



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI PADOVA

Sede Amministrativa: Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari

SCUOLA DI DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN:

Scienze Linguistiche, Filologiche e Letterarie

INDIRIZZO: Linguistica

CICLO XXIV

## **P in Old English.**

### **P-Stranding, Postpositions, and Particles in a Cartographic Perspective**

**Direttore della Scuola:** Ch.ma Prof. Rosanna Benacchio

**Coordinatore d'indirizzo:** Ch.mo Prof. GianLuigi Borgato

**Supervisore:** Ch.ma Prof. Cecilia Poletto

**Dottoranda:** Silvia Rossi

## Abstract

This thesis investigates two peculiar phenomena affecting the prepositional phrase in Old English: (i) preposition *stranding*, obligatory with the relative particle *þe* and the R-elements (*þær* > ModE. *there*, *her* > ModE. *here*, *hwær* > ModE. *where*), and optional with the personal pronouns; (ii) the system of particles (and preverbs) of prepositional/adverbial origin. In his *Old English Syntax* (1985), B. Mitchell considered all these phenomena under a single section, remarking how difficult it was to draw a clear-cut distinction in Old English between prepositions, adverbs, separable and inseparable prefixes. This difficulty originates from the fact that in each of these phenomena the complement of the preposition either remains unexpressed or precedes its preposition. The preposition seems thus to occur alone and its syntactic status appears ambiguous between a preposition, an adverb and a preverb.

Clearly, the problem is primarily terminological, yet it has also significant syntactic and theoretical implications. By adopting the recently developed accounts on the internal and external Cartography of PPs (Koopman 2000, den Dikken 2006, Tortora 2008, Cinque 2010, Svenonius 2010; Schweikert 2005, Cinque 2006), and the most recent developments on the structural representation of verb-particle/prefix combinations (Svenonius 2003, 2004a,b 2007, 2010; Damonte & Padovan 2011), the abovementioned phenomena can be given a unitary account. A qualitative analysis of the cases found in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (996-997 AD) shows that the syntactic nature of both stranded Ps with the relative *þe*, with R-elements and with personal pronouns, and verbal particles/prefixes depends on the different projections of the fine PP-structure they lexicalise and on the syntactic nature of their *Ground*. More specifically, stranded Ps are to be considered “prepositional” adverbs. Structurally, this derives from the fact that a nominal part of their complement remains within the PP. In particular, in the case of the relative *þe* and of personal pronouns, these are *deficient* pronominal elements (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), which are originated as a full DP in the *Ground* of the PP, consisting of a higher functional part and a lower nominal part. By a process of “feature stripping” (Poletto 2006c), their nominal part moves to the higher functional heads of the PP in order to check the strong feature of PPdir/PPstat (stativity or directionality), while the functional part of the DP is left behind. At this point, this functional part, lexicalised as *þe* and as a weak pronoun moves to dedicated projections: to the Left Periphery in the case of the relative, or to a projection dedicated to weak elements within the Left Periphery of the PP (WP), in the case of weak pronouns. By contrast, R-elements are not weak elements, but I adopt Koopman's (2000) analysis of their Dutch counterparts and propose that they scramble within their PP, while leaving a *pro* in the *Ground*.

As regards particles (or separable prefixes), I claim that their distribution indicates that they are again to be viewed as adverbial elements with both a weak and a strong nature (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). In particular, I argue that particles, which have a directional nature, originate within a PP, and, as already put forward by Koopman (2000), have the possibility to move to CPplace. Subsequently, if any other type of material is moved out of the PP, particles have the possibility to move as weak elements into a specific projection in the Low Periphery (Jayalaasen 2001; Belletti 2004). The assumption that particles have syntactically determined weak and strong forms accounts for the variation attested in the order of constituents and for the fact that, with non-finite verbs, their incorporation onto the verb is not obligatory (univerbation is then structural adjacency). In this last characteristic, particles differ substantially from inseparable preverbs, which in Old English convey actional/aspectual or even idiosyncratic values and as such, always incorporate. Preverbs are functional elements base-generated in a PP, which in turn is hosted in one of the projections dedicated to the lower aspects within the VP in Cinque's hierarchy (1999). These projections are structurally lower than the projections in which particles are generated (cf. the analysis of

Damonte & Padovan 2011 for the variable prefixes of Modern German).

The analysis here presented for the syntactic behaviour of the Old English PP has allowed me to test, further confirm and partly refine the most recent proposals on the internal architecture of the PP and on the structural representations of the different types of verb-particle combinations. A significant result concerns the presence of a Left Periphery in the PP, parallel to the one already argued for the DP, in which Old English presents residual evidence of a property loosely definable as V2, which is manifested through the presence of a position for weak pronominal elements like the one in the clause. A further important result concerns the variation attested in the distribution of both personal pronouns and particles, which can be both explained by assuming that these grammatical elements present weak and strong forms, phonologically identical but morpho-syntactically distinct. Lastly, even though not less importantly, the present thesis intended to show how the high degree of structural variation in the constituent orders of Old English can be derived by a single, cross-linguistically shared, basis, upon which very few and motivated phrasal movements apply, movements which are attested also in other languages (like the presence of a strong feature in the Left Periphery causing V2, OV, antepositions in the DP and PP, cf. the hypothesis of parallel phases as proposed by Poletto 2011a for these very phenomena of Old Italian).

## Riassunto

Questa tesi prende in esame due fenomeni specifici che riguardano la sintassi del sintagma preposizionale dell'inglese antico: (i) lo *stranding* della preposizione, obbligatorio con la particella relativa *þe* e con gli elementi-R (*þær* > ing. mod. *there* “là, lì”, *her* > ing. mod. *here* “qua, qui”, *hwær* > ing. mod. *where* “dove”), e opzionale con i pronomi personali; (ii) il sistema di particelle (e di prefissi) verbali di origine preposizionale/avverbiale. Nella sua *Old English Syntax* (1985), B. Mitchell aveva trattato questi fenomeni in un'unica sezione, ribadendo quanto fosse difficile distinguere in inglese antico tra preposizioni, avverbi, prefissi separabili e prefissi inseparabili. La difficoltà nasce infatti dal fatto che in entrambi questi fenomeni, il complemento retto dalla preposizione o rimane implicito o precede la preposizione, che appare così da sola e risulta sintatticamente ambigua tra una posposizione, un avverbio e un preverbo.

Il problema, chiaramente di natura prettamente terminologica, ha però dei risvolti sintattici e, più generalmente, teorici di notevole interesse. Adottando come punto di partenza dell'analisi i più recenti sviluppi sulla cartografia interna ed esterna dei sintagmi preposizionali (Koopman 2000, den Dikken 2006, Tortora 2008, Cinque 2010, Svenonius 2010; Schweikert 2005, Cinque 2006), e le recenti proposte sulla rappresentazione strutturale dei costrutti verbo-particella/prefisso (Svenonius 2003, 2004a,b 2007, 2010; Damonte & Padovan 2011), è possibile dare un'analisi unitaria ai fenomeni sopra citati. Da un'analisi qualitativa dei casi presenti nelle *Lives of Saints* di Ælfric (996-997 d.C.), mostrerò che la natura sintattica sia delle P che appaiono posposte con il relativo *þe*, con gli elementi-R e con i pronomi, sia delle particelle (ed i prefissi) verbali dipende dalle proiezioni che esse lessicalizzano nella struttura fine del PP e dalla rappresentazione sintattica del loro *Ground*. In particolare, le P che hanno subito *stranding* (posposte) sono da considerarsi degli avverbi preposizionali pieni. Strutturalmente ciò deriva dal fatto che il loro complemento (o parte di esso) si muove per questioni di *feature-checking* nella Periferia Sinistra del PP e da lì, nella sintassi di frase. Nel caso del relativo *þe* e dei pronomi personali, questi sarebbero degli elementi pronominali *deficitari* (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), natura confermata dal loro comportamento morfo-sintattico, che sono legittimati in punti determinati della Periferia Sinistra (di frase e del PP), ma che, per un processo di “feature stripping” (Poletto 2008) lasciano una parte nominale all'interno del PP, “marcando” così la P come avverbio. Nel caso degli elementi-R, questi non sarebbero elementi deficitari ma condivido l'analisi che Koopman (2000) aveva già proposto per il medesimo tipo di elementi nell'olandese moderno, e propongo che anch'essi si spostano al CPplace, dando origine a posposizioni.

Per quanto riguarda le particelle, propongo che la loro distribuzione indichi nuovamente che si tratti di elementi avverbiali con una natura sia forte, sia *deficitaria* (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). In particolare, propongo che le particelle, di natura sostanzialmente direzionale, si originino all'interno di un PP e che, come già proposto da Koopman (2000) possano muoversi a CPplace. A questo punto avrebbero la possibilità, se il loro PP viene “svuotato” da ogni altro tipo di materiale, di spostarsi come elementi deficitari, ad una zona specifica nella Periferia Bassa (Jayalaasen 2001; Belletti 2004). L'assunzione di una natura sia forte che debole sintatticamente determinata rende conto della variazione nell'ordine dei costituenti e del fatto che, con i tempi non-finiti, l'univerbazione è presente ma mai obbligatoria (si tratterebbe quindi di adiacenza strutturale). In quest'ultima caratteristica le particelle si differenziano dai prefissi inseparabili, che in inglese antico veicolano per lo più valori azionali o idiosincratici e che si univerbano sempre. Essi sarebbero elementi funzionali generati basicamente in un PP collocato nello Spec di una delle proiezioni dedicate agli aspetti bassi (interni al VP) nella gerarchia di Cinque (1999), proiezioni strutturalmente molto più basse rispetto al punto in cui si originerebbero le particelle (cfr. l'analisi proposta in Damonte

& Padovan 2011 per i prefissi “misti” del tedesco moderno).

L'analisi qui proposta dei comportamenti sintattici del sintagma preposizionale dell'inglese antico ha permesso di testare, confermare e in parte raffinare le più recenti proposte sia sulla strutturazione interna del sintagma preposizionale stesso sia sulla rappresentazione strutturale dei diversi tipi di costrutto verbo-particella. Un risultato importante riguarda la presenza di una Periferia Sinistra nel PP, parallelamente al sintagma nominale e alla frase, in cui l'inglese antico presenta residui di una proprietà definibile come V2, che si manifesta attraverso la presenza di un campo per gli elementi pronominali deboli (WP), parallelo a quello di frase. Un altro importante risultato riguarda la variazione attestata sia con i pronomi personali in generale, sia con le particelle, variazione che si può spiegare assumendo che entrambe le categorie presentino forme forti e deboli fonologicamente indistinguibili, ma morfo-sintatticamente distinte. Infine, seppur non di minor rilevanza, questa tesi ha voluto dimostrare come l'alto grado di variazione nell'ordine dei costituenti frasali dell'inglese antico si possa derivare da un'unica base, cross-linguisticamente condivisa, sulla quale si applicano pochissimi e motivabili movimenti, attestati anche in altre lingue (come la presenza di un tratto forte nella Periferia Sinistra che causa contemporaneamente V2, OV, anteposizioni nel sintagma nominale e posposizioni nel sintagma preposizionale, vedi l'ipotesi delle fasi parallele proposta da Poletto 2011a per questi fenomeni dell'italiano antico).

# Acknowledgements

The past three years have been a marvellous experience, for which I am thankful to many people.

First and foremost, I am very much indebted to my advisor, Cecilia Poletto for being a very patient supervisor, for correcting and channeling my enthusiasm in a positive way. This thesis has immensely profited from her guidance in all things theoretical and practical.

A very heartfelt thank you to Paola Benincà for having encouraged me since the first time we met (my first ever Linguistics Course, back in the winter semester 2000/2001). Since then, I've always been knocking at her office door, asking her the most disparate (and at times disparate) things, and always ending up talking about all things English. Her outstanding knowledge in all areas of linguistic research has provided me with comments and suggestions that have always turned out to be much insightful (even though hard to get by at first). I am honoured to have been one of her pupils.

Many thanks to Christina Tortora for discussing with me some aspects of this thesis.

There is one last scholar I would like to thank, the late Bruce Mitchell, to whose articles I always turned for “comfort” in the hardest and darkest moments during the redaction of this thesis.

A very special thank you goes to Mariachiara Berizzi for our incredible “missions” home and abroad and for all the hours spent talking about linguistics, but most importantly, talking about everything else. Thanks to Chiara Zanini, my “nominalisation and aspect consultant” as well as my “fashion consultant”, for all the coffee-breaks and the hours spent together in the “auletta”.

Many thanks to the “doctors of the older generation”, Federico Damonte, Jacopo Garzonio, Andrea Padovan and Diego Pescarini to whom I always turned for feedback and suggestions.

I started my Ph. D. course with: two valuable colleagues, Martina Da Tos and Maria Mazzoli, whom I wish to thank. Many thanks also to all the “colleghi d'auletta”, past and present: Sabrina Bertollo, Emanuele Burei, Stefano Canalis. Jan Casalicchio, Guido Cavallo, Federica Cognola, Nicoletta Dal Lago, Michele Gambino, Luigina Garrapa, Franziska Maria Hack, Francesca Modena, Alessio Muro, Elena Perna, Luca Rigobianco, Marija Runić, Fabrizio Sorrisi, Elena Triantafyllis, Diana Vedovato.

This thesis is also the result of all the support I have been given by my family, by dad, mum and my little brother, Stefano. Many many thanks to my aunt Rita, to Chiaretta, and to Erica (Pimpa), for their unwavering support and friendship. Thank you girls for staying with me through rough times,

And lastly, Davide. Sei la vita, il risveglio.

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# Introduction

## 0.1 Presentation and Aims of the Study

"Prepositions, adverbs, prepositional adverbs, postpositions, separable prefixes, or inseparable prefixes, in Old English?". The rather unwieldy and "clumsy" title Bruce Mitchell felt forced to adopt for his 1978 article in the *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* reveals the extreme difficulty encountered by any scholar of Old English (henceforth OE), when trying to draw a more or less clear-cut distinction between the abovementioned grammatical elements in this language. Undoubtedly, the difficulty arises from the fact that the OE prepositions generally precede their complements, yet, under specific circumstances and with specific elements, the complement of a preposition had also the possibility of either preceding its governing preposition or of remaining unexpressed. More specifically, OE presented cases of *postpositions*, which were sensitive to the grammatical nature of their objects: postposition occurred obligatorily with what Mitchell (1978, 1985) defines the undeclinable relative particle *þe* and with the locative adverbs *þar* "there", *her* "here", and the interrogative *hwær* "where" (the so-called "R-elements, van Riemsdijk 1978). Moreover, OE had also cases of *optional* postposition with personal pronouns, which, as already noticed by Wende (1915), were however subject to very clear morpho-syntactic restrictions when they occurred before their prepositions. Lastly, OE also had a complex and highly interacting system of verbal prefixes, both separable, *particles*, and inseparable, of clear prepositional origin, which combined with both transitive and intransitive verbs (cf. the prefixes of Modern German and Modern Dutch).

Despite the fundamental difference in the presence or absence of the complement, what all these cases have in common is that the prepositional element ends up appearing alone within the sentence, thus assuming a syntactic status highly ambiguous between that of a preposition, an adverb or a particle. Clearly, such syntactic and categorial ambiguity poses a terminological and a practical problem: how are these prepositional elements to be listed in a dictionary or a glossary? But not only. The present thesis intends to show that the question Bruce Mitchell asked has also syntactic and more generally theoretical implications of the utmost interest, as such peculiar syntactic behaviour of the OE prepositional phrase may offer

an interesting opportunity of testing, further confirming and possibly refining the most recent Cartographic proposals on both the internal structure of (spatial) adpositions, and on the structural representation of the verb-particle/prefix combinations. Furthermore, by adopting the internal and external Cartography of prepositional phrases (Koopman 2000, den Dikken 2006, Tortora 2008, Cinque 2010a, Svenonius 2003, 2007, 2010; Schweikert 2005, Cinque 2006), and the recent generative analyses of verb-particle constructions (VPCs; Svenonius 2003, 2004a,b 2007, 2010; Damonte & Padovan 2011), the two phenomena described above, namely *P-stranding* and *particles*, can be give a unitary and most importantly principled analysis.

The extant literature on both these phenomena is extensive and a rather long-standing one, as the bibliography in Mitchell's (1978) footnote 2 shows. In most recent years, the OE particles have also been given considerable attention in the generative framework, since particles have been considered, following Koster (1975), as a landmark indicating the base position of the verb. Consequently, the investigation of the structural positioning of OE particles has played a most important role in the much debated question of the underlying order, OV vs. VO, of this language, as their distribution w.r.t. the lexical verb and the direct object has provided evidence for verb-movement in subordinate clauses, or, more generally, for the presence of a head-final or head-initial VP (van Kemenade 1987; Pintzuk 1991, 1999). Moreover, OE particles have also been studied as the historical predecessors of Modern English (ModE) particles (Hiltunen 1983), in the attempt to identify the linguistic factors triggering the diachronic change from the OE system of inseparable aspectual/idiosyncratic prefixes and directional/resultative particles into the systems of both Middle and Modern English, which present only—or predominantly—particles. This diachronic development has also been investigated from a syntactic perspective in some recent studies, Fischer et al (2000) and Elenbaas (2007), which concentrate on the distribution of particles w.r.t both the verb and the direct object in order to provide a structural representation of the OE verb-particle combinations. As regards the generative proposals on P-stranding with the relative *þe*, personal pronouns and R-elements, van Kemenade (1987) presents a very detailed theoretical discussion of the distribution and constraints on this phenomenon, while Haeberli & Pintzuk (2008) show that the structural position of stranded Ps—together with the position of pronominal and negative objects and of particles—can again be taken to indicate the headedness of the VP (head-final vs. head-initial). One of the latest contributions is that of Alcorn (2008), in which the special placement of the personal pronouns when objects of P is shown to correlate with the grammatical features of the pronoun, in particular with the Grammatical Person Asymmetry.

As its title reveals, the present thesis intends to offer its own contribution to the study of each of the aspects of P-stranding and particles investigated by the abovementioned authors by considering them from a Cartographic perspective. In this respect, my primary intent is to identify the structural projections and the syntactic mechanisms involved in the structural representation at both the PP level and the sentence level of the stranded P and its complement, and of the particle. For this purpose, I decided to concentrate my investigation on the analysis of the cases of P-stranding and particles from one single, but extremely coherent text, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (a more detailed exposition of the motivations behind the choice of the corpus, and the methodology here adopted is to be found in section 0.3). The qualitative in-depth analysis of the data from the *Lives of Saints* shows that the distribution of and the constraints on P-stranding and particles are syntactically determined by the internal organisation of the various P material in a fine-grained structure of the PP. In particular, I will show that the distributional properties of stranded Ps and particles depend on their syntactic status, which is decided by two interacting aspects: (i) the projections these prepositional elements lexicalise in the fine PP, and (ii) the structural representation of the *Ground* of the PPs, to which stranded Ps and particles pertain.

By tackling these aspects, the present study also represents an attempt to give a syntactic solution to Mitchell's (1978) question, by advancing some hypotheses on the internal syntactic representation of both stranded Ps and particles in the fine-grained architecture of the PP, from which their syntactic and/or categorial status can be shown to derive. Such analysis is now possible thanks to the recent generative, Cartographic advancements both in the mapping of the PP internal structure, and in the detailed structural representations of verb-particle combinations. All these proposals will not only guide me in my analysis of OE P-stranding and particles, but can also profit from an in-depth investigation of these phenomena, in a study which has been greatly inspired by and is much indebted to Koopman's (2000) treatments of the similar phenomena of Modern Dutch.

The adoption of the Cartographic Approach makes explicit also another intent of the present thesis, namely that of demonstrating how the high degree of variation attested in the constituent order possibilities of OE at both the sentence and the phrasal level can in fact derive from a single basic order, cross-linguistically shared and thus universal, on which each language applies a very restricted number of motivated syntactic movements. Such assumptions are in line with the theoretical programme outlined in Cinque & Rizzi (2008), and with Cinque's (2009) account of the fundamental left-right asymmetry of natural languages, by which the cross-linguistically attested orders of modifiers and functional heads w.r.t their

lexical head involve the same pattern provided by a unique underlying structure upon which independently conditioned phrasal movements operate. By assuming such an approach, my thesis proposes a unitary treatment of the abovementioned phenomena within the Universal Base Hypothesis, following thus many previous works which assume one and the same underlying structure behind the various order possibilities of OE (cf. van Kemenade 1987, Biberauer & Roberts 2005, Elenbaas 2007 among many others; contra the Double Base Hypothesis, Pintzuk 1991, 1993, 1999, 2002; Fuss & Trips 2002).

Lastly, but by no means less importantly, in order to give a unitary and principled treatment of the nature of the P elements and their complements when appearing in the abovementioned phenomena, and of their syntactic distribution w.r.t each other and w.r.t. the clause structure, I will make some strong assumptions on both the pronominal syntax of OE, and on the parallels existing between the structural architecture of the clause (High and Low Left Peripheries) and the syntactic domain of P. In this last respect, I follow a proposal put forward by Poletto (2006b, 2011a) on the parallel phases of Old Italian, by which the V2 property, the OV orders and the antepositions in both the nominal and the prepositional domains found in this language is to be attributed to the presence of a strong feature in the Left Peripheries of the major syntactic domains (CP, vP, DP and PP). I will show that a similar parallel phase condition may be at work also in OE between the High Left Periphery of the clause and the PP, which however targets or involves different structural positions and different elements than those involved in the Old Italian case.

## **0.2 Outline of the Study**

The present study is organised into three major chapters. In Chapter 1, I present the theoretical assumptions on the internal and external structural representation of both (spatial) prepositional phrases (PP) and particles (Prt)/prefixes, which will serve as the fundamental guidelines in my analysis of the phenomena under consideration. In the introductory section to this chapter (1.1), I present the category P(reposition) as a complex category, which comprises grammatical elements of varying syntactic nature like prepositions proper, adverbs, particles and prefixes. Here I show that both prepositions and Prts are to be distinguished into two fundamental types, each of which is associated with different semantics and different syntactic possibilities or restrictions. Specifically, prepositions can be distinguished between simple and complex Ps, the former behaving like heads and usually conveying very simple

semantic content (like stativity and directionality), while the latter behave like specifiers and convey a very specific semantic content, usually a type of spatial relation. Similarly, Prts/prefixes can be distinguished between transparent and non-transparent Prts: the former form transparent VPCs with a clear compositional semantics, usually directional and/or resultative, and capable of undergoing certain syntactic movements (like topicalisation, focalisation etc), while the latter convey aspectual/actional and at times even idiosyncratic meanings to the verb, and are incapable of being topicalised or contrasted. These different semantic and syntactic/distributional characterisations will be taken as indicators that these two types of Ps and of Prts have different underlying representations, i.e., occupy different structural positions within the PP and the clause structure respectively. In this respect, section 1.2 presents the fine structure of the PP as proposed by the most recent proposals within the Cartographic Approach (Koopman 2000, Cinque 2010a, Svenonius 2010 a. o.), which assume that the various elements appearing in a PP (or being more simply PP internal material like particles or adverbial modifiers of P) are but different realisations of the different projections constituting one and the same highly articulated structure. As such, complex Ps and simple Ps are but the instantiations of two different structural positions, the former being "modifiers" of the complement of P, while the latter being lexicalisations of functional heads in the extended projection of P. At the end of this section, I also present the functional thematic hierarchy of PPs within the clause as proposed by Schweikert (2005a, 2005b), according to which circumstantial PPs are generated with a rigid order in a specific area within the adverb sequence. Finally, in section 1.3 I present the most important generative analysis of VPCs, suggesting, in accordance with Damonte & Padovan (2011), that different types of Prts—and of prefixes as well—occupy different positions, or better take part into different VPCs which present different underlying representations responsible for the morphosyntactic distinction between the two types of VPCs. The assumptions outlined in this first Chapter are of the highest relevance for my subsequent treatment of the phenomena involving the OE PP since OE, even though not presenting truly functional, case-marking Ps (Mitchell 1985), presents a distinction between simple and complex directional/spatial Ps, which is captured by assuming that the former instantiate functional heads in the extended projection of P, while the latter are modifiers of the Ground of P (its complement). This assumption permits to identify the order of the PP internal material in OE, showing moreover that the "head-final" order in this syntactic domain is highly constrained and dependent on the syntactic nature of the Ground of P. Moreover, the assumption that different types of verbal modifiers like Prts and prefixes are hosted in different structural positions allows me to give a more straightforward account

of the complex yet highly interacting systems of inseparable and separable prefixes/Prts of OE, in which the different morphosyntactic characteristics associated with Prts and prefixes can be reconducted to factors reminiscent of those operating in P-stranding.

In the second Chapter I address the long-debated question of the variation attested in the word order of OE, and my own assumptions on how such variation is to be derived. In section 2.2, I briefly present the most important proposals on both the V2 property (2.2.1) and the OV/VO orders (2.2.2) of OE, discussing their major advantages and shortcomings. At the end of each subsection, I present my view on the V2 and the OV/VO orders of OE, which capitalise on and also further the proposals of Roberts (1996) and Biberauer and Roberts (2005). In particular, I claim that OE has a "relaxed V2", similar to that of Medieval Romance, which exploits various positions in the Left Periphery and permits V1, V3 etc orders. As regards the variation attested in the OV/VO orders, I maintain, following Biberauer & Roberts (2005), that OE had a universal base structure, from which the superficial alternations in the positions of the constituents w.r.t the verb results from a syntactic requirement forcing the movement of (a remnant of) the vP to a Spec position before the position of the inflected verb. Yet, I do not share Biberauer & Roberts's (2005) proposal that the constituent moved as a remnant of the vP should contain the subject and target the Spec of TP for EPP reasons, but I assume instead that in OE, being a V2 language, the finite verb always targets Fin<sup>o</sup>: in the case of main clauses, the verb moves into the higher C heads of the Focus, Topic and Frame field, while in subordinate clauses the verb moves no higher than Fin<sup>o</sup> and a remnant of the vP can move into SpecFinP. Thus, the main-embedded asymmetry in verb positioning (van Kemenade 1987) is maintained, while the OV and VO orders in subordinate clauses—together with OV orders in main clauses (Koopman 1995)—can be related to the varying size of the remnant vP moved into SpecFinP. This discussion of the word order variation of OE is followed in section 2.3 by a discussion of the syntax of "monosyllabic elements" like personal pronouns and adverbs, which may offer important indications on word order. These "light elements" have at various times been argued to be "clitics", even though they do not conform to the usual tests for cliticness (like those of Kayne 1975). Following Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), I will show that the distribution of these elements and the restrictions working on them when appearing in a specific position are consistent with a system allowing for both strong and weak forms of certain adverbs and certain pronouns. I argue moreover that the weak forms of these elements appear in a specific derived position I label WP within the Left Periphery, between Topic and Focus, a position which can be shown to host similar clitics in a modern Germanic variety of Cimbrian

(Grewendorf & Poletto 2011). In the final section to this second chapter, section 2.4, I briefly present the existing literature on OE postpositions and Prts, discussing first the restrictions found with stranded Ps (Wende 1915, Mitchell 1978, 1985, van Kemenade 1987) and subsequently, the most important studies on OE particles (Hiltunen 1983, Fischer et al. 2000 and Elenbaas 2007).

Chapter 3 presents my qualitative analysis of the data on postpositions and Prts from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. The first section, 3.2, deals with *obligatory* P-stranding, i.e., with P-stranding occurring when the complement of P is either the relative particle *þe* or one of the R-elements (van Riemsdijk 1978) *þær* > ModE. *there, her* > ModE. *here* and the interrogative *hwær* > ModE. *where*. I will show that, even though these two types of elements are base-generated in two distinct positions (see below), they both must move for reasons of *feature checking*. In the case of the relative *þe* I propose that it is base generated in the Ground of the P as full demonstrative DP, a "big DP", consisting of a nominal part and a higher functional part (represented by the *þ-* in the higher functional part of the DP). By a process of "feature stripping" (Poletto 2006c), the nominal part moves to a projection within the PP, leaving the functional part alone, which now moves as a deficient element through the CP of the PP in which it originated, and out to the Spec of *Rel<sub>wh</sub> P* in the Left Periphery of the clause, a position it must target since criterial (Rizzi 2002). By contrast, R-elements are originated in a dedicated projection in the lower part of the PP, DeicticP within the DP<sub>place</sub>, above AxPartP and act as modifiers of a silent Ground (Koopman 2000, Kayne 2004, 2005, Cinque 2010a), which I propose contains a *pro* coreferential with the R-elements. From their merge position, R-elements are allowed to scramble internally to a position in the higher functional part of the PP, as assumed also by Koopman (2000), in order to check the strong feature of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> (directionality/stativity). Furthermore, R-elements have also the opportunity of leaving their PP and moving into the Left Periphery of the clause, as already noticed in van Kemenade (1987). Here, I propose that R-elements, in particular *þær*, appear in the Left Periphery when functioning either as a relative pronoun, or as the locative subject in "presentational" or unaccusative/intransitive contexts (cf. the ModE *There arrived three kids*). In such case, I tentatively suggest that *þær* moves into the Spec of Unmarked Focus in the Left Periphery. Despite the important differences in the mechanics of the derivations illustrated so far and the different nature of the features these elements have to check, the resulting superficial effect is the same: both the R-elements and the relative *þe* move across the merge positions of both simple and complex Ps, thus giving rise to P-stranding. As regards the syntactic nature of the postponed P, I assume that this is a "prepositional adverb" by virtue of the fact that a nominal

part of its complement is maintained within the articulated structure of the PP (the nominal part of the relative and a *pro* in the case of R-elements). In this respect, I will show that OE presents some residual evidence in favour of this idea in the fact that only the "stressed" or strong forms of the doublet Ps for "by" *bi(g)/be* and "for" *fore/for* are attested in postposition (Wende 1915). The position occupied by these adverbial prepositions within the sentence depends straightforwardly on the general rules of OE sentence structure: stranded Ps of relative *þe* appear usually before V because of the anteposition rule operating in OE dependent clauses, by which a remnant of the vP must move before the inflected verb. On the contrary, stranded Ps of the R-elements show up in different positions, either immediately following their complement or separated from it, as a result of the movement possibilities of the R-element: as is the case with the Modern Dutch R-elements (Koopman 2000), the OE R-elements can remain in their original PP, or they can move alone outside their PP into the clause structure, stranding their P in its base generated position within its PP (which is in turn hosted in a specific projection in Schweikert's 2005a functional thematic hierarchy).

