience' is at least in a comparison relation with Christ being in the state of 'might and majesty'. With respect to these focused elements, the complex topic-predicate structure (people not bowing their necks) is backgrounded, as it can be understood as a paraphrase of 'people not obeying him' in the preceding segment.

- (i) a. He [Christ] will be manifested in might and majesty to those who would not obey him while existing in humility, that they then may feel his might by so much the more severely
 b. swa hi **nu** *þeora smuran* **to his gefylde** nellað gebigan
 as they now their necks to his patience not-will bow
 'as they now will not bow their necks to his patience'

(cocathom1,ÆCHom_I_40:526.69.7949)

(5) Eallswa þam were is bysmor þæt he wifes reaf werige, & þam wife þæt heo likewise to-the man is disgrace that he woman's garment wears and to-the woman that she weres reaf werige, swa eac þam preoste is ungedafenlic þæt he munucraef werige, man's garment wears so also to-the priest is inappropriate that he monk-garment wears butan he **mid þam reafe þa drohtnuncge** wylle underfon. unless he with the garment the conduct will receive
 'Likewise it is disgraceful for a man to wear a woman's clothes, and to the woman that she wears man's clothes, so it is also inappropriate that a priest wears the monk's garment unless he receives the conduct with the garment'

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:51.12.678)

The more complex the area, the more complex the interpretation. (6) with a PP and secondary predicate intervening between the indefinite subject and the object seems to be the case of a parallel structure, where the subject and the object are contrastively focused. The subject *ænig man* 'anyone' is to be interpreted in relation to *God ælmihtig* 'God Almighty', while *þisne cwyde* 'this sentence' contrasts with *hine* 'him'.

(6) & gif ænig man **on uferan dagan** gehadud oððe læwede **þisne cwyde** wille awendan and if any man on later days ordained or lay this sentence will turn-away awende hine God ælmihtig hrædlice of þisan lænan life into helle wite turn-away him God Almighty quickly of this temporary life into hell's torment
 'And if any one in later days will turn away this sentence, God will turn him away from this temporary life to hell's torment'

(codocu3,Ch_1471_[Rob_101]:31.206)

It is impossible to get any clear generalizations regarding the function of those high adjuncts. It is clear, though, that it is a minority pattern, where we again note a restriction on referential weight of the topic area.

Finally, let us note one more restriction in VR constructions. In the comment/predicate focus part, the non-finite verb occupies final position. Not only (second) objects, but VP adverbs as well, are

ever postverbal in VR. The only postverbal material allowed in VR are PPs, appositive material (second conjuncts, secondary predicates, etc.) and clausal adjuncts.⁹¹ We understand that the absence of VO orders in VR is a restriction on focus marking on predicates which complement complex topics. In other words, the non-finite verb in predicates of complex topics is regularly interpreted as contributing new information. If high scrambling were triggered primarily by accessibility features, as pronoun movement, the restriction would be more difficult to be related to IS factors. And indeed, high object pronouns do not 'block' postverbal (second) objects or postverbal VP adverbs.⁹² Complex topic area requires simple predicate-focus, which is not affected by narrow focus markings on predicate elements.

⁹¹ When an object is found postverbally, it is only in cases such as (i), where the (benefactive) object is adjacent to the infinitive to indicate that it is to be interpreted as coreferential with the external theta-role of the infinitive.

- (i) hu God þysne middangeard hæfð gestapelod us on to eardianne:
 how God this earth has set us on to live
 'how God has set this earth for us to live in it'
 (coverhom,HomU_9_[ScraggVerc_4]:72.588)

⁹² Even though it is still a minority pattern, we find 5 postverbal objects and 4 postverbal VP adverbs in VR containing a high pronominal object.

- (i) a. He cwæð þæt he hit wolde cyðan his hlaforde
 he said that he it would make-known to-his lord
 'He said he would make it known to his lord'
 (coaelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:78.4264)
- b. hwæder ænig þissa andweardana gooda þe mæg sellan fulle gesælð?
 whether any of-these future goods to-you may give full happiness
 'whether any of these future good may give you complete happiness'
 (coboeth,Bo:33.78.20.1472)
- (ii) a. þæt he hit mot fullian sona mid ofste
 that he it must fulfill soon with speed
 'that he must fulfill it soon with speed'
 (colwsigeXa,ÆLet_1_[Wulfsige_Xa]:69.86)
- b. swilce þu hyne woldest geseon lichamlice
 as you him would seen bodily
 'as you would see him bodily'
 (cosolilo,Solil_1:19.19.258)

6.1.3 Negative and indefinite objects in VR

Our proposal that VR involves segmentation into a complex topic part and predicate focus needs to cover the cases where the raised object is quantified or negative. Quantified and negative objects generally undergo leftward movement (i.e. they are rarely postverbal), but this movement is assumed to be triggered by reasons other than the one assumed for accessible and/or topical elements.⁹³ However, indefinite or QP objects can also function as parts of complex topics. This is the case when the relation between the subject and the non-definite object has been established in the preceding discourse, and in the current VR utterance, the new relation between the subject and the object is 'predicated'. This is exemplified in (7a). The QP object *mare* 'more' has been related to the subject *he* 'he' in the preceding clause (he knew more than other men). The VR clause keeps the subject and the object as a complex topic segment, and predicates a new relation of 'doing'. (7b) shows that both elements in the complex topic area can be indefinite. What makes these indefinites topical is the comparison relation with topics in the preceding discourse. The subject *agbmylc* 'anyone' is d-linked through comparison with Christ's parents (the subject in the preceding two clauses), while the object *wapnedcild* 'male child' is linked to Christ (the object in the preceding two clauses). Even though both the subject and the object contribute novel information, this type of information is not incompatible with complex topicalization, as long as the addressee can make a connection with topical elements introduced earlier. In (7b) this connection is the subset-superset relation (Christ's parents are subset of all parents/anyone who is a parent, while Christ is a subset of all male children). Even though the predicate itself is backgrounded, it still updates the CG, as it is applied to a novel complex topic structure.

⁹³ Indefinite objects in this position are often non-specific, and as such can be accessible from the preceding context.

(7) a. ond wendð he sua micle ma wite ðonne oðre menn, sua he gesihð ðæt he **mare**
 and thinks he so much more knows than other men so he imagines that he more
 may mæg doon ðonne oðre menn.

do than other men

'and thins that he knows so much more than other men, that it seems to him that he can do
 more than other men'
 (cocura,CP:17.111.13.743)

b. þæt is se feowertiga dæg nu todæg ures Dryhtnes hælendes Cristes acennesse, &
 that is the fortieth day now today of-our Lord Savior Christ birth and
 þy dæge þæt his aldras hine brohton in Hierusalem in þa mæran burg, þæt hie hine
 the day that his parents him brought to Jerusalem in the great city that they him
 Gode agefon, swa swa hit awriten is in Dryhtnes naman þæt æghwylc **wæpnedcild**
 to-God give so so it written is in Lord's name that anyone male
bearn þe wif ærest acynde sceolde beran ærest Gode gehalgod.

child that woman first begot should bring first to-God consecrated

'That is the fortieth day now today from our Lord Savior Christ's birth and on that day his
 parents brought him to Jerusalem the great city that they give him to God, so as it is written in
 Lord's name that anyone should bring a male child which a woman first begot first to be
 consecrated to God'

(coverhom,LS_19_[PurifMaryVerc_17]:3.2149)

The presence of indefinite and non-specific elements in complex topic structures supports the view of topicalization and topicality as being conditioned by pragmatic salience, rather than semantic properties of referents.

6.1.4 Relation between high and low scrambling

Low scrambling refers to the relatively short leftward movement of objects out of VP. As OV orders correspond to new information focus, low scrambling can be understood as movement out of new information focus domain. The common diagnostic for low scrambling is the relative position with v/VP adverbs. In OE, pronouns also seem to be a good diagnostic tool, as they generally occupy

higher positions than their nominal counterparts. As OV order is possible in both assertive and presupposed propositions, so is scrambling.

Low scrambling is also motivated by creating a background-focus structure at the level of VP. The elements in the background need to be d-linked, and the focus is new information focus.

In (8) the scrambled object *þæt forlorene leoht* 'the lost sight' is featured in the preceding discourse (the preceding segments describe how she gradually lost her sight, and finally became blind). Scrambling the object out of the VP, which is interpreted as predicate focus (applied to the topic subject *heo* 'she') instructs the reader that not all elements in it should be interpreted as being of the same IS status. The object 'the lost sight' is both highly accessible and topical to be able to move out the VP to ensure that only the adverb and the verb are interpreted as new information focus. Its movement, of course, is not obligatory. Nothing forces the movement of the object out the VP. However, if it remained inside the VP, it will lose the inference that it is topical in both the preceding and in the current utterance. Still, the object is not topical enough (or not intended to be used as such) to form a complex topic with the subject and undergo high scrambling.

- (8) Mid þy heo þa sum fæc on þisse blindnisse wæs, þa wæs sumre neahte, þær
 when she then some time on this blindness was then was some night where
 heo betyned wunade, þætte hire becwom on mod, gif heo to þam mynstre gelæded
 she enclosed lived that here became on mind if she to the monastery lead
 wære Godes þara gehalgedra fæmnena, ond heo þær æt þara haligra reliquium hire
 were of-God's the holy maidens and she there at the holy reliquia herself
 gebede, þæt heo meahte **þæt forlorene leoht** eft onfon
 pray that she might the lost light again receive
 'When she for some time lived in (the) blindness, then one night, there where she lived inclosed, it
 came to her mind that if she was lead to the monastery of God's holy maidens, and there prayed
 herself at their reliquia, that she might receive her lost sight again (i.e. restore her sight)'

(cobede, Bede_4:13.292.19.2950)

We are fully aware that we use the notion of 'topicality' quite arbitrarily here. We assume that the difference between 'high' and 'low' topicality can be stated in terms of relevance. Low scrambled objects are only topical in the sense that they are –new information, whereas high scrambled objects contain an additional component of relevance, that topics of predication have, which contribute to the notion of 'aboutness topic'.

Low scrambling is, of course, possible in presupposed propositions, when the VP lacks predicate focus. An object is assumed to be scrambled when it precedes vP/VP adjoined adverbs. Some examples are given in (9).

- (9) a. GREGORIVS se trahtnere. cwæð ðæt se hælend beweope þære ceastre
 Gregory the expounder said that the saviour bewailed the city's
 toworpenysse: þe gelamp æfter his þrowunge. for þære wrace heora
 overthrow which happened after his passion for the vengeance of-their
 mandæda. þæt hi þone heofonlican æðeling. *manfullice* acwellan woldon
 crimes that they the heavenly prince sinfully killed would
 'Gregory the expounder said that Jesus bewailed the overthrow of the city which happened after
 his passion, in vengeance of their crimes because they would sinfully slay the heavenly prince'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I, 28:410.17.5466)

- b. Forðon ic þonne nu eow openlice andette & cyðe, þe her andwearde sittað,
 therefore I then now you openly confess and tell who here present sit
 þæt ic ðas tide Eastrena *ecelive* healdan wille mid ealre minre ðeode, þe ic nu
 that I the time Easter eternally hold will with all my people that I now
 rihte ongite & ocnawe
 properly understand and know
 'Therefore, I now openly confess and tell you, who sit here presently, that I, together with all my
 people, will eternally hold the time of Easter, which I now properly understand and know'
 (cobede,Bede_5:19.470.13.4730)

We have somewhat vaguely suggested that a predicate can be without focus, and still provide new information of the elements to which it applies. Under the assumption that predicate in presupposed

propositions lacks focus, it is difficult to characterize the motivation for leftward movement out of such VPs. The work on the leftmost area in subordinate clauses by Van Kemenade & Milićev 2005/2012, and van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen 2008, shows that pronouns and nominal subjects can occupy the highest position below the complementizer, SigmaP, or a lower one, SpecTP (subjects) and/or 'AgrOP' (pronominal objects). The factors influencing their distribution seem to involve a mix of accessibility and topicality features. Hence it seems that there exists a 'topicality' domain where elements are arranged according to a certain scale of accessibility/topicality. To fully understand the factors influencing the differences in leftward movements, we need to thoroughly investigate their interpretations and interactions. For instance, the discourse status of the subject topic will have influence the topicality status of objects. We have pointed out that in VR the complex topic area needs to be referentially 'non-heavy'. Interestingly, the same restriction can be noted with low scrambling in asserted propositions. When a nominal object undergoes short scrambling across the adverb, the subject is again predominantly pronominal. Out of 90 examples, there are only 6 cases where the subject is nominal and referential. The remaining 84 cases include 4 indefinite/impersonal *man* 'man, one' subject, and 80 instances of personal pronoun subject. This clearly points to a restriction on the IS status of the subject-topic in cases where some kind of sub-topic structure is created.

