

**From I-final to I-initial and from OV to VO:
On two new non-postposing elements in
Old English:
predicative adjectives and *self***

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Introduction

- The headedness of IP is in synchronic variation in Old English, a thesis known as the *Double Base Hypothesis* (Santorini 1992, Pintzuk 1993, Kiparsky 1996, Kroch & Taylor 1997)
- Through grammar competition, I-initial grammar becomes generalized in English (Kroch 1989, 1994)
- The same analysis can be employed for the headedness of VP

Introduction

(1) Her Oswald Norðanhymbra cyning ofslægen wæs.

here O. of.Northumbrians king slain was

‘This year, Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, was killed’

- entry for the year 642 from the “Parker Chronicle”, late 9th century

(2) Her wæs Osuuald ofslagen, Norðhymbra cining.

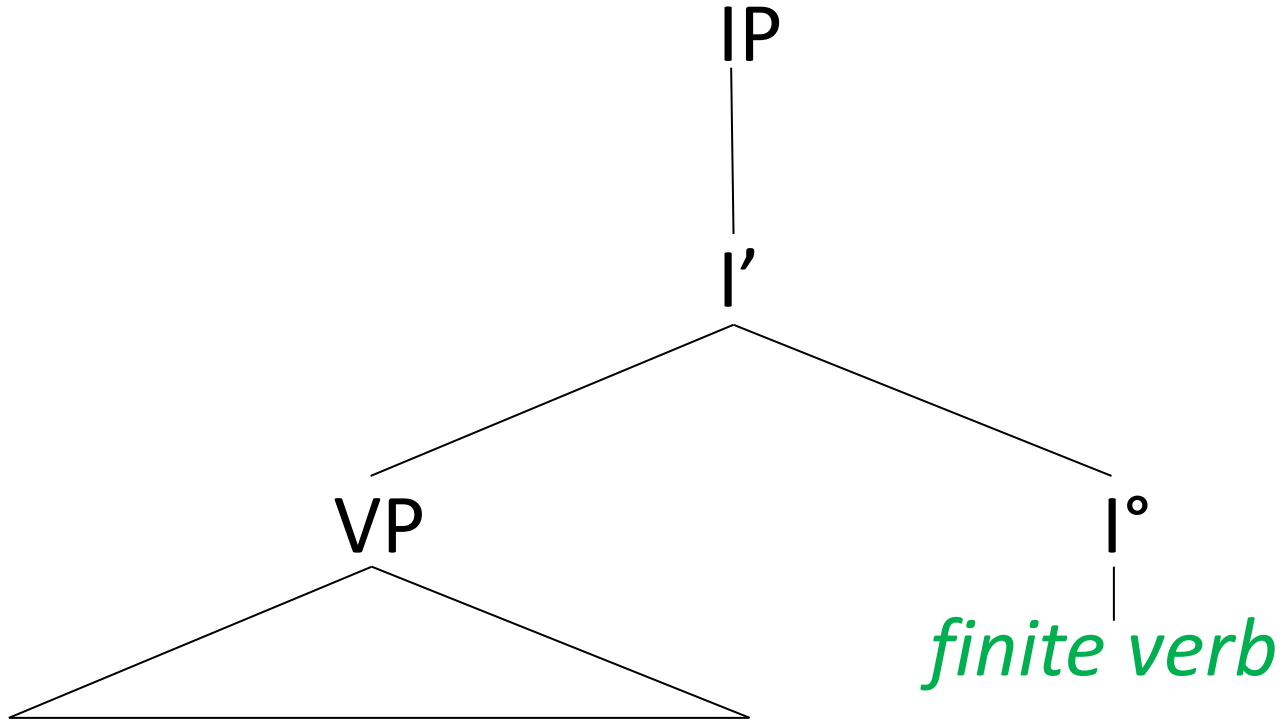
here was O. slain of.Northumbrians king

‘This year, Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, was killed’

- entry for the year 641 from the “Peterborough Chronicle”, early 12th century

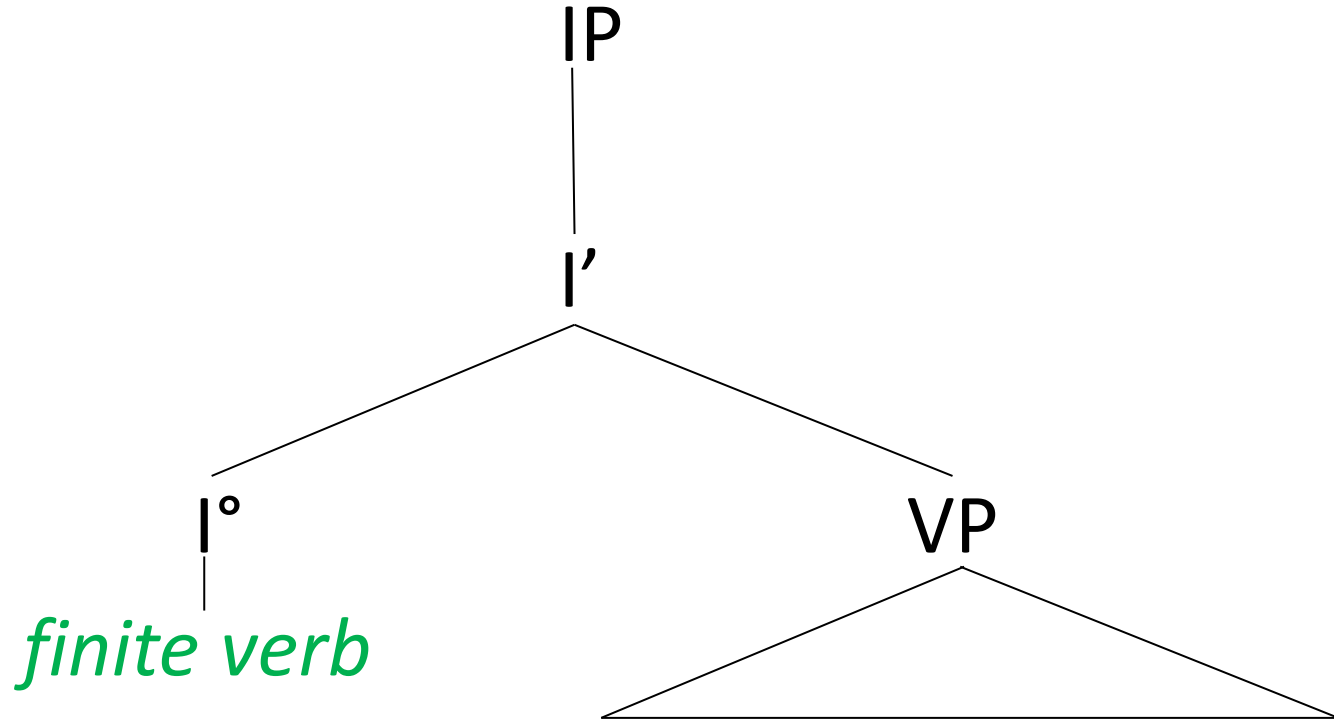
Introduction

- I-final phrase structure



Introduction

- I-initial phrase structure



Introduction

(3) & Botulf **ongon** [mynster **timbran** æt Icanho]

and B. began minster work at I.

‘And Botolph began to build a minster at Icanhoe’

- entry for the year 654 from the “Parker Chronicle”, late 9th century

(4) & Botuulf **ongan** [**timbrian** mynster æt Icanhoe.]

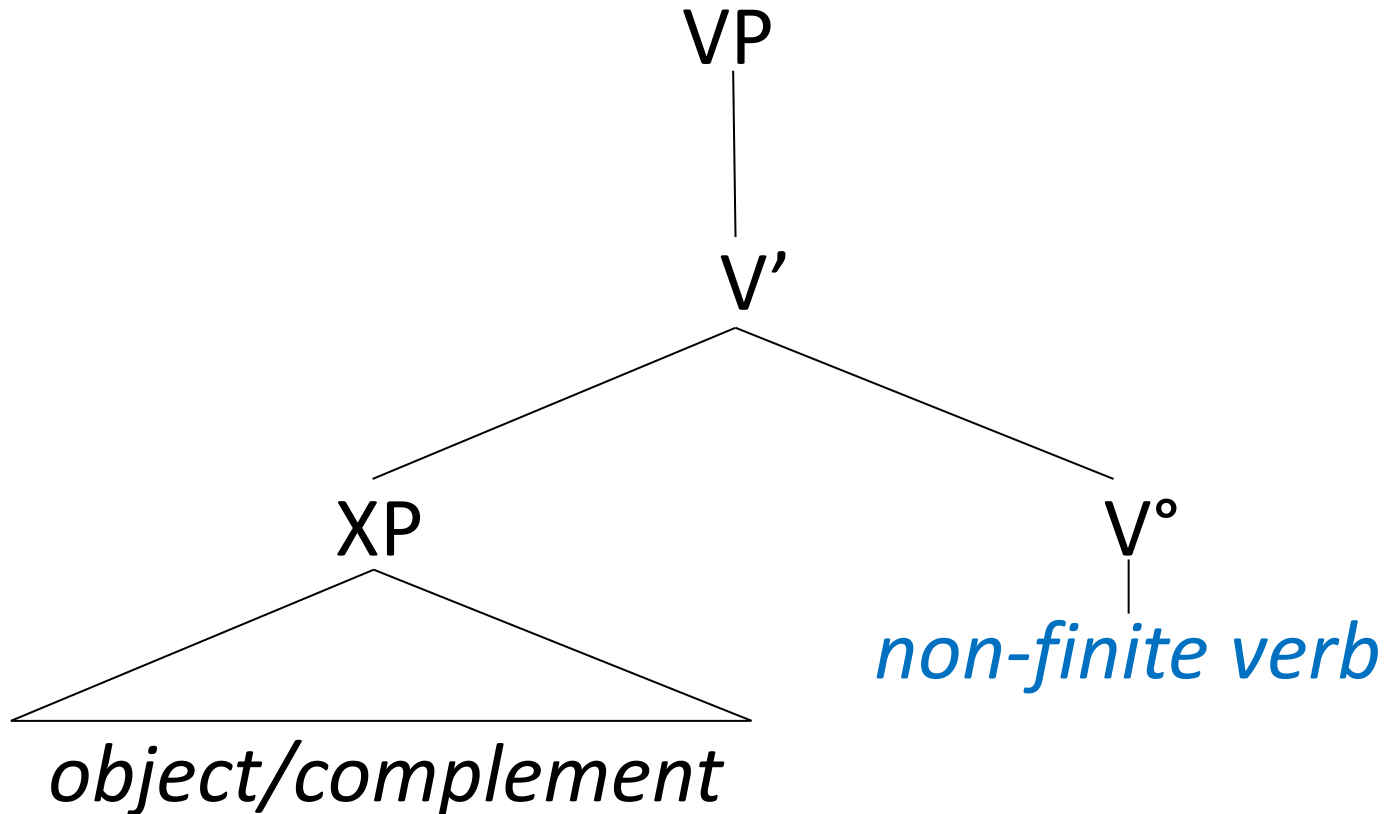
and B. began work minster at I.