A very similar situation is found with optional *postpositions* which occurs with personal pronouns. In this case, I will show that the variation between the P-pro and the pro-P order is solely dependent on the syntactic nature of the personal pronoun: in the case of P-pro we are dealing with a strong pronoun, while with pro-P we are dealing with a weak pronoun. This is confirmed by the syntactic restrictions on the pronoun appearing with a stranded P like the impossibility of being modified or coordinated, which were already noticed by Wende (1915) and which are also confirmed by my data. Thus, the derivation of the P-pro order is the standard one: the strong form of the pronoun is originated, like the relative particle, as a big DP in the Ground of P, where it remains like ordinary full DPs (since strong pronominal forms act like proper full DPs). By contrast, the derivation of the pro-P order involves yet again the base-generation of the pronoun as a "big DP" in the Ground of the P, just like its strong counterpart, which is then stripped away through "feature stripping": as was the case with relative *þe*, the nominal part of the pronoun moves into the PP, leaving its functional part behind and free to move as a weak element. As a deficient element in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), the resulting weak pronoun must appear in a derived and dedicated position within the PP, a position I label WP. Following Poletto's (2006b, 2011a) proposal on the parallel phases of Old Italian (a head endowed with strong features in one domain, is strong in every other domain), I take this PP-internal WP to parallel the WP position I assume for weak elements in the Left Periphery of the clause. In line with this parallelism, I take the PP-internal WP to be hosted in the Left Periphery of the PP, above both the projections for

simple and complex Ps. As in the case of obligatory postpositions, the postponed Ps with weak personal pronouns are "prepositional adverbs", since the weak pronoun leaves behind a nominal part which saturates the lower part of the PP, the DP<sub>place</sub>. This is again supported by the strong forms of "for" in pospositions (Wende 1915), but also by an asymmetry found with the forms of the preposition *between*, which in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (but also in his *Catholic Homilies I and II*) seem to be sensitive to the form of the pronoun: when pronouns follow *between* we find *betwux* (and variants), the same form of the P which precedes full DPs, while when the pronoun precedes its P, the form *betweonan* is used, with an inflectional nominal ending *-an*, which may represent a form of agreement with the nominal part of the pronoun left within the DP<sub>place</sub>. Lastly, just like in the case of stranded Ps with R-elements, the stranded Ps with weak personal pronouns may appear as a constituent together with their pronoun in WP, or may be stranded in their merge position when the weak personal pronoun moves outside the PP and targets the sentence WP position. In this last case, the stranded P can only be moved as a remnant of the vP to SpecFinP in dependent clauses, thus giving rise to the usual order found with stranded Ps, which may look like some sort of incorporation, as stranded Ps target a position which can be targeted also by particles.

In this last respect, the discussion of the word order alternations found with Prts is presented in section 3.4. As already noticed by various scholars, the Prts of OE convey "transparent" meanings like directional/resultative and may be found both post-verbally and pre-verbally, with patterns of distribution which are only in part reminiscent of those of the Modern German and Modern Dutch separable prefixes. In order to give a principled account of these varying orders, I propose that Prts originate as specific elements within a PP (as Damonte & Padovan 2011 proposed for the variable prefixes of Modern German), which scramble PP-internally to the Left Periphery of the PP, as already proposed by Koopman (2000) for the particles of Modern Dutch. At this point, Prts may remain sitting in the Left Periphery of the PP, thus assuming a strong form, or better, becoming full adverbials hosted in the Spec of one of the functional thematic projections of Schweikert (2005a). However, Prts may also become weak elements, usually when the remainder of the PP is evacuated, leaving the Prt alone in the CP<sub>place</sub> and thus free to move to a dedicated position within the clause structure. Such a claim is not only supported by a similar claim made by Hróarsdóttir (2008) for the Prts of Old Icelandic, and by Franco (2008) for the Prts of Modern Icelandic and Old Italian, but also from some clear data from a Northern Italian dialect, Borgomanerese (Tortora 2002), which presents clear diagnostics indicating that Prts occupy a dedicated projection in the higher sequence of aspectual adverbs. In particular, the directional and

resultative Prts of Borgomanerese allow cliticisation of the verb's direct object, like some higher adverbs. In such analysis in which claims that Prts may either remain in their mere position or move as weak elements to a dedicated projection PredP, the cases of "incorporation" of the Prt into the verb are but cases of structural adjacency between the Prt hosted in this vP-peripheral projection, and the non-finite verb. Notice furthermore that weak Prts hosted in their dedicated projections may undergo the usual anteposition rule in dependent clauses, thus giving rise to the Prt-finite verb order so familiar from Modern German dependent clauses. As regards prefixes, I adopt and slightly modify Damonte & Padovan's (2011) proposal on the inseparable version of the Modern German "variable prefixes", which maintains that prefixes are originated in a PP hosted in a position closer to V, a position I take to instantiate one of the lower aspects in the Cinquean (1999) hierarchy and which act like verbal modifiers. All the morpho-syntactic distinctions between Old English Prts and prefixes as regards the negative clitic *ne* and the infinitival marker *to* (see Mitchell 1978), follow directly from the two different merge positions for Prts and prefixes. Finally, in a subsection (3.4.1) at the end of this section on particles, I also make some notes on *ham* "home", an element which shows some interesting distributional peculiarities in many languages, especially when used in directional contexts. Here I show that OE *ham* can be interpreted as a Prt (cf. *heim* of Modern German), and as such, it exhibits all the syntactic characteristics of other OE Prts: *ham* is a modifier of the Ground of the P, and like any other Prt, it moves to CPplace, crossing over other PP-material like a directional P, thus giving rise to a PP like *home to her husband*. In such case, *ham* can either remain sitting in CPplace, thus becoming a full adverbial when no other PP-internal material is present, or it can move as a weak element, and target the dedicated projection for weak Prts in the clause. Again, evidence that *ham* may be a weak Prt comes from Borgomanerese, in which "home" behaves like directional and resultative Prts, and presents cliticisation of the direct object of the verb.

The major results and the most important implications of the analysis proposed in the third Chapter for the postpositions and Prts of OE will be summarised in the final Chapter, where I show why Mitchell (1978: 256) was ultimately right when he wrote that in these phenomenon "... we have reached the boundaries where the kingdoms of the preposition, the adverb, the separable prefix and inseparable prefix meet and melt into one another". The most recent developments on both the internal and external Cartography of the PP and also on the structural representation of the VPCs offer a formal and syntactic solution to the question at the beginning of the previous section, showing that the categorial status of stranded Ps and Prts are directly dependent upon the structural representation of the Ground in the PP. As a

final remark, I show that an account of OE Prts as strong and weak elements is also in line with the syntactic distribution of ModE particles, which can be taken to have a strong form when appearing in the V-DO-Prt order, but have a weak form in the V-Prt-DO order. Such analysis is confirmed by the well known restrictions on *right-* and PP-modification when the Prt appears in the shifted order, and also by the fact that directional Prts cannot be coordinated in the shifted position, while they can in the non-shifted position. Thus, I propose that the change from OE to ME and ModE did not involve a change in the syntactic status of Prts, which is maintained, but an extension of the contexts of use of Prts to those positions which in Old English were occupied by preverbs. In the light of this, the behaviour of the ModE w.r.t Particle Shift is but a conservation of a phenomenon which in the older stage of language was syntactically determined.

### 0.3 Corpus and Methodology

Nearly all the most recent studies on any aspect of the syntax of OE present very detailed statistical analyses of the relevant patterns and instances contained in a very large corpus of texts, usually the parsed *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of English Prose* (YCOE, Taylor et al. 2003), the largest OE syntactically-annotated corpus available. Most certainly, annotated corpora are extremely precious and highly useful instruments in the investigation of historical data, and quantitative studies generally capture the most important patterns and regularities of the phenomena of a language in a very clear and measurable way. Nonetheless, the present thesis represents an attempt to go in the opposite direction, in that it leaves aside any quantitative indication on the frequencies of the phenomena here considered, in favour of a qualitative analysis of the relevant cases contained in a limited but highly consistent corpus of OE.

The choice of restricting the study to a relatively limited corpus consisting however of a particularly coherent text, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (see below for the motivations) derives first and foremost from a methodological reason, which is directly related to the specific nature of the investigated material: although OE is a relatively well-attested language, we are still dealing with a "dead" language handed down to us in an incomplete corpus of texts, incomplete in the sense that even by considering all the OE extant texts, the corpus cannot represent all the grammatical possibilities of OE. In particular, the existence of apparently similar syntactic constructions, which may have different interpretations or may be subject to very subtle

restrictions, does not allow for a consideration of all the attested data at the same level. For this reason, I think it is necessary to proceed to a more careful investigation, in which each instantiation of P-stranding and particles is considered individually, in the attempt to find precise syntactic constraints on the abovementioned phenomena, whose exact quantification I leave for future research.

Consequently, it is of the utmost relevance for the purposes of the present study to establish a corpus as much unitary and consistent as possible, in which the inevitable complexities deriving from the interactions of social, geographical and stylistic variation can be sensibly reduced if not excluded. The corpus thus chosen may be viewed as the nearest representation of a unitary grammatical competence, which the adoption of a larger and more variegated corpus inevitably blurs. In the light of this, my study intends to represent a "core sample" of Ælfric's syntax as regards the distribution and characteristics of P-stranding and particles. The analysis I put forward in Chapter 3 is then to be viewed as a first attempt at the identification of the specific syntactic constraints and operations regulating these phenomena in Ælfric, whose results I intend to extend, in future research, not only to the other Ælfrician texts, but also to the other major authors and texts of Old English.

As already mentioned above, I chose to investigate P-stranding and particles in Ælfric of Eynsham's (c. 955-1010) *Lives of Saints*, a collection of prose homilies recounting saints' lives. The texts included are those included also in both DOE and the YCOE, i.e., the 36 texts (100,193 words as given in the YCOE) from the British Library MS Cotton Julius e. VII, edited by Rev. W. W. Skeat in 1881 for the Early English Text Society (Skeat 1881[1966]), from which the four non-Ælfrician texts have been excluded (*Lives of St. Mary of Egypt, Seven Sleepers, Euphrosyne, Eustace*). The choice of the *Lives of Saints* depends on the fact that this collection of texts presents some important characteristics, which make it the nearest instantiation of a unitary grammatical competence. First of all, although clear Latin sources can be identified, the texts are original compositions by Ælfric, showing a very free and idiomatic translation which renders the text particularly suitable for linguistic, and especially, syntactic investigations (Bethurum 1932). Hence, at least a direct Latin can be excluded, though an indirect one may still be possible (see Taylor 2008 on the effects of Latin translation). Secondly, another factor favouring the choice of the *Lives of Saints* is most certainly the language of Ælfric, whose syntax presents such a degree of complexity to be considered as a sort of near standard. Moreover, the homilies contained in this collection were all written in about one year, between 996-997 AD (Clemoes 1959), and presumably for oral delivery. Lastly, Ælfric is beyond any doubt one of the most representative writers of OE,

upon whose language (and spelling) some of the most important grammars are normalised (cf. Quirk & Wrenn 1955; see also the discussion in Mitchell & Robinson 1986: §2: 11).

As a final remark, the choice of conducting a qualitative analysis of the data from a limited corpus entailed also a specific methodology, namely, the collection of the data in a careful and systematic reading of the texts, so that all the relevant cases presented and analysed in Chapter 3 have been collected by hand. Occasional reference to some examples from *Catholic Homilies I* and *II* is made only to further reinforce what was already visible in the *Lives of Saints*.



# Chapter 1

## Prepositions, Particles and Generative Grammar: The Theory of P

### 1.1 Introducing P as a complex category

Prepositions (P) are possibly one of the most fascinating and complex areas of grammar as they seem to present heterogeneous characteristics in both their semantics and their morpho-syntactic distribution. As is well-known, these grammatical elements head adpositions and adverb(ial)s, i.e. PP's, of various meanings (temporal, casual, spatial, manner, purpose etc.), that add further thematic properties to a sentence by assigning thematic roles and case to their complements. Prepositions seem thus to share the same basic properties of verbs, nouns and adjectives, i.e., of lexical elements. For this reason, they have standardly been considered one of the core lexical categories at least since Jackendoff (1973), a view that is still advocated by many scholars (cf. den Dikken 2006 [2010] among many others).

However, the categorisation of prepositions as "lexical" is rather problematic since they also present semantic and morphosyntactic properties that are not generally found with lexical elements proper. Beside expressing clear semantic relations, prepositions can in fact convey a considerable number of different *grammatical* meanings: they can be subcategorised by a given verb (cf. *to think of, to hunt after*), thus heading a PP that behaves like a direct object; they can be Case Assigners without assigning any theta-role and thus any particular semantic meaning to their complement, as in the case of the Italian *a* "to, at" or *di* "of, from" which have substituted respectively the dative and the genitive of Latin in many contexts; and finally, they can also express aspectual and actional (*Aktionsart*) values, as in the case of the Modern German prefixed verbs, of the Modern English phrasal verbs or of the prepositional temporal/aspectual periphrases of the Celtic languages. All these characteristics seem to indicate that prepositions have also a functional nature, with properties akin to those of purely functional elements like D(eterminer), I(nflection) and even C(omplementiser).

Given such an exceptional behaviour, prepositions have always received enormous

attention in the linguistic theorising, with an astonishing number of studies that take into consideration every single aspect of their semantics and morpho-syntax in all fields of language research (including many pioneering studies in child language production and neurolinguistics, see below). In particular, over the past thirty years, the generative framework has greatly contributed to the study of both the "internal" and "external" syntax of spatial prepositions, with the precise intent of giving a unitary account of their ambiguous nature by which both their lexical and functional properties could be attributed to one and the same structure. The most insightful and fruitful implication of these studies is that "phrases composed of spatial prepositions, adverbs, *particles* [my italics, S. R.] and DPs do not instantiate different structures but merely spell out different positions of one and the same articulated configuration" (Cinque 2010: 3). In addition, although much of these studies are directly concerned with spatial Ps, there is convincing evidence that the fine structure proposed by these studies is found also with other Ps, in particular with temporal Ps and causal Ps (cf. Roy & Svenonius 2008, Brugè & Suñer 2008). Finally, a number of recent cartographic studies (Schweikert 2005, Cinque 2006) have shown that the order of PPs in the clause structure—their "external" syntax—is rigid and universal, despite all appearances to the contrary.

In the following sections, I present the studies mentioned above and some other relevant studies which have greatly contributed to the theory of P and which also constitute the theoretical assumptions behind the present thesis. In particular, I concentrate on the most recent generative, more specifically cartographic, developments on the internal structure of (spatial) PPs, on the position of circumstantial and argument PPs in the clausal hierarchy, and on the syntax of particles and preverbs. At the end of this chapter, it will become clear how the internal structure of PPs, the position they occupy in a sentence and the structural representation of particles/preverbs interact and affect each other at many levels.

Yet, before turning to the theoretical assumptions proper, let me lay out very briefly some fundamental distributional properties of prepositions and verb-particle constructions (henceforth VPCs) that will allow us to roughly distinguish between two types (or, as I will argue, between two extremes in a *continuum*) of both prepositions, complex/lexical vs. functional, and VPCs, transparent vs. non-transparent. These distinctions will turn out to be of the utmost importance not only for many of the syntactic analyses presented in the following sections, but also for a more coherent treatment of OE Ps and VPCs. For the following description I will draw on studies primarily concerned with (spatial) Ps and particles in Italian (Rizzi 1988) and Venetan (a group of dialects spoken in the Veneto region, north-

eastern Italy; Benincà & Poletto 2006, Poletto 2009), as these languages make a clear syntactic distinction between the two types of Ps and the two types of particles. Subsequently, the distinction between the two types of VPCs will be shown to hold also in other languages (primarily English and German).

### 1.1.1 Functional Ps and Lexical Ps

Although no general consensus exists among scholars (see for some discussion Svenonius 2007 and Cinque 2010: 11), empirical evidence from various fields of language research suggests that there is a functional/lexical split in the category P. Neurolinguistic studies have shown, for instance, that agrammatic Broca's aphasics perform more poorly with functional prepositions, i.e., with those prepositions that seem to be required for purely syntactic reasons, while they do not seem to have any particular problem with prepositions with a high semantic content (Friederici 1982).<sup>1</sup> Rather similar results have been more recently reported in Terzi, Kondili & Stefani (2009), who have studied the agrammatic comprehension and production of locative complex prepositions in Greek, i.e., of those prepositions made up of a lexical element designating location and the functional "small" Ps (see below) *se* and *apo* which introduce and assign case to their DP complement (as in *brosta apo/se to spiti* "in front of the house"). Interestingly, the three Broca's aphasics they have tested systematically failed to produce the embedded functional Ps while they had no particular problems with the lexical, adverbial part of the complex preposition.<sup>2</sup>

This functional/lexical split in the category P is furthermore supported by data from early child language (Littlefield 2006), which show that lexical Ps are acquired first (together with the other lexical elements) at around one year of age, while the functional Ps are acquired much later (at around 2) and are often omitted or incorrectly produced in early child spontaneous speech.

Thus, there seems to be some sort of psycholinguistic reality behind the idea that prepositions come in two types, lexical/complex and functional,<sup>3</sup> and indeed, languages do

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1 However, since Friederici (1982), there have been several studies which have challenged this view. See Mätzig, Druks, Neeleman & Craig (2010) for a very recent account and a succinct but very clear overview of the most relevant contributions on the treatment of Ps in aphasia.

2 The only three instances of *apo* and *se* that the subjects have produced are either the preceding part of an adverb or used alone to denote location or direction, two uses in which the "small" P can arguably be considered lexical (see Terzi 2010).

3 These two types of prepositions have been variously defined: "proper", "primary", "colourless", "monosyllabic", "simple" vs. "improper", "complex", "lexical", "adverbial", "nominal", "colourful", "polysyllabic", just to quote a few (cf. Rizzi 1988, Littlefield 2006, Cinque 2010: 3 ff. and fn.2, and the relevant references)

make a fairly coherent and systematic distinction between these two (cf. Cinque 2010: 3ff. and references cited therein), a distinction which surfaces as the different semantic and morpho-syntactic properties mentioned above. A language like Italian, for instance, presents two sets of prepositions, which differ from one another in many ways: the first set comprises prepositions like *di* "of, from", *a* "at, to", *da* "of, from", *in* "in(to)", *con* "with", *su* "on", *per* "for", *tra* (or *fra*) "between, among", all of which are monosyllabic, while the second set consists of complex lexical elements like *dietro* "behind", *davanti* "in front of", *accanto* "next to", *durante* "in, during" and many others, all of which are polysyllabic and can be used both as prepositions and as adverbs. A number of diagnostics indicate that the distinction between these two sets can be roughly characterised in terms of functional vs. lexical prepositions, those of the first set being functional and those of the second lexical.

A first rather coarse and intuitive criterion for distinguishing them is provided by semantics. Even though, as Rizzi (1988: 525) points out, it is very difficult to find a common and coherent semantic core behind functional prepositions, some of the Italian simple Ps seem to express very basic meanings, something that is particularly evident in the case of the stative and directional Ps *a*, *da*, *su*. Moreover, as we will see shortly, some of these simple Ps do not seem to express any contentful meaning at all: they rather seem to express grammatical relations such as that of "indirect object", and may be then thought of as case markers. The basic and at times even absent semantic content of simple Ps is in sharp contrast to the more contentful semantics of the lexical Ps, all which express a salient semantic relation. Yet, a distinction in these terms is rather slippery since, as Cinque (2010: 11) points out, lack of a salient semantic content is by no means a necessary condition for the functional status of an element (cf. for instance the semantic content conveyed by demonstratives, articles, aspect and tense morphemes/affixes which are generally viewed as functional elements).

Perhaps, a slightly more reliable diagnostic could be membership in a closed vs. open class, since functional elements usually form a small closed inventory (cf. the restricted numbers of inflectional endings, determiners, modal and aspectual values etc.), while lexical elements like verbs and nouns generally constitute a larger class which is always capable of adding new elements. As can be seen from the above list, the Italian functional Ps of the first set do constitute a small, closed class, while the second set of lexical Ps seems to be open. Nevertheless, membership to a closed vs. an open class is again not a fully reliable diagnostic, since the number of functional Ps can be increased over time via the combination and/or grammaticalisation of various elements, like Ps, adverbs, nouns, verbs and adjectives.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> A cursory look at Rohlfs (1969: §798ff., 203ff.) shows that most of the complex Ps of both Italian and its dialects constitute Romance innovations while most of the simple prepositions are direct inheritance from

Furthermore, there is also evidence (cf. Svenonius 2007, Cinque 2010) that, despite their larger number, even lexical Ps actually constitute a closed class.

Other more revealing clues may be provided by the various asymmetries in the morpho-syntactic behaviour of the two types of Ps. In Italian again, only the functional Ps can form the so called *preposizioni articolate* "articulated prepositions", i.e., synthetic forms of the P with (the various forms of) the definite article of its DP complement, cf. (1a) vs. (1b):<sup>5,6</sup>

- (1) a. *su+il/lo/la/i/gli/le = sul/sullo/sulla/sui/sugli/sulle* "on-the-m.sg/f.sg/m.pl/f.pl"  
 b. *\*dentrol* "inside-the.m.sg", *\*accantola* "next-the.f.sg", *\*sopragli* "over-the.m.pl"

Another syntactic difference between Italian functional Ps and lexical Ps regards the possibility for their complement to be omitted or extracted: functional Ps must always have a complement, (2a), and cannot be stranded by *wh*-movement, (3a), while lexical Ps may appear in their "intransitive" use (2b), and can be stranded (3b) (examples from Cinque 2010: 4).

- (2) a. Vengo ora da \*(Venezia)  
 Come.1sg pres now from Venice  
 "I'm coming now from Venice"  
 b. Lo metto sopra (il tavolo)  
 Cl<sub>obj</sub>.m.sg put.1sg.pres on the table  
 "I put it on the table"
- (3) b. \*Quale paese vieni da?  
 which country come.2sg.pres from  
 "Which country do you come from?"  
 b. A cosa l'hai messo sopra?  
 to what Cl<sub>obj</sub>.m.sg-have.2sg.pres put on  
 "What have you put it on?"

The example in (3b) shows also another syntactic possibility of lexical Ps, namely that they can take another PP as their complement, but interestingly enough, this PP complement is always headed by one of the functional P (recall also the Greek complex Ps of Terzi, Kondili & Stefani 2009 mentioned above and some complex Ps of English like *in front of*, *because of*):

- (4) *prima di* "lit. before of", *fuori da* "out of", *davanti a* "lit. in front to, in front of"

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Latin, with *su* (< SU(R)SUM "upwards" and *da* (< DE + AB) as two notable exceptions. For a discussion on how prepositions developed from Indo-European to Latin and eventually to Romance, see Vincent (1999).

5 The obligatoriness of this process varies according to the P (Rizzi 1988: 529): it is obligatory with *di*, *a*, *in*, *su*, *da*, optional with *con* and impossible with *per* and *tra* (even though articulated forms of the last two are attested in older stages of the language and in the dialects).

6 This phenomenon recalls to some extent the "inflected" Ps of Insular Celtic, by which an object personal pronoun combines with what can be considered functional Ps into a synthetic forms.

It should be noted in passing that the possibilities just illustrated (omission and/or extractability of the complement, and possibility of embedding a functional P) are not displayed in the same way by all lexical Ps: as Rizzi (1988) points out, some lexical Ps are *obligatorily* followed by a functional P (like *prima*, cf. *prima \*(di) Natale* "lit. before of Christmas"); for some others the presence of the functional P is optional (cf. *dietro (al)l'albero* "lit. behind (to-)the tree", yet see below 1.2.1 for specifications on this); and others still do not admit any functional P (cf. *dopo (\*a/\*di) la lezione* "lit. after the class").<sup>7</sup>

Lexical Ps then seem to be subject to less syntactic restrictions than functional Ps. However, there is, by contrast, a morpho-syntactic possibility that is only found with functional Ps, namely the possibility mentioned above that, in a number of uses, functional Ps instantiate and case-mark a grammatical relation.<sup>8</sup> This is the case of *a* and *di*, which mark respectively the case of the "indirect object", dative, and the genitive or partitive. Consider for instance (5a) vs. (5b):

- (5) a. Do un libro a Mario  
Give.1sg.pres a book to M.  
"I give a book *to* Mario"
- b. Vado / Sono a Venezia  
Go.1sg.pres/be.1sg.pres to Venice  
"I am *in* Venice / I'm going *to* Venice"

Despite their homophony, Rizzi (1988) shows that the two *a*'s in (5) are different syntactic elements as evidenced by the fact that the phrases they head are pronominalised by a different clitic, *a Mario* being pronominalised by a dative clitic *gli* while *a Venezia* by a locative clitic *ci*:<sup>9</sup>

- (6) a. *Gli* do n libro  
Cl<sub>dat.</sub>m.sg give.1sg.pres a book  
"I give him a book"
- b. *Ci* vado / sono  
Cl<sub>loc</sub> go.1sg.pres / be.1sg.pres

7 Notice that, interestingly, many lexical Ps take different functional Ps according to whether their complement is a DP or a personal pronoun (usually *a* with DPs and *di* with pronouns):

- (i) a. *Sotto (al)la sedia* vs. *sotto \*(di) lei*  
under (to)-the chair vs. under her  
b. *Verso (\*a) Gianni* vs. *verso \*(di) lui*  
towards John vs. towards him

This, I believe, can be considered evidence that the morpho-syntactic status of the complement (DP vs. pronoun) affects the internal structure and consequently the superficial realisation of the PP.

8 See Brugè & Brugger (1996) on the case-marker nature of Spanish *a* before direct objects.

9 *Ci* also pronominalises the PP headed by *a* and subcategorised by a verb like *pensare* "to think of":

- (i) a. Penso a Maria  
Think.1sg.pres to M  
"I'm thinking of Mary"
- b. *Ci* penso  
Cl<sub>loc</sub> think.1sg

## "I'm going / I'm there"

Italian thus makes a distinction between a dative case marker *a* and a locative stative/directional *a*. The same difference is found also with *da*, for which Italian distinguishes between a locative (stative/directional) *da* and a *da* that introduces agent or causers in passives (see Rizzi 1988: 525ff. for syntactic evidence in support of this claim).<sup>10</sup>

It is worth noticing here very briefly one last morpho-syntactic possibility found only with functional Ps. While it is true that some Italian lexical Ps can take both a finite and non-finite clause as complement (7), only a small group of functional Ps can introduce non-finite complement clauses (8a) or infinitival sentences selected by aspectual and motion verbs (8b.c), (on this last possibility see Penello 2003):

- (7) a. E' partito dopo averti parlato / senza dire nulla  
Is.3sg.pres left after have.inf-Cldat.2sg talked / without say.inf nothing  
"He left after talking to you / without saying anything!"
- b. E' partito dopo che ti ha parlato / senza che sapessi nulla  
Is.3sg.pres left after that Cl<sub>dat</sub>.2sg have.3sg.pres talked / without that know.1sg.sbj.past nothing  
"He left after he talked to you / without me knowing anything"
- (8) a. Gli ho detto di partire.  
Cl.dat have-1sg.pres told of to.go  
"I told him to go"
- b. Ho finito di lavare i piatti  
Have.1sg.pres finished of wash.inf the dishes  
"I've finished to do the washing up"
- c. Vieni a mangiare  
Come.2sg.imp to eat.inf  
"Come and eat!"

In other words, only functional Ps in Italian may act like complementisers that introduce non-finite clauses (see Kayne 2004b for a syntactic account of the prepositional complementisers of Italian as *probes*).<sup>11</sup>

In conclusion, the scanty description of Italian Ps presented above shows that despite the fact that there are indeed various linguistic clues that may help distinguish a functional set of Ps from a complex, more lexical one, it is also clear that the criteria are not as clear-cut as

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10 It should be noticed that this represents a rather robust cross-linguistic generalisation: generally, spatial "goal" prepositions case-mark the dative, while "source" prepositions case-mark genitive/partitive (see Vincent 1999 for the development of Latin "goal" AD and "source" DE into case-markers in Romance).

11 OE does present a prepositional infinitival marker *to*, which takes an inflected (dative?) form of the infinitive to form infinitivals of purpose (cf. *secan* "to seek" vs. *to secenne* "(for) to seek"). The exact syntactic nature of this infinitival marker is however still a matter of debate as it has been argued that it is hosted in the head of INFL (see Giusti 1989 for a similar analysis of German *zu*), Agr, T, or COMP (see Jarat 2003 for an overview of these proposals and for an alternative account of *to* as a P head).

one might expect and provide therefore no cast-iron distinction. As shown above, even a rather reliable diagnostic like membership in an open vs. closed class is by no means conclusive since lexical Ps seem to constitute a closed class. A semantic distinction in terms of contentful vs. contentless is even more slippery as even among functional Ps, there are Ps which seem more contentful than others (cf. directional *a* vs. dative-marker *a* in [5] and [6] above). Probably, as Svenonius (2007: 88) puts it, "[a] likely scenario is that rather fine distinctions will ultimately have to be made among different subsorts of P, with some being more lexically contentful than others. At the extreme end of the scale, truly contentless adpositions may cease to be adpositions at all, and become case markers."

Thus, the functional/lexical split should, I think, be re-thought of in terms of a *continuum* whose extreme ends are decided by the morpho-syntactic role of a given P in a given syntactic configuration. A P is lexical or functional according to its syntactic environment, i.e., it is used lexically when it introduces circumstantial adpositions but becomes more and more functional as it starts to express pure grammatical relations as verb subcategorisation, aspect, complementising and case-marking. The straightforward implication is that, even though there is a fair degree of cross-linguistic solidarities, the diagnostics for distinguishing the two types are not universal and should then be established on a case-by-case basis, the morpho-syntactic criteria being, for the most part, language-specific.<sup>12</sup>

In the following sections, it will be shown that the different properties associated with the functional vs. lexical nature of P are in fact dependent on the exact position of a P in the finely-grained PP (see in particular 1.2.1.3.) This will turn out to be of the utmost relevance when considering the syntactic behaviour of OE Ps since, this language does not have full-fledged functional uses for its Ps resembling the functional uses of Italian or ModE simple Ps. On the contrary, there is strong evidence indicating that those prepositions of ModE which present functional uses like dative *to* and genitive *of* were not so in OE: as Mitchell (1985:§1210: 512-513) himself points out, *to* is never found with verbs of "giving", thus *to* cannot be a marker for the dative case. Moreover, *to* can be found with verbs of speaking like *cleopian*, *sprecan* and *cweþan*, but it seems to me that in such cases the verb acquires the meaning of "to address someone with words" rather than "to speak to". As regards *of*, this P still retains its original meaning of "out, from", and, although it does have a partitive use<sup>13</sup>, there is no

12 For some more examples of how languages grammaticalise the functional/lexical split in the category P see Cinque (2010a: 3ff.) and references.

13 Here is such an example of this partitive use of *of*:

(i) Hwæt þa se mæssepreost þæs mannes ofhreow, and scof on halig wæter  
 What then the mass-priest the.GEN man.GEN pitied, and shaved in holy water  
**of þam halgan treowe**, sealde þam adligan **of** to supenne, [...]  
 from the.DAT holy.DAT tree.DAT, gave the.DAT sick.DAT from to drink

clear case of *of* as a genitive case-marker in OE (see Mitchell 1985: §1199ff: 506ff.). As will be shown in Chap. 3, the fact that both *to* and *of* in OE could appear without their complements provides further convincing evidence for their non-functional nature, and, as it will be argued, for a syntactic representation as the heads of dedicated projections in the spatial PP.