6.1.5 Summary

VR, as well as other types of leftward scrambling, involves manipulation of the new information focus/interpretation associated with OV order. Whether 'new information' can be realized as 'focus' on VPs which do not have predicate focus is unclear. Before we can work out a principled characterization of the differences between 'new information focus' and 'predicate focus' which should apply independently on VPs, the question will remain open.

6.2 Leaking Constructions

Leaking orders have been one of the biggest puzzles in the OE syntax. The main reason for this is that from the comparative Germanic syntax perspective, this order is not expected to occur, and it is not found in any of the Germanic languages (either contemporary or in older stages).

Let us recall the accounts of this word order in OE. Those which take that underlying order in these structures is head-final, derive the postverbal objects in terms of extraposition/postposition (Stockwell 1977, .van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999), or adjunction of the object to head-final TP. On the head-initial hypothesis, the object needs to move out of the vP/VP, so that it stays behind the finite verb once the remnant VP/vP is fronted before the finite modal/auxiliary verb (Roberts 1997), or it is allowed to remain inside VP, which itself does not undergo any further movements (only the lexical verb, which has moved to v° and the subject merged in SpecvP move to SpecTP, as only the 'edge' material will be able to move once the vP phase has been completed (Biberauer & Roberts 2005). On both the extraposition and the object-in-situ accounts, it is the interpretation of the object that triggers the exceptional behavior of the object.⁹⁴ Namely, the object is focused.

In this section, I will claim that the interpretation is indeed what licenses leaking structures, and that it is related to focus. However, I will attempt to show that the focus interpretation of the object is only one of the possible interpretation of the leaking orders. The main hypothesis will be that leaking orders correspond to two possible interpretations: (i) narrow focus on the object (usually contrastive, but also scalar and exhaustive), (ii) narrow (contrastive) focus on the non-finite verb, and (iii) narrow (emphatic or verum) focus on the finite verb. Hence, the underlying feature of these orders that the non-finite VP is never interpreted as wide, new information focus.

⁹⁴ In Roberts 1997, the motivation for why the object is allowed to remain behind the finite verb is not entirely clear.

We immediately note that the leaking strategies of focusing individual elements in the (extended) VP resemble those noted for VO orders. I will argue that what distinguishes leaking from regular VO orders is that leaking involves focusing within a presupposed proposition, whereas all VO orders are assertive, in the sense that they update the CG, mostly due to the presence of a topic-predicate focus structure. In leaking construction, there is no topic-predicate focus structure (nothing new is said about the subject, no new or relevant relation is established between the subject and the (complex) predicate. Consequently, the whole proposition is usually interpreted as presupposed.

I will again need to through a number of examples to illustrate this. I believe it to be methodologically important to see how the proposed pragmatic uses of narrow focus arise in actual texts. One should bear in mind that the readings we argue for here are far from obvious without a careful examination of the context in which these 'exceptional' patterns arise. I need to emphasise over and over again that there is a good reason why the interpretation of these word orders remained mysterious for so long. What makes this task even more difficult is the fact that contrast or other focus meanings need not be expressed. The only consequence of the lack of pragmatic use of focus is more or less incoherent discourse, and we never really have clear negative evidence at hand. Still, I find the cases examined, and some presented here, convincing enough to associate the proposed meanings for leaking structures.

6.2.1 Quantitative data

Before I start discussing the IS related properties of these word orders, let me first give some quantitative information, which will help us get a better perspective on this 'peculiarity' of OE.

There are 203 subordinate clauses where an object follows a non-finite verb. When we eliminate those cases where the object could be analyzed as extraposed due to its 'heaviness' (object including

complement or relative clauses, objects containing coordinated NPs and more than three words),⁹⁵ we are left with 110 cases. More than a half of them come from Ælfric's texts. Other texts where the pattern is used with some regularity are *Cura Pastoralis* and *Gregory's Dialogues*.

The presence of leaking patterns in earlier texts, such as *Cura Pastoralis*, as well as others, albeit with a lesser degree, indicates that the pattern is not a syntactic innovation. Rather, it is an intricate rhetorical device, employed by style-conscious writers, such as Ælfric. The main reason why leaking constructions come with such a strong correlation with rhetorical complexity is that 'leaking' patterns involve a combination of pragmatic presupposition and focus, and are interpretatively very complex

6.2.2 The interpretation of leaking word orders

6.2.2.1 Focus on the object

Let us first discuss examples which should illustrate the focusing of the object in leaking constructions. (10b) is God's response to Moses' complaint about how he (God) allows Pharaoh to torture his people (10a), so, indirectly, God is also punishing the Jewish people (by not wanting to free them). The focus on the object *Pharaone* 'to Pharaoh' in (10b) establishes a contrast relation with what God has done to his people and what he will do to Pharaoh, with the implication that Pharaoh's punishment will be much worse than the one of the Jewish people. In other words, contrastive focus on the dative object *Pharaone* 'to Pharaoh' evokes the set of alternatives 'God doing something to the Jews' and 'God doing something to Pharaoh', whereby the Jews and Pharaoh are compared or contrasted. The focused element does not provide new information; on the contrary, it is backgrounded (i.e. featured in the immediately preceding contexts).

⁹⁵ The figures for the 'heavy' object types are the following: 48 objects include a relative clause, 4 have a wh-complement clauses, 26 objects are coordinated NPs; 15 objects contain more than three words.

(10) a. Hwi sentst ðu me to Pharaone þæt ic sprece on þinum naman? He swencð þin folc, & why send you me to Pharaoh that I speak on your name he tortures your people and þu hit nelt alysan.

you it not-will free

'Why do you send me to Pharaoh that I speak in your name? He tortures your people, and you won't free them'

(cootest,Exod:5.23. 2519-2521)

b. ða cwæð Drihten to Moyses: þu scealt geseon þa þingc þe ic don wille **Pharaone**; then said Lord to Moses you shall see the thing that I do will to Pharaoh

'Then the Lord said to Moses: you should see the thing that I will do to Pharaoh'

(cootest,Exod:6.1.2522)

The interpretation of the order in (11c) is the one where the 'leaked' object *þa halgan Darian* 'the holy Daria' is contrastively focused. The context in (11a) establishes that two people - Chrysanthus and Daria - were ordered to be tortured. (11b) states that first Chrysanthus was tortured. (11c) switches to (an attempt of) torturing Daria. Both alternatives 'people torturing Chrysanthus' and 'people torturing Daria' have been contextually given. By focusing Daria, the speaker indicates that the focused element should be interpreted in relation to the other member of the set. The relation is not necessarily that of contrast, but of comparison.

(11) a. Then was this soon made known to the emperor, and he angrily commanded his prefect to take Chrysanthus and Daria, and kill them by tortures, if they would not sacrifice to the evil gods.

b. Then the prefect bade men stretch the holy Chrysanthus upon a rack, and with candles burn both his sides. Then the rack burst asunder with all its machinery and the candles were extinguished

c. Ealswa þa oþre men þe yfelian woldon **þa halgan Darian**, Drihten hi gelette so-also the other men who injure would the holy Daria Lord them prevented 'So also the other men who sought to injure the holy Daria, the Lord prevented them'

(coaelive,/ELS_[Chrysanthus]:315.7522)

If the whole proposition of somebody wanting to injure Daria is backgrounded, the question is why the leaking order is chosen to mark the comparison/contrast relation, and not the contrastive topic strategy, which is available in presupposed proposition (*þe þa halgan Darian yfelian woldon*). It is difficult to provide a solid explanation for this; I can only note that (11c) is found after a discourse switch from one episode to another. Discourse switch can also be noted in (10), as it changes from one speaker (Moses) to another (God). We have already noted that discourse switch require reactivation of 'old' propositions, which is reflected in the word order change ('assertive Vf-Vn'). It remains to be established whether focusing the postverbal/leaked object has the same effect on the discourse state of the proposition (i.e. whether it updates the CG in the same way as 'regular' assertive structures).

In most other cases where the leaked object is focused, it is usually a certain property of the referent that is compared or contrasted, rather than the referent itself. Consider (12b), with the focus is on the object *eall his werod* 'all his army'. In this case the relation is established between arranging *some* members of the army and arranging *all* the army. In the preceding context we learn that the commander of the army, having gathered it, begins to arrange it. He selects the youngest and best looking ones to be first in his service. What the commander arranges is a subset of the set army. Focusing the whole set the speaker evokes the alternative set of army members, the partial one. The presupposition 'the commander arranging X-amount of army' is backgrounded, while the focus on *eall* 'all' provides the information that the entire set was affected (i.e. arranged). Again, it is difficult to establish whether this information updates the CG or is simply inferable from the context. I would argue for the latter. In real cases of assertion, the whole subject/topic-predicate relation needs to be new or relevant, while in leaking construction, only a part of the predicate is changed (the property of the object).

- (12) a. þa wæs eall seo fyrd gegaderod beforan him and he hi þa getrymede, and gesette swa his þeaw wæs. þa geseah he ongemang oþrum þa geongan cnihtas þæt hi wæron wlitige on hiwe, and lange on wæstmum gesette hi þa fymeste on his þenunge

'Then all the army was gathered before him, and he sorted them out and arranged them, as was his duty. Then he saw among others the young boys, that they were beautiful in form and long in growth. He set them to be the first in his service'

(coeust,LS_8_[Eust]:302. 318-322)

- b. And æfter þam þe he gefadod hæfde **eall his werod** swa his þeaw wæs, þa ferde he to and after he arranged had all his army as his duty was then went he to þam gefeohte the battle

'And after he had arranged all his army, he went to the battle'

(coeust,LS_8_[Eust]:305.323)

In (13b) the object *twam blafordum atsomme* 'two masters together' contains the element *twa* 'two' that is contrastively focused (people can never serve two masters at the same time). This sentence is a paraphrase from *The Book of Matthew* (6:24), English Standard version ('No one can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and money'). It is preceded by (13a), which is the line from First Epistle to Corinthians 10:21 ('Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils'). This line essentially introduces the relation one is supposed to have with two opposing types of authorities (the Lord and the devil). The next line (13b) generalizes this relation (any two masters), while (13c) narrows it back down to Christ vs. devil. The lexical verb *gecwaman* 'serve' is not explicitly given in the preceding discourse, but (13a) can be still interpreted as facilitating the VP interpretation 'serving X/a master' as backgrounded. (13c) also offers us a parallel with Vf-VO orders which has a similar meaning (contrast on the object), as it expresses the metaphoric content of (13a) in terms of the now familiar relation of people serving God and the devil. On our analysis, the VP is defocused, and comes as the VO order.

- (13) a. Ne mage ge samod drincan ures Drihtnes calic and ðæs deofles cuppan to deaðe eowre sawle
'You cannot drink both our Lord's chalice and the devils cup to the death of your souls'

b. and ure Drihten cwæð þæt man gecwæman ne mæg **twam hlafordum ætsomne**, þæt he
 and our Lord said that man please not may two lords at- once that he
 ne forseo þone oðerne;
 not despise the other
 'and our Lord said that a man cannot please two masters at once, lest he should despise one'

c. ne we ne magon gecwæman . **criste and deofle**
 'neither can we please both Christ and the devil' (coelive,ÆLS_[Auguries]:216.3628-3630)

The proposition containing the focused object *his agenum slagum* 'his own executioners' in (14b) is backgrounded, since the fact that Christ would show mercy to the Jews who caused his death (on the condition they repent and turn to faith) is given in the preceding line. The focus on the object *his agenum slagum* 'his own murderers' is to point out that the predication (Christ showing mercy to people) holds even for the most unlikely alternative, i.e. his own executioners. In that sense, the focus is scalar. The scalar focus interpretation most likely stems from the focus being on the adjective *agenum* 'own' (Christ will show mercy to all people, even executioners, even his own executioners).

(14) a. Nu synd þa iudeiscan, and se sceamlease læwa Cristes deaðes scyldige, þe syrwdon be
 him, þeah þe hit us become to ecere alysednysse, and heora nan ne becymð to Cristes rice
 næfre, butan þam þe hit gebettan, and gebugan to Criste
 'Now, the Jews and the shameless traitor, who plotted against Christ, are guilty of his death,
 although it [his death] comes to us as eternal redemption, and none of them will never come
 to Christ's kingdom, except those who amend it and turn to Christ'
 (coelive,ÆLS_[Exalt_of_Cross]:176.5657-5658)

b. Swa milde is se hælend þæt he miltsian wolde **his agenum slagum** gif hi
 so mild is the Savior that he mercy would his own executioners if they
 gecyrran woldon, and biddan his miltsunge...
 convert would and ask his mercy
 'The Saviour is so mild that he would show mercy even to his own murderers if they would
 convert and ask for his mercy (as many of them did)'
 (coelive,ÆLS_[Exalt_of_Cross]:181.5659)

In (15), the object *þæt lifes tacen* 'the sign of life', or the cross written on the vessel, is contrasted with 'the drink of death' which the vessel contained. The vessel not being able to bear the sign of life is given, as we know that it broke after the sign of cross had been written on it. The contrast is specifically established by the genitives *lifes* 'of life' and *deapes* 'of death'.