‘And Botolph began to build a minster at Icanhoe’

- entry for the year 653 from the “Peterborough Chronicle”, early 12th century

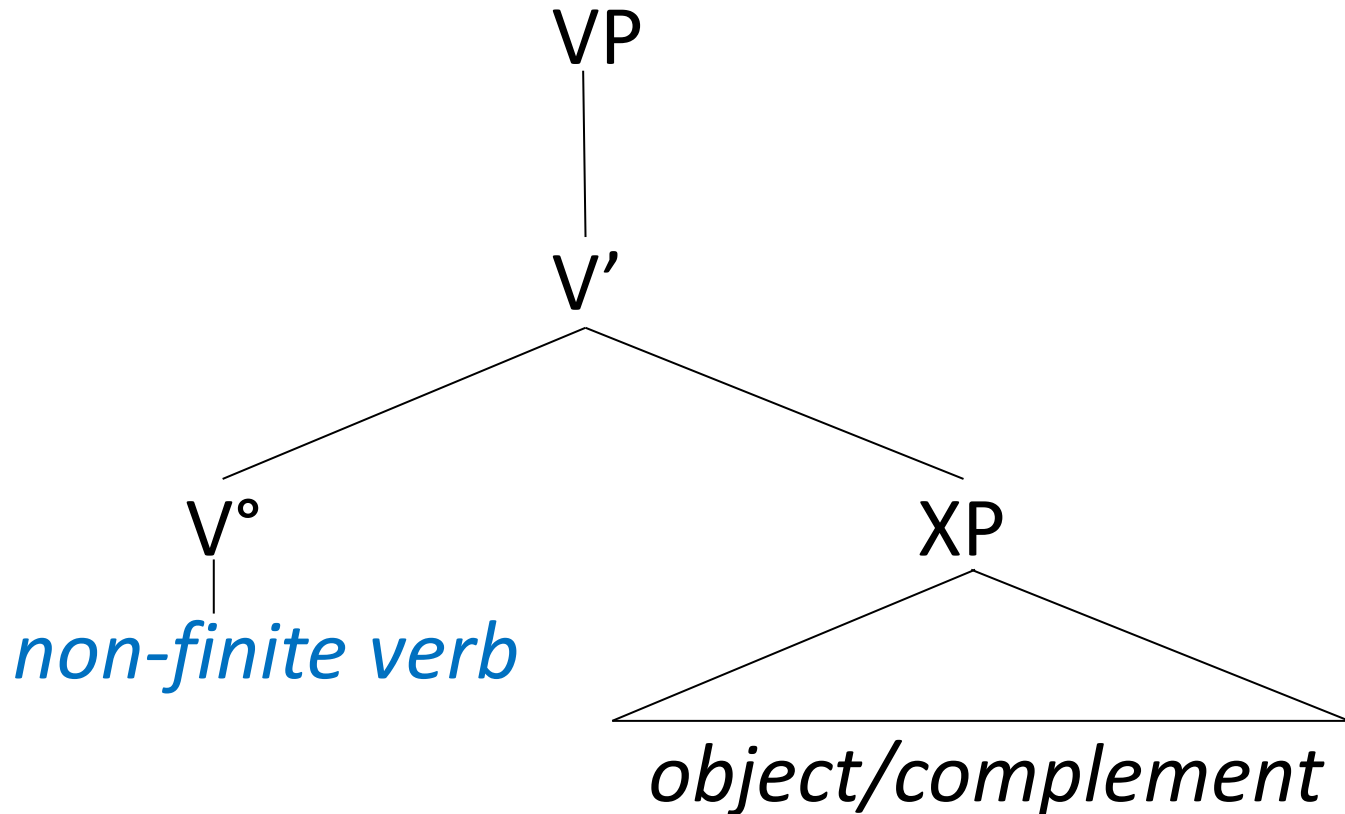
Introduction

- V-final phrase structure



Introduction

- V-initial phrase structure



Introduction

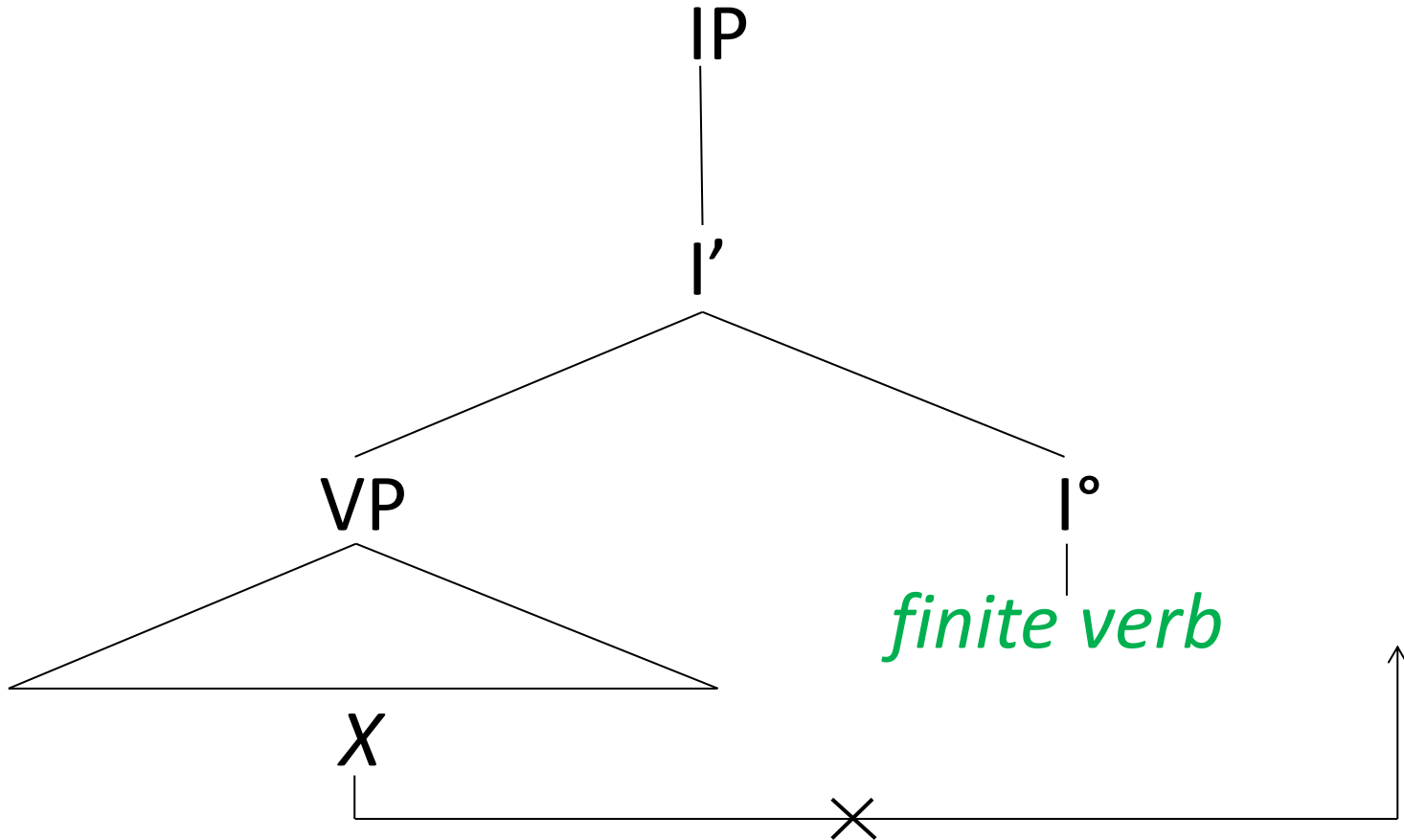
- Major problem:
- It is difficult to measure the frequency of I-final and I-initial phrase structure / of V-final and V-initial phrase structure directly
 - V / VP raising
 - rightward extraposition processes

(Kemenade 1987, Koopman 1990, Haeberli & Pintzuk 2011)

Introduction

- What to do?
 - (i) identify an element X that cannot possibly postpose
 - (ii) if these elements occur after a finite verb, they indicate necessarily I-initial structure
 - (iii) if these elements occur after a non-finite verb, they indicate necessarily V-initial structure

Introduction



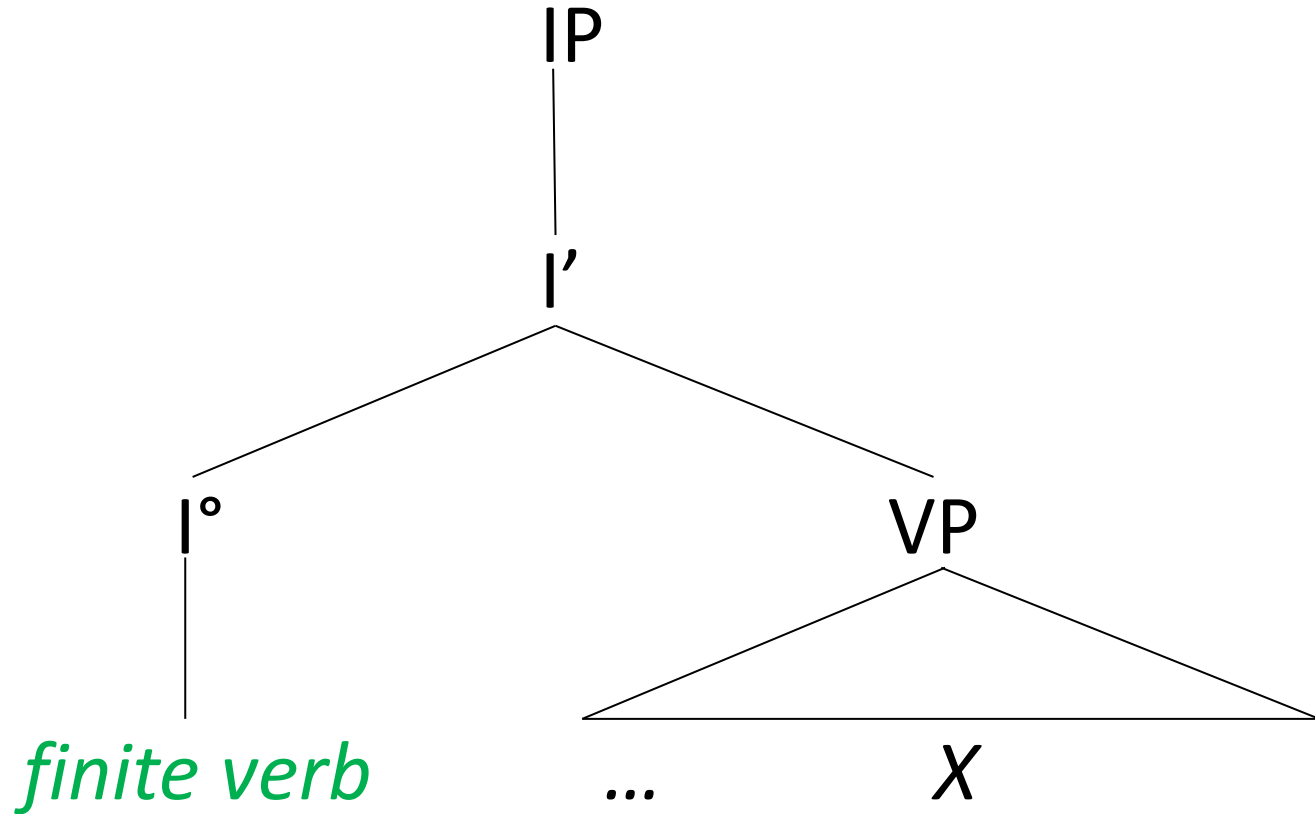
Introduction

finite verb

...