### 1.1.2 Transparent and Non-Transparent Verb-Particle Constructions

In 1.1.1 I mentioned the possibility for (mostly lexical) Ps to appear in an "intransitive" use, i.e., to appear without their complement. In more traditional terms, intransitive Ps are defined either *adverbs* or *particles* (henceforth Prt), the choice between the two terms depending principally on their semantic contribution and their grammatical function in a sentence. Yet, while it is more or less generally agreed that adverbs have the semantic and syntactic nature of verbal (or nominal) modifiers (hence specifiers, see Cinque 1999), the syntactic status of Prts and consequently the structural representation of the so called verb-particle constructions (henceforth VPCs) remain still much of a mystery, as can also be gathered by the impressive number of studies dedicated to Prts in any linguistic framework.<sup>14</sup>

In the following section, I will present a brief overview of the distributional properties of VPCs in Venetan, English and German. This description is clearly not meant to be an exhaustive treatment of VPCs in these languages as this would take me too far afield. On the contrary, I will limit myself to showing that there is evidence for distinguishing between a transparent and a non-transparent type of VPCs, each of which is associated with different semantic and syntactic properties. This distinction will turn out to be of relevance when dealing with the particle and preverb systems of OE. For a more in-depth treatment of the properties of VPCs and related phenomena in the abovementioned languages I refer to the authors (and related references) mentioned in the following subsections. The numerous generative proposals on the syntactic representations of VPCs will be dealt with in more detail in 1.3.

As already mentioned, I will start in 1.1.2.1 by illustrating the two types of VPCs with data from Venetan, since, unlike Italian and the southern varieties which seem to have just transparent VPCs (see Iacobini 2009), this group of dialects present also aspectual VPCs

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(ÆLS Oswald, 262)

"So the priest had pity on the man, and scraped (shaved) into holy water some of the sacred tree, and gave to the diseased man to drink, ..."

Interestingly, the second instance shows no complement, thus indicating even more clearly that this use was not completely functional.

14 See for instance the long bibliography on Verb Particle Constructions created and updated by N. Dehé on her homepage: <http://ling.uni-konstanz.de/pages/home/dehe/bibl/PV.html>.

comparable to ModE *to eat up*. The examples are mostly taken from Poletto (2009) but I have adapted them to my own variety, Gazzolo d'Arcole (Verona). Subsequently, I will illustrate the distinction between transparent and non-transparent VPCs in other languages (section 1.1.2.2), focussing principally on English phrasal verbs (Jackendoff 2002) and German prefixed verbs (Lüdeling 2001; Zeller 2001, 2003; Damonte & Padovan 2011). In this respect, I will use the term VPC to indicate both the phrasal verbs of Venetan and English and the prefixed verbs of German, Dutch, Russian, Latin etc. The reason for using a single comprehensive label is threefold: (i) even though it is true that languages seem to prefer either prefixation or particles, the preponderant presence of one or the other strategy is by no means to be intended as a typological classification, since languages may present both types, synchronically and diachronically, sometimes both productively; (ii) a distinction in terms of transparent vs. non-transparent is semantically and syntactically detectable also in those languages that present prefixation; (iii) the language that is object of study in this thesis, OE, shows a complex interaction between prefixes, separable preverbs and incipient particles (Hiltunen 1983, Elenbass 2007), a situation which is paralleled by other languages, see Old French (Dufresne, Dupuis & Tremblay 2003).

#### 1.1.2.1 VPCs in Venetan (north-eastern Italy)

As is well known, Prts can combine with many types of verbs (transitives, ergatives, unaccusatives etc.), thus forming new verbs (or verbal complexes) with different semantics and sometimes even with a different categorial status w.r.t. the simple verb. Yet, Prts—just like Ps—are not a coherent category, both semantically and syntactically. When combined with a verb of motion for instance, Prts tend to form VPCs in which they further specify the movement lexicalised by the verb by adding a "path" component, or in which they modify a locative argument (usually a PP). However, there are also Prts which express idiomatic or actional/aspectual meanings, and in this case, they can affect the argument structure of a verb adding an extra thematic role (usually a direct object, hence the term transitivityisers). Benincà & Poletto (2006) & Poletto (2009) have investigated all these properties in the VPCs of Venetan, proposing a distinction between "transparent" and "non-transparent" VPCs based on some clear asymmetries in their syntactic behaviour.

For a start, Venetan VPCs can be distinguished according to their degree of semantic "transparency". The meaning of transparent VPCs is compositional, i.e., it is the result of the meaning of the verb plus the meaning of the Prt, cf. (9); by contrast, the semantics of non-

transparent VPCs is opaque or in some way idiomatic, as it does not result from the composition of the meaning of the verb plus the meaning of the Prt, cf. (10).

- (9) a. n(d)are/vegner fora/rento/su/zò  
to-go / to come out / in(to) / up / down  
b. tirare/metare/butare fora/rento/su/zò  
to-drag/ to-put / to-throw out / in(to) / up /down
- (10) *magnar fora*, "lit. to eat out = to dissipate, to eat up"; *spacar fora* "lit. to break out = to destroy completely"; *brusare fora* "lit. to burn out = to burn completely"; *dir su* "lit. to say up = to scold, to tell off/to invent, to make up (a story)"; *saltar su* "lit. to jump up = to attack verbally", *taconar/ponciar su*, "to sew, to stitch up = to botch up a hole in a fabric"

Moreover, as the above examples show, transparent VPCs generally involve a verb of motion, or a verb that implies movement (like *throw* or *put*). The Prt in these cases is locative, more specifically diirectional, as it explicits the direction of the movement or the result of it.

Conversly, the Prts of non-transparent VPCs combine with different types of verbs and do not have any locative/directional meaning. A comparison between (9) and (10), shows furthermore that their number is very limited, just two in fact, *su* and *fora*. Both these Prts can be taken to add an actional (*Aktionsart*) value of the completive/terminative type (Poletto 2008), even though their semantic contribution is a bit more complex than simply "completive" or "terminative" as *fora* "out" can be paraphrased as "completely (and violently)" while *su* "up" can be paraphrases as "completed but in an inaccurate way". At any rate, what is worth noticing here is that there is no 1:1 corrispondence between the Prts and the actional/aspectual values: the same Prt can convey various actional meanings, and the same actional meaning can be conveyed by various particles.

From a syntactic perspective, the Prts of transparent VPCs can appear either alone or followed by another PP, cf. (11). When they appear alone, transparent Prts behave like independent elements, or better like constituents, as demonstrated by the fact that they can be used in isolation (12a), that they can be coordinated with other directional Prts (12b), and that they can be focalised, either contrastively, or by means of the adverb *solo* "only", (12c) and (12d) respectively.

- (11) a. Vò / vien su (in sofita)  
Go.1sg.pres / come.2sg.imp up in the attic  
"I'm going /Come up in the attic"  
b. L' è nà / vegnù fora (in giardin)  
Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg is gone/come out in garden  
"He's gone/come out in the garden"

- (12) a. Ind' elo nà? Fora  
Where is-Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg-gone? Out  
"Where has he gone? Out"
- b. El seita nare rento e fora/su e zò  
Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg keep.1sg.pres go.inf in and out / up and down  
"He keeps going in and out / up and down"
- c. FORA l'è nà, no su (de sora)!  
OUT Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg is gone, not up (of-above)  
"He's gone out, not up(stairs)!"
- d. So nà solo che fora  
Am gone only that out  
"I went only out"

Notice that, when it is followed by a PP, the transparent Prt can form a constituent with it, as demonstrated by the felicitous application of the traditional tests for constituency, contrastive focalisation (13a), focalisation as predicate of a *cleft* (13b), and use in isolation (13c).

- (13) a. FORA IN GIARDIN, l' è nà  
Out in garden, Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg is gone  
"Out in the garden, he went!"
- b. Xè fora in giardin che l'è nà!  
It-is out in garden that Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg is gone  
"It's out in the garden that he went"
- c. Ind'elo nà? Fora in giardin  
Where is- Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg gone? Out in the garden  
"Where has he gone? Out in the garden"

The examples in (13) show furthermore that when the PP is present, the particle acts like a modifier of what can be considered the internal locative argument of a motion verb, since, if the particle were omitted, all of the above examples would still be grammatical and would still mean pretty much the same (thus making the modifier, i.e., specifying nature of the Prt even more evident). I would like to suggest that the particle is a modifier even when it appears alone: in such cases it could be modifying the unexpressed internal argument (*pro*) of the motion verb. For a more in-depth treatment and a possible syntactic analysis of transparent Prts as modifiers see the discussion of VPCs in OE in Chapt. 3.<sup>15</sup>

As regards non-transparent VPCs, there are at least two relevant aspects of their syntax that should be mentioned. The first concerns the extent to which the Prt affects the

15 That the Prts of transparent VPCs are generated as modifiers of an unpronounced locative argument is by no means evidence that they are full-fledged XPs. Their nature as heads, specifiers or, as I will argue, as weak elements is decided by the syntactic contexts in which they appear (or by the syntactic movements that target the PP), so that Prts in a given language can be weak or strong elements (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), or even both.

verb it combines with. The most evident case is represented by the transitive Prts, i. e., those Prts which add an extra argument to the thematic grid of the verb, usually a direct object, but sometimes even an indirect one (14a). Rather less frequent but still present are the cases in which the Prt removes an internal argument (14b), or changes its lexical subcategorisation (14c).

- (14) a. *saltarghe su a qualchedun*  
to-jump.Cl<sub>dat</sub> up to someone  
"to verbally attack someone"  
(vs. *saltar* "jump" + locative PP)
- b. *dir(\*ghe) su (\*cavolade a qualchedun)*  
to say-Cl<sub>dat</sub> up stupid things to someone  
"to say unbelievable things"  
(vs. *dirghe qualcosa a qualchedun* "to say something to someone")
- c. *magnar fora tuto, i schei ...*  
to eat out everything, the money  
"to dissipate everything, all the money"  
(vs. *\*magnar fora el pomo/ la torta* "to eat up the apple, the pie")<sup>16</sup>

In all of the above examples, the Prt seems to modify the verb in a much deeper sense than the transparent Prts, and not only on a purely semantic level.

The second aspect that should be considered is their syntactic status. As can be seen from the following examples, the usual constituency tests (use in isolation [15a] and focalisation [15c,d]) yield ungrammatical results: the non-transparent Prt does not form a constituent, neither alone, nor with the additional object it provides. Moreover, the impossibility to coordinate two non-transparent Prts (15b) indicates also that the Prts of non-transparent VPCs are not independent syntactic elements:

- (15) a. *Come/Indò ghe galo saltà? \*Su (al toseto)*  
How/where Cl<sub>dat</sub> has-Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg jumped? Up to the kid
- b. *\*El ghe ga saltà su e zò al toseto*  
-Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg Cl<sub>dat</sub> has jumped up and down to the kid
- c. *\*SU (AL TOSETO) el ghe ga saltà*  
Up to the kid Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg Cl<sub>dat</sub> has jumped
- d. *\*El ghe ga saltà solo che su (al toseto)*  
Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg Cl<sub>dat</sub> has jumped only that up to the kid

In other words, (15) shows that the Prt cannot be separated from the verb.<sup>17</sup> Prts that are

16 This judgement is subject to speaker variation: other speakers of my own variety and speakers of other Venetan varieties do actually accept *magnar fora* with the prototypical objects of *to eat*.

17 Notice that the additional argument the Prt provides is indeed a constituent on its own, as the following constituency tests show:

- (i) a. *AL TOSETO, el ghe ga saltà su!*  
to the kid Cl<sub>subj</sub>.3msg Cl<sub>dat</sub> has jumped up

subject to such restrictions are generally analysed as syntactic heads which incorporate into the lexical verb to form a "complex head". I will turn back to the details of such an analysis in 1.3.

Despite the general validity of the distinction drawn so far, it should also be mentioned here that Venetan (and many other languages as well) presents some VPCs that do not seem to fall in either of the two type. Consider for instance the following:

- (16) *lavar zò (i piati)* "lit. to wash down the dishes = to do the washing up"; *tirar zò* "lit. to drag down = to videotape"; *tacar via* "lit. to hang away = to hang on a wall"; *tor via* "lit. to grab away = to recognise"

The attribution of the cases in (16) to one or the other of the above types is problematic since the Prts *zò* "down" and *via* "way"<sup>18</sup> do not convey any particular actional value, yet it is clear that their meaning is not entirely locative either, though some sort of movement can always be implied. Similar cases are the English *to read up* and *to give in*, and the German *aufgeben* "lit. up-give = give up"). I will not deal with the structural representation of these VPCs as OE does not present Prts with comparable meanings. Moreover, the syntactic derivation seems to involve different processes than those involved in transparent, resultative and even aspectual/actional VPCs. I leave this fascinating point for future research.

A last, rather more "transparent" case that is worth mentioning is that of resultative VPCs like Ven. *tajar via* "to cut away, off" or English *run someone down*. Crucially, this is the only type of non-transparent Prts that Italian—a language that does not normally present non-transparent VPCs—seems to be developing (cf. Iacobini & Masini 2006). The Prt in question is *via*, lit. "away, off" in the following examples (cf. Iacobini & Masini 2006: 179 for some other cases):

- (17) *tagliare via* "cut away, off", *grattare via* "scrape away, off", *buttare via* "throw away", *(s)accuire via* "to send away, lit. to hunt away", *strappare via* "to tear away, off", *cavare via* "to "

This type of VPC is particularly interesting for at least two reasons: firstly, as Iacobini &

- 
- "He told off THE KID"
- b. A ci ghe galo saltà su? Al toseto  
to-whom Cl<sub>dat</sub> has-Cl<sub>subj</sub>-3msg jumped? to the kid  
"Whom did he tell off? The kid"
- c. El ghe ga saltà su solo che al toseto  
Cl<sub>subj</sub>-3msg Cl<sub>dat</sub> has jumped up only that to the kid  
"He told off only the child"

18 *Via* (probably < Lat. (IN) VIA(M), cfr. Rohlfs 1969: §916, 262, strikingly resembling the OE *onweg/aweg* "in way" > ModE *away*) is neither a locative adverb nor a P in origin but is the result of a grammaticalisation process that applies to the N *via* "way". *Via* can be used as a preposition, cf. *via satellite*, or can be part of several complex Ps in both Italian and Venetan, like *per via di* "lit. for way of = because of", *in via di* "lit. in way of = in the process of").

Masini (2006)<sup>19</sup> point out, the resultative character of *via* derives straightforwardly from its locative meaning, something that could make this type of VPC a possible link or trigger for the future development of a (rather) coherent system of aspectual/actional particles, as has been the case in ME and in the Venetan dialects. Secondly, and most importantly for the purposes of the present thesis, OE Prts only convey "literal" meanings, either directional or resultative (they are secondary predicates, cfr. Roberts 1997, Firsher et al. 2000, Elenbaas 2007, Elenbaas & van Kemenade, forthcoming, see 2.4; see also Chap. 3 for a unitary treatment of OE Prts and prefixes and its implications in the light of the fine structure of PPs).

In conclusion, the Venetan data presented above indicate that there are at least two types of VPCs which can be distinguished by their semantics but most importantly by their syntactic possibilities. The distributional properties of VPCs primarily depend on the more or less independent syntactic status of the Prt. In the next section, I will show that also the English Prts and German preverbs present some asymmetries in their distributional properties, despite their more constrained syntax.

#### 1.1.2..2 *Transparent vs. non-transparent VPCs in English and German*

Semantic and syntactic asymmetries comparable to those just described for the Venetan Prts are found in many other languages as well, suggesting therefore that the distinction between transparent and non-transparent VPC's may be universal. This is trivially true when considering the semantics of VPCs cross-linguistically, as a clear contrast in terms of compositional/locative vs. non compositional/aspectual/idiomatic meanings is indeed robustly attested even in those languages that present only verbal prefixes.<sup>20</sup> The following examples illustrate the contrast in English phrasal verbs, (18), and German prefixed verbs, (19):

- (18) a. Transparent VPCs  
*come/go up/down/in/out; put/set/get/throw/take/bring/carry* (etc.)  
*up/down/in/out/across*
- b. Non-transparent VPCs  
*give in/up, tell off, eat up, use up*

19 Notice that Iacobini & Masini (2006) refer to *via* as a "telicising particle". It seems to me that *via* is not telic, rather it is resultative in meaning, indicating that the object of a verb like "to scrap" is *away*, is no longer there by means of the scraping.

20 See for instance Latin *exire* "lit. to out-go = to go out, exit" vs. *exhibere* "lit. to out-drink = to drink up". The same opposition seems also to characterise the distinction between the lexical and the superlexical prefixes of Russian (*pere-kidat'* "lit. across-throw = to throw across" vs. *pere-kidat'* "lit. DISTR-throw = to throw one by one", see Svenonius 2008 a. o.).

- (19) a. Transparent VPCs  
*aus-/fort-geben* "to go out / away"; *ab- / ein-steigen* "step off, out / in(to)";  
 b. Non-transparent VPCs  
*untersuchen* "to visit", *übersetzen* "to translate", *wiederholen* "repeat", *umarmen*  
 "embrace"

From a syntactic point of view however, the diagnostics for distinguishing the two types of VPCs are by no means universal and must be established case by case, as with the distinction between functional and lexical Ps, since they are highly dependent on language-specific morpho-syntactic constraints.

In English, for instance, the syntactic distinction between the two types of VPCs is rather difficult to detect at first since both transparent and non-transparent Prts have exactly the same distribution: they can undergo the so-called "Particle Shift"<sup>21</sup> with a DP object (20), but must follow the pronouns (21), and can be modified by *right* or *straight* only when they follow the DP object, (22), ([a] examples for transparent VPCs, [b] examples for non-transparent VPCs).

- (20) a. Mary took out the rubbish/Mary took the rubbish out  
 b. The woman told off the little girl/The woman told the little girl off
- (21) a. Will you get it down for me please?/\*Will you get down it ...  
 b. Mum told me off/\*Mum told off me
- (22) a. Get your stuff straight/right out (of here)!  
 a'. \*Get straight/right out your stuff  
 b. Mary ate her supper straight/right up  
 b'. \*Mary ate right up her supper

Nonetheless, Jackendoff (2002) shows that there are some syntactic operations that are possible only with what he defines "directional particles", like the *Locative Inversion* construction (23) and the *PP with NP* construction (24), (see Jackendoff 1973, 2002 and

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21 Notice that not all transparent VPCs admit "Particle Shift". It does not obtain for instance with those directional Prts that add a "path" component to an unaccusative verb of movement, compare (i) vs (ii)

- (i) John ran down the street / John ran down it  
 (ii) a. \*John ran the street down / #John ran it down (only acceptable if it means to run down with a car)  
 b. \*Down with the street (meaning "let's run down ...")

In this case the Prt is standardly considered a preposition in its own right. I propose instead that in this case *up* is a modifier of an unpronounced P (like *ran TO AT up the hill*, see 1.2.1). "Particle Shift" thus applies only to the two components of a small clause (see below), and not to Prts that are modifiers of or within a PP. Notice incidentally that this could partly account for the ungrammaticality of:

- (iii) \*She looks the children after  
 "Particle Shift" is impossible here because *after* is not predicated of *the children* (they form a PP subcategorised by the verb).

references cited therein; the following examples are from Jackendoff 2002: 75ff):

- (23) a. Back hopped the frog / Out goes the garbage<sup>22</sup>  
b. \*Up blew the building
- (24) a. Out with the garbage! / Off with their heads!  
b. \*Up with your lunch! (meaning *throw up, eat up*)

A very interesting contrast emerges in (23), which shows that only directional transparent Prts can be topicalised. This indicates that, despite the same syntactic distribution, transparent Prts are independent elements while non-transparent Prts are not. This could be further supported by the fact that only directional Prts can be coordinated (25a):

- (25) a. She kept going in and out / up and down  
b. She ate up (\*and in)

One last syntactic possibility of the English transparent VPCS that is worth mentioning is the possibility for the directional Prt to be followed by a PP (26a), with which they form a constituent, (26b,c,d) (a possibility that they share with their Venetan counterparts):

- (26) a. go/come/take up on the roof/out in the garden/down to the floor  
b. Where did he take it? Down in the basement / Out in(to) the garden  
c. Down into the sea plunged the seagull  
d. Out in the garden with those dirty shoes!

All the above examples show that, despite their rather rigid syntax, English Prts do exhibit a number of idiosyncrasies in their syntactic distribution according to whether they are pure directional "path" components of unaccusative verbs, resultative predicates of a direct object or actional/aspectual markers. In all of these cases, the Prt becomes more and more constrained in its syntactic possibilities: it behaves like an independent adverb (XP) in directional VPCs, while it is ambiguous between a secondary predicate (XP) and a syntactic head in the resultative and actional/idiomatic VPCs.

In German, the syntactic distinction between transparent and non-transparent VPCs interacts with the system of separable and inseparable prefixes of this language. The syntactic distribution of these prefixes is well-known: the separable prefixes usually appear in strict pre-verbal position (27a), unless they are stranded in sentence-final position by V2 in main clauses

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<sup>22</sup> English *Locative Inversion* recalls in many respects the phenomenon of *tmesis* found in Homeric Greek, by which a preverb can be separated from its verb and appear in verse-initial position. Crucially, both *tmesis* and *Locative Inversion* seem to share the same properties, i. e., they are found with locative or directional Prts and seem to involve a specific projection in the Left Periphery of the clause (probably in the Focus Frame in Benincà's 2006 structure of CP; see Bertocci 2011 for a syntactic account of *tmesis*).

(27b) or separated from their verb by intervening morphemes like *ge-* of past participles or the infinitival marker *zu* (27c). By contrast, the inseparable prefix can never be separated from its verb (28):

- (27) a. Ich muss in den Zug *einsteigen* / ... dass ich in den Zug *einstieg*  
 I must in the train in-climb / ... that I in the train in-climb  
 "I have to get on the train / ... that I got on the train"
- b. Ich steige in den Zug *ein* / \*Ich *einsteige* in den Zug  
 I climb in the train in I in-climb in the train  
 "I get on(to) the train"
- c. Ich bin in den Zug *eingestiegen* /... um in den Zug *einzusteigen*  
 I am in the train in-*ge*-climbed/ for in the train in-*to*-climb  
 "I have got on the train / ... in order to get on the train"
- (28) a. Die Mutter will das Kind umarmen/... dass sie das Kind umarmt  
 The mother wants the child around-arm /... that she the child around-arms  
 "The mother wants to embrace the child /... that she embraces the child"
- b. Sie umarmt das Kind / \*Sie armt das Kind um  
 She around-arms the child / she arms the child around  
 "She embrace the child"
- c. Sie hat das Kind umarmt / \*umgearmt  
 She has the child around-armed /around-*ge*-armed  
 "She has embraced the child"
- c'. Um das Kind zu umarmen / \*umzuarmen  
 for the child to around-arm /around-*to*-arm  
 "In order to embrace the child"

From a semantic point of view, while it is true that inseparable prefixes only appear in non-transparent VPCs since they have clear actional values (cf. Borgato 1979 a. o.), the semantics of separable prefixes is a bit more difficult to capture since it comprises both transparent VPCs (both directional and resultative) and more idiomatic VPCs. However, Damonte & Padovan (2011) have investigated a peculiar class of German prefixes, those that can be both separable and inseparable, and have shown that, when the prefix is separable, it has a transparent directional meaning while it appears to add an idiomatic or aspectual value to its verb when it is inseparable (cf. *über-setzen* "lit. over-set = ferry across" vs. *übersetzen* "translate"). Accordingly, these "mixed" Prts exhibit different syntactic properties which indicate that they change their syntactic status. I will come back to Damonte & Padovan's (2011) proposal in 1.3.4 and in Chap. 3, as even OE presents prepositional Prts which can be both separable and inseparable.

Syntactically, the transparent VPCs that show more syntactic possibilities are those with clear directional meanings. These can be followed for instance by a directional PP, and can be combined with the particles *hin-* "far from the speaker" and *her-* "towards the speaker", cf.

(29) vs. (30):<sup>23</sup>

- (29) a. Er ist durch die Tür/in den Garten *hinaus*gegangen  
He is through the door in the garden *hin-out-gone*  
"He has gone out through the door / into the garden"  
b., Er kommt durch den Park/von der Stadt *herüber*  
He comes through the park / from the city *her-over*  
"He comes over through the park / from the city"
- (30) \*Ich *hin/her*-übersetze den Artikel  
I *hin-/her*-translated the article

In addition, Lüdeling (2001) and Zeller (2001, 2003) show that directional separable VPCs (and to some extent even resultative VPCs like *auf-machen* "lit. up-make = to open") admit particle topicalisation (31a) and focus scrambling (31b) (examples [31a] from Zeller 2001 and [31b] from Lüdeling 2001):<sup>24</sup>

- (31) a. An der Haltestellen stiegen hübsche Frauen ein. Aus stiegen nur Männer  
at the busstop climbed pretty women in out climbed only men  
"At the bus-stop, pretty got on (the bus). Only men got off"  
b. Ich weiß dass die Sonne AUF im Osten und UNTER im Westen geht  
I know that the sun up in-the east and down in-the west goes  
"I know that the sun goes up in the East and down in the West"

Both Lüdeling (2001) and Zeller (2001) take the examples in (31) and (32) as evidence that the directional (and resultative) preverbs of German are XPs, while inseparable preverbs are heads forming a complex head with their verb via incorporation.

The data discussed in this section indicate that, although the distinction between transparent and non-transparent VPCs should not be thought of in absolute terms, there is nonetheless clear evidence from many languages that supports the basic and intuitive semantic contrast between directional/resultative Prts and idiomatic/actional/aspectual ones. The asymmetries that various languages exhibit in the syntactic behaviour of Prts and preverbs may offer interesting insights into both the diachronic development and the structural representation(s) of these intriguing elements. As we will see in the Chapt. 3, OE offers such a

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23 Many thanks to Franziska Maria Hack for providing me with these examples.

24 Zeller (2003) tested 16 German native speakers who were asked to give grammatical judgments on particle-topicalisations with different types of separable preverbs. Particle topicalisation was perfectly grammatical with directional preverbs like those in (31), were less acceptable (?) with verbs like *an-lachen* "lit. on-laugh = to smile at" and were completely ungrammatical with non-transparent VPCs like *auf-sagen* "lit. up-say = to recite" (examples from Zeller 2003, his examples [4] and [10]):

- (i) a. \*Auf hat er ein Gedicht gesagt  
Up has he a poem said "He has recited a poem"  
b. ??(Lachst du mich aus?) Nein, an lache ich dich  
laugh you me out no, on laugh I you "Are you laughing at me? No, I'm smiling at you"

precious chance, as its Prts and preverbs still present minimal syntactic differences which seem to betray more or less clearly their original nature as (adverbial) PPs.

## 1.2 The Cartography of PPs

Over the last decades, the Cartographic Approach<sup>25</sup> has greatly contributed to both the identification and the detailed structural mapping of the functional and grammatical elements involved in various syntactic configurations. The fundamental theoretical and methodological assumption behind this line of research is that the type of functional elements, their featural content, their rich number and their relative order are dictated by UG, and are hence universal and structurally uniform across languages. In this respect, comparative and typological studies offer valuable empirical evidence as the superficial variations attested cross-linguistically in the number, the type and the content of the functional elements<sup>26</sup> are considered as partial manifestations of the same functional hierarchy, i.e., a language overtly realises portions of the hierarchy, which in others remain silent. By combining these partial orders, Cartography endeavours to arrive at "a universal functional design for the clause and its major phrases holding across languages" (Cinque & Rizzi 2008: 46).

Originated within the Principles & Parameters framework, the Cartographic research programme takes as its central premise the idea that all lexical categories have an "extended projection" (Grimshaw 1991), that is, all lexical heads/projections are embedded under a functional layer (cf. CP and IP above VP, Chomsky 1986; DP above NP, Abney 1987). Cross-linguistic comparisons show that natural languages encode and combine many different values in their functional layers; by assumption, all the expressed values are part of the functional lexicon envisaged by UG, and "if some language provides evidence for the existence of a particular functional head (and projection), then that head (and projection) must be present in every other language, whether the language offers overt evidence for it or not" (Cinque & Rizzi 2008: 45). Consequently, the empirical richness attested in the functional inventory of natural languages imposes that the structural representations of the extended projections of lexical categories are not constituted by one single head and Spec (one CP, one IP or one DP),

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25 For a very clear outline of the basic assumptions, the methodology and the theoretical achievements of this research programme see Cinque & Rizzi (2008). See also the introductions to the OUP series on the *Cartography of Syntactic Structures* and, more recently, Shlonsky (2010).

26 As regards the relative order of the functional elements, the Cartographic Approach assumes and is now confirming that the different orderings of the elements cross-linguistically attested within the major syntactic domains (P and NP in PPs, OV vs VO, N A D in the DP etc.) can be derived by a universal structure by a limited number of leftward movements (see Cinque 2005, 2009, and the discussion in 1.2.2 and 2.2.2).

but that each of them are in fact split into a series of hierarchically ordered functional heads/Specs bearing very simple featural specifications.

The first *ante litteram* cartographic mapping was put forward by Pollock (1989) for one of the two functional domains of the clause, the Inflectional Phrase (IP). In his seminal work, Pollock (1989) proposed to split the INFL head into at least two more elementary but distinct functional heads, T(ense) and Agr(ement), in order to account for some asymmetries in movement between finite and non-finite verbs in French and English w.r.t. to negation and some "low" adverbs.<sup>27</sup> Ten years later, Cinque (1999) further enriched the functional space of the clause by providing cross-linguistic evidence that various types of adverbs and affixes are ordered in a universal hierarchy of functional projections encoding various values of mood, tense and aspect.

More or less in the same years, the other functional domain of the clause, CP, was being split into a finely-grained structure, the Left Periphery. Rizzi (1997) and much subsequent work (Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Benincà 2006) have shown that a single C head—which was considered the host of complementisers and the finite verb in V2 contexts—was not sufficient to account for the various semantico-pragmatic values (and the syntactic manifestations thereof) usually attributed to this interface. Again, by observing CP-related phenomena cross-linguistically, it was possible to arrive at a detailed hierarchy of dedicated projections encoding various types of topicalisations, focalisations and clause types. The "splitting" of the CP domain has also led to a fundamental reconsideration of the V2 property (see in particular Benincà 2006 for Medieval Romance V2, and 2.2.1 for Medieval and Modern Germanic V2).

Also the more lexical domains of NP/AP and VP have undergone comparable splits into hierarchical sequences of dedicated projections with elementary featural content. The basic D-A(djectives)-N structure initially put forward for nominals (Abney 1987) has been refined over the years through the identification of various projections for different types of determiners (demonstratives, articles etc.), attributive adjectives (size, nationality, colour etc.), relative clauses (restrictive and appositive), and even genitives (see Cinque 2010b and reference cited therein).<sup>28</sup> As regards V, much of the cartographic investigation into its domain has been sparked off by Larson's (1988) VP-Shell analysis, whereby the two arguments of a ditransitive

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27 In Pollock (1989), the underlying order of these two heads was T-Agr. Belletti (1990) argued for the reverse order, Agr-T, by observing the inflectional endings of the Romance finite verbs, which, in the light of Baker's (1988) Mirror Principle, were taken to be the mirror image of the underlying order of affixes.

28 Another important achievement of Cartography in this respect was to show the validity of the structural parallels usually drawn between nominals and clauses (Abney 1987 a.o.). It has been shown for instance that DPs have a higher portion with CP-like properties hosting Topic/Focus elements (Giusti 2006; see also the DP internal scrambling of Old Italian, Poletto 2011).

verb are introduced into syntax by two distinct V heads. Larson's proposal has been further developed into a split between a lexical lower VP introducing objects and a causative light *v*P (Chomsky 1995; Kratzer 1996) introducing the external argument. Afterwards, the functional space around or within the *v*P/VP area was enriched by many other projections, some encoding *Aktionsart* (which determine the Vendlerian type of the verb, cf. Ramchand 2008), and some others hosting applicatives/XPs connected to different thematic roles (see for instance Damonte 2004, Schweikert 2005, and 1.2.2).