(15) On þæs fætes forwyrde, þa þa he Cristes rodetacen þær toward wrat, þa on that vessel's destruction, when he Christ's crucifix there towards wrote then ongæt se Godes wer, þæt þæt fæt hæfde *deapes drync* on him, forþon þe understood the God's man that that vessel had death's drink in it because hit aberan ne mihte **þæt lifes tacen**.

it bear not might the life's sign

'When the vessel broke, after he had written Christ's crucifix there, then the God's man understood that the vessel had the drink of death in it, because it could not bear the sign of life'

(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:3.105.7.1210)

Even the object types we do not often find in 'leaking', such as negative NPs and pronouns, have the same interpretation in this position. Recall from Chapter 2 that Pintzuk (2005a) strongly argues that negative objects are never 'leaked'. Although they are rare in this position, we do find such cases.

Let us first consider the negative object in (16). The negative NP object *nan þincg* 'nothing', or more precisely the negative adjective *nan* is contrastively focused ('not a single thing'). The alternatives relevant for this focus expression (people suffering some-thing/a lot of things) are found in the preceding context. (16a) establishes that people should toil, with the implication that people do not toil, at least not enough. This makes the 'leaking' proposition in (16c) backgrounded. The contrasting alternative to 'people suffering nothing' is explicitly given in (16b), which describes how much martyrs toil (they suffered murder, scourging, drowning, burning, tormented for a spectacle). As opposed to them, we are not prepared for sacrifice, and will toil absolutely nothing.

(16) a. **We sceolon swincan**, and oferswyðan unþeawas mid godre drohtnunga Godes
 we should toil and overcome evil-habits with good service God's
 rice geearnian; þæt we mid þam halgum þe we heriað nu blissian moton, þeah we
 kingdom earn that we with the saints that we praise now rejoice may though we
 martyras ne beon
 martyrs not be

'We have to toil, and overcome evil habits by a good service, to earn God's kingdom; that we may rejoice with the saints whom now we praise, though we be not martyrs'

(coelive, ÆLS_[Maurice]:121.5749)

b. 'We must consider how patient they were, those who for Christ's name were killed; men scourged them with whips and drowned them in the sea, or burned them in the fire, or with tortured limbs, tormented them for a spectacle with every punishment, and in every woe they were patient, and bore every contumely for the Saviour's name'

c. Nu synd we swa asolcene þæt we swincan nellað **nan þincg** fornean ne urum
 now are we so slothful that we toil not-will no thing nearly nor our
 lustum wiðcweþan wið þam þæt we moton þa micclan gepincða habban on heofonum
 lusts deny in-order-that we may the great dignities have in heaven
 mid þam halgum martyrum
 with the holy martyrs

'Now are we so slothful that we will not toil in hardly anything, nor deny our lusts in order that we may have in exchange those great dignities in heaven, together with the holy martyrs'

(coelive, ÆLS_[Maurice]:132.5757)

Contrastive focus is also what licenses 'leaked' pronouns. That the object *hine* 'him' in the conditional clause in (17) is contrastively focused, or more precisely the secondary predicate (*hine ar*) *cucene* 'alive', can be verified from the following consequent clause where the alternative second predicate is introduced (*hine þus*) *deadne* 'dead'. The proposition satisfies the givenness/backgroundedness condition, as the preceding discourse is about Datian's failure to capture the priest.

(17) Datianus þa cwæþ, se deofollica cwelleræ, ofsceamod swaþeah: Gif ic oferswiðan
 Datianus then said the devilish persecutor ashamed nevertheless if I overcome
 ne mihte **hine ær cucene**, ic hine witnige þus deadne.
 not might him earlier alive I him punish thus dead
 'Datianus then said, the devilish persecutor, ashamed nevertheless, 'If I might not overcome him
 formerly when living, I will punish him when dead'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Vincent]:232.7947)

Indefinites, especially those quantified, just like negative objects and pronouns, normally occupy a preverbal position. However, indefinites too can be leaked, provided they can satisfy the conditions of focusing. In (18b) the indefinite postverbal object *oðerra weorca* 'other occupations' is contrastively focused via the adjective 'other'. The proposition that servants of God should not be engaged in matters other than ministrations is backgrounded, as (18a) establishes that servants of the Church should not be engaged in worldly matters (i.e. matters other than those associated with their service). The object *oðerra weorca* 'other occupations' establishes a contrast relation with *ðenunga* 'ministrations' and also emphasizes that one should not engage in absolutely any other work but ministration.⁹⁶

(18) a. "Let no servant of God be too much engaged in worldly matters, so that he does not offend him to whom he formerly rendered himself."; he said : "If you have to deliver judgment in worldly things, take those who are least esteemed in the household, and appoint them judges, that they may rule and arrange about earthly things who are not so greatly honoured with divine gifts."

b. ða ða he lærde ðæt ðære ciricean ðegnas scoldon stilnesse ðære ðenunga habban,
 when he directed that the churches servants should quietness of-the service have
 ða lærde he hi eac hu hie hie geæmettian scoldon **oðerra weorca**
 then directed he them also how they themselves free should of-other work
 'When he directed that the servants of the Church were to have quietness in their
 ministrations, he also directed that they were to keep themselves free from other occupations'

(cocura,CP:18.131.3.886)

⁹⁶ The adjective *oðerra* 'other' alone is sufficient to express contrast, that is why I assume that additional emphasis is at play here.

A similar focus interpretation can be noted for the leaked indefinite object *ænige galnysse* 'any lust' in (19c). Again, the proposition of 'adders' (i.e. maiden) not being able to arouse lust in Chrysanthus with their foolish sport is backgrounded. Chrysanthus's father wants to turn his him away from Christianity, and tempting him with bodily pleasures ('foolish sport'), he hopes Chrysanthus will forget Christ (19a). Chrysanthus manages to resist (19b), but still prays to God to help him to persist. By focusing the object 'any lust', the speaker wishes to eliminate any other possibility of lust. With the indefinite in its unmarked, preverbal position (SOVnVf), the meaning would be the same, of course, only the pragmatic effect of eliminating other alternatives to 'any lust' would be lost.

- (19) a. Also he [the father] soon found five maidens for him, fair and blooming, to dwell with him;
- b. and het þæt hi awendon mid heora wodlican plegan his geþanc fram Criste,
'and bade that they should turn by their foolish sport his thoughts from Christ'
- c. and said that they themselves should pay for it, if they did not bend his mind. He sent him also frequently meats and delicacies, but the youth despised the meats and drinks, and abhorred the maidens even as one does adders. He lay in prayers and refused their kisses, and besought the Saviour that He would preserve his chastity, even as He preserved Joseph's in the land of Egypt. He also confessed God with all his heart,
- d. and cwæð, Ic bidde þe, Drihten, þæt þu do þæs næddran þæt hi ealle slapon
and said I pray Thee Lord that you make these adders that they all sleep
on minre gesihðe nu, þæt hi **awræccan** ne magon mid heora wodlican plegan **ænige**
on my sight now that they arouse not may with their foolish sport any
galnysse on me...
lust on me
'and said, "I pray Thee, Lord, that thou will cause these adders all to fall asleep now in my
sight, that they may not arouse with their foolish sport any lust in me, because I trust in
Thee."'

(coalive,ÆLS_[Chrysanthus]: 51.7362-62.7371)

While in the cases discussed above, the preceding context provides enough evidence that the propositions containing leaked objects are presupposed. There are, however, cases where the backgroundedness effect is not obvious; in fact, it can be absent completely. Such is (20). It presents us a situation where seven brothers and their mother, all 'very believing' are being punished and forced to eat bacon, against Moses' law. Eating bacon or any kind of food has not been given. However, by creating a structure where *spicc* 'bacon' is focused, the speaker/narrator indicates that bacon in this case is not just any item of food that they were given to eat (as the new information focus interpretation would most likely be). They were tortured and forced to eat the symbol of the food that Judaism forbids them: fat and pork. The focus on the object instructs the reader that the only way to properly interpret bacon in this context is via comparison to other types of food, namely, those that were not forbidden by the law of Moses. It is difficult to establish the exact type of focus here. It can be interpreted contrastively (as opposed to food which is not forbidden) or as scalar focus (of all the possible types of food, the least likely to be appropriate for them to eat). Whatever the exact interpretation might be, it is the pragmatic effect again that is relevant here. Without singling out *spicc* 'bacon' as 'special' type of food, the effect of their punishment would be lost.

Finally, I need to comment on why the proposition is delivered as presupposed, as in most, if not all, leaking orders. Again, I rely on the assumption that assertion goes hand in hand with topic-predicate focus structure. In this example the predicate 'being forced to eat bacon against God's law' is not taken to be relevant enough to be used as CG update. The event itself is not further discussed, nor any consequences of it.

(20) and hi man mid swingle ðreade, þæt hi etan sceoldon, ongean Godes æ, **spicc**
 and them man with scourging vexed that they eat should against God's law bacon
 'and they were vexed with scourging that they should eat bacon, against God's law'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Maccabees]:108.4882)

Similarly, in (21b), the proposition of inability of finding five unsound men of the great crowd is not backgrounded. Arguably, it seems to be inferable, plausible or predictable from the preceding context, as in (21a) it is established that all of the unsound people were miraculously healed. The focus on the object *fff unhale menn* 'five unhale men' stems from scalar focus on the number *fff* 'five', yielding the interpretation 'not even five (unsound men)'. Again, the proposition is not intended to update the CG, and leaking strategy, rather than VO order, is used.

(21) a. The burial ground lay filled with crippled folk, so that people could hardly get into the minster;

b. and þa ealle wurdon swa wundorlice gehælede binnan feawa dagum, þæt man þær
 and then all became so miraculously healed within few days that one there
 findan ne mihte **fff unhale menn** of þam micclan heape
 find not might five unsound men of the great crowd.
 find not might

'and they were all so miraculously healed within a few days, that one could not find there five unsound men out of that great crowd'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:151.4307)

6.2.2.2 Focus on the lexical non-finite verb

The second interpretation of leaking constructions is the one where the lexical verb is focused. The focus is (usually) contrastive.

In (22), the lexical verb *geswican* 'desist, abandon' offers the opposite relation between the torturer Datianus and his fierceness. From (22a) we see that Datianus persists in his rage and cruelty, as he orders more and more severe torments for the holy man Vincent. However, Vincent does not fear the tortures, but the opposite – that the tortures would stop, because he knows he is suffering for God.

(22) a. Datianus then cried out even louder, and raged with fierceness, and he raved yet more, striking his [Vincent's] torturers with rods and sticks, (and) commanded them to torment the holy man (Vincent) in the rack even more. He thought he might soften his mood by immeasurable torments; but he strove in vain, because they became tired in the tormenting, so they could no longer torment the martyr; and he constantly endured the torments nevertheless.[...] Datianus then said to the Lord's witness, "Pity yourself, and do not mar your youth, and shorten your life thus in these torments, that you may at least escape these hard tortures, at least now at last, though before you would not'. Vincent says to him thus with keen faith: "I dread not your torments nor your cruel tortures;'

b. ac ic swiðor ondræde þæt þu **geswican** wylle þinre reðnusse and swa me gemiltsian
 but I rather fear that you abandon will your fierceness and so me pity
 'but I rather fear that you will desist from your fierceness, and so pity me''

(coalive,ÆLS_[Vincent]:153.7895)

The participle *ungefandod* 'not-experienced' is focus marked in the relative clause in (23), because it needs to establish a contrast between two different groups of people – those who have experienced carnal sins (by marriage) and those who have not. The whole segment is dedicated to this distinction, as can be verified from the sentence introducing the content of this chapter (*ðætte on oðre wisan sint to manienne ða ðe gefandod habbað ðara flæsclīca synna, on oðre wisan ða ðe ðæs noht ne cunnon*. 'That those who have not experienced carnal sins are to be admonished in a different way than those who could not do it' (cocura,CP:52.403.7.2755)).

(23) Ongean ðæt sint to manigenne ða ðe ðonne giet **ungefandod** habbað flæsclīca scylda,
 contrary that are to admonish those that then yet not-received have carnal sins
 ðætte hie swa micle swiðor ðone spild ðæs hryres him ondræden ðonne ða oðre
 that they so much more the ruin of-the destruction them dread than the others
 swa hi ufor stondað ðonne ða oðre
 as they higher stand than the others

'Those on the contrary, who have not yet tried carnal sins, are to be admonished to dread the destruction so much the more than others the higher they stand than the others'

(cocura,CP:52.407.19.2803)

The relevant predicate (teacher teaching people) is given in the preceding discourse (24a). The purpose of (24c) is to express a parallel between ignorant teachers teaching ignorant people with the blind leading the blind (24b), by calling ignorant teachers blind. The non-finite verb *læran* 'teach' in the relative clause is emphatically focused to highlight that this is the only alternative in the relation between teachers and other people, which will not hold if the teacher is unwilling to learn (the consequence of which is 'misleading his followers and himself').