X

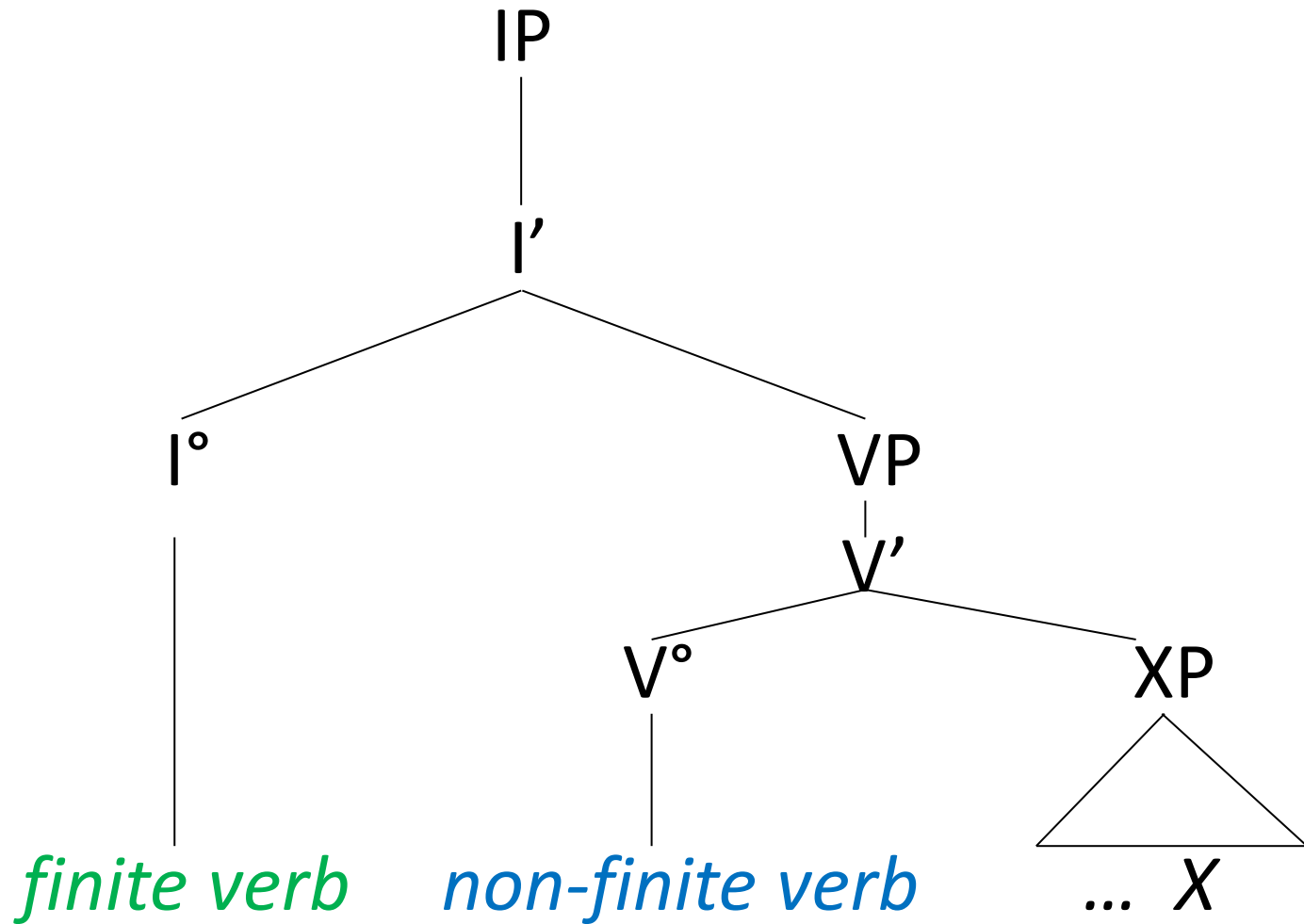
Introduction



Introduction

finite verb *non-finite verb* ... *X*

Introduction



Introduction

- Which elements have been identified as non-postposing diagnostics? (Pintzuk 1999, 2002, 2005, Pintzuk & Haeberli 2008)
 - particles
 - stranded prepositions
 - non-subject pronouns /demonstratives
 - negatively quantified objects
 - negative adverbs

Introduction

- necessarily I-initial clauses, post-verbal particle

(5) ... þæt hi **comon** on Scotland **upp**,
... that they came on Scotland **up**
'... that they came up to Scotland'
(cobede, Bede_1:1.28.7.203)

- necessarily I-initial clause, post-verbal non-subject pronoun

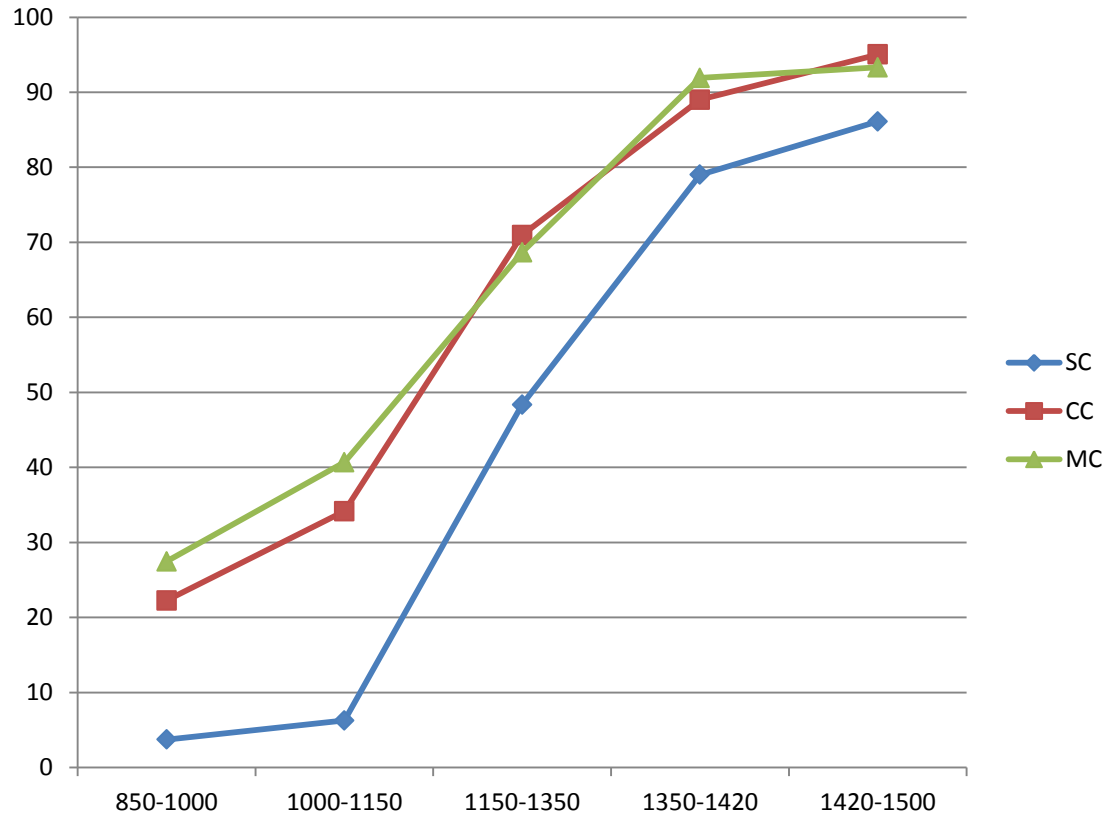
(6) Hie **ðreadon** **us**
they dread **us**
'They fear us'
(cocura, CP:36.255.7.1666)

Introduction

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily I-initial	% I-initial
850-1000	5209	194	3.7
1000-1150	4311	270	6.3
1150-1350	1228	594	48.4
1350-1420	1057	835	79.0
1420-1500	619	533	86.1

Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily I-initial	% I-initial
850-1000	1294	288	22.3
1000-1150	1701	581	34.2
1150-1350	427	303	71.0
1350-1420	746	664	89.0
1420-1500	746	709	95.0

Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily I-initial	% I-initial
850-1000	1748	480	27.5
1000-1150	1848	752	40.7
1150-1350	670	460	68.7
1350-1420	395	363	91.9
1420-1500	568	530	93.3



Graph 1: Percentage of necessarily I-initial clauses by clause type and period, old diagnostics

Introduction

- necessarily V-initial clauses, post-verbal non-subject pronoun

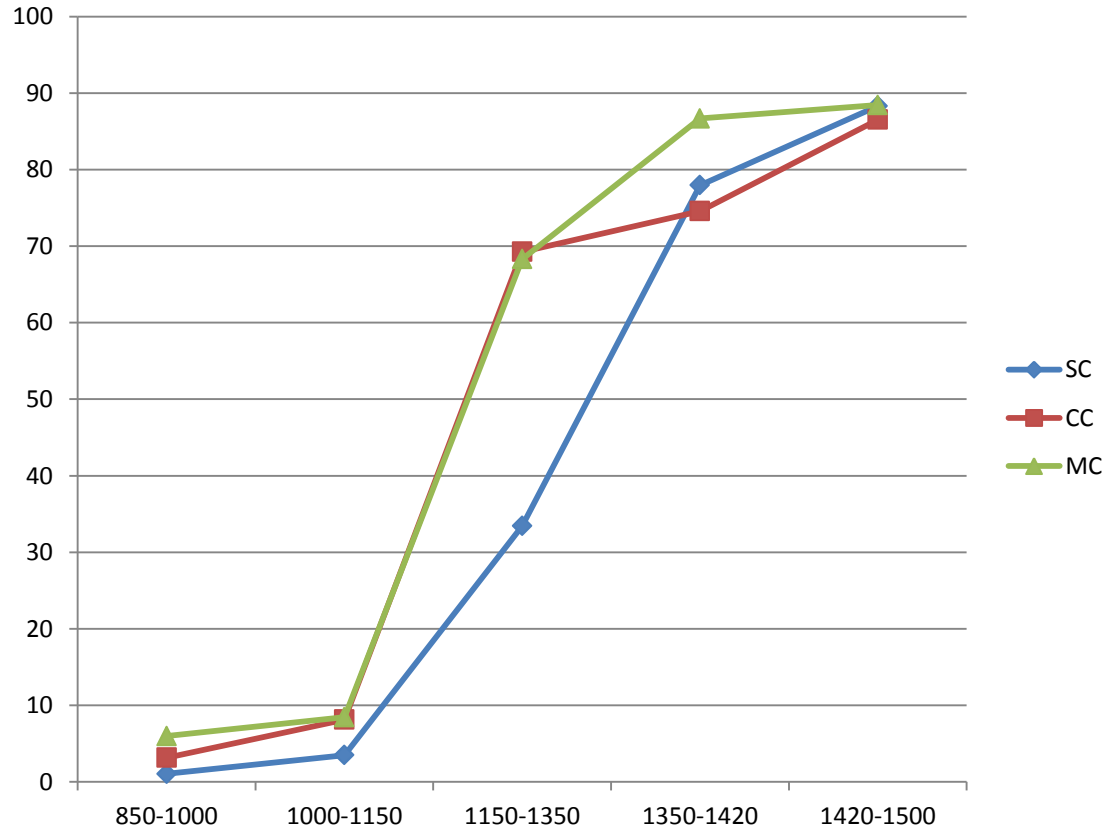
(7) ne ic æac **nelle** **forlete** **þe**,
nor I also NEG+will leave **you**
'But I also do not want to leave you'
(cosolilo,Solil_1:13.1.156)

- necessarily V-initial clause, post-verbal stranded preposition

(8) [He] **het** him þa **clypiæn** **to** ðone cniht
[he] ordered him then call **to** the boy
'He ordered that the boy be called to him'
(corood,LS_5_[InventCrossNap]:148.149)

Introduction

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily V-initial	% V-initial
850-1000	1135	12	1.1
1000-1150	770	27	3.5
1150-1350	341	114	33.4
1350-1420	540	421	78.0
1420-1500	496	438	88.3
Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily V-initial	% V-initial
850-1000	285	9	3.2
1000-1150	307	25	8.1
1150-1350	231	160	69.3
1350-1420	417	311	74.6
1420-1500	349	302	86.5
Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily V-initial	% V-initial
850-1000	234	14	6.0
1000-1150	260	22	8.5
1150-1350	265	181	68.3
1350-1420	180	156	86.7
1420-1500	242	214	88.4



Graph 2: Percentage of necessarily V-initial clauses by clause type and period, old diagnostics

Introduction

- Central question for this talk:
 - Are there two new non-postposing elements?*
 - (primary) predicative adjectives
 - *self*