Thus, more than two decades of cartographic studies have shown that the basic syntactic phrases of the clause, VP, IP, CP and DP/AP, are in fact cross-linguistically coherent hierarchical sequences of highly specialised functional projections. Yet, the Cartographic interest in the inventory and the structural arrangement of PP-internal material is comparably rather recent, although the presence of an extended projection of P has long been argued for (van Riemsdijk 1990). Even more recent are the proposals on the relative orders between various types of PPs within the clausal hierarchy. Nonetheless, the results of many seminal works on both topics are strikingly consistent and offer very interesting descriptive and theoretical insights into the different grammatical phenomena involving the PP (or parts of it as we will see). In the following section (1.2.1), I illustrate the major results on the internal cartography of spatial PPs, focusing in particular on the structures proposed by Cinque (2010a) and Svenonius (2010). Subsequently (1.2.2), I will present the hierarchy of circumstantial and argument PPs as proposed by Schweikert (2005) and Cinque (2006). The proposals of the abovementioned authors provide both the theoretical assumptions and the fundamental research tools for a unitary account of the phenomena involved in the internal and external syntax of the OE PP (P-stranding, postpositions, preverbs and Prts).

### 1.2.1 The "Internal" Syntax of Prepositional Phrases

There is a long tradition of generative studies starting from van Riemsdijk (1990), which has argued for the presence of functional projections above locative Ps paralleling the functional structures of DP and CP. Since then, van Riemsdijk's (1990) proposal of a single functional head *p* above the lexical P has been further refined by various authors, who identified a number of specific positions within the extended projection of P by observing the syntactic distribution of PP-internal material in various languages (a. o. Koopman 2000[2010] and den Dikken 2006[2010] on Dutch prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions and particles; Tortora 2006, 2008 on Spanish and Italian complex Ps; Terzi 2007[2010] on Modern Greek



assumption that *complex* Ps—much like *there* and *here*—are phrasal modifiers of the unpronounced PLACE in DP<sub>Place</sub>. The nominal complement of the complex P, its object, is generally analysed as the possessor argument of the silent PLACE (cf. in particular Terzi's 2008 analysis of the genitive clitic complement of locative complex Ps in Modern Greek). In the light of this, the core structure of a PP with a complex P is (36), and the locative adposition in (37a) can be analysed accordingly as (37b):

(36) [PP AT [DP<sub>Place</sub> Complex P [NP<sub>Place</sub> NP PLACE]]]]

(37) a. The ball is under the table  
 b. The ball is [PP AT [DP<sub>Place</sub> under [NP<sub>Place</sub> the table PLACE]]]]

The structure in (36) presents *in embryo* the distinction between a higher more functional part, represented by the null AT, and a lower, more lexical part, represented by the DP<sub>Place</sub> containing the complex P and the NP object of P, the possessor of PLACE. Much of the recent cartographic investigation into the internal structure of both these areas assumes as starting points the results of some earlier studies on the conceptual structures behind locative adpositions (Jackendoff 1983, 1990), on the thematic characterisations they impose on their complements (Talmy 1978, 2000), and on the semantic specification they add to their complement (Jackendoff 1996, Svenonius 2006). Each of these studies have provided valuable insights into the internal and external arrangement of PP-related elements, which have been confirmed on a cross-linguistic basis, and consequently executed in detailed structural representations.

The following subsections present a brief outline of how each of the projections in the spatial PP have been motivated from both a semantic and a syntactic perspective, focussing first on those belonging to the higher portion (1.2.1.1), and then on those inside the lower lexical part, the DP<sub>Place</sub> (1.2.1.2). In this respect, I will not enter into the exact details of the proposals put forward in each of the abovementioned studies; rather, I will limit myself to presenting their argumentation insofar as it is of direct relevance to the identification of the projections included in Cinque (2010a).<sup>29</sup> Instead, I will comment slightly more at length only on three specific projections (Koopman's 2000[2010] and den Dikken's 2006[2010] CP<sub>Place</sub>, Tortora's 2006, 2008 Asp<sub>Place</sub>P and Svenonius 2003, 2007, 2010 *p*P), which, though not included in Cinque (2010a), will turn out to play an important role for both a deeper understanding and a unitary account of the PP-related phenomena in OE (Chapt. 3). Finally,

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<sup>29</sup> For a more in-depth treatment of the single aspects which will be touched upon in this description I refer the reader to the contributions in Cinque & Rizzi (2010) and references cited therein.

in 1.2.1.3, I will discuss the main theoretical and empirical implications of assuming a highly articulated and universal structure for PPs, showing moreover that even nonspatial complex PPs, in particular temporal and causal, are amenable to an analysis in terms of a finely-grained PP (Roy & Svenonius 2008, Brugè & Suñer 2008).

#### 1.2.1.1 *The higher functional portion of the PP*

The basic structure in (36) presents a null preposition AT, which embodies some sort of functional content in what can be considered the extended projection of the locative PP (see 1.2.1.3 for a clearer specification of the featural content of AT). The main impulse for adding a second functional head dominating the null AT has its roots in Jackendoff's (1983, 1990) conceptual categories, Path and Place, which are taken to underlie all locative PPs: Place represents bi- or three-dimensional space and Path represents linear space. These conceptual categories are exemplified as follows (examples from Jackendoff 1983, also reported in Tortora 2008: 275):

- (38) a. The mouse ran into the room  
           [<sub>Path</sub> TO ([<sub>Place</sub> IN ([<sub>Thing</sub> ROOM]) ) ]  
       b. The mouse is under the table  
           [<sub>Place</sub> UNDER ([<sub>Thing</sub> TABLE] ) ]

(38a) shows two fundamental linguistic facts about these conceptual categories: first, Path is usually associated with *directed* motion, while Place is essentially associated with *stative* meanings.<sup>30</sup> Secondly, Path is conceptualised as above Place since, very intuitively, the Path PP *into the room* seems to be built upon a Place PP *in the room*. In slightly more syntactic terms, Path seems an extension, or more precisely, a modification of Place.<sup>31</sup>

The first principled 'translation' of Path and Place into syntactic categories was put forward in Koopman (2000[2010]) and den Dikken (2006[2010]), who propose that stativity and directionality are encoded in two distinct syntactic heads, Path and Place, projecting their own phrases, PathP and PlaceP, within a finely-grained PP. The postulation of distinct syntactic projections for stativity and directionality was instrumental to a straightforward and unitary account of the complex distributional properties of the internal and external syntax of

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30 Notice though that, in Jackendoff's terms, Path is not necessarily associated with motion, as it can be present in stative contexts as the following:

(i) The highway extends from Denver to Indianapolis  
 See the discussion in Tortora (2008: 276).

31 This claim is supported by linguistic data since Svenonius (2007: 67) points out that in Northern Sámi, "the expression of Path can be understood as an inflection of the Place head".

Dutch locative PPs and Prts. Yet, the general validity of assuming Path and Place as syntactic entities with the relative order PathP > PlaceP is demonstrated by those languages which overtly present both a directional P and a stative P in directional contexts, as for instance Romanian (example from Cinque 2010a: 8, but see also Svenonius 2007):<sup>32</sup>

- (39) a. Ion vine [Path *de* [Place *la* magazin  
 John comes from at store  
 "John is coming from the store"  
 b. Ion este [Place *la* magazin  
 John is at store  
 "John is at the store"

I return to the distinction stative vs. directional in 1.2.1.3, considering data from English and Italian, which show w.r.t. to this distinction an interesting interaction with the functional vs. lexical nature of Ps (and their relative syntactic asymmetries mentioned above).

In the structure in (32), PathP and PlaceP are represented as PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub> respectively, PP<sub>dir</sub> for directionality and PP<sub>stat</sub> for stativity. In line with Kayne (2004, 2005, 2007), Koopman (2000[2010]) and den Dikken (2006[2010]), Cinque (2010a) assumes that stativity and directionality are encoded by the heads of these projections, which may remain silent or may be overtly realised. The head encoding stativity is represented by a null AT in (32), which is overtly realised as *at* in English or stative *a* in Italian. Moreover, in accordance with Jackendoff's conceptual structures in [38] above, and with Koopman's (2000[2010]) syntactic representation, Cinque assumes that stative AT is *always* present in both stative and directional PPs.

As for directionality, directional PPs are known to denote *source* "from", *goal* "to", and *path* "across". PP<sub>dir</sub> should then be further decomposed into three distinct projections, PP<sub>Source</sub>, PP<sub>Goal</sub>, and PP<sub>Path</sub>, in this very same order (see also Schweikert 2005). As in the case of null AT encoding stativity in PP<sub>stat</sub>, the three types of directionality of PP<sub>Source</sub>, PP<sub>Goal</sub> and PP<sub>Path</sub> are encoded by their heads, FROM, TO and ACROSS respectively, all of which can be silent or overtly realised by the corresponding Ps in English or by *da/di*, *a* and *per* in Italian.

In other words, the featural content of the heads of both PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub> is overtly realised by *functional* spatial Ps as described in 1.1.1 (see in particular directional and stative *a*). Thus, as already claimed in Koopman (2000[2010]), PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub> are *functional* projections in the PP structure—an assumption which can be strengthened by the fact that they interact

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32 Languages present a fair degree of variation in the superficial possible combinations of Path, Place and NP object of P, but the underlying relative order is Path, Place and NP. All other orders are derivable by different types and/or combinations of leftward movement independently applied in each single language (see the discussion in Cinque 2009).

directly with verb semantics and clause structure (but again, see 1.2.1.3 for some further specification on this).

There is however clear evidence that PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub> are not the leftmost edge of the functional area of the PP. Although Cinque (2010a) does not include other projections to the left of PP<sub>dir</sub> in (32), he makes nonetheless clear reference to the presence of some projections higher than PP<sub>dir</sub> hosting adverbs typically modifying PPs such as *right*, or the particles of some languages (see his fn. 14 and 24 and relevant text). Furthermore, many of the abovementioned authors (Koopman 2000[2010], den Dikken 2006[2010], Tortora 2006, 2008) explicitly include some CP projection(s) topping off the extended projection of P on the basis of various syntactic considerations.

Koopman (2000[2010: 37ff.]) for instance, motivates the presence of a CP level within the PP on purely syntactic grounds. She postulates a CP<sub>place</sub> projection structurally higher than PlaceP, the functional head for stativity, but lower than PathP, the other functional projection whose null head turns prepositional PPs into directionals and whose Spec hosts some PlaceP constituent in directional postpositional PPs, cf. Koopman's simplified structure in (40):

(40) [PathP<sub>Path°</sub> *ℓ* [CP<sub>place</sub> [ ... [PlaceP [ ... [PP P [DP]]]]]]]]

The assumption of a CP<sub>place</sub> level in the PP accounts for a number of asymmetries in the syntactic distributions of directional and nondirectional PPs in Dutch. First, its obligatory presence in nondirectional PPs makes them independent constituents capable of undergoing those syntactic operations which are represented at the C-level of any phrase like topicalisation, scrambling and pied-piping under *wh*-movement. By contrast, idiomatic PPs and directional Ps lack an analogous CP level and fail to undergo this type of movement. Secondly, since P incorporation onto V obtains only when no other head intervenes between V and P, the postulation of a CP<sub>place</sub> above nondirectional Ps accounts straightforwardly for the impossibility of incorporating a stative P onto V in Dutch. Conversely, the lack of a CP level above PathP enables directional Ps to incorporate onto V as no additional heads intervene.

Koopman's proposal has been further refined by den Dikken (2006[2010]), who starts from the assumption that her functional heads Path and Place are in fact *lexical* (his P<sub>DIR</sub> and P<sub>LOC</sub>). The straightforward consequence of this assumption is that P<sub>DIR</sub> and P<sub>LOC</sub>—like any other lexical category—have their own extended projections including a CP, CP<sub>Path</sub> for P<sub>DIR</sub> and CP<sub>Place</sub> for P<sub>LOC</sub>, cf. the simplified structure in (40) (den Dikken 2006[2010: 99]):

(41) [CPPath [ ... [PathP [PP P<sub>DIR</sub> [CP<sub>place</sub> [ ... [PlaceP [PP P<sub>LOC</sub> DP]]]]]]]]]]

Den Dikken claims moreover that the functional structure of both  $P_{DIR}$  and  $P_{LOC}$  corresponds systematically to the functional structure of nominals and clauses: P, V and N are dominated by exactly the same array of functional heads, with the following structural parallels in the three domains (cf. den Dikken (2006 [2010: 100], his [59]):

- (42) a.  $[_{CP} C^{FORCE} [_{D_{XP}} DX^{TENSE} [_{AspP} Asp^{EVENT} [_{VP} V \dots ]]]]$   
 b.  $[_{CP} C^{DEF} [_{D_{XP}} DX^{PERSON} [_{AspP} Asp^{NUM} [_{NP} N \dots ]]]]$   
 c.  $[_{CP} C^{SPACE} [_{D_{XP}} DX^{SPACE} [_{AspP} Asp^{SPACE} [_{PP} P \dots ]]]]$

Locative adposition, nominals and clauses have dedicated functional heads for complementisers, deixis and aspect.<sup>33</sup>

In this last respect, the presence of an aspectual projection,  $Asp_{PLACE}$ , in the functional domain of the PP has been convincingly argued for also by Tortora (2006, 2008). Tortora's proposal tries to capture in syntactic terms the subtle interpretative differences discernible in the following Italian minimal pair:

- (43) a. Gianni era andato/nascosto dietro all'albero  
 G. was gone/hidden behind to.the tree  
 "Gianni has gone/was hidden *somewhere* behind the tree"  
 b. Gianni era andato/nascosto dietro l'albero  
 G. was gone/hidden behind the tree  
 "Gianni has gone/was hidden *precisely* behind the tree"

As the English translations of (43a) and (43b) show, the absence of the functional P *a* "to, at" in (43b) affects the interpretation of the PP (be it Path or Place) as spatially *bounded* or "punctual", while its presence in (43a) defines the PP as denoting an *unbounded* open-ended space. Tortora (2008) claims that the presence or absence of the functional P *a* after the complex P *dietro* "behind" is related to the positive or negative specification of an aspectual feature [+/- bounded] located in the projection headed by the functional P *a*,  $Asp_{PLACE}$ , cf. (44):

- (44)  $[_{CP_{Place}} C^{\circ} [_{Asp_{Place}} Asp^{\circ} a [_{FP} F^{\circ} [_{PP_{Place}} P_{Place} DP]]]]]$

In the light of (44), (43a) can be derived as shown in (45): the DP object of P moves to a functional projection labelled FP in (43) to receive case, while the remnant PP with the DP trace,  $t_{DB}$ , moves to  $SpecAsp_{PLACE}$  for interpretative reasons.

33 For a detailed discussion of the featural content of each projection and its lexicalisation in various languages I refer the reader to den Dikken (2006[2010: 100ff.]).

- (45) Gianni era nascosto [<sub>CP<sub>Place</sub></sub> C<sup>o</sup> [<sub>Asp<sub>Place</sub></sub> dietro t<sub>DP</sub> Asp<sup>o</sup> a [<sub>FP</sub> l'albero F [<sub>PP<sub>Place</sub></sub> P<sub>Place</sub> dietro  
DP l'albero]]]]]

Tortora's (2008) claim that PPs have a dedicated projection for *aspect* (bounded vs. unbounded), just like entities (mass vs. count, Asp<sup>NUM</sup> in [42]) and events (delimited vs. undelimited, Asp<sup>EVENT</sup> in [42]) lends further support to den Dikken's (2006[2010]) structural parallels: "PPs are unified with NPs and VPs in terms of clausal architecture (i.e. functional syntax)" (Tortora 2008: 300) as they project the same types of functional categories.

In complete accordance with what has been shown so far, I assume that the functional structure of spatial PPs includes: (i) a projection for aspect located very close to the lexical part of the PP, DP<sub>Place</sub>, either for the feature [bounded] as in Tortora (2008), or for the checking/assignment of dative case as in den Dikken (2006[2010: 112])<sup>34</sup>; (ii), two projections above Asp<sub>Place</sub> encoding stativity and directionality, i.e. two *functions* which can be dependent, among other factors, on the verb's selectional properties (cf. matrix Vs selecting complementisers/mood/tense in their CP complements, or lexical Vs selecting case in their DP complements)<sup>35</sup>; and most importantly (iii), a CP level, which offers a landing site for the movement of PP-internal material in various languages, and which interacts directly with clause structure, i.e., following Koopman (2000[2010]), it makes the PP a complete independent constituent capable of undergoing feature-driven movements to various projections in the clause. In the light of these considerations, I complete the structure in (32) as in (46):

- (46) {CP<sub>Place</sub> ...} [PP<sub>dir</sub> [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [Asp<sub>Place</sub> [DP<sub>Place</sub> ...

Taking the systematic parallels in the functional syntax of prepositions, nouns and verbs to its extremes, I furthermore propose that CP<sub>Place</sub> should be reconsidered in terms of a CP-like area, consisting of more than just one single projection (hence the braces in [46]).

More specifically, I assume that the PP has a Left Periphery comparable to the Left Periphery of the DP (Giusti 2006, Poletto 2011), the High Left Periphery (CP; Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Benincà 2006) and the Low Left Periphery (low IP-

34 The location of Asp<sub>Place</sub> just outside DP<sub>Place</sub>, is in line with the structural parallels between the functional syntax of P, N and V as proposed by den Dikken (2006[2010]). In the nominal domain for instance, the NumP regulating the *mass/count* distinction can be considered the counterpart of the "Asp field" in Cinque's 1999 hierarchy (cf. the label Asp<sup>NUM</sup> in [42]). Structurally, both NumP and the Asp heads are directly above the lexical part of their respective domains (aspect above vp/VP, Cinque 1999, and NumP above A/N, cf. Cinque 2005 and references).

35 This claim will be further refined below (1.2.1.3) as the stative interpretation of the circumpositional PP *in a nice restaurant* in *We had dinner in a nice restaurant* is clearly not dependent on the verb's subcategorisation.

above vP; Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006a, 200b). In the remainder of this thesis, I will refine this claim addressing two fundamental questions: (i) what kind of elements and projections are to be expected in the Left Periphery of the PP; and (ii), whether all Ps can have a Left Periphery. Data from OE postpositions and particles (Chap. 3), and some partial though very clear data from Old Italian PPs (Andreose 2007, 2010) suggest that the possibility of having a Left Periphery is strictly correlated to the lexical vs. functional nature of P, while the full availability and/or accessibility of its projections is more in general dependent on the extent to which the V2 property is realised in the Left Peripheries of that language (cf. Poletto 2011 on the parallel phases of Old Italian).

### 1.2.1.2 *The lower lexical portion of the PP*

The functional structure in (46) dominates the portion of the spatial PP which contains the most semantically salient components of a locative adposition, the DP complement and the complex P. As represented in the basic structure in (36), these two components are part of the same DP<sub>Place</sub> projected by the silent noun head PLACE; complex Ps and DP complements of *any* Ps are respectively the phrasal modifiers and the possessor arguments of PLACE, much like genitives and adjectives are respectively arguments and phrasal modifiers of N. The recent cartographic literature on locative adpositions has shown that there are strong semantic, syntactic and cross-linguistic indications that the basic DP<sub>Place</sub> in (36) is to be further decomposed into a highly detailed structure as the one in (32), containing dedicated projections for different types of modifiers of the PLACE head (cf. the highly articulated adjectival hierarchy of the DP in Cinque 2010b), and a slightly more refined syntactic representation for the DP complement. The present subsection illustrates the semantic content and the prototypical syntactic manifestations of each of these projections, capitalising on the proposals made in Svenonius (2003, 2006, 2007) and Cinque (2010a).

Starting with complex Ps, Cinque (2010a: 5) notes that *behind, under, above* etc. correspond in semantic terms to Jackendoff's (1996)<sup>36</sup> and Svenonius' (2006, 2007, 2010) "axial parts", i.e., prepositions (particles, affixes etc.) which have the semantic function of identifying a region (a set of points in space) "by projecting vectors onto one of the possible axes (front/back, up/down etc.) that depart from the object that provides the reference point"

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36 "The "axial parts" of an object—its top, bottom, front, back, sides, and ends—behave grammatically like parts of the object, but, unlike standard parts such as a handle or a leg, they have no distinctive shape. Rather, they are regions of the object (or its boundary) determined by their relation to the object's axes. The up-down axis determines top and bottom, the front-back axis determines front and back, and a complex set of criteria distinguishing horizontal axes determines sides and ends", (Jackendoff 1996: 14).

(Cinque 2010a: 5).<sup>37</sup> The object providing the reference point is usually defined, following Talmy (1978, 2000), as the *Ground* of the P (see below for some further specifications), and it corresponds to the DP complement of P. As noted above, the DP complement is structurally represented in (36) as the possessor argument of the silent PLACE. It follows then that the Ground is syntactically constituted by the PLACE head and its DP possessor, and the AxParts are modifiers of the Ground (see again Svenonius 2006 for the various linguistic manifestations of the AxPart-Ground relation):

(47) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DP<sub>Place</sub> [AxPartP AxPart [NP<sub>Place</sub> NP PLACE]]]]<sup>38</sup>

In the light of this, a locative adposition like the Italian *dietro la porta* "behind the door", consists of the AxPart *dietro* "behind", which identifies a region by projecting vectors away from its Ground *la porta* "the door" onto its front/back axis. The whole adposition receives the structural representation in (48):

(48) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DP<sub>Place</sub> [AxPartP *dietro* [NP<sub>Place</sub> *la porta* PLACE]]]

Recall however that the Italian *dietro*, like many other Italian complex Ps (see 1.1.1 and Tortora 2008), can be followed by a functional P *a* "lit. to, at" introducing the DP complement (cf. *dietro alla porta* "lit. behind *a* the door"). The possibility for the *Ground* to be introduced by a 'light P' is cross-linguistically confirmed by some English complex Ps like *in front of* (Svenonius 2006, 2010) and, as already mentioned above, by Modern Greek complex Ps like the following (Terzi 2008, his example [1]):

(49) Kathisa dipla apo/s'ti Maria  
 Sat.1.sg behind to/at the.acc Mary.acc  
 "I sat behind Mary"

In (49), the AxPart *dipla* "behind" is followed by *apo* "from" or *se* "at, in, to", which assigns accusative case to the DP *Maria*. Similarly, Svenonius (2006: 51f.) assumes that the light P *of* in the English *in front of* marks the Ground for genitive. This is consistent with the observation made in Cinque (2010a: 4) that, across most languages, complex Ps (AxParts) need or even must have a functional P to assign case to their complement. Following Svenonius (2006, 2007, 2010), case-assigning light Ps are hosted in the head position of a dedicated position,

37 I refer to Svenonius (2006, 2010) for a detailed and much insightful discussion of how the category AxPart is motivated from a semantic, a syntactic and a cross-linguistic perspective.

38 Svenonius (2006, 2010) maintains that AxParts are heads. On the contrary, I consider them as specifiers (as Cinque 2010a himself implies), and will support this claim with OE data in Chapt. 3.

K(ase)P or PP (in Cinque 2010a), located between AxPart and the Ground:

(50) ... [DP<sub>Place</sub> [AxPartP [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> [NP<sub>Place</sub> NP PLACE]

The postulation of this case-assigning head K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> in the universal structure of PPs has the advantage of capturing the clear correspondence existing between the case-assigning function of light Ps after the AxParts in languages like Italian and Modern Greek, and morphological case directly assigned by AxParts to their Ground in languages like German (cf. *unter* "under" always assigning dative to its Ground).<sup>39</sup> In addition, (50) also compels us to posit the presence of null K/P even in those cases where no overt case marking is present (like the Italian example in [48]; see Cinque (2010a: 4), and Svenonius (2006, 2010).

The structural representation of the lexical portion of the PP as a DP<sub>Place</sub> entails that, on a par with the very specific and hierarchically ordered array of adjectival/adverbial modifiers within the DP (Cinque 2010b), there might be other modifiers of the silent PLACE beside complex Ps/AxParts. This prediction is borne out, as many authors provide clear evidence that complex Ps/AxParts can be further qualified by various elements, which can furthermore be shown to obey a very strict relative ordering.<sup>40</sup> As mentioned earlier, the deictic *there* and *here* are themselves modifiers of a DP<sub>Place</sub>. One should then expect AxParts and deictics to co-occur in the spatial PPs. This is indeed the case; as the Italian *qui/là*<sup>41</sup> *dietro la porta* "here/there behind the door" in (51) shows, AxParts and deictics co-occur in the fixed order deictic *qui/là* > AxPart *dietro*.<sup>42</sup> Deictic adverbs and distal/proximal morphemes like the particles *hin-* "away from the speaker"/*her-* "towards the speaker" of Modern German are introduced in syntax respectively in the Spec and in the head of a dedicated projection, labelled DeicticP in Cinque (2010a), (see also den Dikken 2006[2010: 101]):

(51) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DP<sub>Place</sub> [DeicticP *qui* [AxPartP *dietro* [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> [NP<sub>Place</sub> *la porta* PLACE]

Another typical modifier of spatial adpositions was already included in Koopman

39 See also den Dikken (2006[2010]) on the dative case of some German prepositions.

40 In the light of Cinque (1999), these elements, like the lexical elements realising *all* the projections discussed so far, surface cross-linguistically as either bound (heads) or unbound morphemes (Specs) appearing in various orders. See Cinque (2010a) and Svenonius (2010) for a demonstration of how these different orders can be reconducted to the universal one in (32).

41 Italian has four different morphemes for spatial deixis, *qui/li* and *qua/là*, which instantiate the bounded/unbounded distinction of Tortora (2008). I refer to Cinque (1971) and Vanelli (1995) for a detailed description of the contexts of use of these elements, and to Tortora (2008) for a possible structural analysis.

42 Kayne (2005), Svenonius (2007), and Cinque (2010a) note that English and Italian can attest also the reverse order AxPart > deictic, *under here*, but crucially, the interpretation is different to that of the deictic > AxPart order (*under here* meaning "here, under something" vs. *here under* "under this place"). The AxPart > deictic order is derived by raising the AxPartP and its empty Ground across the position of deictics.

(2000[2010]) and den Dikken (2006[2010]), who identified a projection for adverbs and measure phrases like *right* or *two metres*, indicating the degree/measure of the spatial specification the complex P denotes w.r.t its Ground. The following Italian example, (52a), adds the measure phrase (*a due metri* "(at) two metres", to the example in (48). Interestingly, as pointed out by Cinque (2010a), Italian has the possibility of lexicalising the null stative AT when a measure phrase is present (52b):

- (52) a. [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DPP<sub>place</sub> [DegP *due metri* [AxPartP *dietro* [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> [NP<sub>place</sub> *la porta* PLACE  
 b. [PP<sub>stat</sub> **a** [DPP<sub>place</sub> [DegP *due metri* [AxPartP *dietro* [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> [NP<sub>place</sub> *la porta* PLACE

Degree modifiers are introduced in the Spec of a dedicated projection in DP<sub>place</sub>, DegP, located above AxPart but below PP<sub>stat</sub> as the Italian example in (52b) indicates. Moreover, by adding a deictic element *here* "qui" to (52a), we obtain a rather fixed order, DegP > DeicticP > AxPart both in Italian and English (*two metres here behind the door*), cf. (53).

- (53) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DPP<sub>place</sub> [DegP *due metri* [DeicticP *qui* [AxPartP *dietro* [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> [NP<sub>place</sub> *la porta* PLACE]

AxParts can also be further qualified by some adverbs or adverbials specifying the "mode of direction", like *horizontally* or *in a straight line*, roughly comparable to Manner adverbs, and structurally hosted in the Spec of a dedicated projection, ModeDirP (Cinque 2010a: 8f. and rreferences). By testing these adverbs with the other elements identified so far (measure phrases and deictics), we obtain the order DegP > ModeDirP > DeicticP > AxPart, as the following Italian example and its English translation show:

- (54) a. a due metri in diagonale qui dietro la porta  
 at two metres in diagonal behind the door  
 "two metres diagonally behind the door"  
 b. [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DPP<sub>place</sub> [DegP *due metri* [ModeDirP *in diagonale* [DeicticP *qui* [AxPart *dietro* [NP<sub>place</sub> *la porta* PLACE

Cinque (2010a: 9) provides also evidence that natural languages include in their locative adpositions at least other three distinct types of elements or *particles*, which indicate how the portion of space defined by the Ground and its AxPart modification is located w.r.t. to: (i) an absolute viewpoint, which provides "geographical" information like *north/south* or *seaward/mainland*; (ii) two relative viewpoints, a vertical one (*up/down*), and an interior/exterior one (*in/out*). The example in (55) shows the relative order between a particle expressing a geographical information and one expressing the vertical viewpoint in English (Cinque 2010a: 9), his example {25a):

- (55) a. from two miles north up there beyond the border  
 b. [PPdir *from* [PPstat AT [DPPPlace [DegP *two miles* [AbsViewP *north* [KP/PP K°/P° [RelViewP *up* [DeicticP *here* [AxPartP *beyond* [NPPlace *the border* PLACE

The relative order between the two relative viewpoints, the vertical one and the interior/exterior one, can be observed in the English *down in here*, and the adverb *lafòsù* "lit. there-out-up" of some dialects in the Valtellina (Northern Italy), which exhibits the precise mirror image of the English order. *Lafòsù* can be derived straightforwardly as follows (see Cinque 2010a, fn. 22):

- (56) a. [PPstat AT [DPPPlace ... [RelViewP *sù* [RelViewP *fò* [DeicticP *là* [ ... PLACE  
 b. [PPstat AT [DPPPlace ... [RelViewP *sù* [RelViewP *là-fò* [DeicticP *tà* [ ... PLACE  
 c. [PPstat AT [DPPPlace ... [RelViewP *là-fò-sù* [RelViewP *tà-fò* [DeicticP *tà* [ ... PLACE

That these three projections expressing *viewpoints* are intimately interconnected in what can be considered a "viewpoint field" is demonstrated by some interesting extensions of the RelViewP elements to denote absolute or geographical viewpoints in both Italian and its dialects: Italian, for instance, can use *su* "up"/*giù* "down" to refer to cardinal (*north/south*) or other geographical points in directional contexts (cf. Cinque 2010a: 10), while, in the same contexts, some dialects in the Italian Alps use *in/out* (Pescarini 2004).<sup>43</sup>

From the combination of the specific elements identified so far, the following order of DP<sub>Place</sub> internal modifiers emerges:

- (57) ... [DP<sub>Place</sub> [DegP [AbsViewP [RelViewP *down* [RelViewP *in* [DeicticP [AxPartP [KP/PP K°/P° [NPPlace PLACE]]]]]]]]

One last but very important question which is worth addressing now regards the structural representation of the semantic relations typically expressed by spatial Ps in terms of argument structure. In conceptual terms, *any* locative adposition (irrespectively of the functional or lexical nature of its P) establishes a binary relation between two entities, which are defined, following Talmy (1978, 2000), as *Figure* and *Ground*. To use Svenonius' (2010: 126) words, spatial adpositions:

“[...] give information about the physical configuration of the

43 Some speakers of the Venetan variety spoken in Roana (Vicenza; Asiago Plateau) say (i) when they are going to Mezzaselva, a village near Roana.