(24) a. Lange sceal leornian se þe læran sceal gif he nele leornian, þæt he lareow beo, he sceal beon ealdor eft syþþan gedwyldes.

'Long should learn the one who should teach. If he doesn't learn to become a teacher, she shall later be an authority of error.'

b. Swaswa Crist sylf cwæð on sumum his godspelle. Gif se blinda man bið þæs blindan ladþeow, þonne befeallað hi begen on sumne pytt gewiss

'So also Christ himself said on one of his gospels: If the blind man is a guide to the blind, then both will certainly fall into a pit'

(colwstan1,ÆLEt_2_[Wulfstan_1]:172.238-241)

c. Blind bið se lareow, þe **læran** sceal folc, gif he læran ne cann, ne he leornian
blind is the teacher who teach should folk if he teach not can nor he learn
nele, ac mislæt his hyrimen and hine sylfne forðmid
not-will, but mislead his followers and him self at-the-same-time

'Blind is the teacher, who should teach people, if he cannot teach, nor want to learn, but misleads his followers and himself, at the same time'

(colwstan1,ÆLEt_2_[Wulfstan_1]:174.242)

Sometimes we also find cases of contrast interpretation of both the lexical verb and the object (or, where contrast relation is overt in the sense that the alternatives for both elements are easily detectable in the immediately surrounding context). In (25), both the lexical verb *forlatan* 'let go of' and *hira blissa* 'their bliss, happiness' contrast with *onfoð* 'receive' and *unrotnessa* 'sadness, trouble' in the second VP conjunct.

. (25) & *biter eart ðu ðam weligum þisse worulde, for þan hie forlætan sceolon hira*
 and bitter are you to-the wealthy of-this world because they let-go should their
blissa & *onfoð unrotnessa.*
 bliss and receive sadness
 'And bitter you are to the wealthy of this world, because they should let go of their wealth and
 receive sadness/misery'

(coverhom,HomU_7_[ScraggVerc_22]:52.2860)

With the interpretation of contrastive focus on the lexical verb it is not immediately clear whether this focus marking serves to update the CG or not. While in some cases the contrast is reactivated, in others the content of the lexical verb is novel to the discourse. Both reactivation and novel information should reflect as CG update. However, again the key component of assertion as CG update would have to be predicate focus. A proposition 'truly' updates the CG when some new predication relation is added to it. On our account, leaking constructions should lack topic-predicate focus structure, as the lexical verb is outside the sentence focus domain (position following the finite verb). It is difficult to tease out the differences in CG contribution when the contrastive verb shows up in 'predicate focus' (VO orders following the finite verb) and outside the assumed predicate focus position it has in the leaking constructions. I believe that even when the lexical verb itself presents new information, the background structure for the focused expression is presupposed or part of the CG. So, in (26), where the activity of 'receiving' (*onfon*) is new, the background structure 'the wealthy should do X with their wealth' is already part of the CG, or treated as such (the wealthy are such because they keep their wealth). Contrastive focus on the lexical verb in assertive Vf-VO orders on the other hand does not require such strong presupposition of the background-of-focus part. Let us consider the possible interpretation of the VO order in this context. Letting go of their wealth would be interpreted as bringing new information to the CG, as the reason why death is bitter to the wealthy of this world. But note that updating is not the intention of this segment. First of all, the main clause itself serves to emphasize that death is indeed bitter to the wealthy rather than inform the reader about this relation (the predicate *biter* 'bitter' is topicalized). If letting go of their wealth is predicated of the wealthy as focused, as in the hypothetical

(26), the assertiveness of the proposition would force the interpretation that this is one more reason why death is bitter to the rich, rather than confirm that it is the only reason the author thinks so.

(26) & biter eart ðu ðam weligum þisse worulde, for þan hie sceolon **forlætan** hira blissa & onfoð unrotnessa.

Clearly, focusing elements in presupposed propositions correlates with complex rhetorical effects.

6.2.2.3 Focus on the finite verb

The third interpretation of the leaking orders is when the finite verb is focused. The focus is emphatic, or *verum focus*.

The rather complex example in (27) offers us with two kinds of interpretation of leaking: contrastive focus on the object and defocused VP. Even though it requires some effort to go through, it is particularly valuable, as it offers us with a clear insight that within one segment one can find two different types of leaking.

In (27) the object *his Drihtnes myllan* 'his Lord's wishes' contrasts with other people's wishes. A young man called Julian is hesitant about his family wish for him to get married, because it might jeopardize his faith in God. Now he needs to learn what his Lord wants him to do regarding marriage, having heard what his family and his friends wish. The conditions on leaking are met: the predicate is given (Julian finding out someone's wishes), the object has contrastive focus, projected from the possessive noun (God's will vs. his family's will). When God appears to him in a dream and tells him that he should find himself a wife, Julian tells his friends that he indeed would find himself a wife. This interpretation is obtained via emphatic focus on the modal verb, as it confirms one of the two alternatives regarding Julian's decision: to accept or refuse the marriage. Any other word order would have inferences incompatible with the CG at this point. The VO orders could correctly capture defocused/backgrounded nature of the VP, but then we either lose the emphatic focus interpretation

on the modal. To pinpoint the difference between leaking orders and VO orders, which are also used to express non-new information focus, it is useful to compare (27d) with a more or less same proposition in (27c). In God's response (*þæt he sceolde soðlice underfon mæden him to gemacan*) the VO order serves to mark the emphatic focus on the lexical verb; this interpretation is reinforced by the focus adverb *soðlice* 'indeed'. The modal verb *sceolde* 'should' represents new information, as it adds God's evaluation of 'Julian taking himself a wife' and establishes topic-predicate focus relation between Julian and taking himself a wife. In (27d), on the other hand, the modal verb *wolde* 'would' is not (or needs not to be) focused as his willingness to obey his family and friends is nothing new that needs to be predicated of Julian (Julian is both willing and unwilling to take himself a wife). If the modal verb were contrastively focused, it would evoke the alternative established in the preceding CG that Julian was unwilling, and this alternative would be eliminated. Contrast would contribute new information that would need to be predicated of Julian. The interpretation of the hypothetical word order in (28) would be that Julian is now willing to get married, as opposed to before when he was opposed to this idea. Julian, however, is only hesitant.

(27) a. A certain noble servant of God was called Julian in the land of Egypt, in the city of Antioch, who was nobly born of pious parents and instructed in Christ's lore from his youth. Then his father desired, and all his friends likewise, that he should marry (*þa wolde his fæder and his frynd ealle þæt he wifian sceolde*), when he was eighteen years old

b. ac Iulianus cwæð þæt he cunnian wolde **his Drihtnes wyllan** hu he wolde be him.
 but Julian said that he know would his Lord's wishes how he would about him
 'but Julian said that he wanted to find out his Lord's wishes, how he wanted about him'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:5.937)

c. Then was he busied in his prayers for seven nights, and prayed the almighty Christ that He would preserve his chastity. Then the Saviour showed himself in a dream to the noble knight on the eighth night, and said that he must verily take a maiden as a mate for himself (*þæt he sceolde soðlice underfon mæden him to gemacan*), who would not sever him from his pure life, such as he had chosen, Jesus said to him, 'I myself will be with thee, and will quench in thee all desire, and will

incline the maiden also to love of Me. And in your bride-bed I will be manifested to you, and through you the purity of many others shall be hallowed unto Me, and I will receive thee, with thy maiden, to heaven.' Then awoke Julian, instructed by his Lord,

- d. cwæð to his freondum þæt he **onfon** wolde **mæden** him to gemacan
 said to his friends that he receive would maiden him to spouse
 'and said to his friends that he would take a maiden for his spouse; [and they were greatly glad of it] (coalive,/ELS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]:22.949)

- (28) a. cwæð to his freondum þæt he wolde **onfon mæden** him to gemacan
 b. cwæð to his freondum þæt he wolde **mæden** (him to gemecan) **onfon** him to gemacan
 c. cwæð to his freondum þæt he **mæden** (him to gemecan) **onfon** wolde (him to gemecan)

Another example of an emphatically focused verb in leaking constructions is (29). The proposition – Philip's willingness to free the lying widow – is backgrounded, in the form of Eugenia's request that Phillip does not condemn the lying widow, Melantia for her false accusations against her (Eugenia) (29a). Even though the presupposition is less explicit than in the previous example, Philip freeing the lying widow can be easily inferred from the conversational background. Again the emphatic focus on the modal puts the emphasis on the truth of the proposition and communicates that Phillip is indeed willing to do what has been asked of him.

- (29) a. Then said Eugenia that she could easily clear herself from the disgrace of adultery, and overcome by the truth Melantia's accusation, provided that *Philip would assure her by an oath that the false (female) accuser should not be condemned.*
- b. ða swor Philippus þæt he **friðian** wolde **þa leasan wudewan**, ðeah þe heo gelignod
 then swore Philip that he free would the lying widow though she perjured
 wurðe.
 be
 'Then swore Philip that he would let go free the false widow, though she should prove to be perjured'

(coalive,/ELS_[Eugenia]:209.315)

Similarly, in (30b), the negative modal *ne mihte* 'could not' has emphatic focus, rather than contrastive. The proposition 'judge not being able to overpower that holy man' has been given in the preceding context (30a). If the negative modal were contrastive, it would eliminate a contrasting alternative from the CG ('the judge being able to overpower the holy man'). Recall from Chapter 4, Section 4.2.5 and Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3 that contrastively focused modals come with the speaker's perspective with respect to the likelihood of the propositional truth. The speaker presents an alternative proposition to which he cannot commit. The difference is that in assertive VO orders this alternative is not present in the conversational background (as it is the case with leaking).

(30) a. Lo! then the judge became fiendishly angry, and commanded men to scourge the holy martyr, thinking that he might bend the steadfastness of his mind to his (own) forms of worship by means of the stripes; but the blessed man was strengthened by God, and bore the scourging exceeding patiently, and with glad mind thanked God for it.

b. *ða geseah se dema þæt he oferswyðan ne mihte þone halgan wer mid þam*
 then saw the judge that he overcome not might the holy man with the
hetelicum witum ne fram Criste gebigan
 severe tortures not from Christ turn

'Then the judge perceived that he could not overcome the holy man by the severe tortures,
 nor turn (him) from Christ..' (coaelive,ÆLS_[Alban]:80.4047)

In (31) the proposition of Simon's inability to reveal the apostle's secret is backgrounded. The preceding context describes how Simon challenges the apostle Peter, claiming that his magical powers would enable him to read Peter's mind and reveal the secret, which was proposed as a test. Of course, being a false miracle worker, Simon fails. The negative modal is emphatically focused, it confirms the truth of the proposition introduced earlier. The pragmatic effect of *verum* focus in this case seems to be related to Simon's strong conviction that the opposite would hold, or that he would be able to reveal Peter's secret. It is in relation to this alternative that the proposition is to be interpreted. The speaker emphasizes the propositional truth to indicate the relevance of the opposite. To understand the

magnitude of Simon's anger (the content of the main clause), it is important for the author to point out the discrepancy between Simon's strong belief and the actual truth regarding the possibility of revealing the apostle's secret.

- (31) þa wearð Simon erre, forþon þe he **arædan** ne mihte **þæs apostoles degol**.
 the became Simon angry because he reveal not could the apostle's secret
 'Then was Simon wroth because he could not reveal the apostle's secret'

(coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:181.177.2316)

Emphatic or verum focus is also the interpretation of the modal verb *willap* 'would' in (32d). The fact that one should cheerfully and generously give tithes (or 'distribute our riches to the poor') is given in the preceding lines, most explicitly as the conditional clause in (32b), which only differs from (32c) in having synonymous adverbs (*blife* 'cheerfully' in (32c))/ *lustlice* 'joyfully' in (32a), and *rumlice* 'widely' in (32d)/*rummodlice* 'generously' in (32d)), and the lack of the modal verb, while the lexical VPs are identical ((we), *þa welan* 'the riches', *dælan* 'distribute', *earumum monnum/mannum* 'to poor people'). The whole VP retains the contrastive interpretation originally delivered in (32b): we have received our wealth from God, and now we should give a part of it to the poor. But this is not what the main communicative purpose of (32d) is. Rather, the focus is now on the modal verb to emphasize that our willingness to distribute our riches to the poor is the alternative which should hold, because the opposite one (not wanting to distribute our riches to the poor) would be against what God told us to do.