Non-postposing diagnostics

- How is it possible to determine if an element X can postpose or not?
 - (i) investigate contexts that must necessarily be I-final
necessarily I-final contexts
 - (ii) investigate contexts that could be I-initial or I-final with V/VP-raising, extraposition
potentially I-initial contexts
 - (iii) a non-postposing element X should never occur after the verb in necessarily I-final contexts, but should sometimes occur after the verb in potentially I-initial contexts

Non-postposing diagnostics

- What are necessarily I-final contexts?
 - *non-finite verb finite verb*
(in root clauses, the subject should precede the non-finite verb to avoid the possibility of VP-topicalization)
 - *non-finite clause ... finite verb*
(in root clauses, the subject should precede the non-finite verb to avoid the possibility of VP-topicalization)
 - *XP ... YP ... finite verb*
(where XP and YP are non-pronominal verbal arguments (Pintzuk 1999))
 - *particle ... finite verb*
(a subset of all particles, *adun* 'down', *æfter* 'after', *aweg* 'away', *in* 'in', *niper* 'under', *ongean* 'back', *up* 'up', *ut* 'out' (Pintzuk & Haeberli 2008))
 - *stranded preposition ... finite verb*
 - *negatively quantified object ... finite verb*

Non-postposing diagnostics

- Examples

- non-finite verb finite verb:

(9) and al þis hom helpe ne mihte
and all this them help not might
'and all this might not help them'
(CMLAMB1,81.153)

- *XP...YP...finite verb*; also: *negatively quantified object...finite verb*:

(10) Ac [se þeowa þæs ælmihtigan Godes] [þæs naht] ne onfeng
but the servant of.the almighty God of.this nothing not received
'But the servant of the almighty God received nothing of this'
(cogregdC,GDPref_and_3_[C]:14.201.3.2611)

Non-postposing diagnostics

- What are potentially I-initial contexts?
 - *finite verb ... non-finite verb*
(in root clauses, the subject should precede the finite verb to minimize the probability of V-to-C movement)
 - *finite verb ... non-finite clause*
 - *XP ... finite verb ... YP*
(where XP and YP are non-pronominal verbal arguments)

Non-postposing diagnostics

- Examples

- *finite verb* ... *non-finite verb*:

(11) for þei **cowd** not wel **helpyn** hem-self
for they could not well help them-self
'Therefore, they could not help themselves well'
(CMKEMPE,74.1668)

- *finite verb* ... *non-finite clause*:

(12) ... ær þan þe he Erodes se cyning **hete** [þa cild cwellan]
... before he E. the king ordered the child kill
'... before he, King Herod, ordered that the child be killed'
(coverhom,HomU_10_[ScraggVerc_6]:61.1015)

Do predicative adjectives postpose?

- Data collected with the electronic, syntactically parsed corpus YCOE2 (Taylor et al. 2003)
- Example query file (CorpusSearch) and output:

```
node: CP*
query: (CP* idoms IP-SUB*)
AND (CP* idoms C)
AND (IP-SUB* idoms finite_verb)
AND (IP-SUB* idoms BE)
AND (IP-SUB* idoms ADJP*)
AND (ADJP* doms ADJ*)
AND (ADJ* idoms !SELF)
AND (finite_verb precedes BE)
AND (BE precedes ADJP*)
```

```
/~*
ic wende, +t+at +tes sceolde beon mycel & f+ager.
(cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:5.46.22.510)
*~/
/*
9 CP-THT-SPE: 9 CP-THT-SPE, 12 IP-SUB-SPE, 10 C, 16 MDD, 18 BE
, 20 ADJP-NOM-PRD, 25 ADJ^N, 26 f+ager
*/

(0 (1 IP-MAT-SPE (2 NP-NOM (3 PRO^N ic))
      (5 VBD wende)
      (7 , ,)
      (9 CP-THT-SPE (10 C +t+at)
        (12 IP-SUB-SPE (13 NP-NOM (14 D^N +tes))
          (16 MDD sceolde)
          (18 BE beon)
          (20 ADJP-NOM-PRD
            (21 Q^N mycel)
            (23 CONJ &) (25 ADJ^N f+ager))))
      (27 . .))
(29 ID cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:5.46.22.510))
```

Do predicative adjectives postpose?

- Results

Root clauses:

	pre-verb	post-verb
I-initial	14	155
I-final	6	0

Subordinate clauses:

	pre-verb	post-verb
I-initial	62	97
I-final	46	0

Do predicative adjectives postpose?

- Examples

(13) a. wif [...] þe næfre mihte clene beon
woman [...] who never might clean be
'a woman [...] who may never be clean'
(coquadru,Med_1.1_[de_Vriend]:2.4.76)

b. Hu se lareow sceal bion clæne on his mode.
how the teacher shall be clean on his mind
'How the teacher shall be clean in mind'
(cocura,CP:13.75.18.501)

c. ... gyf we clæne beon sceolan
... if we clean be shall
'... if we shall be clean'
(cowulf,WHom_4:30.119)

d. * ... beon sceolan clæne
... be shall clean

Do predicative adjectives postpose?

- Secondary predicative adjectives do postpose:

(14) a. ... þæt he for ege ðæs deaðes ða þing dyde, þe he er **gesund don**
...that he for fear of.the death the thing did which he earlier healthy do

nolde

not.wanted

‘... that he did for fear of death what he did not want to do earlier when in health’

(cobede,Bede_5:14.438.7.4390)

b. ... þæt Crist þa **gan sceolde cucu** of ðære rode;

... that Christ then go should living of the cross

‘...that Christ should then go from the cross, alive’

(coaelhom,ÆHom_7:121.1117)

Do predicative adjectives postpose?

- *Primary predicative adjectives*
***DO NOT POSTPOSE** in early English*

Does *self* postpose?

- Types of *self* considered:

- reflexive *self*:

(15) On ðære gesundfulnesse mon **forgiett his** **selfes**
in the health.ful.ness one forgets his.GEN self.GEN
'In prosperity men forget themselves'
(cocura,CP:3.35.6.166)

- stranded emphatic *self*:

(16) Ac hie **woldon selfe fleon** ða byrðenne sua micelre scylde
but they wanted self flee the burden so great guilt
'but they themselves wanted to flee the burden of such great guilt'
(cocura,CP:2.31.14.140)

Does *self* postpose?

- Types of *self* not considered:

- non-stranded emphatic *self*:

(17) ... swa þæt se eorl **sylf** earfoðlice **gestylde** þæt folc.
... so that the earl self hardly appeared that people
'... so that the earl himself with difficulty appeared the people.'
(cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1052.48.2372)

- as an attribute adjective:

(18) þy **sylfan** dæge
the self day
'the same day'
(cobede,Bede_4:17.302.32.3068)

- in prepositional phrases:

(19) in Cent **sylfre**
in Kent self
'in Kent itself'
(cobede,Bede_2:3.104.23.984)

- and other uses...

Does *self* postpose?

- Results

Root clauses:

	pre-verb	post-verb
I-initial	40	13
I-final	11	0

Subordinate clauses:

	pre-verb	post-verb
I-initial	66	8
I-final	35	0

Does *self* postpose?

- Examples

(19) a. ac ic nolde næfre me sylfe þurh þæt gewemman.
but I not.wanted never me self through that injure
'But I never wanted to injure myself through that.'
(coeuphr,LS_7_[Euphr]:103.108)

b. Rufinus wolde habban him self þone anwold þær east
R. wanted have him self the power there east
'Rufinus himself wanted to have the power there in the east'
(coorosiu,Or_6:37.155.18.3304)

c. & hyne sylfne gehælan ne mæg
and him self heal not may
'and [he] cannot heal himself'
(cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]:27.42.2077)

d. * ... non-finite verb finite verb SELF

Does *self* postpose?

- *Reflexive and non-stranded emphatic self*
DO NOT POSTPOSE in early English

Using the new diagnostics...

- Investigation of IP and VP headedness by means of the new diagnostics, *self* and primary predicative adjectives
 - VP headedness with *self*
 - IP headedness with *self*
 - VP headedness with predicative adjectives
 - IP headedness with predicative adjectives
- Data collected with the YCOE2 (Taylor et al. 2003) and PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000)

Using the new diagnostics...

- VP headedness, measured by *self*

- Measure percentage of necessarily V-initial sentences,
finite verb – *non-finite verb* – *SELF*,
such as:

(19) b. Rufinus *wolde* *habban* *him self* þone anwold þær east
R. wanted have him self the power there east
'Rufinus himself wanted to have the power there in the east'
(coorosiu,Or_6:37.155.18.3304)

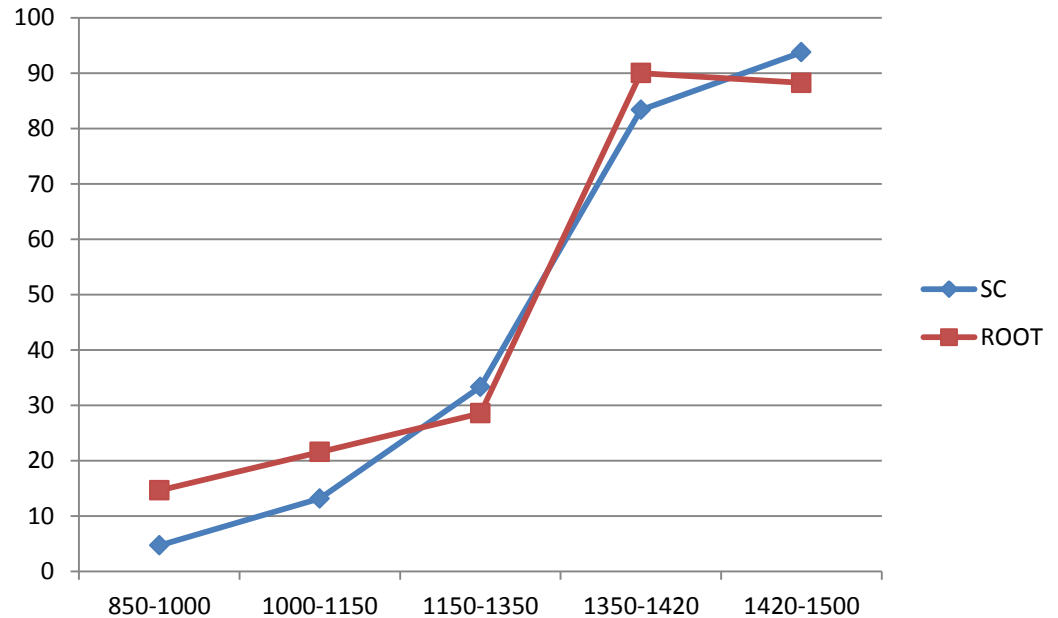
as a percentage of all sentences with a *finite verb*, *non-finite verb* and *SELF* in any order.

Using the new diagnostics...

- VP headedness, measured by *self*

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial VP	% initial VP
850-1000	64	3	4.7
1000-1150	38	5	13.2
1150-1350	3	1	33.3
1350-1420	18	15	83.3
1420-1500	16	15	93.8

Root Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial VP	% initial VP
850-1000	41	6	14.6
1000-1150	51	11	21.6
1150-1350	7	2	28.6
1350-1420	20	18	90.0
1420-1500	34	30	88.2



Graph 3: Percentage of necessarily V-initial clauses by clause type and period, *self*

Using the new diagnostics...