(i) Ndemo fora Mexaselva  
 go.1sg.pres out M. "Let's go/We go to Mezzaselva"

See Pescarini (2004: 193) for the complex semantics added by *dentro* "inside" in similar contexts.

relationship between a figure (an object whose location is at issue), and a ground (the reference landmark for the location of the figure)."

In the following examples, the Figure is in italics and the Ground in boldface:

- (58) a. *The ball* rolled under **the table**  
 b. *The cat* is lying on **the sofa**  
 c. She threw *a stone* into **the lake**  
 d. Please put *the kettle* on **the table**

As Svenonius (2007: 77ff.) clearly shows, there are very robust cross-linguistic generalisations indicating that the Figure-Ground relation expressed by spatial Ps is an asymmetric one. For instance, Ps license and determine the case and/or the syntactic category of their Ground but not of their Figure. This depends on the fact that the Ground is the syntactic *complement* argument of a P (see the discussion in Svenonius 2007). On the contrary, Ps do not impose the same c-selectional restrictions on their Figures: as the examples in (58) indicate, the Figure is outside the syntactic influence of P and must move into the higher syntactic domain for licensing as either the subject in [58a,b] or the object in [58c,d].

Svenonius (2003, 2007) captures these syntactic asymmetries by showing that Figure and Ground are respectively the external and internal argument in a split-P structure. Drawing an explicit parallel with Kratzer's (1996) *v(oice)* head above the lexical VP, Svenonius (2003) introduces a *p* head above the lexical part of the PP (Place and AxPart): as the light verb *v* head introduces the external arguments (Causers and Agents) of transitive verbs, similarly *p* introduces the external arguments of Ps. Svenonius (2010) locates this *p* above all the internal modifications of the lexical P, hence above DegP, cf. Svenonius' (2010: 144, his [45]) structure in (59):

- (59) [**pP** *p*<sup>o</sup> [DegP Deg*l*<sup>o</sup> [DeixP [LocP [AxPartP [KP K<sup>o</sup> [DP

As we will see in 1.3, this *p* head constitutes the structural link between the *Small Clause* analyses and the split-VP analysis of VPCs.<sup>44</sup> For this reason, I integrate Svenonius' *p* in Cinque's (2010a) structure and locate it just outside the DP<sub>place</sub> as in (60):

<sup>44</sup> Svenonius (2007) points out that *p* introduces DP Figures with verbs of directed motion, but in the more common use of locative adpositions as sentence modifiers (as circumstantial PPs), *p* seems to introduce no Figure. Rather it is the whole event that seems to act like the external argument of P. Starting from the idea that *p* is essentially a predicator, there may be different types of *p* connecting the PP to clause structure. In particular, *p* can determine what categoris the PP modifies as there can be for instance a *p* allowing the PP to act like a noun phrase modifier, or another making the PP a VP modifier. See the discussion in Svenonius 2007: 92).



PLACE within the DP<sub>Place</sub>. As such, they show the opposite properties w.r.t. functional Ps and, moreover, their syntactic distribution is reminiscent to some extent of that of adjectives as they can be pied-piped since they move as part of a DP; they can be modified by specific degree elements<sup>46</sup>; and they do not require a complement as their complement may remain silent (cf. the substantivised adjectives of Italian, cf. *la rossa* "lit. the.fsg red.fg = the reehaired woman, or the red one").

As a consequence of the different structural positions occupied by functional Ps and lexical Ps in (61), one might expect the two to co-occur or combine in some way. This prediction is borne out, as in English, a complex P like *under* can and sometimes must be preceded by a simple directional P which expresses its directional value as either *source* or *goal*. In particular, *under* must be preceded by *from*, the lexicalisation of the head of PP<sub>Source</sub> in (61), when it is part of a source directional PP, while, it can marginally be introduced by *to*, the lexicalisation of the head of PP<sub>Goal</sub>, when part of a PP expressing the goal of the direction, see Svenonius (2007: 129f):

- (62) a. The boat drifted [PP<sub>goal</sub> (?to) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [A<sub>xPart</sub> inside the cave  
 b. The boat drifted [PP<sub>Source</sub> from [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [A<sub>xPart</sub> inside the cave

The examples in (62) indicate then that a complex P is not intrinsically directional but becomes so when combined with the functional head of PP<sub>dir</sub>, which, following Koopman (2000) and Cinque (2010a: 10) is thought to be active (or to be endowed with a strong feature) only when direction is involved, i.e., when it is required by a verb/noun of motion.

In this last respect, PP<sub>dir</sub> has been shown to take PP<sub>stat</sub> (or Place using Koopman's terminology) as its complement; moreover, as argued above, PP<sub>stat</sub>, or better its head AT, is *always* present in a silent form in any locative adposition (cf. also Jackendoff's 1983 conceptual structures presented above). It follows that a complex P, when not used in a directional context, i.e., when no verb of motion is involved, is interpreted as stative, cf. (63):

- (63) a. The ball is under the table  
 The ball is [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DPP<sub>Place</sub> [PP *under* [NP<sub>Place</sub> the table PLACE]]]]  
 b. The ball rolled under the table  
 The ball rolled [PP<sub>dir</sub> TO<sup>47</sup> [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DPP<sub>Place</sub> [PP *under* [NP<sub>Place</sub> the table PLACE]]]]]

46 Notice moreover that many complex Ps are comparative grades of prepositional elements, like for instance *after* < OE *after*, from a form cognate with *of* designating origin (cf. Greek *apo-*, Lat. *ab*) and the IE suffix *\*-ter*, which can be considered as a comparative element (more precisely, it establishes a relation between two entities, cf. *either*).

47 For the possibility of *simple* Goal Ps to remain silent under very specific conditions (usually with a DP complement like *home* or with place names), see Terzi (2010) on Modern Greek and Penello (2003) on the locative/stative *a* in some Venetan dialects (see also the discussion of OE *ham* in Chap. 3).

This means then that a complex P is underspecified as regards both directionality or stativity: a complex P becomes stative by virtue of being part of a spatial PP, while it becomes directional by being part of a spatial PP selected by a verb/noun of motion.

Notice however, that the underspecification for directionality or stativity is not a prerogative of complex Ps as cases of simple Ps may be found, which appear in both stative and directional contexts. The Italian *a* "to, at" is a case in point, since, as shown above in 1.1.1., it may introduce both directional and stative PPs, so that a PP like *a Roma* "a Rome" gets a stative or a directional interpretation depending on the verb which selects it, cf. (64):<sup>48</sup>

- (64) a. Vado a Roma  
 Go.1sg.pres to Rome  
 "I'm going to Rome"  
 b. Sono a Roma  
 Be.1sg.pres in Rome  
 "I'm in Rome"

Cinque (2010a) seems to imply that stative *a*, (64a), is the lexicalisation of the AT head of PP<sub>stat</sub>, while directional *a*, (64b), is the lexicalisation of the TO head of PP<sub>dir</sub>. However, I am inclined to propose an alternative analysis, by which *a* is not the head of either PP<sub>dir</sub> or PP<sub>stat</sub> but is the instantiation of K°/P°<sup>49</sup> in (61). A PP headed by *a* in Italian, like *a Roma*, can be given the analysis in (65).

- (65) [PP<sub>dir</sub> TO [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [ ... [DPP<sub>place</sub> [ ... [AxPartP [PP/KP P°/K° *a* [NP<sub>place</sub> *Roma* PLACE

To derive the directional interpretation of *a Roma* in (64a), I assume that the head TO, activated by the verb of motion (see above), acts like a *probe* (see Kayne 2004b), and attracts *a Roma* to its Spec for feature checking:

- (66) [PP<sub>dir</sub> (*a Roma*)<sub>i</sub> TO [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [ ... [DPP<sub>place</sub> [ ... [AxPartP t<sub>i</sub>

Stative *a Roma* in (64b) could be given a similar analysis, with the verb of state

48 In fact, most Romance languages (if not all) use the same simple P for both stativity and Goal directionality (cf. also *la* in the Romanian examples above, [39], which means both "at" and "to"), while Germanic languages make a clear distinction between the two (English *at* vs *to*, German *bei/an* vs. *zu*). In this section, I tentatively suggest how the syntactic differences between Romance and Germanic simple spatial Ps can be captured in a structural way, but I leave a fuller investigation of the reasons why this should be so to future research.

49 It is also tempting to assume that P°/K° is actually within the DP possessor argument of PLACE (the DPKase as in Giusti 2006, closing the DP phase and marking it for case). As a full investigation of this possibility would take me too far afield, I leave the question open and will assume for the purposes of the present thesis that case on the DP Ground is marked in P°/K° via morphology or functional Ps.

activating the null AT, and this in turn attracting *a Roma* in its Spec, cf. (67).

(67) [PP<sub>dir</sub> [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT (*a Roma*)<sub>i</sub>] [ ... [DP<sub>place</sub> [ ... [AxPartP t<sub>i</sub>

However, such an analysis needs a further refinement since, as already mentioned above, null AT is not activated by a verb, but is *always* active in the PP. This is further supported by the following example in (68), where the same PP *a Roma* is still interpreted as stative but its stative interpretation is by no means selected upon by the verb:

(68) Ho incontrato Matteo a Roma  
 have.1sg.pres met M. in Rome  
 "I met Matthew in Rome"

The PP here is a circumstantial adposition and behaves like an adverbial modifier of the event. This leads me to a slight reconsideration of the featural content of AT in PP<sub>stat</sub>, which I do not take only to express stativity, but, more in general, to endow its complement (or the PP which hosts it) with a syntactic status comparable to that of adverbs (cf. the close link between PPs and adverbs of manner, place, time etc. like the Italian *in diagonale* "diagonally" seen above).<sup>50</sup>

In the light of this, stative *a Roma* in both (64b) and (68) becomes a sort of adverbial because it is attracted to the Spec of PP<sub>stat</sub> and gets a stative interpretation as a side-effect of the featural content of AT. As a consequence, I also modify the structural representation of directional *a Roma* in (66) as follows :

(69) [PP<sub>dir</sub> (*a Roma*)<sub>i</sub>] TO [PP<sub>stat</sub> ~~*a Roma*~~ AT [ ... [DP<sub>place</sub> [ ... [AxPartP [KP/PP ... ~~*a Roma*~~

I abstract away here from the technicalities of the derivation, which may involve either the roll-up movement (in the sense of Cinque 2005, 2006, 2009) into the Spec of the projection bearing the strong feature, PP<sub>stat</sub>, of the complement of the next head down, DP<sub>place</sub>, and then, when required by the verb of motion, to the Spec of PP<sub>dir</sub>, or, more probably,<sup>51</sup> the internal

50 The featural content of AT may also be responsible for the fact that locative adpositions are not nouns as shown by Svenonius (2007) and Cinque (2010a fn. 8), despite the many similarities existing between nominals and complex Ps (see Terzi 2008 on the similarities in genitive clitic placement in Modern Greek DPs and complex Ps).

51 I am inclined to favour this last derivation, since, as it will be addressed in 3.3, Old Italian permitted internal scrambling to the Left Periphery of the PP of exactly this constituent:

(i) Ma molte genti di religione mettono [CP<sub>place</sub> a' buoi<sub>i</sub> [AxPartP innanzi t<sub>i</sub>]] il carro ...  
 But many people of religion put to.oxen before the cart  
 (1310; Zuccher Bencivenni, *Esposizione del Paternostro*; Andreose 2007: 61, his example [45a])  
 "But many religious people put the horse before the cart"

See 3.3 for a discussion of the data in Andreose (2007, 2010) from a cartographic perspective and for their import w.r.t OE.

scrambling of the constituent from KP/PP to the relevant Specs.

Such an analysis of the stative and directional *a* of Italian may account in a principled way for the syntactic differences existing between this P and its English counterparts *at* and *to* w.r.t. P-stranding, the Italian P disallowing it, and the English Ps permitting it (cf. *the place we went to* and *the place I stayed at*). If we consider *a* to be the  $K^{\circ}/P^{\circ}$  head in (61), or better, the K(ase)P head of the DP constituting the Ground, and English *to* and *at* as the heads of  $PP_{dir}$  and  $PP_{stat}$  respectively, these asymmetries w.r.t. to stranding may be easily accounted for: Italian simple Ps are real functional Ps as they are case-markers within the  $DP_{places}$ , which enter the PP structure as part of the Ground and pied-pipe with it to the functional projections of the PPs from which the Ground cannot be further extracted<sup>52</sup>, cf. (67) and (69). By contrast, English simple Ps are functional heads in the extended projection of the PP, taking a  $DP_{place}$  as their complement, from which the Ground can be extracted under specific conditions (*wh*-movement in relative and interrogative contexts):

- (70) a.  $[PP_{dir} TO [PP_{stat} at [ \dots [DP_{place} [ \dots [AxPartP [PP/KP P^{\circ}/K^{\circ} [NP_{place} the\ party\ PLACE$   
 b.  $[PP_{dir} to [PP_{stat} AT [ \dots [DP_{place} [ \dots [AxPartP [PP/KP P^{\circ}/K^{\circ} [NP_{place} the\ party\ PLACE$

To partially conclude on this, the above discussion of Italian and English simple Ps indicates that the exact location of functional Ps in (61) appears rather more problematic than the location of complex Ps, as the latter appear in one dedicated projection, AxPart (from which however they can move to a projection in the higher portion for interpretative or featural reasons, see for instance Tortora's 2008 derivation of *dietro all'albero* reported in [45]). On the contrary, functional spatial Ps may lexicalise the featural contents of  $PP_{dir}$  and  $PP_{stat}$ , as seems to be the case of English *to* and *at*, while other Ps—most notably true case-marking Ps like those of Italian—seem to occupy a lower position for Case in  $DP_{place}$ . For the time being, I leave open the question as to why this should be so, since, though of the utmost interest, this is not directly relevant to OE Ps, which are never used in the function of case-markers (see 1.1.1).

Turning now to other important implications of the so-called Split-PP Hypothesis, it was already mentioned in the outset of this chapter that a major advantage of assuming a highly detailed PP with hierarchically ordered specialised projections is the possibility of considering "different combinations of spatial prepositions, particles, adverbs and the DP that

52 Notice however, that Italian still seems to retain memory of the fact that its functional Ps originated as functional heads in the higher portion of the PP (*a* from Latin AD, *di* from Latin DE), as a case like *di dietro la porta* "lit. of behind the door = behind the door" presents a *di* "of" probably instantiating the AT or FROM head in  $PP_{stat}$  and  $PP_{Source}$  respectively. For a fruitful application of the structure in (61) to the etymology of Ps see below.

constitute the ground as spelling out the different parts of one and the same articulated structure" (Cinque 2010a: 10). In what follows, I report Cinque's example (27), which illustrates this point very nicely, showing that each "piece" (affix, P, adverb, XP) appearing in a locative adposition is the lexicalisation of one of the specialised heads/projections identified in the previous sections:

(71)

	[PP <sub>dir</sub> [PP <sub>stat</sub> [DP <sub>place</sub> [DegP[Mod <sub>dir</sub> P[AbsViewP[RelViewP[RelViewP[DeicticP[AxPartP[KP/PPK°/P°[NP <sub>place</sub>				DP PLACE
	from AT			there	
		down in		here	
			here under		the table
	AT	two inches		above	the ground
TO	AT	in a straight line		behind	the border
	AT			next to	the house
TO	AT	south			

For the direct concerns of the present work, the most relevant consequence of this is that *particles* are elements intimately connected to the category P, since they originate within this articulated structure as one of the modifiers of the Ground (AxPartPs or elements hosted in the RelViewPs), which subsequently undergo specific syntactic operations within their PP (see also Koopman 2000 on the idea that Prts move to the leftmost edge of PP, Path, and from there incorporate onto V). As a result of these syntactic operations, Prts are here taken to change their original syntactic status of PP modifiers, and acquire a more independent nature by virtue of which they are allowed to "escape" their PP and target projections higher up in the sentence structure, thus giving rise to phenomena like transparent VPCs and prefixes (in this last case they appear as the heads of the aspectual projections in Cinque's 1999 hierarchy, see the discussion in Chapt. 3, and Damonte & Padovan's 2011 account of German prefixes outlined in 1.3.4).

A finely grained structure of PPs may also provide us with a precious formal tool for a better understanding of the diachronic development of various Ps. In his paper on the emergence of Axial Parts, Svenonius (2006: 73f.) shows that AxParts are intimately connected to nominals as they usually involve relational nouns like *front*, *side* or *top* (cf. ModE *in front of* and *on top of*). This is especially true from a diachronic perspective since some complex Ps of ModE, even though not all, result from the grammaticalisation of various elements of nominal nature like *side* in *beside* (< OE *be sidan* "by side") or the rather more recent *atop* "on top". A language like Italian lends further support to this, as it not only presents complex Ps (and adverbs) developing from nouns (It. *fuori* or Ven. *fora* < Lat. FORAS, "doors" used adverbially as "outside"; It. *senza* "without" < Lat. ABSENTIA ablative form of "absence"),

but also from other nominal elements like adjectives like It. *lungo* "along", from the adjective *lungo* "long", and participial forms like Ven. *rente* "next to" < Lat. RADENTEM, present participle of RADERE "shave, brush, touch", or It. *eccetto* "apart from, excluding" < Lat. EXCEPTUS, past participle of EXCIPERE "exclude". However, some other complex Ps can also originate as grammaticalised forms of a P plus another prepositional or adverbial element, as for instance in the case of ModE. *between* < OE *betweonum*, from "by" + "two.dat.pl", or ModE. *above* < OE *abuƿan*, earlier *on-buƿan* lit. "in-by-over/high").<sup>53</sup> In this case, Svenonius (2006: 74) claims that the first P can be taken as the instantiation of the Place head (our PP<sub>stat</sub>), while the following elements were recruited as AxParts from various categories (nouns, Ps, adverbs etc.). This shows that, when dealing with the complex etymologies of Ps, (61) may offer some insightful empirical clues as to the types of elements which are more expected to appear in the formation of new Ps and adverbs.

Lastly, the Split-PP Hypothesis illustrated so far for spatial Ps can be fruitfully applied to other PPs expressing different semantic relations like time, cause, etc. Roy and Svenonius (2008) constitute a first insightful attempt in this direction. By focusing on the internal structure of some French complex Ps of time and purpose, the authors show that there is a common structural core underlying all complex Ps, which is responsible for their morphosyntactic similarities and their typical compositional meanings. In particular, complex temporal Ps and causative Ps can be decomposed into the same three pieces Place, AxPart and K underlying a spatial PP, (72). Compare the cases of temporal *autour de Noël* "lit. at the turn of Christmas= around Christam" (73a), and causative *à cause de Marie* "lit. at cause of M. = because of(!) Mary", (73b), with spatial *à côté de la maison* "lit. at.side of the house = beside the house", (73c):

(72) [PlaceP [AxPartP [KP K° [Ground

- (73) a. [PlaceP *au* [AxPartP *tour* [KP K° *de* [Ground *Noël*  
 b. [PlaceP *à* [AxPartP *cause* [KP K° *de* [Ground *Marie*  
 c. [PlaceP *à* [AxPartP *côté* [KP K° *de* [Ground *la maison*

The idea that all complex Ps share a common tripartite structure as the one in (72) may shed light also on the well-known fact that (most) temporal Ps develop historically from spatial Ps, as "a notable difference between the spatial dimension and the temporal dimension is the switch from three dimensions to one" (Roy & Svenonius 2008: 4f.) Moreover, Roy and Svenonius (2008) suggest that the structural parallelism between various types of complex Ps

<sup>53</sup> Etymologies from Rohlfs 1969: §798ff., 203ff. for It. and its dialects, and *The Oxford English Dictionary* for ModE.

is complete, as the Figure-Ground relation expressed by spatial Ps is retrievable in temporal and causative Ps as well, with the Figure being an event in the case of causative Ps, cf. the following:

- (74) [Paul a annulé son voyage]<sub>Figure</sub> à cause de [Marie]<sub>Ground</sub>  
 Paul has cancelled his trip at cause of M.  
 "Paul has cancelled his trip because of Mary"

See Roy & Svenonius (2008: 7ff.) for a discussion of the semantic characteristics (or s-selectional properties) imposed on the Figure and the Ground by the different types of causal relationships expressed by French causal Ps.

The idea that temporal Ps present much more structure than meets the eye is also addressed in Brugè and Suñer (2009), who analyse the syntactic behaviour and the interpretative properties of Italian and Spanish *prima/dopo* and *antes/después* "before, after". Capitalising on the idea that these complex Ps behave like lexical comparatives, the authors propose that they instantiate the additional/subtractive feature of a Con° head (+/-), selecting two arguments, the base and the differential: the base introduces a point in time, and is syntactically represented as a DP<sub>Time</sub>, containing an event nominal or a sentence in a possessor relation with an unpronounced TIME head; the differential hosts measure QPs (the "amount" which has to be subtracted/added). In a temporal PP like *tre giorni dopo l'attentato* "two days after the attack", the base is the nominal *attack* and the differential is the MeasP *due giorni*. As shown in (74), they enter the syntactic derivation as respectively the external and the internal arguments of Con°:

- (75) [<sub>ConP</sub> *l'attentato* TIME Con° *dopo* [<sub>QP</sub> *due giorni*

As part of a temporal adposition, ConP is a projection in a larger DP<sub>time</sub> projected by another TIME head, in turn selected by a stative null AT (see again Kayne 2004, 2005, 2007 and the discussion above). This null AT head could be lexicalised in Old Italian and Old Spanish, also with complex Ps of time<sup>54</sup>, while in the modern languages it is realised only as a simple P

54 Brugè & Suñer (2009: 56, their examples [80] for Old Spanish and [81] for Old Italian). A couple of examples would suffice here:

- (i) a. L'avuta a due di dicembre in fino a lunedì a nove di dicembre ...  
 C.obj had at two of December in end at monday at nine days of December  
 (Old Italian; *Doc. Sen. 1277-1282*)  
 "He had it on December 2 until monday December 9 ..."  
 b. luego a dos días después que se asentó, ....  
 then at two days after that Cl.ril settled  
 (Old Spanish; Anónimo, *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*)  
 "then, two days after he had settled, ..."

These data are all the more interesting if one considers that present-day Italian, as pointed out by Cinque

when the time point is represented by a numeral indicating the hour, as in It. *alle due* or Sp. *a las dos* "at two o'clock". Feature driven movement of the components of ConP to dedicated projections within the bigger DP<sub>place</sub> like MeasP for the differential, ApplP for the base, and to Meas° for Con°,<sup>55</sup> derive the superficial order.

(76) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DP<sub>time</sub> TIME [MeasP *due giorni* Meas° *dopo* [AppIP *l'attentato* Appl° ~~*dopo*~~ [ConP *l'attentato* Con° *dopo* [QP *due giorni*

Even though Brugè and Suñer(2009) proposal presents a richer structure for temporal complex Ps than the one proposed by Roy & Svenonius (2008), it is essentially the same, as the structure in (76) can be abstractly represented as follows:

(77) [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [DP<sub>time</sub> [DegP [AxPartP [KP/PP K°/P° [NP<sub>time</sub> Ground TIME

Here, the structural parallels between temporal and locative adpositions stand out in an impressive way: the structures of spatial and temporal PPs present dedicated projections not only for complex Ps (AxParts), but also for functional simple Ps (AT, cf. Italian *a mezzogiorno* "at midday") and for measure phrases (DegP).

In conclusion, the complex structure for spatial PPs in (61) provides us with a very powerful device for the synchronic interpretation of many different phenomena involving prepositions at the various levels of the syntactic representation. It was shown that despite categorial differences as regards the syntactic nature of the PP-internal material (Ps, affixes, adverbs), languages tend to encode the same specific elements in their locative and temporal adpositions, moreover in a fixed order. As the order and the type of projections emerging from wide cross-linguistic comparisons are strikingly coherent, the structure proposed in (61) is to be considered as universal, and as such, it can serve as a useful guide in the diachronic investigation not only of the origins of Ps, but also on their syntactic nature and their consequent syntactic behaviour at both a PP-internal level and at a clausal level. The analysis presented in Chapt. 3 is an attempt to shed some light on the interesting phenomena affecting

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(2010a) in the above discussion, admits the lexicalisation of AT with DegPs in the spatial PP. Moreover, the case of *a* with the complex P *después* in Old Spanish has a (near) parallel in some northern varieties of British English, which presented the form *at-after* for "after" (and *atfore* for "before", but this is a direct inheritance from OE, while *at-after* seems an innovation). See Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* and the OED under the relevant entries.

55 Here I simplify Brugè and Suñer's (2009) proposal for the sake of argument. In fact, the authors propose that by virtue of the vectorial properties of Con° elements, they move to higher heads in the bigger DP<sub>time</sub> for interpreting their unvalued features: Con° moves first to Appl°, which attracts in its Spec the base giving it the interpretation "starting point in the time axis of the computational process", then to TOr° (Time Oriented), which indicates the direction of the vectorial extension w.r.t the time of application (the base); finally, Con° moves to Meas°, which attracts in its Spec the differential.

the OE PP in the light of this structure. In particular, we will see how OE exploits the various projections of (61) and how the specific syntactic nature of such Ps and their location in the sentence structure derive straightforwardly from the relations between the position occupied by the P and its Grund, which also determines what types of syntactic movements may apply.

### 1.2.2 The "External" Syntax of Prepositional Phrases

In the previous sections I concentrated on the internal syntax of locative prepositional adpositions, but, as is well-known, PPs have also an "external" syntax, which interacts with sentence and argument structure. Most typically, PPs appear as either the selected arguments of specific verbs (like verbs of motion for instance), or as circumstantial modifiers of the event expressed by the lexical verb and its arguments. This last syntactic property is more generally connected to the possibility for PPs to add to a sentence precise salient information, i.e., to introduce specific *thematic roles* like "manner", "instrumental", "benefactive", "matter" etc., as VP modifiers. In the linguistic literature, adverbial and prepositional modifiers have been traditionally analysed as adjuncts to some functional projection above VP, like vP or TP, without any principled ordering among them. However, since the publication of Cinque (1999), this view has radically changed: by comparing the TAM systems of very different languages, Cinque has shown that fusional languages and agglutinating languages present the same strict relative order of auxiliaries, aspectual adverbs and affixes, thus indicating that these elements are hosted as either the heads or the Specs of dedicated functional projections in a universal hierarchy.

Most recently, various cartographic proposals like those of Damonte (2004), Schweikert (2004, 2005a, 2005b) and Cinque (2006) have shown that also VP-modifying prepositional phrases obey a rigid and universal order among themselves. One of the first attempts in this direction is Damonte (2004), who arrives at the following order of thematic roles by observing the relative orders of applicative morphemes in the genetically unrelated families of Bantu and Qhechuan (Damonte 2004: 90):

- (78) DesiderativeP > AndativeP > ReciprocalP > SimulativeP > BenefactiveP >  
 Malefactive/Goal/Source/ReasonP > Instrumental/Manner/LocativeP >  
 DirectionalP > RogativeP > PermissiveP > CausativeP >  
 Assitive/Comitative/AssociativeP > Agentiviser/ParticipativeP > ReflexiveP >  
 VoiceP > SeparativeP

Damonte's proposal may be taken as the first hierarchy of the projections included in the

*functional thematic field*, i.e., thematic roles are inserted in dedicated *functional* projections above VP (and probably below vP, where the external agentive argument is inserted, see Kratzer 1996 a. o.).

Schweikert (2004, 2005a, 2005b) arrives at a strikingly similar hierarchy for German circumpositional PPs by observing the interactions between variations in the order among the various semantic classes of PPs and their consequent scope relations.<sup>56</sup> The main starting point for the identification of the various thematic roles is the observation that two PPs conveying the same semantic content, i.e., pertaining to the same class, cannot co-occur in a sentence without a syntactic coordinator, cf. (79a) vs. (79b) (examples from Schweikert 2004: 197f):

- (79) a. I decorated the box with a spray can and (with) a paint brush  
 b. \*I decorated the box with a spray can with a paint brush

As there is no semantic reason prohibiting two different instruments, the ungrammaticality of (79b) indicates that two instrumental PPs cannot co-occur as the thematic role "instrumental" cannot be assigned twice in syntax (cf. the Theta Criterion in GB), and a syntactic device as coordination must be introduced.<sup>57</sup> From these considerations, Schweikert (2004) identifies the following thematic roles, which have been further refined in Schweikert (2005a, 2005b), in particular as regards Temporal:<sup>58</sup>

- (80) a. **Benefactive**: introducing a participant who benefits from the action (*for his wife*)  
 b. **Comitative**: introducing a participant who shares the role of the subject (*with a colleague*)  
 c. **Evidential**: introducing the source of the proposition (*according to an old legend*, etc.)  
 d. **Goal**: introducing the goal of movement (various directional PPs, as shown above)  
 e. **Instrumental**: introducing the instrument or the tool used in order to carry out the action (*with a screwdriver*)  
 f. **Locative**: introducing the place where the action occurs (various stative PPs as above)  
 g. **Malefactive**: introducing an opponent, an obstacle to the proposition (*against the bad weather*)

56 For the purposes of the present section I mainly draw on Schweikert (2004, 2005b). I refer the reader to Schweikert (2005a) for an in-depth discussion of the topic, which, for reason of space, can only be hinted at here.

57 Schweikert (2004) shows that apparent counterexamples with two co-occurring temporal or locative PPs like those in (i) are in fact a reinforcement of his analysis:

- (i) a. I met John in Venice in Italy  
 b. I met John on thursday at 8 o'clock

In both cases the co-occurring PPs have the same referent: the second PPs represent a specification or a modification of the first PPs. This remark turns out to be relevant when analysing the fronted XPs in the Left Periphery of OE: as two locative/temporal PPs may appear before the verb, they can be considered as forming one unit.

58 Schweikert (2004) gives examples in German and English, I report only the English examples.

- h. **Manner:** introducing the manner in which an action is done (*in a special way, with anger*)
- i. **Matter:** introducing the topic of a talk, a book etc. (*about mathematics*):
- j. **Means of Transportation:** introducing means of transportation with verbs of motion (*on foot, by car, with a Ferrari*)
- k. **Path:** introducing the place which has been passed by in a journey (*through Mainz, via London*)
- l. **Reason:** introducing the reason or motive for a given action (*because of fear*)
- m. **Source:** introducing the origin of a movement (*from Munich*)
- n. **Temporal:** introducing the time (interval) in which an action took place (*in autumn, at 2 o'clock*)

The next step was to identify a possible relative order among these PPs, but no strict surface order seems to exist. Even concentrating on only two of the abovementioned thematic roles, their PPs can appear one to the right of the other and vice versa, cf. the following from Schweikert (2004):

- (81) a. Leonardo worked for Sforza in Milan  
 b. Leonardo worked in Milan for Sforza

Given Kayne's (1994) *Linear Correspondence Axiom*, one must conclude that one of the two orders is the basic one and the other is derived via leftward movement. Yet, in order to arrive at the basic order, more refined syntactic tests are needed. Schweikert (2005a) shows that three specific tests yielded very reliable results: (i) the Quantifier Scope Test, (ii) the Pair List Reading Test, and (iii) the Informational Focus Test.