- (32) a. My beloved, I advise you to give the tenth of your goods to the needy as they have very little before the eyes of the world. [...] The Lord always reminds every man of what he gives him
- b. gif we þonne lustlice & rumlice þa welan dælaþ earumum monnum, þe us God
 if we then joyfully and widely the wealth distribute to- poor people that to-us God
 ær sealde, þonne onfo we ægþer ge eorþlice mede ge eac heofenlice
 earlier gave then receive we either earthly pleasures or also heavenly

'and if we joyfully and widely distribute our wealth to the needy, which God has previously given us, we will receive both earthly and heavenly pleasures'

(coblick,HomS_14_[BlHom_4]:49.199.621)

c. It is written in the Gospels that the Lord Himself said that the tenth part of our wealth was under our own control as regards land, other possessions and other acquisitions, so it will perpetually turn to damage at the Last Day for that individual who has refused it to God

d. Gif we þonne bliþe & rummodlice hi **dælan** willaþ **earnum mannum**,
if we then cheerfully and generously them distribute will to-poor people
þonne ontyneþ us Drihten heofenes þeotan
then opens to-us Lord heaven's fountains

'But if we will distribute our riches ('them') cheerfully and generously to the destitute, the Lord will open for us the fountains of heaven'

(coblick,HomS_14_[BlHom_4]:51.213.628)

The leaking proposition in (33b), Sarah laying a child to her breast to rock it in her old age, is essentially a paraphrase of the proposition of Sarah being able to give birth to a child, despite her old age, given in the preceding context (33a). The emphatic focus on the modal *sceolde* 'should' does not only confirm the truth of this proposition, but it also highlights how unlikely it is that Sarah would have a child at such an old age, by evoking the alternative possibility (inability to have children at old age), which is more likely to hold, given our world knowledge.

(33) a. & gefylde hys word. Swa þæt heo wearð mid cilde, & on hyre ylde acende sunu on þære ylcan tide ðe God gecwæð. Abraham ða gecigde Isaac hys sunu. & on þam eahteðan dæge hyne eac ymsnað, swa swa God him bebed. And he sylf wæs ða hundwintre. Sarra cwæð þa ofwundrod: God me worhte hlehter; swa hwa swa hyt geaxað he hlyhð mid me.

'and kept his word, so that she became with child and in her old age conceived a son at the same time that God promised. Abraham then named his son Isaac, and on the eighth day he also circumcised him, as God ordered him; he himself was a hundred years old at time. Astonished, Sarah then said: God has brought me laughter, and anyone who asks about it, will laugh with me.'

(cootest,Gen:21.6. 861-866)

- b. Hwa wolde gelyfan þæt Sarra **lecgan** sceolde **cild** to hyre breoste to gesoce on ylde,
 who would believe that Sarah lay should child to her breasts to shake on old-age
 þæt ðe heo Abrahame on hys ylde acende
 that that she to-Abraham on his old-age conceived
 'Who would believe that Sarah should lay a child to her breast to rock it, the one she
 conceived to Abraham in her old age'

(cootest,Gen:21.7.867)

A similar case from the same text is given in (34). The proposition Samson being able to kill one thousand men with the donkey cheekbone is backgrounded (the whole event is carefully described; in addition, the lexical VP is explicitly given in the preceding discourse, when Samson says 'I indeed killed one thousand man with the donkey cheekbone' in (34a)). The emphatic focus on the modal indicates how uncommon or unlikely this is, again in relation to the 'common sense' alternative that this cannot be done.

- (34) a. & cwæð to him sylfum: Ic ofsloh witodlice an þusend wera mid þæs assan cinbane. He wearð þa swiðe ofþyrst for ðam wundorlican slege. & bæd þone heofonlican God, þæt he him asende drincan: for þam þe on ðære neawiste næs nan waterscipe. ða arn of þam cinbane, of anum teð, wæter, & Samson þa dranc & his Drihtene þancode.
 'and said to himself: "I indeed killed one thousand man with the donkey cheekbone." He became then very thirsty from that miraculous blow and asked the heavenly God that he send him something to drink, because in the area there was no water. Then water ran from the cheekbone, from one tooth, and Samson then drank it and thanked his Lord'

(cootest,Judg:15.19. 5756-5761)

- b. Nu gif hwa wundrie, hu hit gewurðan mihte þæt Samson se stranga swa **ofslean**
 now if anyone wonders how it happen might that Samson the strong so killed
 mihte **an þusend manna** mid þæs assan cinbane, þonne secge se mann, hu
 might one thousand men with the donkey cheekbone then say the man how
 þæt gewurðan mihte, þæt God him sende þa wæter of þæs assan teð
 that happen might that God him sent then water of the donkey's teeth

'now if anyone wonders how it become might that Samson the strong might kill one thousand men the donkey cheekbone, then one should say, how it might happen that God then sent him water from the donkey's teeth' (cootest,Judg:15.21.5762)

Let us address the question of the contribution of focus on the finite verb in terms of CG update. As the emphatic or confirmation interpretation noted here serves to emphasize the propositional truth, it is best characterized as *verum focus* (Höhle 1992). *Verum focus*, used to emphasize the propositional truth, can be used when the propositional truth or p's polarity is at question (Davis et al. 2007), whereby the speaker convinces the hearer that the propositional truth holds. So, *verum focus* in leaking can be seen as CG update by virtue of adding the speaker's certainty regarding the truth of the proposition. Another way *verum focus* can act on the discourse is to add the proposition to the CG, as proposed by Romero and Han (2004: 627). This happens when a proposition's polarity is uncontroversial, and *verum focus* serves to highlight the relevance of this proposition (for instance, when *verum focus* is used in answers to wh-questions; A: What did she ever do for me? B: Well, she did buy you your first car). Lei (2012) similarly proposes that *verum focus* of a proposition (*verum(p)*) signals an update of p's discourse status. Thus the effect of *verum focus* is to take a backgrounded proposition and to foreground it. In that sense, the whole proposition, originally presupposed, gets the assertive flavor.

Now the question is whether this is also the impact of leaking constructions on the CG. Let us first compare the *verum focus* in leaking construction with the contribution of focus on the finite verb in assertive propositions, which clearly must update the CG. We have noted that the focus on the finite verb in Vf-Vn-O orders with a defocused non-finite VP is usually contrastive. The focus evokes an alternative element which is relevant for the interpretation of the focused expression. The relevant interpretation is that of contrast. And it seems that contrast contributes novel information which updates the CG. We have also established that in assertive conditional clauses (irrespective of the structure of the non-finite VP), contrastive focus expresses the speaker's attitude as to which of the alternatives is more likely to hold. It is usually the focused expression that is less plausible in the given

context. While this speaker's input is usually understood to correspond to assertion, the question is whether it is enough to constitute CG update. It still seems that the novel relation of contrast is the primary reason why a proposition gets increased communicative relevance and is interpreted as updating the CG.

Another similarity between the function of verum focus and assertive orders is reactivation of old/backgrounded propositions. Recall from Chapter 4 that Vf-VPn orders containing 'given' propositional material are found at the beginning of new discourse segments. What makes these two orders different is that reactivation in Vf-VPn orders actually reactivates topic-predicate structure, while leaking orders reactivate 'old' propositions without reactivating predicate focus. The lack of topic-predicate focus structure is the key feature of leaking constructions. I assume that this is why such orders are never possible in main clauses. Now the question is whether CG update can be achieved without predicate focus. Perhaps it can. However, based on what we have established to characterize assertion in embedded clauses so far, leaking orders do not seem to update the CG. The presence of contrastive and verum focus in them rather serves the purpose of some rhetorical effect.

Finally, let us comment on one more possible interpretation of leaking orders. Based on the examples such as (35), it seems that the (non-new information) focus is on the wh-word. In (35) the fact that the Pope should choose a new archbishop who will be sent to the church of England is familiar from the beginning of the chapter. When the priest Wighard, who was sent to Rome by the kings of Kent and Northumbria, with a request that he might be ordained bishop of the church of England, was snatched away on his journey, the pope starts looking for another candidate for the see. Focusing the wh-object *hwelcne arcebiscop* 'which archbishop' indicates that it should be interpreted with respect to an alternative candidate for archbishop, i.e. the one who was killed.

(35) & georne sohte, *hwelcne arcebiscop* he onsendan meahte Ongoldæode ciricum
 and eagerly sought which archbishop he send might English-people churches
 'and eagerly sought which archbishop he might (now) send to the English churches'

(cobede, Bede_4:1.252.23.2572)

As we find only three such cases in leaking orders, we will not make any proposals for their interpretation. Crucially, the complement of focused wh-phrase is backgrounded, and lacks predicate focus.

6.2.3 Leaking adverbs

In addition to objects, adverbs whose unmarked position is preverbal, can also leak and occupy the position following the finite verb. It is generally difficult to distinguish supplemental ('extraposed') clause final adverbs from those which are derived by leaking. The following examples, however, match the interpretation we have noted for leaked objects, and could be considered as representatives of leaking structures with adverbs. In (37), the adverb *wiðutan* 'from outside' is contrastively focused, and it is in contrast relation with the adverb *inne* 'inside' in the preceding clauses. In (38), the adverbs *þa giet* 'then yet' are focused in order to indicate the relevance of the alternative temporal point *sipþan* 'later' in the following clause.

- (36) þa on ðam eahtoðan dæge, ða ða hi inne wæron & God hi belocen hæfde
 then on the eighth day when they inside were and God them locked had
wiðutan, ða yðode ðæt flod ofer eorðan.
 from-outside then overflowed the flood over earth
 'Then on the eighth day, when they were inside and God had locked them from outside, then the
 flood overflowed the earth'

(cootest, Gen:7.10.308)

- (37) & he bebead þæt mon acwealde eall Dauides cynn, to þon, gif Crist geboren
 and he ordered that one killed all David's kin because if Christ born
 nære **þa giet**, þæt he na sipþan geboren ne wurde; for þon þe witgan sædon
 not-were then yet that he not later born not-become because wisemen said
 þæt he of þæm cynne cuman sceolde.
 that he of that kin come should

'And he ordered that all of David's kin be killed, because, if Christ had not been born then, that he would not be born later, because wisemen said that he would come of that kin'

(coorosiu,Or_6:9.139.10.2929)

Based on the interpretations of leaking word orders, we can reach the conclusion that leaking construction is a rather elaborate strategy of getting narrow, usually contrastive focus on one of the elements in backgrounded VPs and propositions. It needs to escape both topic-predicate focus (arising with S-Vf orders) and new information focus (OV). As verbs are/have become such clear markers of topic/given information – focus/new information distinction, skilful writers utilize this to express more complex pragmatic and discourse relations.

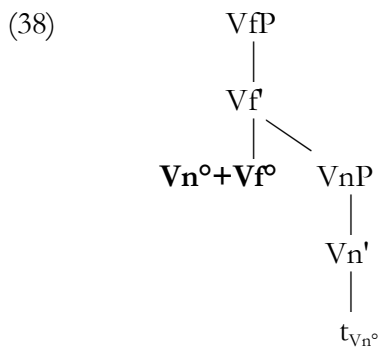
6.2.4 The issue of syntactic derivation of leaking orders

As leaking orders have a mix of properties of both presupposed and asserted propositions, their derivation should at least in part resemble those assumed for deriving presupposed and assertive orders. I have proposed that leaking constructions are essentially presupposed propositions, which are added to the CG as backgrounded, or lacking topic-predicate focus structure. Unlike regular VP_n-Vf orders which are the hallmark of presupposed propositions, the material in leaking constructions undergoes further focus marking. The effect of these manipulations is that a proposition is delivered as presupposed/backgrounded, with one of its elements being additionally contrastively focused. This mix of properties makes them a perfect rhetorical device.

We have suggested that presupposed orders are most likely to be derived via vP movement across the finite verb, as proposed by Biberauer & Roberts (2005). If this movement is to be related to IS factors, then the motivation would be movement out of the sentence focus domain, which results in the presuppositional reading of the material. I will assume that all V_n-Vf orders, including leaking, are derived by leftward movement of non-finite VP material. The problem, however, is to establish whether in leaking the non-finite verb ends up preceding the finite verb via movement of a larger

chunk (VP remnant movement or movement of the edge vP material), or by individual, head movement of the non-finite verb.

Head movement of the non-finite verb seems to be the easiest way of deriving Vn-Vf order. The infinitive or participle would left adjoin the modal or the auxiliary.



There are two common problems with head-movement analysis, empirical and theoretical.⁹⁷ Empirical issues are twofold. First, as it is assumed that in embedded clauses the Vn-Vf order is somehow basic, out of which Vf-Vn orders are derived by further finite verb movement, we face problems in, to use Roberts' (1997) term, excorporating the finite verb out of the complex head $\text{Vn}^{\circ} + \text{Vf}^{\circ}$. The second problem is the derivation of O-Vn-Vf orders. As on the head initial accounts, OV orders must be derived, by object movement out of its base position. O-Vn-Vf orders then involve movement of this larger segment across the modal/auxiliary. As VO orders, of course, are also possible, we need a special mechanism to prevent the non-existent VnOVf order.