- IP headedness, measured by *self*

- Measure percentage of necessarily I-initial sentences,
finite verb – SELF,
such as:

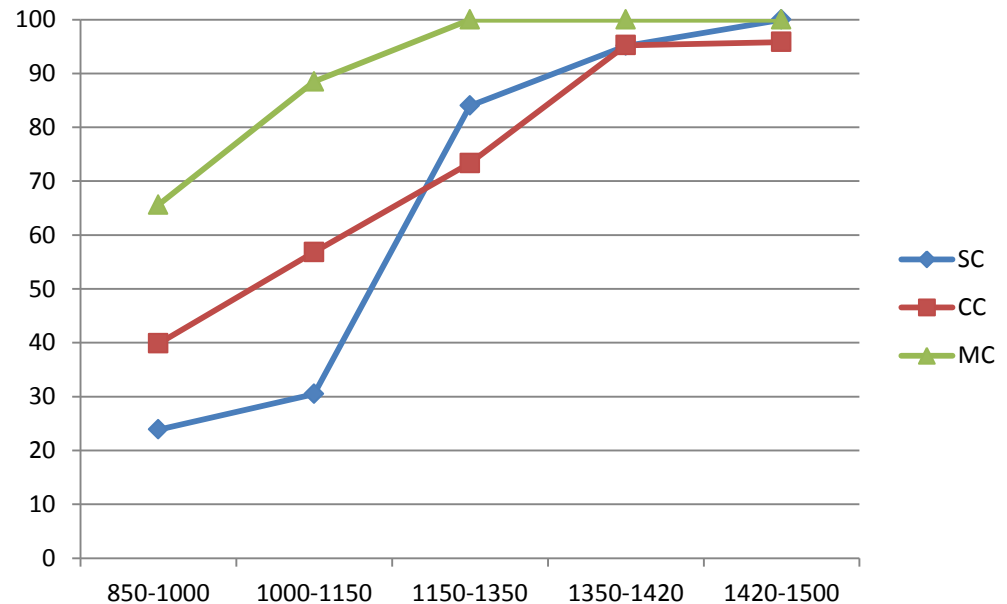
(20) if she sey so hirsself, than woll I beleve hit.
if she says so herself then will I believe it
(CMMALORY,35.1127)

as a percentage of all sentences with a finite verb, and SELF in any order.

Using the new diagnostics...

- IP headedness, measured by *self*

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-1000	201	48	23.9
1000-1150	164	50	30.5
1150-1350	25	21	84.0
1350-1420	41	39	95.1
1420-1500	14	14	100
Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-1000	138	55	39.9
1000-1150	139	79	56.8
1150-1350	15	11	73.3
1350-1420	42	40	95.2
1420-1500	24	23	95.8
Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-1000	96	63	65.6
1000-1150	113	100	88.5
1150-1350	15	15	100
1350-1420	8	8	100
1420-1500	6	6	100



Graph 4: Percentage of necessarily I-initial clauses by clause type and period, *self*

Using the new diagnostics...

- Comparison between *self* and old diagnostics:
 - The development of V- and I-initial structure is largely parallel between *self* and old diagnostics.
 - This substantiates the claim that *self* is a new non-postposing element in early English.
 - It seems plausible that the rate of change is identical in both contexts (Constant Rate Hypothesis, Kroch 1989).
 - (precise statistical evaluation pending)
 - If so, the change in IP and VP headedness was instigated earlier for the *self* context than for other contexts (e.g. I-initial main clauses 65.6% *self* vs. 27.5% old diagnostics).

Using the new diagnostics...

- VP headedness, measured by *predicative A*

- Measure percentage of necessarily V-initial sentences,
finite verb – non-finite verb – ADJ,
such as:

(13) b.Hu se lareow sceal bion clæne on his mode.

how the teacher shall be clean on his mind

‘How the teacher shall be clean in mind’

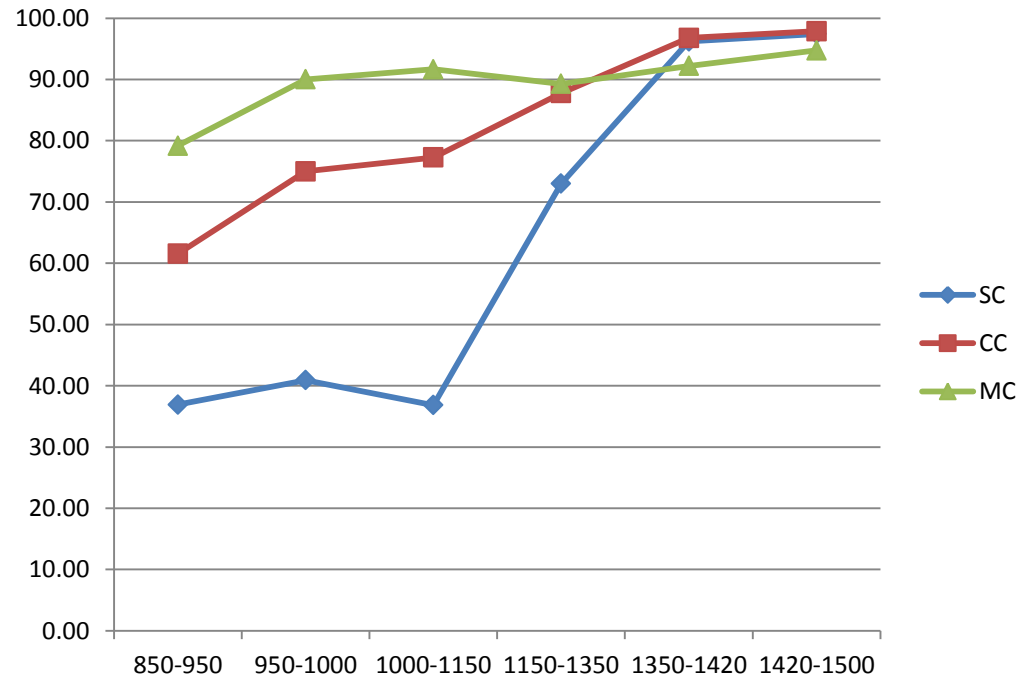
(cocura,CP:13.75.18.501)

as a percentage of all sentences with a finite verb, non-finite verb and ADJ in any order.

Using the new diagnostics...

- VP headedness, measured by *predicative A*

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial VP	% initial VP
850-950	65	24	36.9
950-1000	22	9	40.9
1000-1150	57	21	36.8
1150-1350	37	27	73.0
1350-1420	105	101	96.2
1420-1500	78	76	97.4
Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial VP	% initial VP
850-950	13	8	61.5
950-1000	4	3	75.0
1000-1150	22	17	77.3
1150-1350	49	43	87.8
1350-1420	93	90	96.8
1420-1500	47	46	97.9
Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial VP	% initial VP
850-950	24	19	79.2
950-1000	20	18	90.0
1000-1150	24	22	91.7
1150-1350	56	50	89.3
1350-1420	77	71	92.2
1420-1500	38	36	94.7



Graph 5: Percentage of necessarily V-initial clauses by clause type and period, *predicative adjectives*

Using the new diagnostics...

- IP headedness, measured by *predicative A*

- Measure percentage of necessarily I-initial sentences,

finite verb – **ADJ**,

such as:

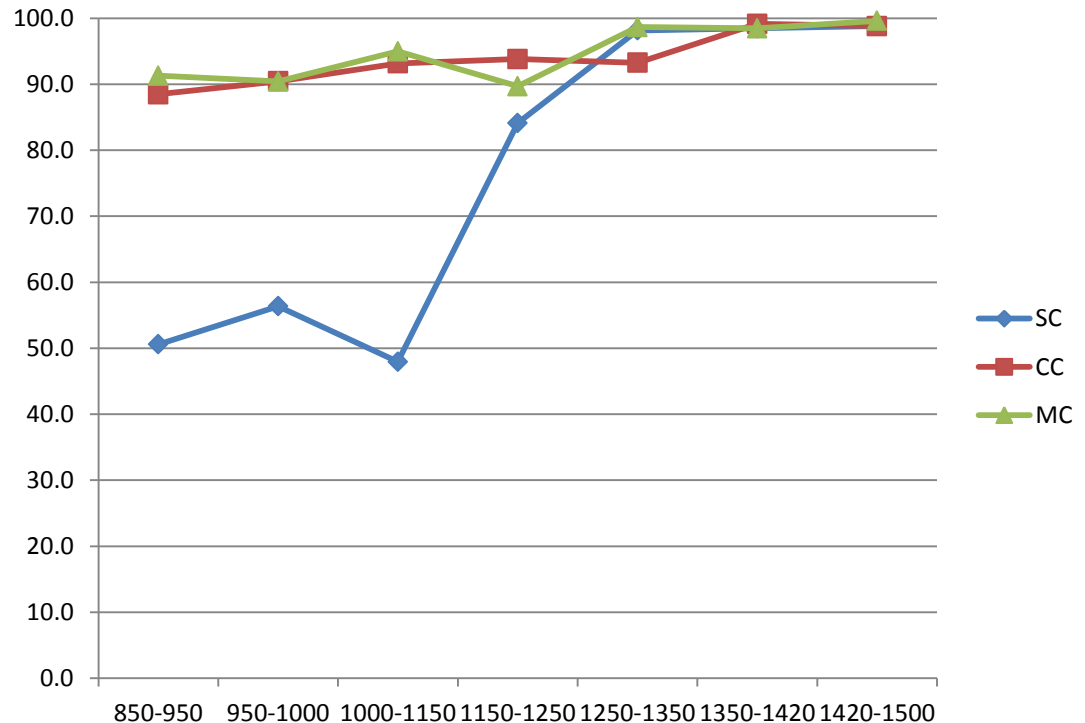
(21) þou **art** **worþy**
you are worthy
(CMSIEGE,90.638)

as a percentage of all sentences with a **finite verb** and **ADJ** in any order.

Using the new diagnostics...

- IP headedness, measured by *predicative A*

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	1364	690	50.6
950-1000	472	266	56.4
1000-1150	1425	683	47.9
1150-1250	296	249	84.1
1250-1350	162	159	98.1
1350-1420	1036	1020	98.5
1420-1500	338	334	98.8
Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	217	192	88.5
950-1000	115	104	90.4
1000-1150	423	394	93.1
1150-1250	97	91	93.8
1250-1350	89	83	93.3
1350-1420	466	462	99.1
1420-1500	252	249	98.8
Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	344	314	91.3
950-1000	219	198	90.4
1000-1150	636	604	95.0
1150-1250	165	148	89.7
1250-1350	149	147	98.7
1350-1420	261	257	98.5
1420-1500	244	243	99.6



Graph 6: Percentage of necessarily I-initial clauses by clause type and period, *predicative adjectives*

Using the new diagnostics...

- Comparison between *predicative adjectives* and old diagnostics:
 - Like the old diagnostics, predicative adjectives reveal an increase in V-initial phrase structure; and an increase in I-initial phrase structure for subordinate clauses.
 - However, IP and VP headedness with adjectival complements are surprisingly innovative.
 - For IP headedness, in particular, better than 90% of all root clauses are initial; no clause type effect for root clauses.