In the Quantifier Scope Test, the author tested a sentence with two PPs, one containing a universal quantifier, the other an existential quantifier, like the following:

- (82) Hans hat in mindestens einer Stadt in jedem Tag gearbeitet  
 H. has in at-least one city on every day worked  
 "Hans worked every day in at least one city"

The generalisation goes that, if in a sentence with two operators the lower one moves across the higher one, then scope ambiguity arises. This is exactly the case of (82), which can be given two interpretations: 1) *there is at least one city in which Hans worked on each day*, or 2) *for each day there exists at least one city—not necessarily the same—in which Hans worked in this special day*. On the contrary, if the order of the two PPs is inverted (Temporal - Locative), there is no ambiguity, or at least, it is much less prominent. This indicates that the locative PP containing the existential quantifier has moved across the temporal PP with the universal modifier, and, consequently, the basic order is Temporal > Locative.

The Pair Listing Reading Test is another application of scope ambiguity as it exploits the well-known principle by which "a universal quantifier A may have scope over a wh-quantifier B in case the merge position of A c-commands the merge position of B" (see Cinque 2006: 156, and relevant references). In other words, when a *wh*-element is moved across a universal quantifier, a number of different answers are possible. Consider the following:

- (83) Wo hat Hans an jedem Tag gearbeitet?  
 Wher has Hans on every day worked  
 "Where did Hans work every day?"

The question in (83) admits two possible answers, depending on whether the *wh*-element takes scope over or under the projection containing the quantifier. If *where* has scope over *every day*, then the answer is just one place, like "Venice"; conversely, if *every day* has scope over *where*, the answer is a list of days matched by a list of places, a so-called 'pair-list' answer, like "On Monday he worked in Venice, on Tuesday in Paris ...". Such a pair-listing answer could not be possible if the moved *wh*-element were generated from a position above the PP containing the quantifier.<sup>59</sup> Again, the suggested order is Temporal > Locative.

Finally, the Informational Focus Test, uses the Focus properties of the German *Mittelfeld*, by which an element can be focalised "in situ", or occurs towards the right end of the clause ("focus to the right"). In a sentence with two elements, these two strategies generally coincide for the lower one, but, when the higher element need to be focalised, as it would be if it were the answer to a question for instance, two orders are possible. Consider what happens with the following question:

- (84) Wann hat Hans in Venedig gearbeitet?  
 When has H. in Venice worked  
 "When did Hans work in Venice?"

(84) can receive two possible answers:

- (85) a. Hans hat AM DIENSTAG in Venedig gearbeitet  
 H. has ON TUESDAY in Venice worked

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59 The scopal ambiguity in (82) arises from the fact that the quantifier, originated in a position higher than the position hosting the *wh* element, c-commands the trace of the *wh*-element, when this is fronted. Thus, there is a mismatch in the scope of the two elements: the QP in the temporal PP c-commands the *wh*-trace in the locative PP, and in turn this *wh* locative PP has been fronted to a position from which it has scope over the temporal PP. By contrast, if the *wh*-element were generated in the temporal PP and then this PP is fronted, cf. (i), then no ambiguity occurs and only the *wh* > QP reading is available (or at least it is highly preferred).

(i) Wann hat Hans in jeder Stadt gearbeitet?  
 When Has Hans in each city worke? "When did Hans work in every city?"

- b. Hans hat in Venedig AN DIENSTAG gearbeitet.  
H. has in Venice ON TUESDAY worked

Once again, this test indicates that the basic order is Temporal > Locative.

The application of each of these three tests to all the thematic roles in (80) yields exactly the same relative order of PPs, with the exception of Path/Mean of Transportation/Instrumental, for which no clear order could be established. The exact hierarchy of circumstantial PPs in German is as follows (Schweikert 2005: 204f.):

- (86) Temporal > Starting Point of Ongoing Event > Starting Point of Ongoing Event > Elapsed Time of Ongoing Event > Atelic Duration > Locative > Comitative > Benefactive > Reason > Directional Source > Telic Duration/Secondary Duration > Directional Goal > Malefactive > Instrumental/Mean of Transport/Path > Matter > Manner

The above hierarchy is not only astonishingly similar to that of Damonte (2004), but also to the one arrived at by Takamine (2010) for Japanese. These results are strikingly coherent, even more so if one considers that these authors investigated completely unrelated languages.

Schweikert (2005b) has subsequently tried to put the PP hierarchy in relation to Cinque's (1999) functional structure by analysing the scope properties of the Cinquean adverbs w.r.t the sentence modifying PPs in German. In particular, the author observes that an adverb exhibits varying scope properties over a PP according to the position it occupies w.r.t to the PP: in certain positions, adverbs can take wide scope over everything to their right, or alternatively, narrow scope over every single element to their right, while in any other position, they can only take narrow scope over the PP to their immediate right. The generalisation is made that an adverb takes wide scope over the whole event to its right (or optionally, narrow scope over every single element to its right) only when the adverb and the PPs to its right are in base order (Schweikert 2005b: 215).<sup>60</sup> By analysing the various possible orders between all the Cinquean adverbs and all the thematic roles of PPs in relation to their wide scope interpretation, Schweikert (2005b: 221) subdivides Cinque's (1999) hierarchy into three groups as shown below:<sup>61</sup>

- (87) MoodP<sub>speech act</sub> > MoodP<sub>evaluative</sub> > MoodP<sub>evidential</sub> > ModP<sub>epistemic</sub> > TP(Past) > TP(Future)  
> MoodP<sub>irrealis</sub> > ModP<sub>aletic</sub> > Temporal/Starting Point of Ongoing Event/Startig Point  
of Closed Event/Elapsed Time of Ongoing Event/Atelic Duration > AspP<sub>habitual</sub> >  
AspP<sub>repetitive(I)</sub> > AspP<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> > ModP<sub>volitional</sub> > AspP<sub>celerative(I)</sub> > TP(Anterior) >

<sup>60</sup> I refer to Schweikert (2005b) for a detailed discussion of how to derive in syntax those orders between PPs and adverbs which deviate from the basic one proposed in (86).

<sup>61</sup> That circumstantial PPs are generated in a specific area within the functional adverb sequence is also argued for by Takamine (2010).

AspP<sub>terminative</sub> > AspP<sub>continuative</sub> > AspP<sub>proximative</sub> > AspP<sub>durative</sub> > AspP<sub>generic/progressive</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>prospective</sub> > Locative > Comitative > Benefactive > Reason > Source > Telic  
 Duration/Secondary Duration > Goal > Malefactive > Instrumental/Means/Path >  
 Matter > Manner > ModP<sub>obligation</sub>/ModP<sub>permission&ability</sub> > AspP<sub>completive</sub> > VoiceP >  
 AspP<sub>celerative(II)</sub> > AspP<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> > AspP<sub>frequentative</sub>

The first group of adverbs comprises those adverbs sitting in Mod<sub>volitional</sub> or in higher positions. These adverbs take either a narrow or a wide scope interpretation over everything to their right if they appear before *any* PP; conversely, if a PP appears to the left of any of these adverbs, the adverb takes scope only on the constituents to its immediate right. The second group is constituted by adverbs hosted between Asp<sub>habitual</sub> and Asp<sub>prospective</sub>, and these show wide scope properties only when they appear before locative and the lower PPs. Lastly, the third group consists of those adverbs hosted in Mod<sub>ability</sub> or in lower positions, which are usually found to the right of any PP, and if one of them appears to the left of a PP, they take it into their narrow scope (but the sentence becomes less acceptable).

As a final conclusion to his paper, Schweikert (2005b) makes also an interesting consideration regarding English. The hierarchy in (86) shows that the third group of adverbs is hosted below the lower thematic roles, but in English they appear to the right of the finite verb, together with all the lower thematic roles, which have as their unmarked order the exact reverse of the basic one (German). This can be considered clear evidence that the English finite verb is not in its base position, but that it moves to a position higher than the lower adverbs and the lower thematic roles. As regards the mirror-image order of the thematic, Schweikert (2005b) claims that the English finite verb moves across the lower PPs and by doing so it pied-pipes the crossed PPs (in a roll-up fashion see below).

The findings of Schweikert (2005b) have been further confirmed and supported by Cinque (2006), who provides empirical and cross-linguistic evidence that the various orders exhibited by argument and circumstantial PPs not only in various languages, but also within the same language, derives from one and the same universal hierarchy. As regards the 'free' order of PPs attested in a language like English (which, incidentally, has a very fixed word order), Cinque (2006) argues that in this language, focus sensitive operations targeting one of two PPs may conceal the fact that there is a strict relative order between the two. This seems to be exactly the case of what happens in a famous example like (88), where the two argument PPs of *talk* apparently occur in both orders:

- (88) a. John talked to Mary about Bill  
 b. John talked about Bill to Mary

As Larson (1988) notes, in (88b) there is some sort of heaviness effect on *to Mary* that renders it more stressed than the preceding PP. Cinque (2006: 150) interprets (88b) as the order that derives after *to Mary* has been moved to a Focus position (possibly the low one in IP, see Jayaseelan 2001; Belletti 2004 a. o.), followed then by leftward movement of the remnant to a functional position, here labelled FP, see (89):

- (89) a. John talked [<sub>FocusP</sub> to Mary F [<sub>VP</sub> t about Bill]]  
 b. John talked [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> talked t about Bill]] [<sub>FocusP</sub> to Mary F [ t ]]

Under such an analysis, (88b) is a 'marked' order in English, derived by an 'unmarked' one represented by (88a). More telling clues to the idea that the 'unmarked' order of PPs is fixed in a given language, come furthermore from the fact that, under specific circumstances<sup>62</sup>, intervening factors make the focus sensitive operations unavailable, thus revealing the 'canonical' or unmarked order of the PPs in that language. The question to be answered now is what is meant by canonical order of PPs in a given language, and whether this canonical order reflects or not the basic universal one (see Cinque 2006: 152).

Basing upon a wealth of cross-linguistic and typological studies, Cinque (2006) shows that the unmarked order between temporal, locative and manner PPs is *always* Temporal > Locative > Manner when these PPs appear before the verb (as is typical of OV languages), while the order may be the same or, more frequently, the exact mirror image as exemplified in (90), this last case being the case of English (Cinque 2006: 152, his example [25]):

- (90) a. Temp > Loc > Manner > V (Mandarin Chinese, German, Turkish)  
 b. \*Manner > Loc > Temp > V (0)  
 c. V > Manner > Loc > Temp > V (English, Romance)  
 d. V > Temp > Loc > Manner (Czech, German in V2 clauses)

The careful observation of the possible orders of Temporal, Locative and Manner PPs across languages gives an extremely important result, as the generalisation that emerges is just another case of a much wider cross-linguistic generalisation: the picture in (90) is but another instance of the *left-right asymmetry* of natural languages as shown in Cinque (2006, 2009). In a

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62 Cinque (2006: 149ff.) discusses various asymmetries found between two otherwise possible orders of PPs in the relevant contexts. I report here just two cases for the sake of completeness. A clear asymmetry arises for instance with idiomatic expressions with two PPs, like the Italian *parlare di corda a casa dell'impiccato* "lit. to talk about rope in the hanged man's house = to make blunders". The idiom presents the order Manner > Locative, the typical unmarked order of Italian, which is the reverse of the basic one (but see above). If the order of the two PPs changes, the idiomatic reading is lost.

Another clear asymmetries arise with P-Stranding:

- (i) a. Who<sub>i</sub> did John talked to t<sub>i</sub> about Harry yesterday?  
 b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did John talked about Harry to t<sub>i</sub> yesterday?

All these asymmetries indicate that the canonical order of PPs becomes visible under specific conditions.

nutshell, this fundamental asymmetry can be captured as follows: the unmarked order of modifiers and functional elements associated with distinct lexical heads (N, V) appear to be unique on the *left* of a head, while to the *right* of it there are at least two possible unmarked orders for the same elements: either the same order as to the left, or its mirror image.

A famous instantiation of this is Greenberg's (1963) Universal 20 on the possible orders of demonstratives, numeral and adjectives to the left and to the right of the noun, which can be schematised as follows (see Cinque 2005):

- (91) a. Dem > Num > A > N  
 b. \*N > A > Num > Dem  
 c. N > Dem > Num > A  
 d. N > A > Num > Dem

As Cinque (2006, 2009) shows, this fundamental asymmetry is visible in the various unmarked orders cross-linguistically attested for many other elements, like attributive adjectives (Cinque 2010b and references), TAM elements (Cinque 2007), auxiliary verbs (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000 for Dutch) and also with *bare* direct and indirect objects<sup>63</sup> (see Cinque 2006: 154, his example [31]):

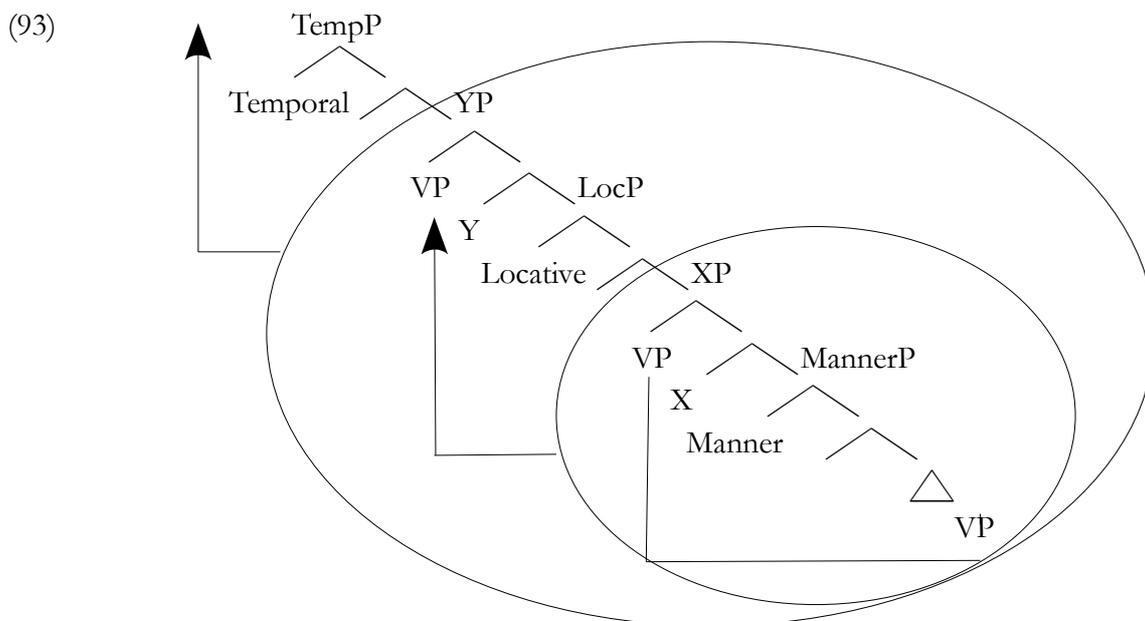
- (92) a. IO > DO > V  
 b. \*DO > IO > V  
 c. V > DO > IO  
 d. V > IO > DO

In the attempt to give a unitary account of all these possible orders, Cinque (2006, 2009) proposes to analyse this asymmetry in terms of a fixed hierarchical order between the lexical head and the modifiers/functional heads associated with it, an order which all languages share. The superficial realisations of this universal hierarchy in individual languages stems from the independent conditions of phrasal movement operating language-specifically. In this last respect, Cinque (2006: 154) adopts a Kaynean (1994) framework, by which the different orders of Temp-Loc-Manner considered in (89) are derivable by a universal basic order *Temp > Loc > Manner*, available for all languages, in essentially three ways:<sup>64</sup>

63 This last type of asymmetry is visible with bare DO and IO since when these internal argument present a determiner of some kind they may interact with pragmatic requirements in the Low or High Periphery of the clause. This seems to be especially the case in Old Italian, where the occurrence of the DO in the Low Focus projection interacted with its *unspecific* nature (C. Poletto p. c.).

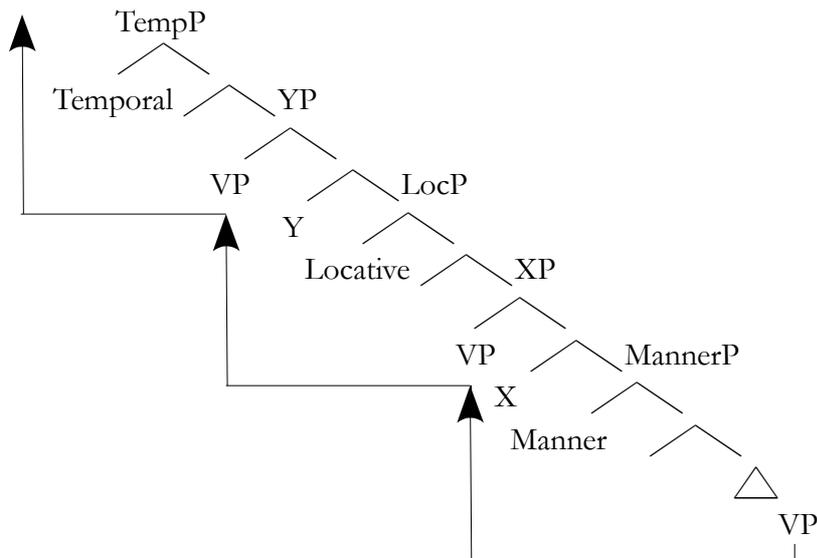
64 The pictures in (89)-(91) are a simplification as languages may attest also "mixed" orders (like A N Num Dem, or A N Dem Num in the case of [90]). See the discussion in Cinque (2009) for the derivation of these orders, which assumes a partial application of the movements here illustrated in (92) and (93), plus an interaction with two possible types of pied-piping. The first one is labelled *whose pictures*-type, which drags along constituents to the right of the moving phrase; the second is labelled *picture of whom*-type, which drags along elements to the left of the phrase triggering the movement (Cinque 2009).

- (i) Temp > Loc > Manner >V is the basic order underlying all languages. It obtains superficially since the verb does not move through them as in German (or the verb moves to a higher position and the complement of the next head down is moved as a remnant to a position before V, as seems to be case in OE, see Biberauer & Roberts 2005 and 2.2.2);
- (ii) The verb can successively raises with its complements (the entire VP), pied-piping the phrase immediately dominating the Spec to which it has moved (cf. [93]), thus reversing the order of merge and resulting in the order VP > complements > Manner > Loc >Temp. This is usually referred to as *roll-up* movement (Cinque 2005), as it consists in the successive movement into higher Specs of larger and larger constituents containing the VP:



- (iii) The VP moves to all the intermediate phrases stranding the PPs it moves across as in (94), thus leaving them in the order of merge and resulting in V >Temp > Loc > Manner:

(94)



These three simple patterns of movement are sufficient to explain most of the orders attested in the languages of the world, and most importantly, they also forbid the derivation of the unattested orders, as it is possible to propose a small constituent formed by the verb plus the lower PPs and strand the higher ones, but there is no way to derive an order in which a higher PP is fronted with the verb, stranding the lower ones. Notice furthermore that these types of movements can be shown to operate within the same language, since both German (Schweikert 2005, Cinque 2006) and Dutch (Koster 1974, Barbiers 1995) present different unmarked orders among their PPs according to whether they are in a V2 clause or not: in V2 contexts the order is Manner > Loc > Temp, signalling that the verb pied-pipes the PPs in its moving to the C domain, while in embedded contexts the order is Temp > Loc > Manner, as the lexical verb remains in a lower position than the PPs.

The most significant results of the studies presented in this subsection strongly suggest that, despite appearances to the contrary, the underlying order of the thematic roles instantiated by complement and adverbial PPs, and more in general, the underlying order of functional elements and modifiers w.r.t to their lexical head is indeed strict and universal, with the lexical head appearing in the lowest position. The cross-linguistic variation attested in the possible orders for these elements can be accounted for in terms of the limited types of phrasal movement allowed by each individual language: either the phrase containing the lexical head does not move, thus reflecting the basic order, or it can move across its modifiers by either "hopping" around them or by pied-piping them (see Cinque 2009 for some more details on the types of pied-piping permitted). These three simple possibilities (and partial and/or combined application thereof) yield the "canonical" order of PPs in a given language. In this last respect, a further important consequence to be derived from the universality of the PP

hierarchy is that language-internal deviances from the "canonical" order of that language can be explained via the application of focus sensitive operations obliterating the unmarked order.

These final considerations will turn out to be of the utmost relevance when considering OE word order, since, as will be shown in Chapt. 2, the various orders attested by this language can be captured and accounted for in exactly these terms. The various orders attested by this language as regards the position of the verb w.r.t the direct object, or of the direct object w.r.t the indirect object, or, again, of the various PPs among themselves, can be better captured by combining focus sensitive and feature driven operations, which involve phrasal movement by pied-piping of constituents of different sizes.

### **1.3 Generative Accounts of Verb-Particle Constructions**

In 1.1.2, it was shown that VPCs are substantially of two types, transparent and non-transparent, differing significantly in both their semantic makeup and their syntactic distribution. From a semantic perspective, transparent VPCs are characterised by a compositional meaning deriving transparently from the combination of the meanings of the verb and of the Prt, while non-transparent VPCs present actional or aspectual values, which do not derive from either the meaning of the simple verb or the literal meaning of the single Prt. This semantic distinction has a direct syntactic impact on the argument structure of VPCs: in transparent VPCs, the Prt combines with verbs of motion to which it adds a further specification on the direction of the movement, or it can combine with transitive verbs to which it adds a resultative meaning, but in both cases, the Prt leaves the verb's argument structure substantially unchanged. Conversely, non-transparent Prts modify the verb in a much deeper sense as the Prt can introduce an additional thematic role, or impose specific thematic characterisations on the verb's internal arguments. The other fundamental syntactic difference distinguishing between transparent and non-transparent VPCs regards the syntactic nature of the Prts. Though the diagnostics are for the most part language-specific, the languages of the world indicate rather clearly that transparent Prts behave like independent constituents and, in the case of directional VPCs, can also form a constituent with a PP, while non-transparent Prts behave like bound morphemes, with very restricted morphosyntactic possibilities (they cannot be modified, coordinated or topicalised).

In a language like OE, the difference between transparent and non-transparent VPCs is instantiated in the complex interactions between the prefix and the particle systems, the

precise details of which will be laid out in 2.4.2. However, as was anticipated in 1.1.2., OE Prts are only of the transparent type, adding purely *directional* and/or *resultative* meanings to the verbs they combine with. From a syntactic perspective, OE Prts are secondary predicates behaving like syntactic phrases, as has been convincingly argued for by most scholars (Roberts 1997; Fischer et al. 2000, Elenbaas 2007, van Kemenade & Elenbaas forthcoming).

In the present subsection, I briefly introduce the major generative proposals on the structural representation of VPCs; the overview I present however is by no means exhaustive, and the studies I take into consideration are presented with the only intent of illustrating the basic workings of these analyses insofar as they are of direct relevance to both the account of OE Prts argued for in the present thesis (see 1.3.4 and 3.4), and also to those put forward by the abovementioned authors (see 2.4.2).<sup>65</sup> More specifically, in 1.3.1 I present how the Small Clause analysis of Prts has been arrived at mainly in the attempt to give an unitary account of the peculiar distributional properties of the ModE Prts (Stowell 1981, 1983, Hoekstra 1988, Kayne 1985, den Dikken 1995, Svenonius 1996). In the next subsection (1.3.2), I show how the Small Clause analysis has been integrated into first a representation of the VP as a VP-Shell (Radford 1997), and subsequently, into a further refined representation of the VP-Shell, which includes the Split-PP structure illustrated in the above section (Svenonius 2003, 2004, 2010). In 1.3.3 I briefly present the *lexical* decomposition analyses of VPCs (Ramchand & Svenonius 2002, McIntyre 2004, and Elenbaas 2007), according to which the basic semantics of any verb and of any VPC as well can be decomposed into simpler semantic components, all of which are associated with a precise head within the vP (see Hale & Keyser 1993). This last approach is of particular interest since the latest generative account of OE Prts is that of Elenbaas (2007), presented in 2.4.2, which is precisely a lexical decomposition account. In the final subsection, 1.3.4, I present my view of VPCs, suggesting that different types of VPCs, which present different morphosyntactic properties (see 1.1.2) call for different structural representations of their underlying syntax.

### 1.3.1 *Small Clause Analyses*

The majority of the syntactic analyses put forward in the generative literature on VPCs are substantially aimed at giving a principled account of *Modern English* Prts, with the intent of capturing in a coherent fashion both their prepondering resultative value and their peculiar distributional properties. In this last respect, the proposals presented in what follows attempt

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<sup>65</sup> I refer to Nicole Dehé's Bibliography mentioned above and to Elenbaas' (2007) Chapter 2 for a detailed overview of the most important accounts of VPCs in the major frameworks.

to identify an underlying structural representation of the English VPCs, which accounts in a unitary way for the well-known phenomenon of "Particle Shift", and for the notorious restriction with pronouns, which cannot appear to the right of the Prt (unless they are focalised, cf. Jackendoff 2002 and references). For convenience, I repeat in (95) and (96) the examples of (20) and (21) above, which illustrate this point:

(95) Mary took **out** the rubbish/Mary took the rubbish **out**

(96) Will you get it down for me please?/\*Will you get down it ...

The first step towards a principled account of these facts passes through the often-made observation that a VPC like *to push someone down* has a resultative meaning (cf. Hoekstra 1988): the VPC describes a complex event in which the verb expresses an activity carried out on an object till this does not reach a certain state/result *predicated* by the Prt. This can be schematically illustrated as follows:

(97) Sam pushed Fred down = Fred is down<sup>66</sup>

The transparent VPC in (97) can be considered as instantiating a *predicative structure* in which the subject of predication is represented by the object of the verb, *Fred*, while the Prt *down* is the predicate of the object, which adds the result/endstate of the action affecting Fred. Under such a view, transparent prepositional VPC's can be analysed on a par with other predicative constructions involving nouns, PPs or adjectives, which predicate the result/endstate of the action of the verb, see (98), or are more generally part of triadic constructions like those in (99):

(98) a. She danced her feet sore/Let Mum kiss it better  
 b. You can hammer iron into sheets/You can't talk me into this!  
 c. She painted the kitchen purple  
 d. I laughed myself sick  
 e. I sprayed perfume in my hair / I spray my hair with perfume

(99) a. I gave Tom a book  
 b. I don't consider him a genius

Stowell (1981, 1983) provides the first comprehensive syntactic account of the

66 Yet, as Jackendoff (2002) points out, this is by no means true of all Prts, as the following demonstrates:

(i) Mary ate up her lunch (≠ her lunch is up)

This is yet again another syntactic manifestation of the different structural representation that underlie transparent and non-transparent VPCs. In this case, *up* could be thought of as occupying the Spec of one of the projections in the functional hierarchy as proposed by Cinque (1999), while transparent Prts will be shown to occupy a distinct and dedicated projection.

predicative structures in (97) and (98): he proposes to treat the basic semantic components of these structures as generated within a minimal predicative configuration, the Small Clause (henceforth SC; Chomsky 1981), consisting of a subject and a non-verbal predicate. Such analysis takes a SC to be the syntactic incarnation of the semantic relation existing between the subject of predication and the predicate; formally, such semantic relation is represented by a c-command relation in which the subject of predication c-commands its predicate, as it is the external argument of the predication. A SC is consequently an XP, projected by the predicate sitting in the head of the SC, while the Spec of the SC hosts the subject of predication, cf. (100):

(100) [<sub>SpecSC</sub> *Subject of Predication* [<sub>headSC</sub> *Predicate*] ... ]

In Stowell's (1981, 1083) terms, SCs are *constituents* selected by the verb, but they are "small" since structurally incomplete: for Stowell and for other authors, SCs are purely lexical projections with no functional part at all. By contrast, other scholars claim that SCs present at least some functional projections like Agr, even though they lack TP, as SCs typically do not present negation, cf. (101a), and cannot occur as independent sentences (101b,c):

(101) a. \*They have elected him not president  
 b. \*John doctor  
 c. \*She out of her

Moreover, the idea that SCs may involve some functional structure is further supported by the fact that they seem to have at their disposal the same mechanisms typical of non-finite clauses like raising structures, cf. (102a), and control PRO, cf. (102b), (examples from Hoekstra 1988: 122, his examples [48a,b]):

(102) a. John<sub>i</sub> was found [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [tired]]  
 b. John<sub>i</sub> left [<sub>SC</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> [tired]]

As regards the SC components proper, all of the above examples indicate that the SC subjects must appear as either the subject (103a) or the object (103b) of the verb in the main clause. This indicates then that they receive case from the verb which selects them, thus further supporting Stowell's idea that SCs are constituents selected by the verb:

(103) a. Mary<sub>i</sub> looks [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [happy]]  
 b. I consider [<sub>SC</sub> Mary<sub>i</sub> [unreliable]]

As to the syntactic function of the SC predicate within the clausal architecture, this is typically an adjunct (104), but it can acquire a resultative value only when it predicates over an argument of the verb, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (105b). Unlike the subject of predication, which is most typically a DP, the SC predicate can be instantiated by various grammatical categories like DPs (106a), APs (106b), and crucially, PPs (106c):

- (104) a. She<sub>i</sub> walked [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [happy]] down the road  
 b. I saw [<sub>SC</sub> Mary [upset]]
- (105) a. She<sub>i</sub> screamed [<sub>SC</sub> herself<sub>i</sub> [silly]] / She talked [<sub>SC</sub> Sam [into this deal]]  
 b. \*She screamed silly/\*She talked into this deal
- (106) a. I consider [<sub>SC</sub> Mary [unreliable]]<sub>DP</sub>  
 b. She screamed [<sub>SC</sub> herself [<sub>A</sub> silly]]<sub>AP</sub> / He can drive [<sub>SC</sub> everybody [<sub>A</sub> crazy]]<sub>AP</sub>  
 c. She put [<sub>SC</sub> the vase [on the shelf]]<sub>PP</sub> / She screamed [<sub>SC</sub> her head [<sub>P</sub> off]]<sub>PP</sub>

By virtue of their typical resultative value and of their categorial underspecification (see [105]), SC predicates have commonly been considered to include also Prts of VPCs, which are consequently analysed as subcategorising and selecting a SC. In other words, Prts are considered *secondary predicates* on a par with the AP, NP and PP predicates of predicative structures, with which the Prt shares a syntactic representation as the *head* of the SC. The external argument in the Spec of the SC is represented by the verb's object in the case of VPCs. This is notoriously the analysis for English VPCs put forward in Kayne (1985) and in Hoekstra (1988): while Hoekstra (1988) explicits the structural similarities existing between resultative constructions and VPCs, Kayne (1985) is more directly concerned with the constituent ordering of the V NP Prt sequence of VPCs. After examining all the possible structural representations which could underlie VPCs, Kayne shows that an analysis of NP and Prt as forming a SC constituent is to be preferred since the syntactic behaviour of VPCs is analogous to other constructions which traditionally receive a SC analysis. Specifically, VPCs resist nominalisation, cf. (107), and extraction, cf. (108), like any other resultative or predicative construction:

- (107) a. \*John's consideration of Bill honest  
 b. \*The looking of the information up
- (108) a. \*Who<sub>i</sub> has the cold weather get the sister of t<sub>i</sub> quite depressed?  
 b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> has the cold weather worn the sister of t<sub>i</sub> out?