Remnant VP movement is the analysis proposed by Roberts (1997). The complication with this derivation is how to get the object outside the VP, prior to its fronting. What would be the motivation for object movement? We have seen that it is unlikely that that the object interpretation would be the trigger for it, as not all leaking orders feature focused objects. In some cases it is the contrastive focus

⁹⁷ The most obvious theoretical problem is that having two types of movement (head movement and phrasal) is undesirable in linguistic theory. The attempts to exclude head movement from narrow syntax involve either transferring it to the phonological component of the grammar, as in Chomsky 2000, or by reanalyzing it as remnant movement, as in Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Mahajan 2000, 2001, Nilsen 2003 (cf. Matushansky 2006 for an overview).

on the non-finite verb that yields the leaked order, and it seems that the motivation for remnant VP fronting should be sought there.

- (39) [VP t_O Vn] Vf O t_{VP}
- a. [VP t_O Vn] Vf **O-foc** t_{VP}
- b. [VP t_O **Vn-foc**] Vf O t_{VP}
- c. [VP t_O Vn] **Vf-foc** O t_{VP}

Examples such as (40) with two leaked objects raise further doubts that object movement out of VP could be triggered by a specific IS feature. In (40) the infinitive *wyrcan* 'perform' precedes the finite verb, while the two nominal objects, *gode wæstmas* 'good fruits' and *Gode* '(to)God'. The interpretation of this particular leaking order is the emphatic focus on the finite verb; the proposition that people should make good fruits for God, just like vineyards, is given in the earlier segment, and the focus on propositional truth serves to reactivate it. As neither of the objects is focused, the leaking of the objects cannot be motivated by the need for the objects to remain in the sentence focus area.

- (40) þa het God hi oft þurh his halgan witegan wineardes naman, for þam ðe hi
 then ordered God them often through his holy wisemen vineyards take because they
wyrcan sceoldon **gode wæstmas Gode**, swa swa god wineard
 work should good fruits to-God as good vineyard
 'Then God often ordered them through his holy wisemen to take vineyards, because they should
 give good fruits to God just like a good vineyard'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_3:61.438)

Alternatively, we might think that leaking is actually derived from assertive VfVnO orders. This would not be implausible, as they share many interpretational features. Just like VO orders, leaking orders as well involve narrow focus on one of the (extended) VP elements. We might then assume that leaking orders involve an additional step of moving the non-finite verb across the finite verb. In a way, the derivation would resemble that of VR, only that the non-finite verb, rather than the object, would

scramble across the finite verb. As infinitives and participles share both +V and +N features, it is not impossible that they would be able to undergo the same type of movement as nominal elements. This would transfer the weight of the explanation onto the derivation of VO orders. Whichever way the non-finite verb ends up preceding the object, it will move an extra step in the same manner across the finite verb.

- (41) a. (S) Vf **Vn** O
 b. (S) **Vn** Vf t_{Vn} O t_{Vn}

The support for this type of derivation comes from (42), which seems to have movement of the first VP conjunct *gebyran* 'hear' across the finite verb. The second VP conjunct following the finite verb has the VO order, *herian his Scyppend* 'serve his lord'.⁹⁸ If the second conjunct reflects the structure prior to first VP conjunct movement, then leaking orders are derived from VO structures.

- (42) þæt he **gehyran** mage & **herian his Scyppend**.
 that he hear may and serve his lord
 'that he may hear and serve his lord'

(coaelhom,ÆHom_18:106.2548)

Recall that we assume that VO order is derived. If we want to maintain that VP remnant movement is also involved in the derivation of VO, we again need to ensure the motivation for object movement out of VP.

Alternatively, leaking can also be derived from an assertive proposition with the Vf-OVn order. The non-finite verb will first move out of the new information focus domain, then out of the predicate-focus and sentence-focus domains. But again we face the same problem with the object interpretation; namely, the object is rarely ever interpreted as new information. Also, on this version, the finite verb

⁹⁸ OE allows extractions out coordinated structures. Conjuncts can undergo both leftward movement and extraposition-type of movement to a clause final position.

would also be focused, and the sentence would always be interpreted as establishing a topic-predicate-focus structure, which updates the CG. Even though emphatic focus on the modal could in principle be understood as providing CG update, the differences noted between the emphatically focused finite verb in leaking and Vf-VO structures suggest that the finite verb as well should be taken to be presupposed.

More research into the assertive orders (both VfOV and VfVO) is clearly needed to understand fully how assertion in embedded clauses actually works. At this point, I am not able to provide any definite arguments for a specific type of Vn fronting.

The next issue we need to address is how much non-finite VP material can move leftward of the finite verb. In most examples, only the non-finite verb is fronted. However, there are cases where another object or a VP-related adverb is also moved. Such cases support the derivation in terms of movement of a larger constituent (rather than head movement of the non-finite verb).

Consider first (43). The interpretation of this leaking case is defocused VP, and emphatic focus on the modal. The quite lengthy discourse segment of *Cura Pastoralis* is about how teachers should not be too strict, so the VP content is backgrounded and highly topical, and it is clear that the alternative of teachers wanting to be severe with their followers is opposite of what is expected of them. The manner VP adverbs *to suiðe* & *to ðearllice* 'too strongly and too severely' are adjacent to the non-finite verb before the finite modal. It is unlikely that both the conjoined AdvP and the non-finite verb would move to the preverbal position individually.

- (43) Ond oft eac gelimpeð, ðonne he **to suiðe & to ðearllice** ðreapian wile **his**
 and often also happens when he too strongly and too severely reproves will his
hieremenn, ðæt his word beoð gehwyrfedo to unnyttre oferspræce
 subjects that his words are perverted to useless loquacity
 '[But when the ruler's spirit is **too severe** (*to reðe*) **in reproof**, something sometimes breaks
 forth which he ought to keep silent.] And it also often happens that, when he reproves his
 subjects too severely, his words become perverted to useless loquacity'

(cocura,CP:21.165.16.1128)

Similarly, in (44) it is both the manner/degree adverb and the lexical verb that precede the non-finite verb.⁹⁹ It seems that the verb together with the adverb modifying it has moved across the finite verb.

- (44) & cwæð. Ic wat þæt ðis iudeisce folc **micclum blissian** wile mines deaðes.
 and said I know that this Jewish folk much rejoice will my death
 'and said, I know that this Jewish people will much rejoice my death'
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_5:222.152.1019)

In (45) the VP containing the indirect object precedes the finite modal, while the direct object follows it.

- (45) Egeas cwæð. For þi ic þreatie þe *to ura goda offrunga* þæt ðis folc þe ðu
 Ægeas said therefore I force you to our Gods' offering that this folk that you
 bepæhtest forlæton þa ydelnyse þinre lare þæt hi **urum godum geoffrian** magon
 deceived forsake the vanity of-you lore that they our gods offer may
 þancwurþe onsægednyse.
 grateful sacrifice
 'Ægeas said, "Therefore do I force you to offer to our gods, that this folk, whom you have
 deceived, may forsake the vanity of your lore, that they may offer to our gods a grateful sacrifice."
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_38:516.259.7728)

On the other hand, there are examples of leaking which suggest that only the non-finite verb has moved, leaving the rest of the VP (or VP related) material behind. In (46a), both the instrument PP *mid beora þenungum* 'with their service' and the object *þæt halige husel* 'the holy housel' seem to be leaked, as they both follow the finite verb. The same can be observed in (46b), with the PP *mid beora wodlican plegan*

⁹⁹ The manner adverb does not have a subject oriented reading, as some manner adverbs in this high position, preceding the finite verb can have. In (i), for instance, the adverb *þe yð* 'more easily' is ambiguous between subject-oriented reading and manner reading.

- (i) Ic þe mæg eac tæcan sume bisne þæt þu þe yð **ongitan** meahte **ða spræce**.
 I you may also offer some example that you more easily understand might the speech
 'I may also offer you an example so that you can more easily understand the speech'
 (coboeth,Bo:41.145.16.2896)

'with their foolish sport'. (47) shows that the same position is also available for other types of PP, such as those expressing some kind of degree.

(46) a. þæt hi **halgian** magon *mid beora þenungum* þæt halige husel to his lichaman and
 that they consecrate may with their service the holy housel to his body and
 blode,
 blood

'that they can consecrate the holy housel with their service to his body and blood'

(colsigef,æLet_5_[Sigefyrth]:85.34)

b. þæt hi awræccan ne magon *mid beora wodlican plegan* ænige galnysse on me
 that they arouse not may with their foolish sport any lust in me
 'that they may not arouse with their foolish sport any lust in me'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Chrysanthus]:62.7371)

(47) wærlice hine pyngre mid sumum wordum, ðæt he on ðæm ongietan mæge *be sumum dæle*
 cautiously him stab with some words that he on them perceive may to some part
his unðeaw

his fault

'Cautiously stab him with some words so that he may to a certain extent perceive his fault'

(cocura,CP:40.297.3.1956)

In some cases we even find parenthetical elements intervening between the finite verb and the leaked object (48). Parentheticals can occupy a clause internal position (relatively high, somewhere in the TP domain) and a clause final position, as other supplemental material. Arguably, the object could also have been extraposed to the clause final position, as it is followed by the complement wh-clause, which would make it heavy enough to be eligible for extraposition.

(48) swa we nu **gehyran** magan, *men þa leofestan*, **heora þrowunga**, hu hie wiþ Simone
 so we now hear may men the dearest their suffering how they against Simon
 þæm dry fæstlice geflitan & gewunnon.
 the magician firmly fought and won

'So we now may hear, dearest men, their suffering, how they firmly fought against the magician Simon, and won' (coblick,LS_32_[PeterandPaul[BiHom_15]]:173.30.2176)

It is often difficult to distinguish leaking from extraposition (again, extraposition is a cover term for movement of heavy elements to the clause final position). While extraposition needs to satisfy the requirement of 'heaviness', it is still unclear when an object is heavy enough to be extraposed. The consensus seems to be that phrases containing more than three words would count as heavy. Examples where the leaked object follows other material suggest the object ends up in the postverbal position by rightward, extraposition-type of movement. This is what the head-final accounts have proposed (van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999). We could in principle assume that non-heavy elements could be subject to the same type of displacement, especially for the cases where leaking corresponds to the focus interpretation of the object. If it is indeed the case that leaking constructions are essentially presupposed, we might imagine that a special focusing mechanism, such as rightward movement is needed to express focus on one of its elements, i.e. objects. At least then, *some* of the leaking constructions could be derived the same way as non-controversial cases of extraposition. However, I will present some evidence that this is not a likely option.

Just like objects, nominative arguments of unaccusative verbs can also leak. In (49), the nominative NP *þa witegan* 'the wisemen' follows both the non-finite and finite verb. This, of course, is not surprising, given that all theme arguments are merged in the same position (complement of V°). What is interesting though, is that these nominative themes can show up in positions following even two adjunct PPs (50). This rather low position of the object again suggests rightward adjunction rather than remnant VP movement. (51) shows that the leaking area can contain stranded prepositions. If both the theme argument *onsigendan here* 'advancing army' and the directional PP *to þar* 'there' leaked out of the non-finite VP, it is unclear why the complement of the preposition would undergo an additional movement step. Rather, it seems that demonstrative adverb has undergone the pronoun type of movement to the high pronoun position (simultaneously satisfying an EPP-type of feature, or the

requirement that a clause either has a subject or a kind of topic).¹⁰⁰ In other words, there seems to be no obvious reason (or motivation) why the PP would first evacuate the non-finite VP before the remnant VP fronts before the finite verb, only to have its complement moved out of the postverbal area later.

(49) & he sæde, þæt to him cumene wæron **þa witegan**

and he said that to him come were the wisemen

'And he said that the wisemen came to him'

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:35.312.4.4655)

(50) and cwæð ða æt nextan, þæt him cuman sceolde on þære ylcan nihte fram þam

and said then at last that him come should on the same night from the

ælmihigan Gode **heofonlic reaf**

almighty God heavenly raiment

'and said at last that the heavenly raiment should come to him in the same night from the

almighty God'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:803.6478)

(51) þa cydde man geond þa burh þæt þær cuman wolde to **onsigendan here**

then said man throughout the city that there come would to attacking army

and hergian þa burh.

and devastate the city

'Then it was said throughout the city that there would come an attacking army and devastate the city'

(coelive,ÆLS_[Martin]:548.6321)

Putting aside the obvious issue of why this special type of movement would apply only in leaking constructions and how it is to be related to focus marking,¹⁰¹ two problems still remain. First, if

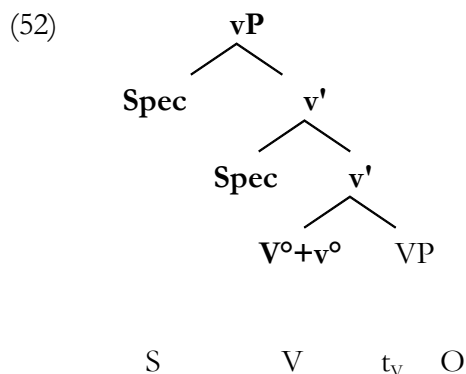
¹⁰⁰ Expletive subjects are generally not assumed to exist in OE; even though the demonstrative *þær* resembles the expletive subject, its features are generally demonstrative.