Predicative adjectives are different

- PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES CAN UNDERGO
HIGH SCRAMBLING
IN OLD ENGLISH

Predicative adjectives are different

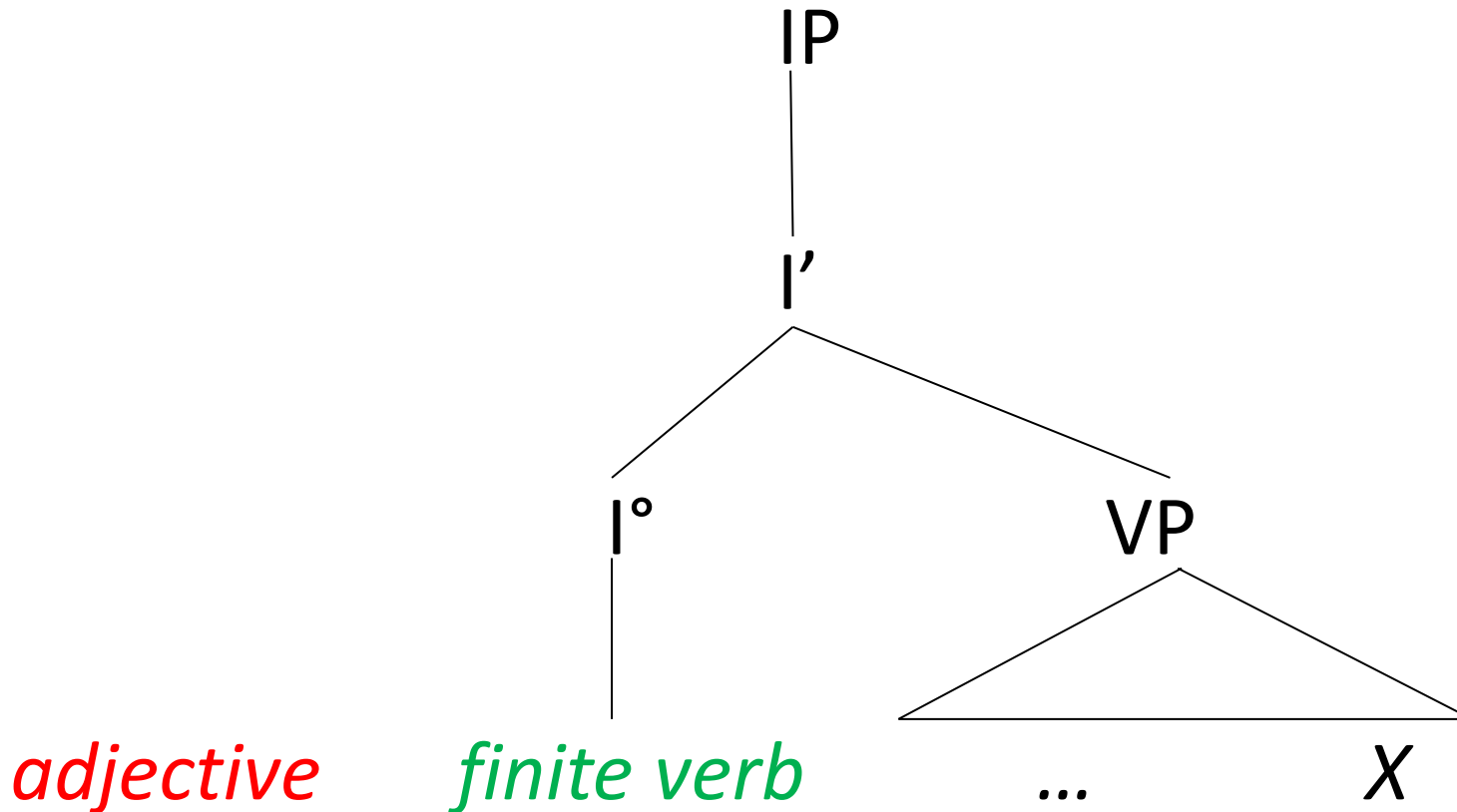
adjective

finite verb

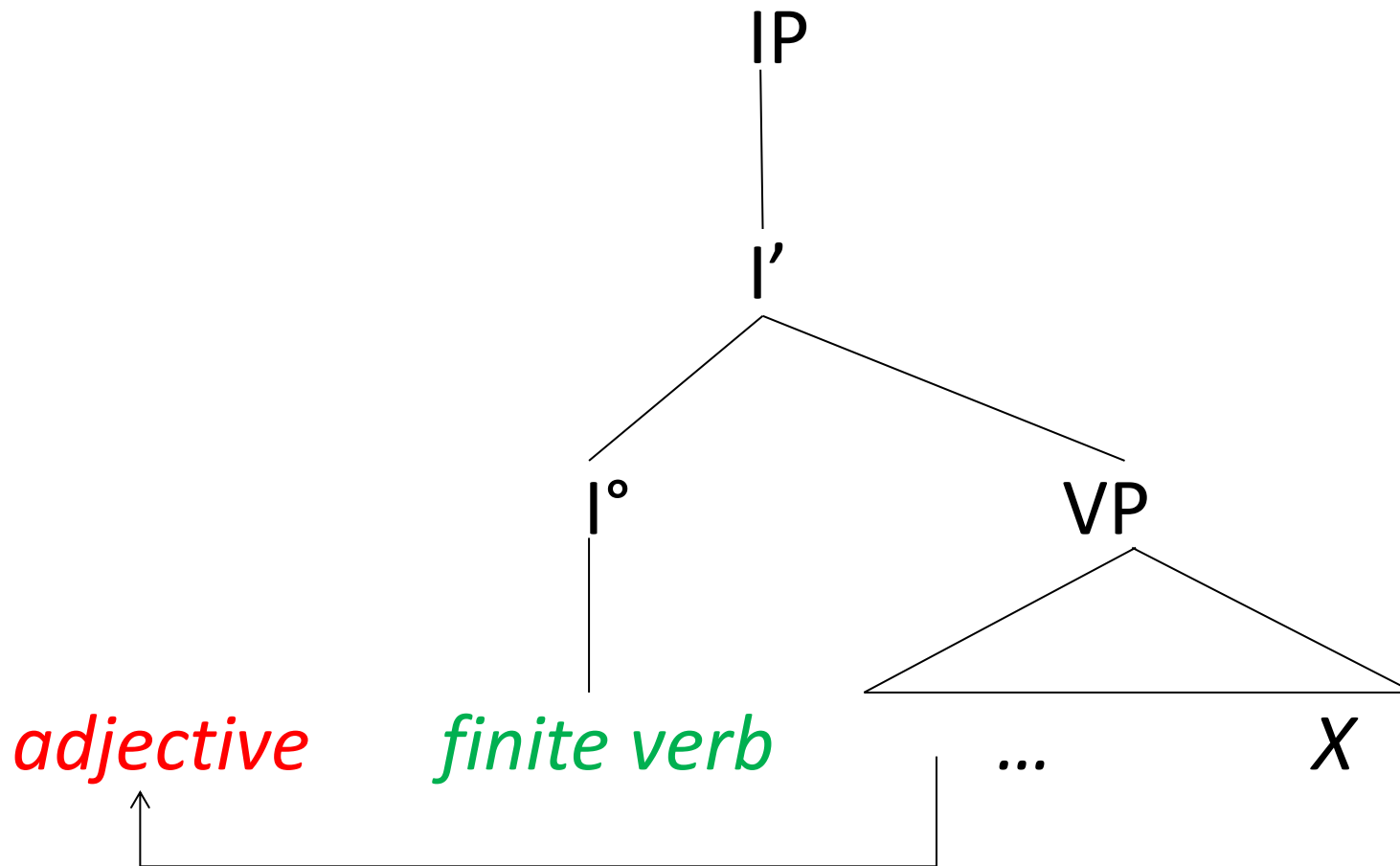
...

X

Predicative adjectives are different



Predicative adjectives are different



Predicative adjectives are different

- While adjectives cannot postpose, they can undergo High Scrambling (move to the left):

(22) ...for ðam ðe se ælmihtiga God [**swa mildheort**]_i **wæs** us t_i þæt he his Sunu asende
... because the almighty God so mild-hearted was us that he his son sent
'... because Almighty God was so compassionate to us that he sent his son.'
(coaelhom, ÆHom_3:124.484)

(23) ... þæt hi [**fulle**]_i **ne beoð** t_i næfre.
... that they full not are never
'... that they are never full'
(coaelive, ÆLS_[Memory_of_Saints]:284.3481)

(24) ... gif ðu [**andsæte**]_i **ne bist** and þine gebedu t_i him.
... if you hateful not are and your prayers him
'... if you and your prayers are not hateful to him'
(coaelhom, ÆHom_8:63.1201)

Predicative adjectives are different

- While adjectives cannot postpose, they can undergo High Scrambling (move to the left):

Compare clauses with High Scrambling to clauses without High Scrambling in Ælfric

(25) ... þæt se cyning ne **byð** na **swyðe bliðe** him
... that the king not is not-at-all very gracious him
'... that the king is not at all very gracious to him'

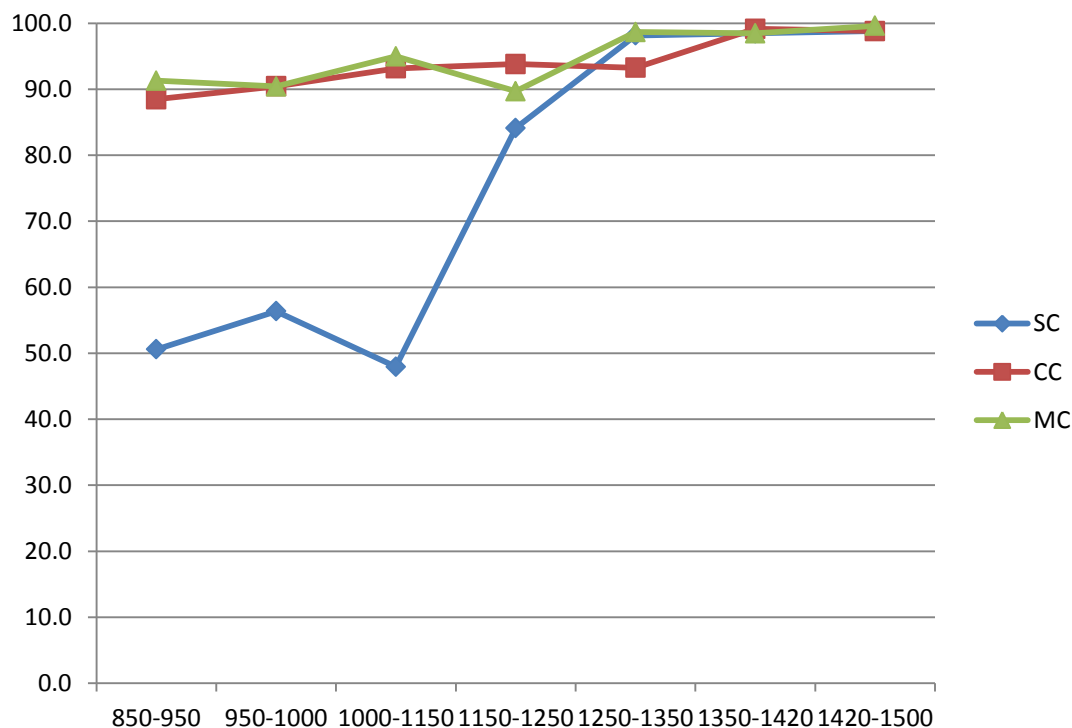
AdjP – be – X (22-24)	be – AdjP – X or be – X – AdjP (25)
3	9

≈ 25% of all AdjP – be orders in Ælfric may be caused by High Scrambling

Predicative adjectives are different

- IP headedness, measured by *predicative A*

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	1364	690	50.6
950-1000	472	266	56.4
1000-1150	1425	683	47.9
1150-1250	296	249	84.1
1250-1350	162	159	98.1
1350-1420	1036	1020	98.5
1420-1500	338	334	98.8
Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	217	192	88.5
950-1000	115	104	90.4
1000-1150	423	394	93.1
1150-1250	97	91	93.8
1250-1350	89	83	93.3
1350-1420	466	462	99.1
1420-1500	252	249	98.8
Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	344	314	91.3
950-1000	219	198	90.4
1000-1150	636	604	95.0
1150-1250	165	148	89.7
1250-1350	149	147	98.7
1350-1420	261	257	98.5
1420-1500	244	243	99.6