Following Stowell (1983), Kayne (1985) claims that Prts are the heads of the SC, while the

DP object of the verb can only be interpreted as the subject of the SC, base-generated in the Spec of the SC projection. Consequently, the basic constituent order of the English VPCs is the one in (109):

- (109) [VP V [Spec<sub>SC</sub> DP SC<sup>o</sup> Prt]]  
 John [VP looked [SC the information [up]]]

Under such analysis, the other possible order of English, V – Prt – DP, is a derived one. In the pre-asymmetry framework of Kayne (1985), Prts could not undergo either leftward movement or extraposition, hence the order V-Prt-DP must be derived by a extraposition (rightward movement) of the DP, a process similar to Heavy NP Shift. This is further supported by the contrast in (110): as is well known, the Prt cannot be modified by *right* when followed by a DP, yet this is possible when the DP is sufficiently heavy (see Kayne 1985: 127-128, his examples [135] and [137]):

- (110) a. ?John looked right up the information  
 b. John looked right up the information I asked for

As regards the obligatory order V–pronoun-Prt, Kayne proposes that this is due to a much more general ban on the extraposition of "light" elements: Prts and personal pronouns are such light elements, and cannot be extraposed.

Ten years later, den Dikken (1995) reconsiders Kayne's (1985) structural representation of VPCs, pointing out that his analysis of the order V-Prt-DP as deriving from a rightward movement of the DP object analogous to "Heavy NP Shift" is not tenable. Under "Heavy NP Shift", the extraposed DP targets a position in the rightmost edge of the clause, to the right of all VP-adjoined adverbials (PPs). Yet, the extraposition rule operating on DP objects of VPCs places the DP before any VP-internal adverbial, as the following show (examples from den Dikken 1995: 87, his examples [131]):

- (111) a. They sent off the bomb with a transmitter  
 b. \*They sent off with a transmitter the bomb

Supported by the observation that idiomatic VPCs present the idiomatic reading only with the V-Prt-DP order, den Dikken proposes that Prts are *ergative* or *unaccusative*, i.e., the DP subject of the SC is not generated in the Spec of the SC as the external argument of the Prt, but as its internal object of the Prt.

- (112) a. [VP V [SC DP<sub>i</sub> [PP Prt [DP t<sub>i</sub>]]]  
 b. John [VP looked [SC the information [PP up [DP t<sub>i</sub>]]]]

Under such analysis, the word order alternations of the English Prts is case-related, i.e., it derives from the two possible ways in which case can be assigned: either via chain or by overt DP movement. In the first case, the Prt is thought to covertly incorporate into V at LF<sup>67</sup>. This accounts for the case-assignment on the DP object in the basic order V Prt DP. By contrast, the DP object in the V-DP-Prt order is assigned case via overt movement to the Spec of the SC, in which it receives accusative case directly from the verb. This last case-assignment strategy also accounts for the rigid order V-pronoun-Prt: since pronouns can receive case only in a Spec-head relation with a case-assigner head, they must always move overtly to Spec SC.

More or less in the same years, Svenonius (1996) elaborates on Kayne's (1985) original proposal and puts forward a structural representation of VPCs in which the verb selects a SC containing a functional head, Pred<sup>o</sup> (=Predicator), which in turn selects a PP. This PP is the lexical projection of the Prt, in the Spec of which the DP subject of the SC is generated. Svenonius's (1996) proposal is exemplified in (114)-(115):

- (113) [VP V [PredP Pred<sup>o</sup> [PP DP Prt]]]]<sup>68</sup>

- (114) a. Max smoked the cat out  
 b. Max [VP smoked [PredP the cat Pred<sup>o</sup> [PP t out]]]]

As Svenonius himself notes (1996: 65), the VPC in (114) represents a typical SC, with a subject (*the cat*) and a lexical predicate (*out*), with the addition of the functional Prd head, which is responsible for the verb particle alternation, as it bears an EPP feature. More formally, Svenonius assumes that the SC—being phrasal—must satisfy EPP, which is ultimately the necessity of satisfying a *strong* nominal feature (N) before Spell-Out. In the SC, this strong N feature is located in PredP, and in order for the EPP to be satisfied, some XP or X<sup>o</sup> with a matching N feature has to move to either the Spec or the head of PredP (cf. *probe-goal* configuration). The DP subject of the SC has such a matching N feature; since this feature is a strong one and overt movement is assumed to be driven by a strong feature, the satisfaction of the SC's EPP feature is responsible for overt DP movement from SpecPP to SpecPredP (Svenonius 1996: 65, his example [58]):

67 Den Dikken (1995) refuses overt particle incorporation on the basis of some theoretical and empirical facts (i) postverbal Prts can be stressed, unlike inflections; (ii) the stress pattern of VPCs is different to the stress pattern of compounds.

68 Svenonius applies this analysis to all SCs, and also to the different constructions depending on verbs of perception (Svenonius 1996: 65, ex (59c)):

(i) I [VP saw [PredP the cat Pred<sup>o</sup> [VP t<sub>DP</sub> sneak in]]]]

(115)  $[_{VP} V [_{PredP} DP_i Pred^\circ [_{PP} t_i Prt]]]$

- (116) a. I let the cat out  
 b. I  $[_{VP} t_{subj} let-v [_{VP} t_v [_{PredP} the\ cat_i Pred^\circ [_{PP} t_i out]]]$

This derivation accounts for the order V-DP-Prt, but the derivation of the order V-Prt-DP is slightly less straightforward since the EPP feature of the SC is satisfied by a Prt, which cannot be easily said to bear a N feature. Nonetheless, Svenonius claims that the order V-Prt-DP is to be derived by exactly the same mechanisms as seen above, i.e., it is the Prt that satisfies the EPP requirement of PredP by head-moving to Pred<sup>°</sup>, while the DP SC subject remains in the PP, cf. (118) (Svenonius 1996: 67, his example [61]):

(117)  $[_{VP} V [_{PredP} Prt-Pred^\circ [_{PP} DP t_{Prt}]]]$

- (118) a. I let out the cat  
 b. I  $[_{VP} t_{subj} let-v [_{VP} t_v [_{PredP} out-Pred^\circ [_{PP} the\ cat t_{Prt}]]]$

In order to accommodate the fact that Prts can check the N feature of Pred<sup>°</sup>, Svenonius (1996: 67) proposes to view Prts as incorporating an abstract complement. The argumentation goes that the only difference between the Prts of (119) and the corresponding prepositions in (120) is that the latter have an internalised complement (examples from Svenonius 1996: 67, his examples [62]):

- (119) a. Judith threw the TV out-Ø  
 b. Jorge sent the plumber up-Ø
- (120) a. Judith threw the TV out the window  
 b. Jorge sent the plumber up the ladder

In their prepositional use, *up* and *out* have an overt complement. Consequently, they do not bear an N feature and "Particle Shift" is ruled out, cf. (121):

- (121) a. \*Judith threw out the TV the window  
 b. \*Jorge sent up the plumber the ladder

On the other hand, the Prts of (119) have an N feature by virtue of their internalised complement. As such, they are suitable candidates for the satisfaction of PredP's EPP feature, and they do so by head-moving to Pred<sup>°</sup>.

Svenonius's (1996) proposal represents the first attempt at identifying a more complex

internal representation of SCs, which advantageously distinguishes between two separate structural projections: a lower one in which the SC components are introduced, and a higher, more functional one, to which they optionally move in order to check the SC's EPP feature, thus also acquiring a predicative interpretation. Under such view, Svenonius (1996) proposal maintains that the order of merge is indeed the one indicated by Kayne (1985), but both the superficial "Particle Shift" alternations are derived by feature driven movements to PredP of the SC components. All things being equal, Svenonius (1996) assumes both particle and object movement as economically equivalent. In the following sections, it will be shown how the important results of Svenonius (1996) have been further developed and integrated both in the light of the VP-Shell Hypothesis (1.3.2), and in terms of *L-Syntax* (1.3.3.).

In conclusion, the SC analyses of VPCs have the major advantage of capturing two fundamental facts of English Prts, namely, their preponderant predicative/resultative nature and their syntactic behaviour as independent constituents. Yet, as many scholars have noticed (see Elenbaas 2007: 57 and reference cited therein), assuming a SC analysis for all VPCs entails that all Prts are resultative predicates, something which is clearly contrary to fact as English does present non-transparent Prts conveying actional meaning but still behaving like resultative Prts (*eat the cake up, eat up the cake*). Furthermore, adopting a SC analysis for VPCs cannot account in a straightforward and principled way for the fact that DP, AP or PP predicates in other resultative constructions do not allow the word order alternation found with Prts, cf. (122) vs. (123)-(125).

- (122) a. John looked the information up  
 b. John looked up the informational
- (123) a. John painted the door red  
 b. \*John painted red the door
- (124) a. John considers Bill honest  
 b. \*John considers honest Bill
- (125) a. John talked Sam into the deal  
 b. \*John talked into the deal Sam

Clearly, any unitary treatment of *all* the English VPCs as SCs would have to take these facts into close consideration, and even though it has also been claimed (Ramchand & Svenonius 2002 a. o.), that a SC analysis is applicable only in the case of transparent VPCs, this still does not make sense of the discrepancies just noted between the syntactic distribution of the predicate of resultative constructions and that of Prts. I will come back to this thorny

question in 1.3.4., where I also anticipate the alternative view of Prts the present thesis intends to demonstrate.

### 1.3.2 VP Shell/Split-PP Analyses

As anticipated in 1.2, the split-VP Hypothesis was first put forward by Larson (1988), with the intent of providing a unitary structural representation for the semantically related Double Object Construction and *to*-dative construction of English, here exemplified in (126a) and (126b) respectively:

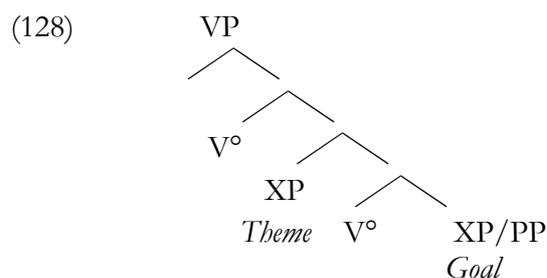
- (126) a. I gave a book to Tom  
 b. I gave Tom a book

In the eighties, the dative alternation of (126) represented a particularly challenging problem for X-bar theory in two different respects. First, ditransitive verbs project *three* arguments, the subject, the theme and the goal, which are not easily accommodated in a strictly binary-branching structure (as the one argued for in Kayne 1984). Secondly, under Baker's (1988: 46) *Uniform Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH):

- (127) Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

In a nutshell, UTAH states that thematic roles are *always* assigned to the same structural positions across superficially-different structural types. Since (126a) and (126b) share the same thematic interpretation, UTAH imposes that the dative-double object relation is to be accounted for in transformational terms, i.e., one of the two possible orders in (126) must be derived by movement.

To capture this transformational relation structurally, Larson splits the VP into two distinct V heads: a higher empty V selecting for a lower lexical V, which introduces in its Spec and Complement position the two internal arguments of ditransitive verbs, cf. (128):



Under Larson's analysis, the constituent order underlying the dative alternation is the one of (126b), in which the object of *give* is generated in the Spec of the lower lexical verb, while the dative XP *to Tom* is generated in a goal PP as the complement of the lower V. Larson proposes that the Double Object counterpart of (128) is to be derived by a "passive like" movement of the goal complement to the Spec of the outer VP, with consequent absorption of case-marking *to* and demotion of the Theme argument, which appears as a V adjunct (just like external arguments are demoted in passives).

Larson's intuition was soon adopted and further integrated by many scholars, who successfully applied it to a variety of phenomena involving similar "alternations" in the representation of argument structure at the VP level. Hale & Keyser (1993), for instance, have further refined the Larsonian structure in their notorious treatment of denominal location-locatum verbs like *to shelve* or *to saddle*, which in English give rise to an alternation like the following (recall [126]):<sup>69</sup>

- (129) a. The librarian shelved the books  
 b. The librarian put the books on the shelf

In traditional accounts, denominal verbs have always been analysed as involving some sort of verbalisation process from a noun, a morphological process which is generally taken to be purely lexical. Hale & Keyser propose instead that denominal verbs can be decomposed into a noun which incorporates onto a verbal head in the syntactic component. In the light of this, the denominal verb in (129a) represents the *double object* counterpart of (129b): the noun *shelf* leaves the PP and incorporates into the lower V head (I will come back to the details of the internal VP in 1.3.3). As regards the outer V-Shell, Hale & Keyser's (1993) specifically propose that this is headed by the operator CAUSE, whose Spec is the thematic position of the external argument. Thus, the relation between the first V head and its inner VP complement is to be considered as uniformly corresponding to a causal relation, in which the external argument is syntactically and semantically the "agent" of the event expressed by the lexical V and its arguments.<sup>70</sup>

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69 Hale & Keyser (1993) adopt an idea of argument structure in which thematic role assignment and thematic roles are done away with altogether in favour of a structural representation of argument structure in which thematic relations are defined in terms of structural configurations. Under their view, argument structure is to be intended as purely *syntactic* since it is identical to the syntactic configuration projected by a lexical head, i.e., it is the system of structural relations between heads and their arguments (hence their term *lexical relational structure*, LRS).

70 Notice however that Hale & Keyser (1993) make a distinction between those agents which are internal to the VP (like the agent of *to shelve*) and those which are external to VP, and are directly generated in SpecIP (like the subject of a verb like *to laugh*).

A few years later, the proposal of Larson (1988) and Hale & Keyser (1993) have been adopted also by Chomsky (1995), who argues that the outer V-head is to be viewed as a functional *light verb*, *v*, to which V must raise *overtly*. In line with Hale & Keyser's (1993) proposal, Chomsky (1995) also assumes that the v/VP configuration expresses causation or agentivity in transitive verbs, while unaccusatives, lacking an agent, do not present the functional *v* head in their argument structure, but only the lower VP introducing their internal object (their superficial subject). In this last respect, the absence of *v* in unaccusatives captures in structural terms both Perlmutter's (1978) *Unaccusative Hypothesis*, according to which the subjects of unaccusatives originate and syntactically behave like their internal objects, and Burzio's (1986) Generalisation, by which there seems to be a close syntactic connection between the  $\theta$ -role assignment to an external argument and the assignment of accusative case to an object.<sup>71</sup>

Chomsky's (1995) original proposal of a light *v* head has been rielaborated upon by Kratzer (1996), who—basing upon semantic and syntactic asymmetries between subjects and objects—assumes that external arguments are not true arguments projected by the verb. In her account, external arguments are introduced by a functional head *voice*, which establishes a thematic relation between the participant introduced in its Spec and the event described by V and its internal arguments in the VP. The thematic interpretation of this participant relies exclusively on the meaning of VP: vP introduces agents/causers if combined with action predicates in the VP, while it introduces experiencers/possessors if combined with a VP expressing a stative predicate. Moreover, the presence vs. absence of *voice* (or an inert *voice*) determines the distinction between unergatives and unaccusatives respectively.

The abovementioned proposals have convincingly endowed the VP with an internal complementation structure sufficiently articulated to give a principled and most importantly uniform syntactic representation not only to the English dative alternation but also to other robustly cross-linguistically attested alternations like the well-known "locative alternation" and the "causative alternation", here exemplified in (130) and (131) respectively:

- (130) a. He loaded hay onto the truck  
 b. He loaded the truck with hay
- (131) a. The ball rolled down the hill  
 b. I rolled the ball down the hill

Applying the Split-VP Hypothesis as described so far, *the ball* in both (131a) and (131b) is

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<sup>71</sup> Burzio (1986: 178): "All and only the verbs that can assign a  $\theta$ -role to the subject can assign accusative Case to an object".

always originated as the Spec of the inner V, while the causative and unaccusative alternatives are only dependent on the content of Spec vP. If Spec vP hosts an agentive subject, the VP complement of v is interpreted as a transitive event, giving rise to the causative alternative, while the unaccusative version arises when nothing is merged in SpecvP, and the object is free to move to Spec IP and become the subject of the unaccusative verb:

- (132) a. [IP The ball [vP rolled-v [vP ~~the ball~~ t<sub>v</sub> [PP down the hill]]]]  
 b. [vP I rolled-v [vP the ball t<sub>v</sub> [PP down the hill]]]]

The specific example in (132b) is also particularly interesting as it presents a "predicative" structure with a clear resultative meaning: the object of the verb, *the ball*, represents the subject of predication, while the PP *down the hill* is the predicate of the object, which expresses the result/endstate of the action of *rolling* affecting *the ball*. Such predicative configuration is clearly reminiscent of SCs and VPCs, for which the application of the VP-Shell Hypothesis turns out to be particularly felicitous. As Radford (1997) shows, this is especially true of transitive VPCs: in line with the structure in (128), Radford proposes that the DP object of a transitive VPC is base-generated in the Spec of VP, while the Prt is generated in its complement, cf. (133) (Radford 1997: 373, his examples [20a] and his structural representation [23]):

- (133) a. They may close the store down  
 b. [TP they T may [vP t<sub>subj</sub> close-v [vP the store t<sub>v</sub> [P down]]]]

Once again, the basic constituent order for VPCs is V-DP-Prt. By contrast, Radford takes the order V Prt DP to be derived from right-adjunction of the Prt to V, which subsequently moves as a complex head to *v* (Radford 1997: 373ff., his example [20b] and his structural representation [28]):

- (134) a. They may close down the store  
 n. [TP They T may [vP t<sub>subj</sub> close-down-v [vP the store t<sub>v</sub> [t<sub>Prt</sub>]]]]

The analysis put forward in Radford (1997) has the advantage of "dissolving" the internal structural representation of the complement SC of VPCs into the VP-internal functional projections, whose presence have been argued for independently. However, Radford's derivation of the V-Prt-DP order faces exactly the same fundamental problems as Den Dikken's (1995) proposal of covert incorporation: the assumption that V-Prt form a complex head via incorporation violates the generalisation according to which the

incorporating element *left*-adjoins to V (see Baker 1988). Moreover, as Elenbaas (2007) also notes, Radford's analysis does not provide any particular insight into the syntactic nature of the Prt, which is introduced in the structure as a simple P.

In this last respect, Svenonius (2003, 2004, 2007, 2010) offers a more insightful account of the VPCs, in which the Prt is given a detailed structural representation aimed at capturing both its semantics and internal syntax, and its interaction with argument structure at the vP level. Elaborating on his earlier proposal of 1996, Svenonius (2003, 2004a, 200ab, 2007) applies Jackendoff's (1983) and Talmy's (1978, 2000) Figure-Ground terminology to the syntactic components of VPCs, thus integrating *de facto* the latest developments on the internal configuration of PPs into a VP-Shell representation of VPCs.

By comparing the thematic and distributional characterisations which Prts and prepositions impose on their arguments, Svenonius (2003: 434, his example [15]) arrives at the following generalisations:

- (135) a. The complement of P is a Ground  
 b. The specifier of P is a Figure  
 c. P with a Figure only (and no Ground) is a particle  
 d. P with a Ground is a prepositional  
 e. A particle may undergo Particle Shift, a preposition may not

In the light of (135), a Prt can be identified as a member of the category P, which does not have a Ground complement, but can only introduce a Figure.<sup>72</sup> Svenonius shows that there is cross-linguistically robust semantic and syntactic evidence indicating that P places selectional and thematic restrictions on its Ground but not on its Figure (it does not c-select it). The asymmetric relation between a P and its Figure is reminiscent of the asymmetric relationship a verb entertains with its external argument. As shown in 1.2.1.2, to capture this asymmetric relationship in structural terms, Svenonius (2003) draws an explicit parallel with Kratzer's (1996) *voice* head introducing external arguments in the VP, and proposes a functional *p* head above the lexical P, which introduces the Figure.

Consequently, a Prt in a VPC can be formally represented as occupying a position within an extended PP, which is in turn selected by the functional *p* head. This *p* head acts as a semantic and syntactic "predicator", in that it links the Prt to the Figure in its Spec; more generally, *p* also links the PP containing Figure and Prt, basically a SC, to the verb phrase, since in a transitive VPC, the Figure is also the object of the verb.

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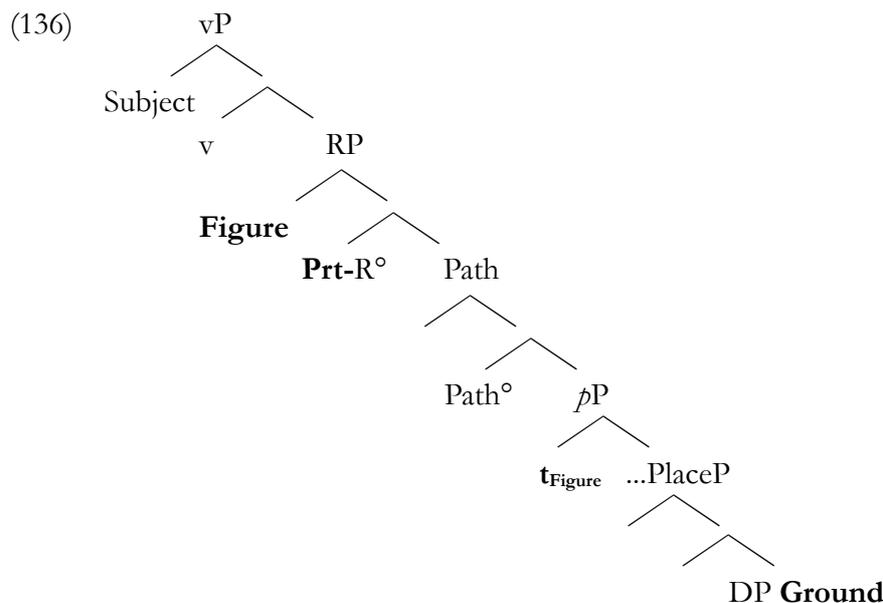
<sup>72</sup> Svenonius (2003) admits that in some VPCs the Prt can also introduce the Ground and not the Figure. These are cases in which the internal argument of the Prt is promoted to direct object of V, cf. *squeeze the lemon out* or *fill the hole in*.

All these considerations have been executed into detailed structural representations in two 2004 articles, in which Svenonius deals with Slavic prefixes; his proposals however, can be easily carried over also to the English VPCs, as he himself admits (Svenonius 2004b). The Slavic languages present a heterogeneous class of prefixes, which are traditionally divided into "Lexical" and "Super-lexical" prefixes: lexical prefixes convey directional, resultative or purely idiosyncratic lexical meanings, while superlexical prefixes convey actional (*Aktionsart*) values like "inceptive", "terminative" etc. These two classes of prefixes display distinct morphosyntactic and distributional properties,<sup>73</sup> which Svenonius (2004a) claims follow straightforwardly from the different structural positions they occupy in the clausal architecture. Starting from the assumption that both lexical and super-lexical prefixes are *pbrasal* (in Russian at least, see Svenonius 2004b), Svenonius (2004a) shows that super-lexical prefixes are hosted in the Spec of an Aspect projection outside VP, while lexical prefixes—those which are more akin to the English Prts and the Modern German separable prefixes—originate within the VP and are to be analysed as SC predicates.

In this last respect, Svenonius (2004a) proposes, following Ramchand & Svenonius (2002; see next section), that the VP contains a R(esult)<sup>o</sup> head in the complement of V, which optionally introduces in syntax the result/endstate of the process expressed by the VP (cf. Pred<sup>o</sup> in Svenonius 1996). The direct object of a VPC, which is merged with the thematic role of Figure in Spec $\bar{c}$ P, moves to SpecRP in order to receive case from V. As regards the Prt, R<sup>o</sup> takes an entire highly articulated PP (like the one described in 1.2.1) as its complement, in which the Prt is originated in a projection above both *p* and PathP, R<sup>o</sup> itself according to Svenonius (2004a). Under such analysis, a transitive VPC has the structural representation of (136), cf. also (137):

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73 For instance, lexical prefixes can combine with the directed form of a verb of motion, while a superlexical prefix can appear in a cluster with other superlexical prefixes or even with a lexical prefix. For an overview see Svenonius (2004b) and references cited therein.



- (137) a. John threw Sam out  
 b. [<sub>vP</sub> John threw-v [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>v</sub> [<sub>RP</sub> Sam out-R° [<sub>PathP</sub> Path° [<sub>ρP</sub> Sam ρ° [<sub>PlaceP</sub> Place° [<sub>DP</sub> ]...]]]]]]

The assumption that the Prt is base-generated in the outermost layer of an extended PP projection captures two independent facts: first, Slavic lexical prefixes—like their English Prt counterparts—are substantially directional or resultative, two closely connected values which Prts take on by virtue of being selected and incorporated by the R° head. Moreover, the fact that they are generated VP-internally also accounts for the highly idiosyncratic meanings they tend to develop (Svenonius 2004b: 3). Secondly, as Russian seems to allow movement of a lexical prefix outside its PP and subsequent incorporation into V, Svenonius assumes that this is possible because of their location at the outermost edge of the PP (cf. also Koopman 2000 on Dutch Prts which move to PathP, the projection closing off the PP, from which they can incorporate into V; see 1.2.1.1). "English particle constructions are essentially similar, though particle shift is movement of a projection of P to a position below the verb, above the object" (Svenonius 2004a: 326). In the following section, this position for Particle Shift will be shown to be the head ResultP (Ramchand & Svenonius 2002).

In conclusion, the complex structural representation of a Split-VP offers the possibility to accommodate in an elegant way the components of a VPC in a number of projections, the presence of which has been motivated on independent grounds. In particular, the latest developments of the SC analysis of VPCs as presented in Svenonius (1996) indicate that SCs involve a functional head (Pred°), responsible for the resultative interpretation of the Prt. In the light of the VP-Shell Hypothesis, this functional head,

labelled R(result)<sup>o</sup> in Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), can be located inside the VP, more precisely, it can be considered as the complement of V introducing its result state (see Ramchand & Svenonius 2002; see also below). In Svenonius (2003, 2004a,b, 2007, 2010), this R<sup>o</sup> head is thought of as taking a full-fledged PP as its complement, in which the SC subject and the SC predicate are in a predicative relation thanks to the *p* head, which assigns the thematic role of Figure to the verb object and takes the PP containing the Prt as its complement.

In 1.3.4, I take this last proposal by Svenonius (2003, 2004a,b, 2007, 2010) as the starting point for my investigation of OE Prts in 3.4. Yet, I also propose that some further specifications are needed in order to capture in a coherent and unitary fashion the different distributional properties OE Prts exhibit w.r.t. to not only the ModE Prts but also the Modern German and Modern Dutch separable prefixes. The analysis which will be developed in 3.4 may also shed some more light on the complex diachronic development the English language went through in this most intricate area of grammar.

### 1.3.3 L-Syntax and Lexical Decomposition Analyses

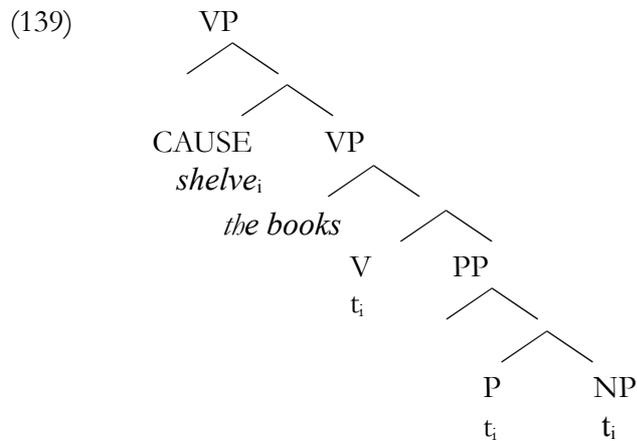
L-syntax or Lexical-Decomposition approaches to VPCs have very much in common with both the SC analyses and the Split-VP analyses presented in the previous sections. Indeed, as will be shown in what follows, this type of approach combines and further executes the major results of both the latter approaches into a highly detailed representation of the vP/ VP.

Lying at the heart of lexical decomposition/l-syntax is Hale & Keyser's (1993) seminal work, which proposes that the lexical semantics of a verb is directly reflected in a structure subject to syntactic principles of combination. More specifically, Hale & Keyser argue for an additional level of representation, "l-syntax", which is thought of in terms of a syntactic hierarchical structure encoding the lexical relationships existing between predicates (verbs) and their arguments (their thematic roles). Notoriously, Hale & Keyser's study was primarily concerned with denominal verbs like *to saddle* or *to shelve*, which appear to have a near paraphrase in a structure containing the nominal in a secondary predicate PP (cf. [129] above, here repeated as [138]):

- (138) a. The librarian shelved the books  
b. The librarian put the books on the shelf

As briefly anticipated in the previous section, Hale & Keyser claim that (138a) derives from

(138b) through a syntactic operation combining the nominal *shelf* in the PP into a verbal null head in V:



The denominal *shelve* in (138a) derives through incorporation first into V and then into the CAUSE operator hosted in the head of the outer V-shell (see 1.3.2), which renders the complex verbal head transitive. In their original proposal, *shelf* incorporated onto V; in subsequent work, Hale & Keyser reject the idea of incorporation for these verbs and propose that the nominal head combines with V and CAUSE through a process they term *conflation*. Consequently, the English verb *to shelve* contains two null light verbal heads: V and CAUSE.<sup>74</sup>

Following this line of thinking, Hale & Keyser's original proposal has been developed into a formal approach which assumes syntactic structures as directly reflecting the lexical semantics of the verb. The meaning of the verb is considered to derive from the composition of a nominal root plus various separate, semantically primitive sub-events like RESULT, BECOME, BE, CAUSE etc., each of which is represented in syntax as an operator located in a dedicated position within an extended projection of the VP. Moreover, these operators introduce in their Specs specific thematic roles, thus defining the argument structure of a given verb.

Under such a view, a lexical decomposition analysis of VPCs maintains that the lexical semantics of the particle verb is to be decomposed into a series of sub-event naming heads, one of which is lexicalised by the Prt. This is precisely the view of Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), possibly one of the very first lexical decomposition treatments of English VPCs. Ramchand & Svenonius' proposal starts from the assumption that the whole event expressed by a VPC is to be viewed as a single complex event formed by three hierarchically ordered smaller sub-events, contributing to a single argumental structure. This intuition is schematised

<sup>74</sup> Hale & Keyser's (1993) proposal was robustly supported by data from the Amerindian languages, in which the null verbal heads are realised overtly.

in the semantic conceptualisation in (140):

- (140) CAUSE subev. + PROCESS subev. + RESULT state  
 $\nu$ P VP RP

Following an earlier proposal of Ramchand (to appear), the authors assume that each of the above subevents is instantiated in the verb phrase by a specific structural position:  $\nu$  introduces the causing event, V introduces the process or change expressed by the verb, and R introduces a(n optional) 'telos' or 'result state' of the event. Each of these heads also license a specific type of argument in their Specs: Spec- $\nu$ P introduces "agents" or "initiators", VP introduces the "subject of process" or "undergoer", and RP introduces the "holder of result". Structurally, the resulting complex event has the following representation:

- (141) [ $\nu$ P AGENT  $\nu$  CAUSE [ $\nu$ P UNDERGOER V-PROCESS [ $\nu$ P HOLDER of RESULT R-RESULT [XP]...]