¹⁰¹ Extraposition or rightward adjunction of heavy elements can be related to PF factors. The supplemental material (parentheticals, appositive, secondary predicates), as well as some types of adjuncts, could be understood as separate speech-acts (cf. Potts 2003), which are simply adjoined to the main proposition (TP). In some free word order languages, such as Slavic, it has been claimed that focus can be realized in a specialized clause-final position (cf. Dik 1997), but Stjepanović (1999) shows that the clause final surface position is only apparent, as

extraposition, rightward scrambling, or adjunction to the right were at work in OE leaking constructions, we would not expect to find the restriction that only internal arguments can be focused in that way, as we do not find external arguments in this position. Second, not all objects in leaking orders are focused. It seems then that the analysis in term of extraposition opens more issues than it solves.

The rich variation in the relative ordering of elements in the leaking constructions suggests that they can be derived in a variety of ways. The only movement step that can be related to the interpretation of these orders is the movement of the non-finite verb across the finite verb. Whenever the non-finite verb precedes the modal/auxiliary verb, the proposition is interpreted as backgrounded and/or lacking subject/topic – predicate focus structure. If there is material following the finite verb, this signals that some of the VP material has undergone focus marking.

The derivation mechanism proposed by Biberauer & Roberts (2005) seems to be closest to capturing the behavior of leaking constructions. Recall that on their account the object remains in situ, inside VP, rather than moving to the inner SpecvP position, while the subject and the verb are in SpecvP and v, respectively. As vP is a phase, upon its completion only the edge material, i.e. the subject and the verb are eligible for further operations (movement across the modal or the auxiliary), while the VP containing the object is sent to Spell-Out.



this clause final focus is licensed prosodically). Whatever analysis is assumed for ‘rightward movement/adjunction’ type of phenomena, it is generally accepted that they exhibit focus effects (cf. Rochemont & Culicover 1990).

This would account for why external arguments never leak. Also, the need for pronouns to satisfy their own deficiency related requirements would prevent them from being allowed to remain inside VP, and would rarely be found in leaking constructions.

Even though B&R do not address the issue of adjunct positions, we might assume that on their account adjuncts adjoin to maximal projections, as on most minimalist accounts.¹⁰² This would provide us with enough playground to potentially account for the case where certain adjuncts are moved alongside the infinitive/participle, whereas others stay behind the finite verb, together with the object. If we take that adverbs, unlike PPs, are always merged to vP, this would help explain why adverbs are never found before leaked objects. PPs, on the other hand, seem to show a greater freedom in their adjunction site, and can appear both before and after the leaked object. PPs can also be found in the higher clausal area, preceding the non-finite and finite verb. Again, there aren't too many examples, but what we note is that these PPs are not VP modifying, and could be assumed to be merged higher in the clause, independent of the fronted vP material (the non-finite verb). In (53) the PP *buton geleafan* 'without belief' has speaker-oriented reading, and as such is merged somewhere in the TP area. The source PP *æt us* 'from us' is more difficult to argue to have a non-event-related or VP related meaning. If source PPs are indeed merged as VP adjuncts, what I assume to be responsible for the high position of this PP is the anaphoricity of the its complement. The pronoun *us* 'us' in the PP will trigger its movement (or pied-pipe it) first out the VP, and then to the TP area where anaphoric (but not topical) elements are found.¹⁰³

- (53) þu dwelast casere. þurh dyrstignysse. gif ðu [buton geleafan] [æt us] leornian
 you err emperor through temerity if you without belief from us learn
 wylt. ða halgan gerynu. ðurh heardum swinglum;
 will the holy mysteries through hard stripes

¹⁰² Chomsky (1995a: 409-411), however, argues that adjunction is banned on semantically active maximal projections, such as VPs.

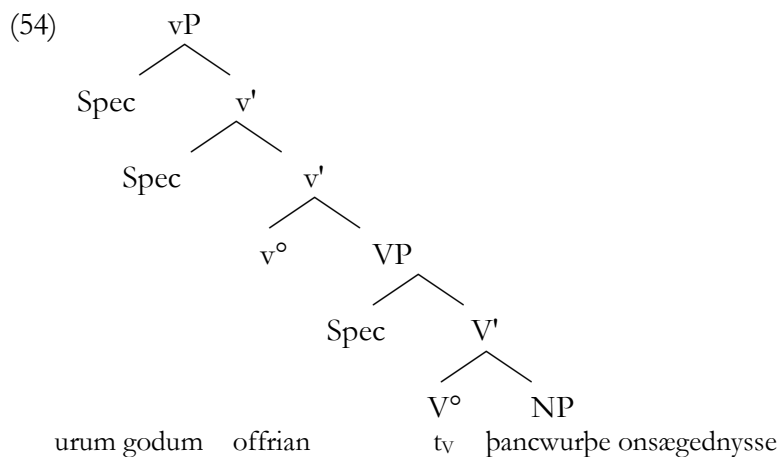
¹⁰³ Recall that anaphoric and topical elements occur in a higher position, SigmaP. The pronominal subject in (53) is in SigmaP.

'You are mistaken, emperor, through temerity, if, without belief, you desire to learn from us the holy mysteries by hard stripes'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_20:176.80.3899)

For objects fronted together with the non-finite verb (as in (45)) we have two options: (i) the object evacuates the VP, by moving to (inner) SpecvP; (ii) the object moves independently of the vP. In (45) specifically, both the indirect object and the non-finite verb are backgrounded (virtually repeated from the preceding sentence).

On Biberauer & Roberts' analysis, only the indirect object would move to the inner specifier of vP, while the direct object would stay inside VP. This type of derivation is represented in (54).



The vPs where objects move optionally to the inner specifier are assumed to have an optional EPP feature, which, when present, is associated with defocusing. As we have already pointed out, the problem with this assumption is the parallel existence of two types of vP, the one where object movement is obligatory (to derive OV orders where object is not defocused) and the one where movement is optional and used only to indicate that the object is defocused.

If we were to adopt Biberauer & Roberts' analysis of leaking, we face problems regarding the derivation of VO orders, as argued in Chapter 5. To get the non-finite verb to precede the object, we would need the finite verb to be a restructuring verb (V_R), whose complement is bigger than that of the

non-restructuring modals and auxiliaries. Again we need to accept the parallel existence of two different types of modals and auxiliaries. Whether we can find some interpretational difference which would support the V_R vs. non- V_R distinction remains to be an open question.

The correlations established so far between IS marking and syntactic structure makes it quite clear that any comprehensive syntactic account would need to be flexible enough with respect to the motivation of rearrangements, as very few movements occur due a specific interpretation (feature) of a the moved element. Rather, it is the configuration or relative ordering with other elements that is relevant for the interpretation of the whole construction.

6.3 Summary of the 'split interpretation'

Our analysis of the interpretations of Verb Raising and Leaking constructions provides more support for the existence of a third level of IS related marking, which we have proposed for the VO orders. The main idea is that non-finite VP material, irrespective of whether or not it has predicate focus, can undergo further rearrangements to indicate more elaborate relations within the topic and the predicate/comment part. If the predicate itself has no focus (-Focus 2), only arguments and adjuncts can undergo movements to indicate a specific interpretation. This is the classic case of low scrambling, and the idea is that arguments can move out of the VP area when they are 'topicalized' or 'focalized'. Note that these motivations of scrambling in OE (and other free word order languages) have never been fully explicated. If an object, for instance, moves because it is 'topical', how does it then relate to the subject, which is usually also *some kind* of topic? 'Focalized' elements can also scramble, but focus can also be assigned in lower positions. In OE, the focalized element always comes with a

backgroundedness flavor, and is closer in interpretation to contrastive topic.¹⁰⁴ When the predicate is marked for focus (+Focus 2), elements can be scrambled even higher and form a complex topic constituent. Scrambling (either low or high) is not obligatory, and this kind of optionality can only be related to information packaging, or what the speaker chooses as the points about which something can be brought as comment. Focused predicates also allow further manipulations of focus. All elements in the the extended vP (i.e. Aux/Mod+vP structures) can be individually or narrowly marked for focus, usually contrastive.

Leaking orders show us that additional focus marking is possible on VPs lacking predicate focus. In these constructions we always note that the predicate and the whole proposition are backgrounded, but one of the elements of the predicate is marked for focus. The only way to combine focus marking and presuppositional content is to 'split' the VP material. And this exactly is what is done in and by leaking. As this is a rather complex strategy, it is restricted in use, and is employed only by authors who exploit the limits of available IS mechanisms for rhetorical and stylistic purposes. As for whether leaking orders serve to update the CG, we are more inclined to assume that they do not, although we do not dismiss the possibility that their contribution to the discourse development resembles that of assertive propositions.

The interactions of Focus 1 and Focus 2 markings and their reflections on the word order are summarized in Table 6.2, while Table 6.3 presents how they interact with Focus 3 interpretation.

Table 6.2: The interaction between Focus 1 ('sentence focus') and Focus 2 ('topic-predicate focus')

	FOCUS 1	FOCUS 2
O Vn V	-	-
Vf VPn (both OVn and VnO)	+	+
Vn Vf O	-?	-

¹⁰⁴ Again we need to point out that what we label 'contrastive topic' here differs from the standard use of the term as in Büring 1997, 2003, which is an aboutness topic. Here we use it for elements that are –new information focus and +contrastive.

Table 6.3: The interaction between Focus 1 ('sentence focus'), Focus 2 ('topic-predicate focus'), and Focus 3 ('new information' focus)

	FOCUS 1	FOCUS 2	FOCUS 3
Vf [_{VP} O Vn]	+	+	+new information on the whole VP
Vf [_{VP} Vn O]	+	+	-new information on the whole VP
[_{VP} O Vn] Vf	-	-	+new information on the whole VP
O Vf [_{VP} Vn]	+	-	+new information on VP (i.e. Vn)
Vn Vf [_{VP} O]	-?	-	-new information on the whole VP

In terms of a modified version of the tripartite model of focus assignment proposed by Petrova & Solf (2009), Focus 1 creates a 'background-focus' structure, where focus is understood as communicative weight and relevance for discourse. Focus 2 creates 'topic-comment' structure, where comment equals predicate focus. Focus 3 is a way of creating sub-topic and sub-focus structures within Focus 1 and Focus 2 areas. Focus 3 is close to Petrova & Solf's distinction between given-new, when it is applied to sub-topic (high and low scrambling), but not when an additional layer of background-focus is imposed on VPs which are marked for Focus 2 (predicate focus), yielding narrow/emphatic/contrastive focus interpretation on one of the VP elements.

SOVnVf order equals lack of background-focus structure. Lack of communicative weight and relevance for discourse yields the pragmatic presupposition interpretation, or lack of assertion. Lack of background-focus structure correlates with the lack of topic-predicate focus structure. While the predicate itself is present in the proposition and attributes information to the subject, the subject-predicate relation is not asserted, or not delivered as relevant enough for the CG update. The predicate

itself allows elements to move out if they are accessible or topical in the preceding context, which creates the inference of another 'given-new' interpretational plane.

(55) [[_{given/topic} subject/O_{pro}/DP object] V_n V_f **Focus3**] [∅ **Focus2**] [∅ **Focus1**]

Whenever the non-finite V alone or the whole non-finite VP follows the finite verb, the proposition is interpreted as assertive and having predicate focus. With this order the hearer is instructed to accept that the speaker adds something new/relevant to the CG, and what is new is the topic-predicate relation. The material added to the chosen topic can be unmarked and interpreted as new information (possibly by default, as being unmarked rather indicates the lack of further topic-focus manipulations than new information per se; a predicate can also be understood to be unmarked for any special IS considerations because it is irrelevant at the point; (after all, NP/DP scrambling in free word order languages is usually not obligatory, and many 'unmarked' word orders are in fact ambiguous)).

Predicate-focus can be also be marked. The markedness is reflected in assigning focus to individual elements of the VP (O or V) or removing it (defocused VPs). When the same strategy is applied to VPs lacking predicate focus, we get leaking word orders. When the topic part with predicate-focus is manipulated, we get VR constructions (and low scrambling).

It seems clear that the key signposts in focus assignments are verbal elements. Depending on the their relative positioning with other elements, we get specific focus interpretations.

7. CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have attempted to show that the word order variation in the positions of the finite and the non-finite verb in OE is conditioned by IS factors.