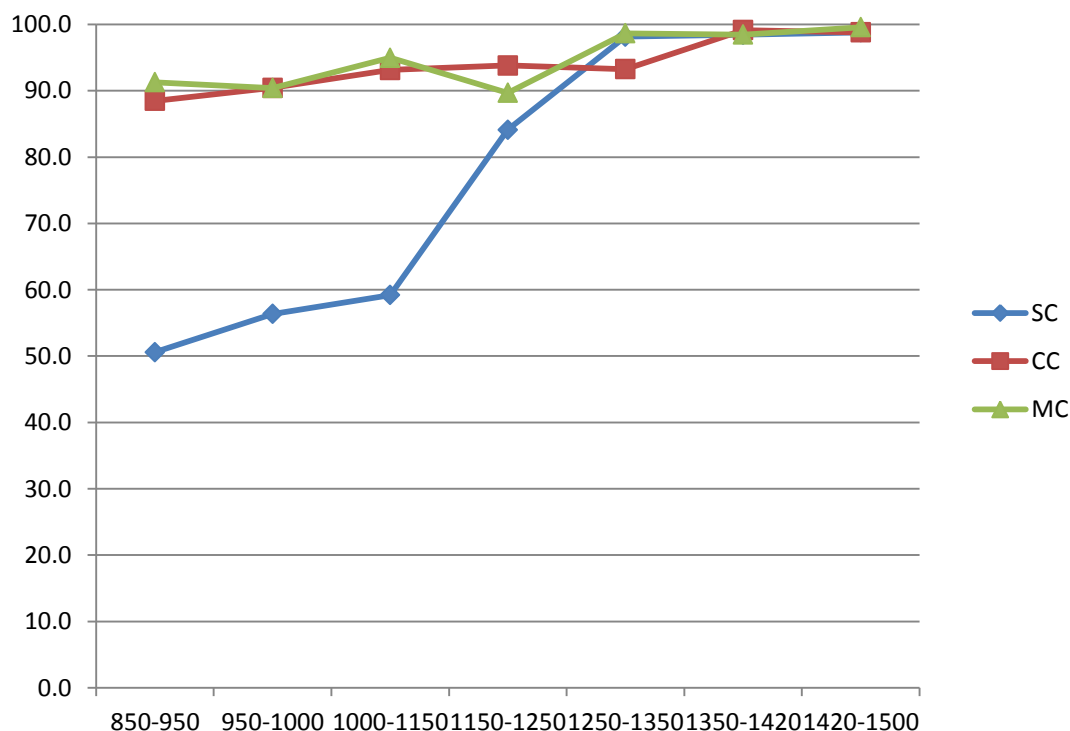


Graph 6: Percentage of necessarily I-initial clauses by clause type and period, *predicative adjectives*

Predicative adjectives are different

- IP headedness, measured by *predicative A*

Subordinate Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	1364	690	50.6
950-1000	472	266	56.4
1000-1150	1154	683	59.2
1150-1250	296	249	84.1
1250-1350	162	159	98.1
1350-1420	1036	1020	98.5
1420-1500	338	334	98.8
Conjoined Main Clauses			
period	all	necessarily initial IP	% initial IP
850-950	217	192	88.5
950-1000	115	104	90.4
1000-1150	423	394	93.1
1150-1250	97	91	93.8
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950-1000	219	198	90.4
1000-1150	636	604	95.0
1150-1250	165	148	89.7
1250-1350	149	147	98.7
1350-1420	261	257	98.5
1420-1500	244	243	99.6



Graph 6': Percentage of necessarily I-initial clauses by clause type and period, *predicative adjectives*; corrected for High Scrambling

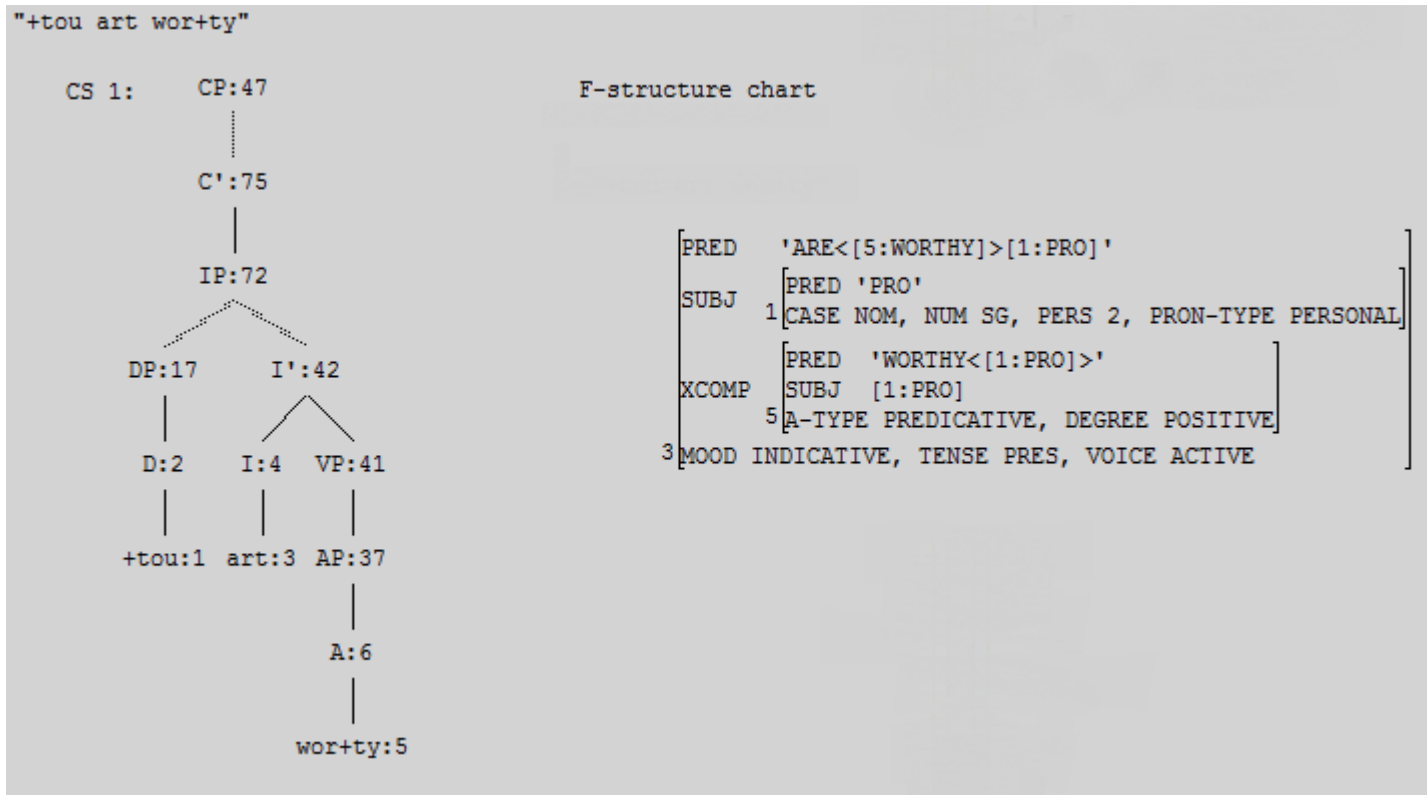
Sketch of an Analysis

- LFG account, implementation with XLE
- How can we model the impossibility of post-position of certain diagnostic elements?
- Solution: Absence of rules that could generate the relevant structures.

Sketch of an Analysis

(27) a. **pou art wor+ty**
 you are worthy
 (CMSIEGE,90.638)

b.



Sketch of an Analysis

- How can we model high adjectival scrambling?
- Solution: Whichever solution works for high pronominal scrambling will also work for this problem. We could assume I'-adjunction.

Sketch of an Analysis

High adjectival scrambling = leftward I' adjunction

(28) I' --> AP
(↑ XCOMP)
(↑ XCOMP HIGH_SCRAMBLING)=+ I'
↑=↓

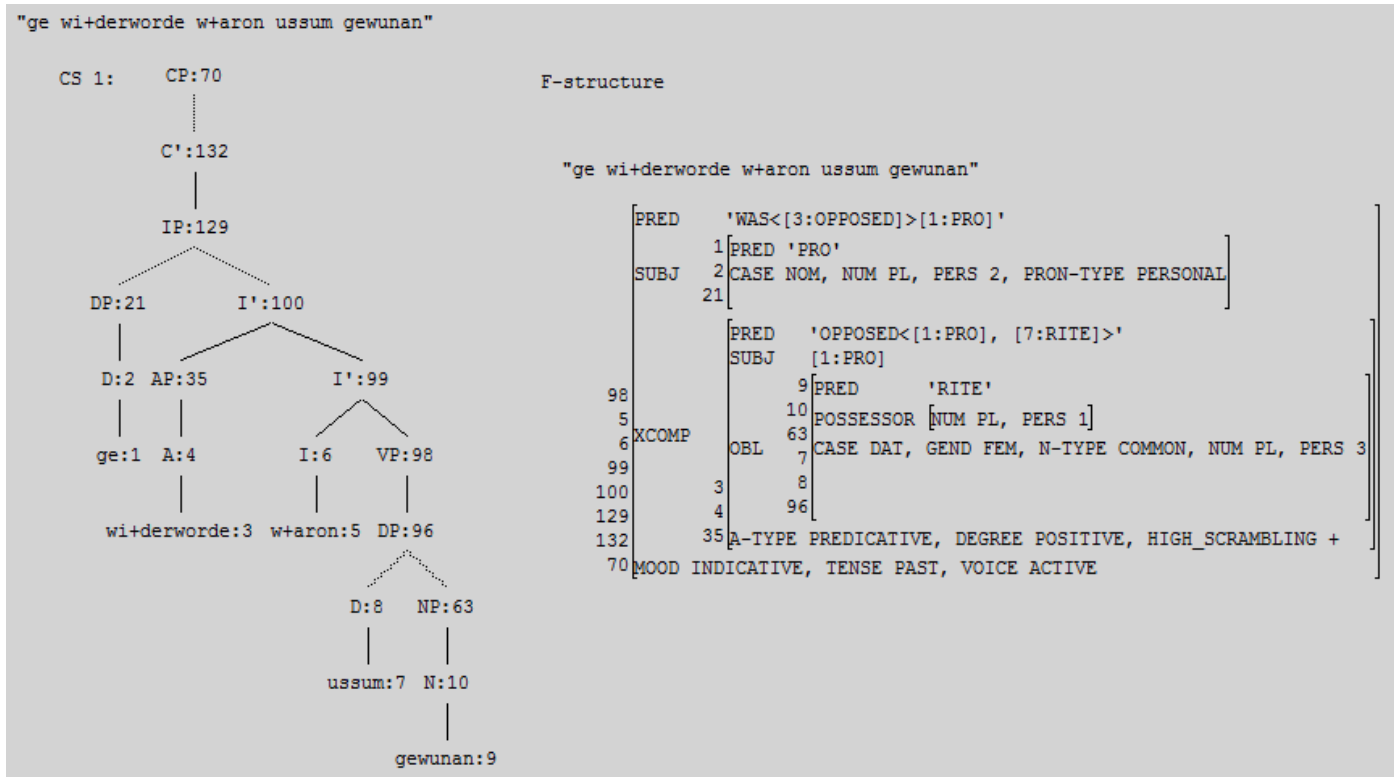
Sketch of an Analysis

(29) a. ge wiðerworde wæron ussum gewunan
you opposed were our rites
'you were opposed to our rites'
(cobede, Bede_2:2.102.8.960)

Sketch of an Analysis

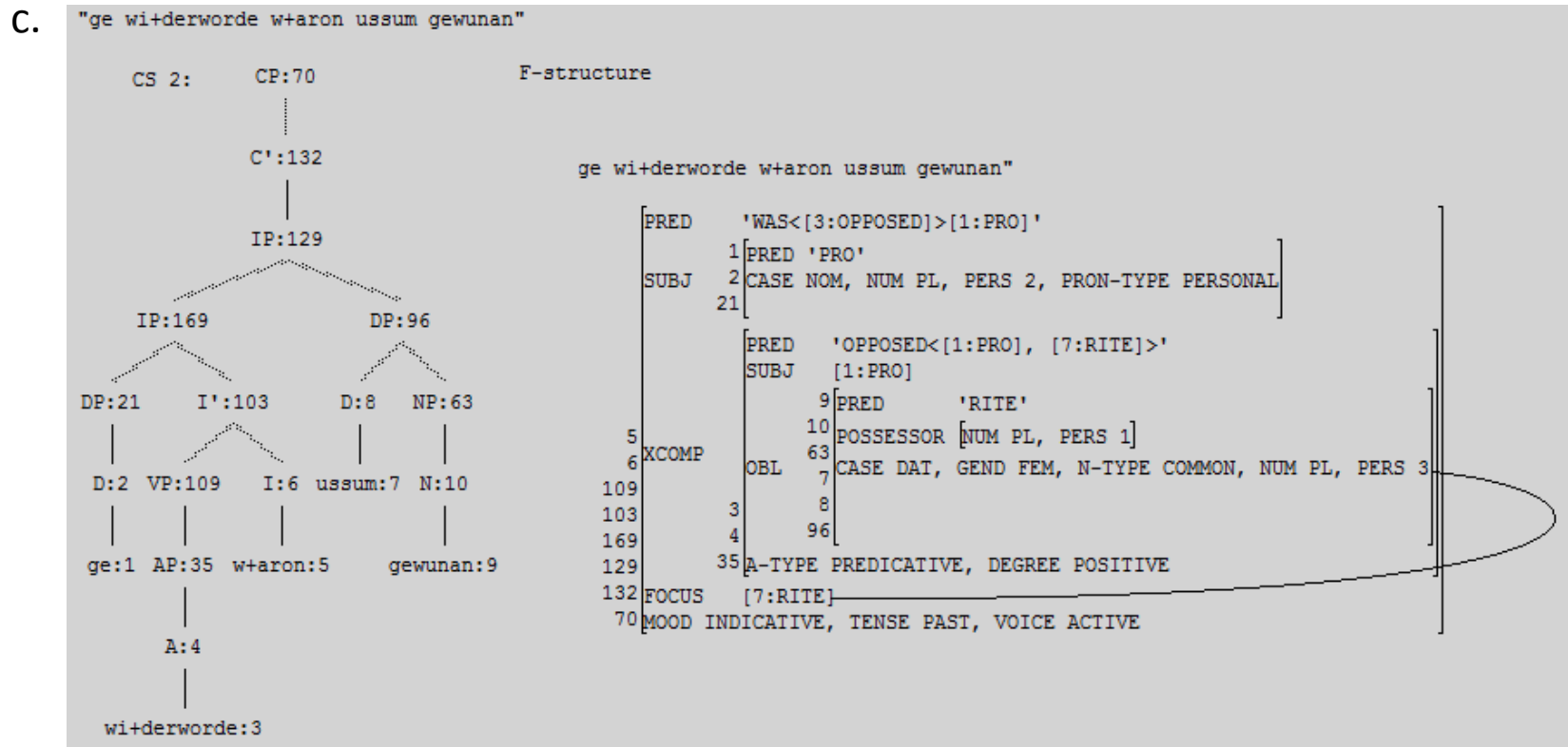
(29) a. ge wiðerworde; wæron [t_i ussum gewunan]
 you opposed were our rites
 'you were opposed to our rites'
 (cobede, Bede_2:2.102.8.960)

b.



Sketch of an Analysis

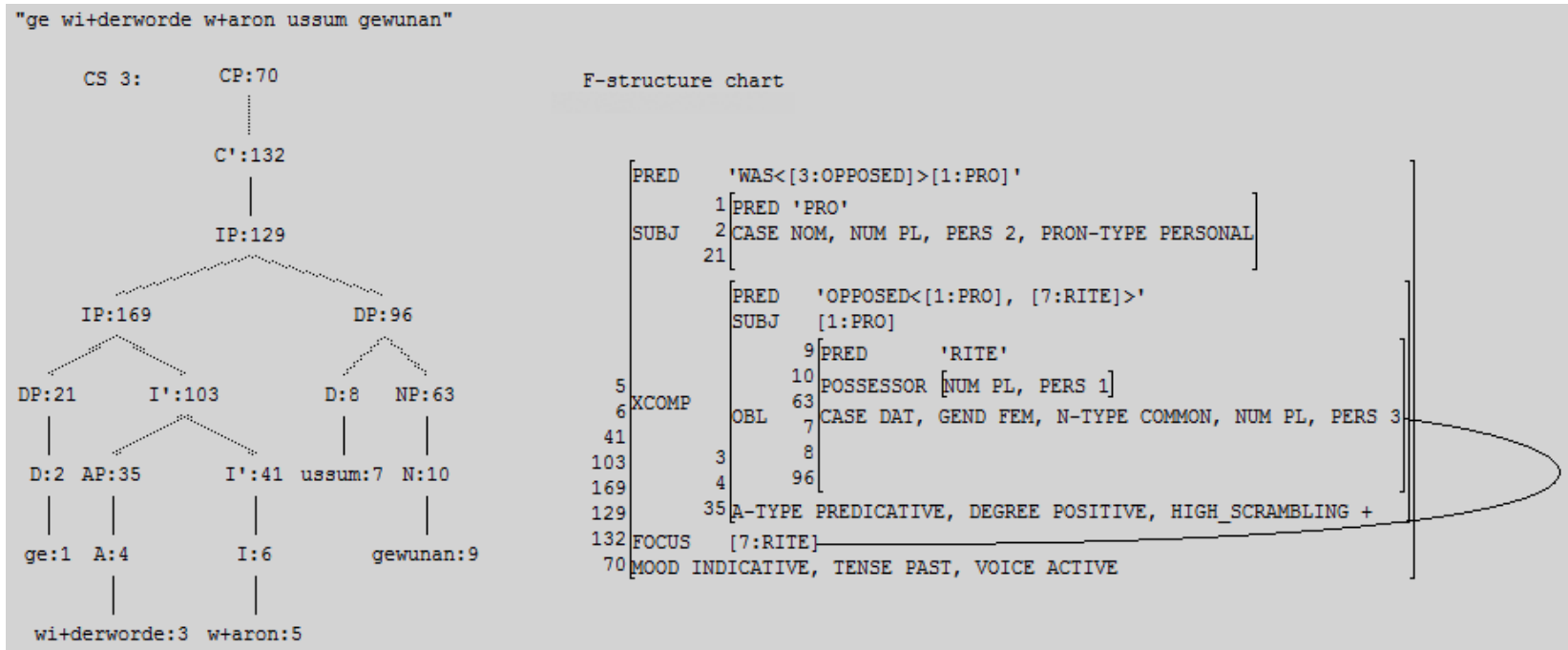
(29) a. [ge wiðerworde t; wæron] [ussum gewunan];
 you opposed were our rites
 'you were opposed to our rites'
 (cobede, Bede_2:2.102.8.960)



Sketch of an Analysis

(29) a. [ge wiðerworde_j wæron t_j t_i] [ussum gewunan]_i
 you opposed were our rites
 'you were opposed to our rites'
 (cobede, Bede_2:2.102.8.960)

d.



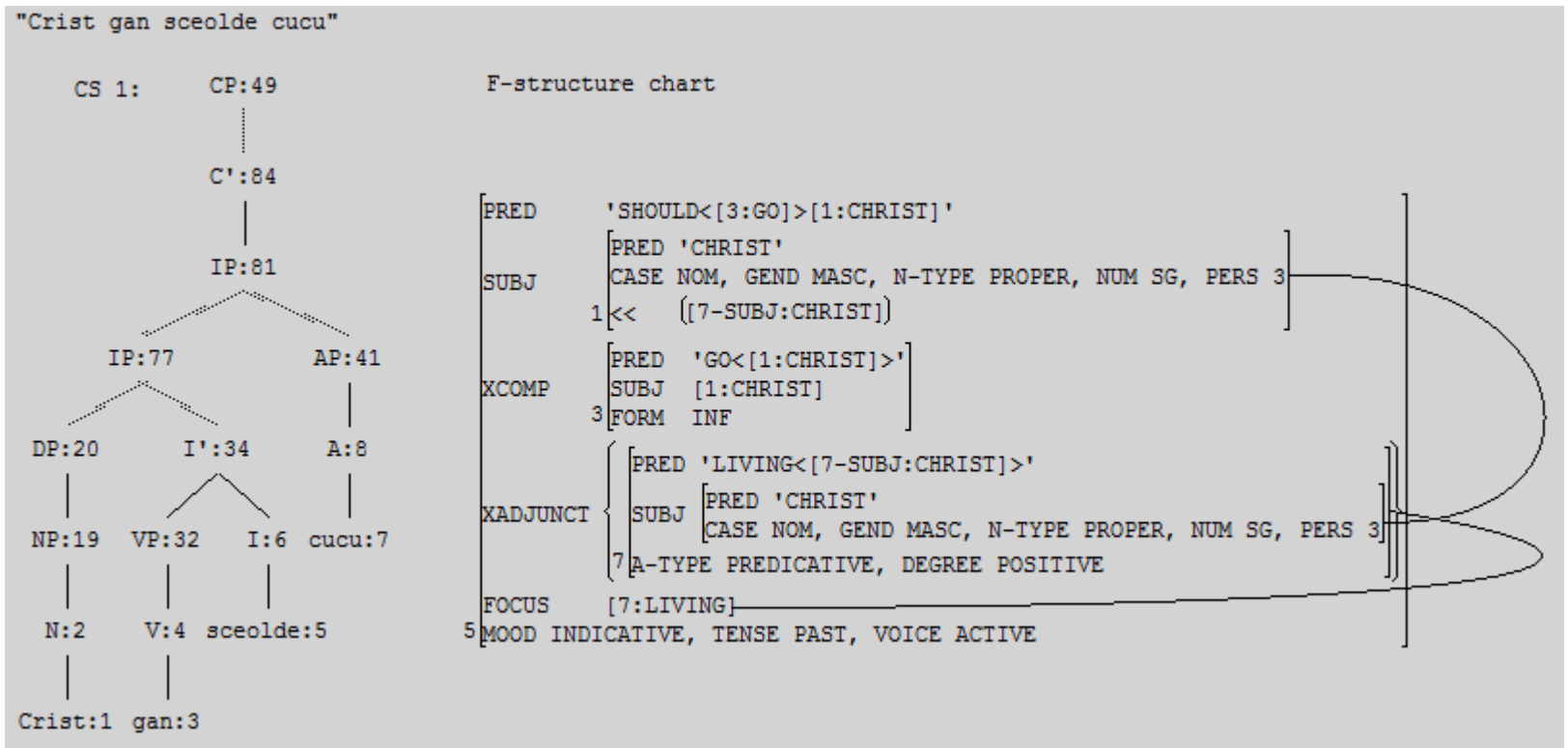
Sketch of an Analysis

- Why is postposition possible with secondary predicative adjectives?
- Solution: The rules for postposition of primary adjectives (impossible) and secondary adjectives (possible) are formally different, i.e. not only sensitive to the category “AP”

Sketch of an Analysis

- (31) a. Crist gan sceolde cucu
 Christ go should living
 'Christ should go, alive'
 (coaelhom,ÆHom_7:121.1117)

b.



Conclusion

- *self* and predicative adjectives are non-postposing elements in early English and thus indicate necessarily initial phrase structure in post-verbal position
- while *self* patterns exactly as expected, i.e. like other diagnostics, headedness with predicative adjectives is surprisingly innovative
- Predicative adjectives can undergo high scrambling in late OE
- the observed facts can easily be implemented in LFG as a set of language-specific phrase structure rules

*THANK YOU VERY MUCH
FOR YOUR ATTENTION!!!*

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