In Chapter 2, we have seen that the problems with the existing syntactic analyses are twofold. First, they fail to capture the empirical facts, by somewhat idealizing the actual state of affairs when it comes to a certain word order pattern. The syntax of adjuncts is often completely ignored, which is surprising since adjuncts serve as a major diagnostic tool for movement of both arguments and verbs. The second problem is that the analyses either completely neglect, or do not manage to find the right approach to a possible difference in the interpretational inferences underlying the variation in the VP domain. The latter is most obvious in Taylor & Pintzuk's recent analyses of postverbal objects based on their IS properties.

In Chapter 3, we have put forth the hypothesis that the interpretational effect noted in Vn-Vf clauses is closest to Stalnaker's (1973, 1974, 1978, 2002) notion of pragmatic presupposition and the Common Ground theory. Following this assumption, we have examined the interpretations of Vn-Vf orders in temporal and conditional clauses, and shown that such orders can indeed be considered pragmatically presupposed. The 'mysteries' of accommodation have also been revealed. With the so-called inferable or plausible propositions, we have seen that accommodation depends not only on the linguistic context, but also on the assumptions of the speaker what constitutes common extralinguistic knowledge. The role of relevance has also been noted. Semantically impoverished predicates are not so much presupposed as they are non-assertive – they cannot update the common ground. By treating propositions, rather than clauses that contain them, as discourse entities, we have managed to highlight the role of the position of the finite verb. What allows clauses to have the verb in the non-final position is not their external syntax (the relation a certain clause type has with the main clause) nor their internal syntax (the presence or absence of certain functional categories). It is the way the speaker treats the proposition in them with respect to its relation to the common ground.

In Chapter 4 we have examined the alternative Vf-Vn order in the same clause types (temporal and conditional) to establish whether this order corresponds to ‘non-presupposition’. Our hypothesis has been confirmed, as Vf-Vn orders regularly update the common ground. We have seen that in conventionally presupposed clauses, assertion is related to focus assignment, as well as the input of the speaker’s perspective. The relevance of the notion ‘speaker’s perspective’ is evident in the regular presence of Vf-Vn orders after switches from narration to direct/quoted speech, as they bring about changes in the speaker’s perspective. We have also proposed that Vn-Vf orders are derived by non-finite vP fronting across the finite verb. The motivation for this movement is seen as escape from sentence/presupposition focus domain.

In Chapter 5 we have dealt with the OV/VO alternation, with the emphasis on the interpretation of VO orders. VO orders regularly correspond to non-wide focus interpretation of the non-finite VP. The non-wide focus interpretation comes in two types: narrow/contrastive/emphatic focus on either the non-finite verb or the object, or lack of focus marking on the VP elements. VO orders are thus marked, but not via a certain interpretation of an individual element in the VP (e.g. focus on the object). What is reflected in the syntax is only the absence of wide VP focus in VO orders. The lack of focus marking on the entire VP does not make the proposition presupposed. Just like all Vf-VPn orders, these propositions update the common ground. This is due to the fact that all non-finite VPs following the finite verb have predicate focus, irrespective of whether they are OV or VO, or their VO interpretation. Therefore, we have proposed that the focus marking which results in VO orders is independent of both the sentence/proposition focus and predicate focus. This third level of focus marking is used to manipulate the interpretation of new information, i.e. to signal what is *not* to be interpreted as new information. Further support for the multi-layered model of IS marking is found in Verb Raising and Leaking Constructions, discussed in Chapter 6. Verb Raising constructions show that the object moves to the position preceding the finite verb to form a complex topic structure, or as a secondary topic. Scrambling outside the non-finite vP (or low scrambling) is also viewed as movement out of the new information domain of the vP. Leaking constructions, on the other hand, involve information-

structurally complex structures, where narrow/contrastive/emphatic focus is marked in presupposed propositions. The only way to achieve this is to split the material between the area preceding and following the finite verb. From all these insights, a clear generalization emerges: it is always the position of the non-finite verb (relative to other elements) which serves as the signpost for the interpretation of focus. Also, syntax can encode three different types of focus interpretation, or topic/theme/background-focus relations.

7.1 Unresolved issues

Our analysis seems to be able to capture word order variation in IS terms, but it also comes with certain implications which remain yet to be resolved. In this section we will point out to the issues which have been raised by our analysis, but have not received a satisfactory account.

7.1.1 Assertion

Even though we have shown that pragmatic assertion is the closest to accounting for the non-final position of the finite verb, this explanation, as a consequence, further complicates our understanding of assertion. It is quite clear that on our approach, assertion has to be a scalar notion, as we need to distinguish different degrees of assertion, which correlate with conventional assertion: main clauses > ERP subordinate clauses > presupposed embedded clauses. Focus manipulations within propositions can change the degree of assertion; hence, conventionally presupposed clauses, such as conditional and temporal clauses, could be made assertive when certain elements in them are focused; likewise, conventionally assertive embedded clauses (or ERP clauses), such as complement clauses of communication verbs, can be interpreted as presupposed when they contain propositions lacking focus

(predicate or sentence focus). We still fail to understand how exactly these three types of assertion differ in terms of common ground update.

Another complication for our view of assertion as common ground update is that it directly depends on predicate focus. A proposition ‘truly’ updates the CG when some new predication relation is added to it. The role of narrow focus on the finite verb is also insufficiently understood. When Vf is focused in Vf-Vn-O orders, it contributes the relevance of alternatives/contrast to CG; when Vf is focused in leaking (Vn-Vf-O) orders, it serves to emphasize that the proposition introduced earlier holds. To make a distinction in the interpretation, we are forced to stipulate that this emphasis does not update CG. This is a problematic move, as we have claimed that main clauses in cases of topic-focus switches between main and embedded clauses are still assertive *and* emphasized. Therefore, the contribution of leaking orders to discourse development will have to remain unresolved.

7.1.2 Derivation of the unmarked OV order

The second issue comes as a consequence of our analysis of the OV/VO alternation. That OV is the ‘basic’ word order of in the OE VP is a stipulation. We could not provide arguments for why the object would have to move from the postverbal to a preverbal position to get unmarked, presumably new information focus, so we were forced to assume that the object simply merges to the left of the verbal head. Again, VP is the only phrase which is not head initial. However, before we make definite conclusions, we need to be made aware of the possibility that the leftward merge of the object is somehow related to the properties of non-finite VPs. Let us elaborate this.

The OV/VO variation has always been investigated with non-finite verbs, on the assumption that finite lexical verbs undergo shorter or longer movements, whereby postverbal objects may only be a consequence of the verb being in a higher position for independent reasons, rather than a reflection of a potentially ‘basic’ head-complement VP. If the finite verb has a special function to perform in a sentence, and if this function is reflected in its position, then the same logic should apply to OV orders

in embedded clauses (recall that main clauses are exceptionally verb-final). If the clause final position of the finite verb reflects lack of sentence focus/pragmatic presupposition, we can also assume that the complement of the lexical finite verb (nominal objects) again has to move to a preverbal area to ensure that the sentence focus area is empty (or that it cannot project to the finite verb). In other words, verb movement in main clauses could in principle serve only to indicate the pragmatic status of a proposition as assertive, and VO ordering is just a side effect. Hence, in main clauses we have no real evidence that either OV or VO order is basic. If the 'unmarkedness' of OV is clear only in non-finite VPs, it is not implausible that its preverbal position is related to some special properties of non-finite verbs. As non-finite verbs (infinitives and participles) have both nominal and verbal features, it might be expected that they would behave differently than finite verbs. As the motivation for the object's preverbal position is unlikely to be IS-conditioned (the only distinctive feature of OV orders is the presence of new information focus interpretation), it is difficult to understand why this level of focus marking would involve movement to indicate both new information and non-new information (scrambling) focus. I tentatively suggest that the possible reason for object movement to the preverbal position with non-finite verbs is related to case-assigning abilities of non-core verbal elements. In other words, the presence of an N feature (or verbal underspecification) of infinitives and participles will require a different case assigning mechanism. In that respect, infinitives and participles resemble other types of mixed +N +V elements. Deverbal nouns regularly have their complements to their left, both in compound nominals (e.g. *bocreading* 'book-reading') and in event/process nominals (*ðæs folces breddinge* 'redemption of the people'). Clearly, non-finite verbs differ from deverbal nouns in that they do not have any restrictions regarding case on their objects (in compounds, the complement lacks distinctive case altogether, while in event/process nominals, the complement always has genitive case). It is still more appealing to relate the preverbal object position to special properties of non-finite forms, than to speculate about a complex system of getting an 'unmarked' order from a 'base' order via movement.

7.2 Language change

If OE word order patterns reflect syntactic encoding of IS notions, the language change into Middle English and later stages would have involved a change from a discourse-configurational language to a non-discourse configurational one. But what do we relate this change to? IS-related movements, such as scrambling, are usually linked to morphological case and/or absence of a specific type of determiner system. Even though these assumptions still need further elaboration, they seem to capture some important correlations between free word order, rich morphological case system and the presence or absence of category D. We have also suggested, following Hinterhölzl's (2004, 2009) proposal for subsequent development of OHG, that 'stylistic rules' became to be reanalyzed as core grammar rules, presumably influenced by the loss of morphological case and emergence of a determiner system. Even though the role of the OE demonstratives is still rather poorly understood, recent accounts attribute the primary role to discourse linking of referents (cf. van Kemenade, Milićev & Baayen 2008, or Hinterhölzl & van Kemenade 2015). The change from a demonstrative to a definite determiner could in principle account for the loss of scrambling, for instance. But how does it relate to the loss of movement of non-finite verbs (or larger projections containing them), which we, along with Biberauer & Roberts (2005), assume to take place in OE? Biberauer & Roberts attribute it to the change in which D-related EPP feature on T and v are checked (the loss of pied-piping option of satisfying the D-related EPP on both T and v, and the 'reinterpretation' of D feature as [Neg] and [Q]). As only DPs alone are eligible in SpecTP or SpecvP, non-finite verbs will not be able to be pied-piped, and will have to remain in situ. As I was not able to tease out syntactic details of non-finite verb displacements (e.g. whether it is indeed phrasal type of movement), I cannot make any suggestions regarding their apparent loss. The empirical generalization is that the non-finite verb movement(s) are triggered by the need to ensure that elements within the vP are *not* interpreted in a certain way (either the whole vP is –sentence and or –predicate focus, or elements inside the vP are –new information focus). The only fixed position for the moved non-finite verb is before the finite verb, where it has to be adjacent to it (*V_n-XP-V_f).

In the area following the finite verb, the non-finite verb can precede adjuncts, complements or both. It is therefore difficult to assume one particular position with an EPP feature would be checked, and consequently ensure the interpretations noted.

We also need to point out that the change from OE to later stages cannot be stated only in terms of the loss of a wide arrange of movement options, triggered by pragmatic/IS factors. Configurationality or the syntactic encoding of IS relations is not the only way of keeping track of how material is added to the discourse or how discourse develops. Recall that OE has an elaborate system of discourse particles, including, most notably *þa/þonne* ‘then’, but also *nu* ‘now’, *la* ‘lo’, *na* ‘not’, *eac* ‘also’. The change into ME also involves the loss of these particles/adverbs (van Kemenade & Milićev (2005/2012) show that the use of *þa/þonne* ‘then’, amounting to 2500 instances noted in YCOE, is significantly reduced in ME, to 177 instances). The loss of discourse adverbs cannot be related to any of the factors associated with syntactic options in OE. It rather reflects a more radical and admittedly more mysterious change from a language highly concerned with the overt expression of pragmatic/IS meanings and relations (including topic/background-focus structure, the speaker’s point of view, rhetoric, and so on) to the one where such concerns are secondary or irrelevant.

7.3 Final remarks

Despite the weaknesses and open questions discussed above, the account presented in this thesis manages to capture the major word order patterns in OE in a principled way. The central claim is that the variation in the (complex) vP domain reflects differences in syntactic encoding of topic/background-focus structures at three relatively independent levels of interpretation. In addition, it is also able to capture the variation in the position of subjects and pronominal objects.

What is novel in this approach is that even though in OE there exists a heavy concern that discourse and IS relations are encoded in the syntax, there is no one-to-one relation between a specific interpretation and a specific position. Most of the intended interpretations are obtained relationally, and

most word order patterns are ambiguous with respect to the interpretation of individual elements. It is ultimately the context that resolves these ambiguities, possibly with the help of prosodic factors, which we had to ignore for obvious reasons.

Finally, I believe that the analysis presented in this thesis represents the first and crucial step in understanding how OE is discourse-configurational and what ‘discourse’ is represented in the configuration. Clearly, main clauses still remain to be integrated in the analysis for us to get a full picture of what OE syntax can do to facilitate discourse organization and development. Only then can we successfully approach the issue of language change.

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