Ramchand & Svenonius (2002: 106ff.) also adopt an alternative view to the  $\theta$ -Criterion: in their terms, a DP is allowed to move from its merge position into the Spec position of the other sub-event naming heads, thus getting a "composite" thematic interpretation. In other words, a DP may be both the "holder of result" and the "undergoer". In the light of this, the direct object of the VPC in (142) is interpreted as both the undergoer of the process expressed by the verb and the holder of the result predicated by the Prt:

- (142) Throw the dead rat out  
V undergoer/holder of result Prt

Furthermore, considering the semantics of the Prt in (142), the direct object can also be thematically interpreted as its Figure. For this reason, Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) assume that the direct object is in fact generated in the Spec of the projection headed by the Prt, which is in turn the complement of the  $R^\circ$  head. In the course of the derivation, the verb moves from V to  $\nu$ , while the direct object moves (or re-merges) from SpecPrtP, to SpecRP and then to SpecVP, thus picking up its three thematic interpretations. The structural representation of the l-syntax of the VPC in (142) is as follows:

- (143) [ $\nu$ P AGT throw- $\nu$  [ $\nu$ P the dead rat  $t_V$  [ $\nu$ P ~~the dead rat~~ R [ $\nu$ P ~~the dead rat~~ Prt out]]]]

In order to derive the particle alternation, the authors explicitly assume that the functional head  $R^\circ$  corresponds to the EPP bearing PredP of Svenonius (1996), which is

responsible for Particle Shift. The order V-DP-Prt is to be derived as in (143) by overt movement of the direct object from SpecPrtP to SpecRP and SpecVP; the order V-Prt-DP obtains instead when the direct object remains *in situ* and the Prt moves out of its PrtP and incorporates into the R°, cf. (144):

(144) [<sub>VP</sub> AGT throw-v [<sub>VP</sub> tv [<sub>RP</sub> out-R [<sub>PrtP</sub> the dead rat Prt ~~out~~]]]]

The authors also claim that (144) provides evidence for the low merge position of the direct object in SpecPrtP in (143) as well. As to the Prt in (144), it is assumed to remain in R° since if it were to move higher it would have to overtly incorporate into V, an option which is completely ruled out in English.

As regards the reasons why overt movement should occur, the authors suggest that it might be driven by the strong EPP feature of RP, as in Svenonius's (1996) PredP, or, alternatively, by a specific requirement that RP be lexicalised by either incorporating the Prt onto R°, or moving the Figure originated within SpecPrtP into its Spec. In any case, such analysis fully maintains not only the structural representation but also the derivational mechanisms of the SC analysis as proposed by Svenonius (1996), at least for resultative VPCs.

A rather different lexical decomposition analysis of VPCs is that of McIntyre (2004), who attempts at a unified treatment of what he calls *conflation* constructions, i.e., resultative predicates, resultative VPCs and VPCs with *on*, *away*, *along around*, which are considered "atransitive Prts" since they do not admit any object. Based on the observation that some Prts can block the obligatory direct object of a verb (145), or can change a verb's selectional requirements on its object (146), McIntyre (2004) proposes that the objects of VPCs are not real arguments of the verb, but are the arguments of the Prt: "direct objects in conflation constructions are not arguments of the verbs, but are arguments of a predicate in a subevent introduced by conflation" (McIntyre 2004: 545).

(145) a. The manager laughed off the speculations  
 b. \*The manager laughed the speculations

(146) a. The imperturbable novelist was typing away  
 b. \*The imperturbable novelist was typing (the novel) away (the novel)

From a syntactic perspective, the l-syntax of conflation constructions involves the combination of two light verbs, INITIATE hosted in the v head of vP, and introducing agentive subjects in its Spec, and CHANGE, which mediates between the DP in its Spec and a complement hosting either a AP or a PP. In the case of resultative constructions like *hammer*

*the metal flat*, CHANGE takes an adjective as its complement, while it takes a PP in the case of Prts. The unitary l-syntax of conflation structures is as follows:

(147) [<sub>VP</sub> INITIATOR v INT [<sub>ChangeP</sub> DP Change<sup>0</sup> CHANGE [<sub>AP</sub>/[<sub>PP</sub>

The INT head is taken to express two distinct eventive contents, CAUSE or DO, distinguishing between transitives and inergatives; in the case of unaccusative verbs, this head is simply lacking (recall Chomsky 1995). Similarly, also the head CHANGE may express two distinct eventive contents, GO or BECOME, through the light V<sup>GO</sup> with PPs, or V<sup>BECOME</sup> with APs. The lexical verb of a resultative construction is considered as directly base-generated in INT (or CHANGE in the case of unaccusatives) by a process of M(orphological)-Conflation, in which the lexical root combines with either of the two light verbs if it names the same event as these heads. The cases in (148) exemplify the syntactic representation behind resultative constructions:

- (148) a. Ethel danced herself sore  
 [<sub>VP</sub> Ethel danced-INT [<sub>ChangeP</sub> herself CHANGE V<sup>BECOME</sup> [<sub>AP</sub> sore]]]
- b. The metal edge tore off  
 [<sub>ChangeP</sub> the metal edge CHANGE tore-V<sup>GO</sup> [<sub>PP</sub> off]]]
- c. Fred scrubbed (\*floors) on  
 [<sub>VP</sub> Fred scrubbed-INT [<sub>ChangeP</sub> \*DP CHANGE V<sup>GO</sup> [<sub>PP</sub> on]]]<sup>75</sup>

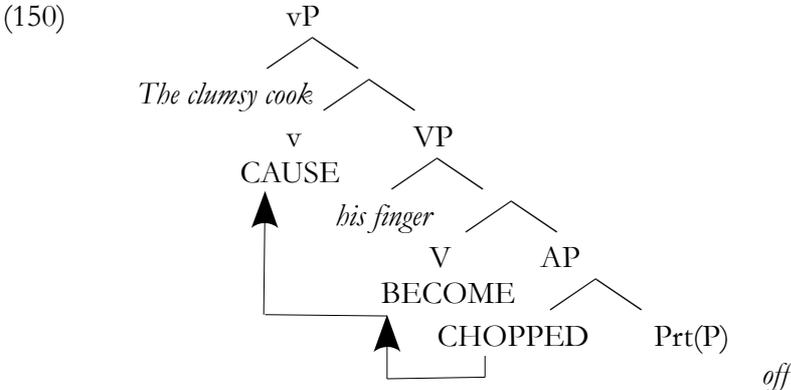
As (148) shows, McIntyre proposes a very detailed decomposition of the l-syntax of resultative and particle constructions, introducing a wider array of sub-event naming light verbs, yet, like Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), also this account ultimately exploits the mechanisms of SCs, since the predicative relation between the Prt/result and the internal argument is established through a predicative head CHANGE. In addition, even though McIntyre's proposal that it is the Prt which introduces the direct object may be true in some cases, it clearly cannot be in many others. I will come back to this in 1.3.4.

The last lexical decomposition approach I present here is that of Elenbaas (2007), since her study offers one of the latest generative treatments of VPCs and Particle Shift of not only ModE but also of OE. In her l-syntactic representation of VPCs, Elenbaas adopts an earlier proposal by Baker (2003), who suggests that the lexical decomposition structure of a

<sup>75</sup> The ungrammaticality of a direct object in SpecChangeP is accounted for by capitalising on the relational semantics of CHANGE that forces a resultative interpretation of its Spec and on the fact that V in INT is not the head of the compound (and as such its arguments are not part of the argumental structure of the compound).

resultative adjectival construction like *wipe the table clean* involves two operators, CAUSE and BE, which combine with an abstract "property denoting" adjective (WIPED). This abstract adjective may further combine with the adjective *clean* to express the resulting state of the event. In adapting this proposal to VPCs, Elenbaas takes the abstract adjective as combining with the Prt, while she suggests to change the event-denoting head BE into BECOME, since VPCs are change-of-state verbs. Structurally, the light verb CAUSE is located in the vP and the light verb BECOME in the VP, in whose Spec the direct object is merged; the abstract adjective is introduced together with the Prt under a single AP in the complement of VP (Elenbaas 2007:87). Under Elenbaas' account, the representation of the transitive VPC in (149) is as in (150):

(149) The clumsy cook chopped his finger off



In line with Hale & Keyser (1993), this analysis considers the VPC *chop off* as the lexicalisation of a conflation process, which obtains via head-movement of the abstract adjective CHOPPED to the head BECOME, and finally to the head CAUSE.

In order to account for Particle Shift, Elenbaas assumes, following earlier proposal by Neeleman (1994) and Zeller (2001) a. o., that Prts are "optionally projecting elements", i.e., Prts have a syntactic status hybrid between head and phrase, as they may project their phrase (PrtP) or not. The discriminating factor between projection or non-projection of a PrtP is dependent on a structural-economy principle, by which (Elenbaas 2007: 83):

(151) An element does not project, unless it is required to do so by syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic factors.

A syntactic requirement forcing the projection is the presence of *right*; in many other cases, where no obvious syntactic factor seems to be at work, Elenbaas assumes that the projection of PrtP is triggered by pragmatic requirements, such as endfocus for instance.

Given the structural-economy principle in (151), it follows that V-Prt-DP should be the *default* or preferred order for English VPCs. In order to syntactically derive this order from the structure in (149), Elenbass proposes that the Prt enters the conflation process together with the abstract adjective, thus forming a complex head CAUSE-BECOME-ADJECTIVE-Prt lexicalising the entire VPC as a unit (head). Conversely, when other factors force the Prt to project, it cannot enter the conflation process and remains sitting in its base position. This last case derives the order V-DP-Prt, and is said to account for the syntactic independence of the Prt from the verb in this order.

In conclusion, as Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) have noticed, lexical decomposition accounts of VPCs pay more attention to the semantics of VPCs and attempt at capturing in a single structural representation what seems to be a paradox of VPCs, i.e., the fact that the verb and the Prt behave like two autonomous syntactic units, while in a number of other respects (like nominalisations), they have a word-like behaviour, forming a single predicational domain. In line with the more traditional SC analyses, the syntactic independence of the Prt is captured by assuming that the Prt and the direct object are merged as respectively the head and the Spec of a projection forming the complement of a result-introducing head, with which they both interact in the derivation of Particle Shift. On the other hand, the fact that the Prt and the verb form a unique complex predicate is accounted for by assuming that the Prt and the verb instantiate two distinct heads in the I-syntax of the VPC, i.e., two "pieces of one larger articulated structure which forms a single complex event and thus has a single argument structure" (Ramchand & Svenonius 2002: 106).

However, despite the much attention paid to the precise and comprehensive representation of every single aspect of the complex semantics of VPCs, lexical decomposition approaches do not seem to give a satisfactory syntactically-principled account of Particle Shift, and, more in general, of the distinct distributional properties exhibited by transparent and non-transparent VPCs. In the following section, 1.3.4, I motivate the need for several syntactic representations of VPCs, as the description in 1.1.2 suggests that the different morphosyntactic characteristics associated with the two types of VPCs are the result or the manifestations of different underlying structures.

### **1.3.4 Different types of VPCs call for different underlying structures**

The major generative treatments of VPCs so far described have as their primary concern the identification of a single underlying structural representation and a possibly limited number of

principled syntactic operations, from which both the Particle Shift and the chiefly resultative meaning of English VPCs can follow in a unitary and straightforward fashion. Yet the discussion in 1.1.2 clearly indicates that, even though the Prts (or prefixes) of a given languages behave coherently under many respects, they can also form VPCs presenting highly systematic differences in both the semantic characterisation they acquire, and the consequent syntactic possibilities they admit. A very good case in point would be the following three ModE VPCs formed by the Prt *up*:<sup>76</sup>

- (152) a. John looked the information up  
 b. John looked up the information  
 c. John looked the information right up  
 c'. \*John looked right up the information  
 d. John looked it up  
 d'. \*John looket up it
- (153) a. John kicked the ball up  
 b. John kicked up the ball  
 c. John kicked the ball right up  
 c'. \*John kicked right up the ball  
 d. John kicked it up  
 d'. \*John kicked up it
- (154) a. John ate his breakfast up  
 b. John ate up his breakfast  
 c. John ate his breakfast right up  
 c'. \*John ate right up his breakfast  
 d. John ate it up  
 d'. \*John ate up it

Abstracting away from the different actional classes these verbs belong to<sup>77</sup>, all of the above cases present transitive VPCs with transparent (153) and non-transparent (152, 154) meanings, but crucially all displaying the canonical syntactic distribution of English Prts, namely, Particle Shift (a,b examples), the usual restriction on *right*-modification when the Prt ends up between the verb and the direct object (c vs. c' examples), and the impossibility for the object pronoun to occur on the right of the Prt (d vs. d' examples).<sup>78</sup>

Most of the above analyses are explicitly and exclusively concerned with an account of resultative VPCs alone, in which however the word order alternation is derived from an optional incorporation/conflation of the Prt with either the verb, or with a resultative or more

76 I am very much indebted to A. Padovan for drawing my attention to the contrast between (149) and (151), and for subsequent insightful discussions on the minimal pairs here considered.

77 This is clearly a question deserving a much deeper investigation than is here possible, since it is well-known that actional classes interact very closely with both transitivity and aspectuality. For the time being, I will leave this most interesting topic to future research.

78 Notice again that the c' and d' examples are possible if the object DP is focussed.

generally predicative head. In particular, in the account of Svenonius (1996) and Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), a strong EPP feature forces the Prt to move and incorporate into a silent resultative/predicative head. Alternatively, in an analysis like the one in Elenbaas (2007), the particle alternation is accounted for by postulating a conflation process forming a complex head out of the combination of the verb and an abstract (predicative) adjectival head, with which in turn, the Prt may or may not conflate depending on its head vs. phrasal nature. Even though this last intuition may be on the right track, and indeed, I will argue that particle alternation does involve two different forms of the Prt in both OE and ModE (cf. below and 3.4), the analyses here resumed explicitly link Particle Shift to a predicative/resultative structure, thus failing to account for the fact that Particle Shift occurs also with non-resultative VPCs involving non-predicative Prts. In other words, if non-transparent VPCs do not involve a ResultP in their I-syntax, and indeed as Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) themselves argue, it can neither involve a non-telic projection in complementary distributions with RP, how is the Particle Shift of the non-transparent VPCs in (152a,b) and (154a,b) to be derived in the syntax? By the same token, if non-transparent VPCs do not present an adjectival head in a predicative combination with the Prt since, following Jackendoff (2002: 90) and contra van Kemenade & Los (2003: 90ff.) and Elenbaas (2007:57), non-transparent Prts do not involve predication at all, and consequently neither predication on a abstract adjectival head (they involve event or verbal modification; see below), how is the Particle Shift of non-predicative Prts to be accounted?

Under these considerations, it becomes clear that the fundamental characteristic of Particle Shift, which the major generative proposals have tried to account for so far, has to be severed from the predicative/resultative nature of the Prt, and ultimately also from a SC analysis. Rather, Particle Shift has to be considered, I believe, as a more general possibility available to all English Prts, irrespectively of the meaning/function the Prt assumes in a given VPC. In this last respect, I believe that any unitary and satisfactory treatment of the English VPCs should first account for other important syntactic facts, namely for the fact that the Prt of the VPCs in (152), (153) and (154) do behave differently in a number of specific contexts (recall 1.1.2). In particular, non-transparent Prts like those in (152) and (154) disallow topicalisation/contrastive focalisation (155), co-occurrence with another PP (156), and coordination (157),<sup>79</sup> syntactic possibilities which are all fine with the transparent VPC of (153), cf. (158):

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<sup>79</sup> As noted in 1.1.2, transparent and non-transparent VPCs behave differently also with regard to Locative Inversion. Here, Locative Inversion offers no good test since it is not possible with transitive verbs. Notice however, that this is an interesting possibility distinguishing between resultative and directional Prts, which again is difficult to capture in each of the above accounts.

- (155) a. \*Up he looked the information (not down)  
 b. \*Up he ate his breakfast (not down)
- (156) a. \*John looked the information up into his room  
 b. \*John ate his breakfast up into his room
- (157) a. \*John looked the information up and down  
 b. \*John ate his breakfast up and down
- (158) a. Up he kicked the ball (not down)  
 b. John kicked the ball up into the sky  
 c. John kicked the ball up and down

If we were to derive all the VPCs from the same underlying order, say, the typical one for resultative VPCs in which the Prt is generated under V in a SC configuration with the direct object, the syntactic contrast between (155)-(157) on the one hand, and (158) on the other, could not be easily motivated, as the Prt would start out as base-generated in the same head position in all the three different VPCs, allowing for Particle Shift, but disallowing or permitting topicalisation depending on purely semantic grounds. Similarly, an account of the difference between (155)-(157) and (158) in terms of the optional head vs. phrasal nature of the Prt is equally problematic, since if we argue that topicalisation, focalisation and coordination are syntactic operations targeting XPs and non-transparent Prts are XPs when they appear in the non-shifted order (cf. Elenbaas' 2007 account), why cannot non-transparent Prts be topicalised/focussed or contrasted when they project their PrtP?

In order to solve this puzzle, we can start by making the rather trivial observation that the wider range of syntactic possibilities admitted by the Prt *up* in *kick up*, cf. (158), and therefore its higher degree of syntactic independence, correlates with the compositional meaning of the VPC, to which the Prt contributes a resultative/directional value. By contrast, the fact that *look up* and *eat up* behave coherently in resisting these syntactic operations is straightforwardly dependent on their non-transparent, non-literal meaning (cf. Wurmbrand 2000, see below, and Zeller 2003 on Particle topicalisation in German as reported in 1.1.2). However, it is also evident that the meanings of *up* in (152) and in (154) are non-transparent in two different ways: while *up* adds a clear aspectual, completive, value to *eat up*, the proper semantic contribution of *up* to *look up* is much less recognisable, and indeed, it can be at best described as idiosyncratic. This semantic difference is also paralleled by a syntactic contrast as regards the obligatory presence of a direct object: while in *look up* the direct object must be present (and has also clear thematic restrictions), cf. (159a), in the case of *eat up* the object can

be omitted:

- (159) a. \*Look up!<sup>80</sup>/Look it up!  
 b. Eat up!

In other words, *up* in *look up* modifies the argument structure of *look* in a significant way, since it adds a direct object, unselected by the simple verb, which is moreover obligatory (cf. McIntyre 2004 among many others). Conversely, the argument structure of *eat* in *eat up* remains exactly the same, as the VPC may be used both transitively and intransitively exactly as the simple verb.

Thus, it can be shown that the three *up*'s of (152), (153) and (154) are associated not only with different semantic meanings but also with different possibilities and/or restrictions at various syntactic levels. This tripartite syntactic differentiation should lead us to a re-consideration of these VPCs as having different underlying representations. More specifically, I claim that the Prt should be thought of as merged in different structural configurations, which are responsible for the varying degree of syntactic independence and of syntactic effects on argument structure illustrated for the three *up*'s above.

This claim is in line with an earlier proposal of Wurmbrand (2000), who suggested on the basis of a very similar argumentation like the one just discussed (different restrictions on topicalisation, coordination etc.) that West-Germanic VPCs derive from two derivationally unrelated structures, in which the Prt is licensed in two different ways according to the semantics of the VPC: if the Prt has a transparent meaning it is licensed in a predicate/argument relation with V; conversely, an idiomatic Prt is licensed in a local relation. Wurmbrand (2000:2) exemplifies this with the German verb *hinaus-werfen* "lit. to out-throw", which can be a transparent VPC meaning "throw out", but it can also acquire the idiomatic, metaphorical reading, meaning "to fire". From a structural point of view, the literal variant of the VPC derives from a SC selected by V (160a), while the idiomatic VPC derives from a complex head structure (160b), (Wurmbrand 2000: 2, her structures [3a,b]):



80 Clearly *look up!* is perfectly fine with the meaning "to direct your eyes upwards".

Under such analysis, a transparent Prt is licensed in a SC clause configuration, while the non-transparent Prt is licensed in a local relation with V (head-complement or spec-head). Such analysis may offer a first, further refinable explanation of the objection raised by Jackendoff (2002) that not all Prts originate in a SC since some fail the copula test, which is used by den Dikken (1995) among many other, as evidence of the resultative/predicative value of the Prt and hence of the validity of the SC analysis, cf. the following:

- (161) a. Sam pushed Fred down = Fred is down  
 b. Sam looked up the information ≠ the information is up

Both Wurmbrand (2000) and Jackendoff (2002) show that this test can be applied only to transparent Prts, which predicate over the direct object of the verb, while it fails with non-transparent Prts, as the relation they express is not one of prediction over the direct object of V. Consequently, the underlying structure of transparent VPCs must be different from the underlying structure of non-transparent VPCs. Even though I agree with Wurmbrand's proposal that different types of VPCs have different underlying structural representations, I do not agree with her complex head analysis of non-transparent VPCs, since I believe that even non-transparent Prts have a phrasal nature, allowing them, although to a much less extent, a certain degree of syntactic independence from the verb, as the felicitousness of *right*-modification seems to indicate.

In the light of the above considerations, the analysis of the ModE VPCs from which I would like to start for a better understanding of the syntactic behaviour of the OE Prts is a composite one, which substantially aims at capturing two independent but interacting facts: (i) different syntactic and semantic possibilities are interdependent on different structural configurations between the Prt and the verb (plus its direct object); (ii), Prts (and prefixes) are members of the category P, and they are *always* phrasal, i.e., they are adverbial elements, containing more or less structure, in which however they all lexicalise a portion of the detailed PP structure seen in 1.2.1.

In order to do this, I rely on a slightly modified version of a proposal by Damonte & Padovan (2011), who argue exactly the above two points for the "variable" prefixes of Modern German, i.e., those four prefixes, *unter* "under", *durch* "through", *um* "around" and *über* "over", which can be both separable and inseparable. Here are some examples:

- (162) a. Ich setze etwas über  
 I set something over  
 "I take something over to the other side (of a river for instance)"

- b. Ich übersetze etwas  
I over-set something  
"I translate something"
- (163) a. Der Saal wird zu einem Kino umgebaut  
The room will to a cinema around-build  
"The hall will be converted into a cinema"
- b. Der Platz soll umbaut werden  
The square must enclosed be  
"The square has to be enclosed"

By carrying out a very detailed search in the most authoritative dictionaries of the language and subsequently testing the results with native speakers, Damonte & Padovan (2011) show that there is a highly systematic contrast in minimal pairs like those in (162)-(163): when the prefix is separable, it can be said to contribute a more transparent and concrete meaning, usually directional/resultative, while the meaning becomes much more idiomatic, metaphorical and sometimes even idiosyncratic when the prefix is inseparable.<sup>81</sup> Adopting the conceptual structures of Path/Place as proposed by Jackendoff (1990), Damonte & Padovan translate this semantic difference between the separable and the inseparable variant of the variable prefixes into a different conceptualisation of PATH each type of prefix express. More specifically, Damonte & Padovan (2011, section 5) show that the separable variant has a meaning comparable to that of a motion verb plus a directional PP, while the inseparable variant has a much more complex meaning. The authors propose that the different prefixes are directional in a sense, and thus they both express PATH, but they differ in the way PLACE is indicated: in the case of separable prefixes, they denote a simple PATH through a PLACE, having a beginning and an end, while the inseparable variant denotes a DISTRIBUTED PATH within the PLACE, without indicating a end or a beginning.

As a next step, the authors try to execute these considerations into a formal analysis which intends to account for the different semantic conceptualisations associated with the prefixed vs. non-prefixed variant in terms of different syntactic derivations. In order to do this, they take as their starting point a proposal by Hoekstra (1992), according to which the inseparable prefixes of Dutch correspond to incorporated prepositions (examples from Damonte & Padovan 2011, who in turn quote Hoekstra 1992):

- (164) a. Ik woon (\*in) dit huis  
I live in the house  
"I live in the house"

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81 As Damonte & Padovan (2011) note, this semantic distinction cannot be applied *tout court* to the German prefixes, i.e., there are clear transparent meanings also in inseparable prefixes.

- b. Ik (\*be)woon dit huis  
I Pref.live the house  
"I inhabit the house"
- c. \*Ik bewoon in dit huis

(165) [... P<sub>i</sub>-woon [<sub>sc</sub> ik [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> dit huis]]

The examples in (164) present two different but clearly synomynic verbal forms, creating an arguement alternation between a transitive prefixed verb (164a), and an intransitive verb with an argumental PP, (164b). Hoekstra (1992) proposes that this "prefix alternation" is to be derived in the syntax: the prefixed variant in (164b) derives from an underlying structure very close to the one in (164a), in which the verb *woonen* "to live" selects for a SC with a PP. In the case of the prefixed variant, the verb selects for a SC headed by an abstract preposition, which incorporates into the verb, as the derivation in (165) shows. As Damonte & Padovan themselves note, Hoekstra's analysis has the considerable advantage of formalising the intuitive insight that inseparable prefixes belong to the autonomous syntactic category of prepositions.

However Damonte & Padovan depart from Hoekstra's analysis in that they do not assume the inseparable prefix to be the phonological realisation or lexicalisation of the incorporated silent head of the SC. Rather, they propose that in German, both separable and inseparable prefixes have an adverbial (PP) nature. Following the most recent developments on the cartography of PPs as proposed by Schweikert (2005; see 1.2.1 and 1.2.2), the authors propose that prefixes are base-generated like prepositions and locative adverbs in PPs hosted in the Specs of dedicated projections in the functional thematic hierarchy above VP. In order to account for the variable prefixes of German, Damonte & Padovan further assume that the inseparable prefixes are base-generated in the lower PP positions, in which incorporation occurs (a spec-head incorporation following Hoekstra 1992), while the separable prefixes are base-generated in the higher PP positions, where there is no incorporation. Schematically, the derivation goes as follows (Damonte & Padovan 2011, their example [15]):

- (166) a. [F1P [... PREF...] F1° [F2P [...PREF...] F2° ...V ....  
b. [F1P [...PREF...] F1° ... PREF<sub>i</sub>-V<sub>j</sub> [F2P [...t<sub>i</sub>...] F2° ...t<sub>j</sub>...]

Starting from the structure in (166a), in which the prefix is base-generated in a PP located in the Spec of a low PP position, here labelled F2P, Damonte & Padovan (2011) assume that the verb moves to a position higher than F2P and the prefix in SpecF2P incorporates on the left of V, cf. (166b). If one further assumes that the German verb does not move to a projection

higher than F1P,<sup>82</sup> the prefix hosted in the Spec of F1P cannot incorporate, thus giving rise to the separable prefix. Under such analysis, the prefixed past participle of (163b), *umbaut*, presents incorporation since *um* is merged in a lower PP position, F2P, the past participle *-baut* moves to a projection above F2P, and spec-head incorporation obtains. On the other hand, in the variant in (163a) with the separable prefix, the past participle *umgebaut* presents a case of structural adjacency, in which *um* is in SpecF1P while the participle *gebaut* is lower down.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, Damonte & Padovan (2011) show how different syntactic and semantic characteristics exhibited by apparently identical prefixes may in fact depend on the different structural positions the same prefixes originates in, and how these interact with clause syntax and, most importantly, with verb movement: if the prefix targets a lower position, incorporation occurs and the verb appears as a single unit together with the prefix; on the other hand, if the prefix is merged into a higher Spec, incorporation does not occur, and the prefix is more morpho-syntactically independent from the verb.

In complete accordance with this line of thinking, I propose that the situation just depicted for the German "variable" prefixes can also be applied to the case of the apparently identical *up* in the three VPCs *look up*, *kick up* and *eat up*, discussed above, yet with some further specifications. As it has been shown that *up* is associated with different syntactic and semantic characterisations in all of the three different VPCs, I take these differences to indicate that there are at least *three* distinct positions in the clause for *up*: Unfortunately the precise identification of the structural positions for these three *up*'s is well beyond the specific aims of the present thesis; nonetheless, I would like to give at least some tentative indications on the possible areas in the clause structure these three different Prts may target, leaving a much more formal motivation to future research.

In this first and rather intuitive attempt to tackle this question, I start from Cinque's (1999) universal hierarchy of functional projections, whose tense, mood and aspect positions can be taken as relatively fixed reference points, given their cross-linguistic validity, against which it is at least possible to indicate a very unrefined area of pertinence for the three different *up*'s discussed above:

(167) *frankly* Mood<sub>SpeechAct</sub> > *fortunately* Mood<sub>Evaluative</sub> > *allegedly* Mod<sub>Evidential</sub> >

82 Notice that Scheikert (2005) assumes that the German verb does not move, or better, that it moves to a very low position under all PP and aspectual modifiers (probably no higher than Voice?).

83 Notice that this structural analysis is also compatible with the conceptualisation of simple PATH and distributed PATH: the separable prefix adds a locative modification which, although conceptually simpler, has a more complex structural composition, since it necessarily implies a GOAL and a SOURCE, while the inseparable prefix is structurally simpler, as it does not imply a GOAL, and its distributed PATH is delimited by the boundaries of the PLACE. See Damonte & Padovan (2011, section 6) for a more detailed treatment of this.

*probably* Mod<sub>Epistemic</sub> > *once* T(past) > *then* T(future) > *perhaps* Mood<sub>Irrealis</sub> >  
*necessity* Mod<sub>Necessity</sub> > *possibly* Mod<sub>Possibility</sub> > *usually* Asp<sub>Habitual</sub> > *again* Asp<sub>Repetitive(I)</sub> >  
*often* Asp<sub>Frequentative(I)</sub> > *intentionally* Mod<sub>Volitional</sub> > *quickly* Asp<sub>Celerative(I)</sub> > *already* T(Anterior) >  
*no longer* Asp<sub>Terminative</sub> > *still* Asp<sub>Continuative</sub> > *always* Asp<sub>Perfect</sub> > *just* Asp<sub>Retrospective</sub> >  
*soon* Asp<sub>Proximate</sub> > *briefly* Asp<sub>Durative</sub> > Asp<sub>Generic/Progressive</sub> > *almost* Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> >  
*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(I)</sub> > *tutto* Asp<sub>PlCompletive</sub> > *well* Voice > *fast/early* Asp<sub>Celerative(II)</sub> >  
*again* Asp<sub>Repetitive(II)</sub> > *often* Asp<sub>Repetitive(II)</sub> > *completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(II)</sub>

Even though it is very difficult to draw a clear line between those aspectual projections which belong to IP and those which belong to vP, I would like to suggest that the two distinct prefix positions identified by Damonte & Padovan are located in the lower part of the functional hierarchy, one above and one below Voice.

Starting from the transparent Prt *up* of *kick up*, I take it to correspond to Damonte & Padovan's higher F2P, where no incorporation occurs. With the separable variant of the variable German prefixes, the English transparent *up* shares a "concrete" semantic value, either resultative or directional, which combines transparently with the verb: it either predicates something over a direct object in transitive transparent VPCs, or over a PP, which indicates the direction (source/goal/path) selected by a verb of movement in directional VPCs. In this latter case, I consider the Prt of a directional VPC like *kick up* to be a modifier of the PP, which is originated as an argument of the verb or implying motion (and consequently part of the thematic field). In the case of the predicative Prt in a transparent VPC like *cut off*, I follow most of the analyses presented so far and maintain that the predicative nature of the Prt may be syntactically represented as a SC, or better, the Prt may instantiate some portions of a PP hosted in the Spec of a functional projection (a sort of RP as in Ramchand & Svenonius 2002) projected by a predicative head linking its Spec to the verb. This functional projection may be thought as part of the argument structure selected by the verb, possibly in the area of the thematic roles of Schweikert (2005a), which Schweikert (2005b) locates between Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> and Asp<sub>Completive(I)</sub> (recall the structure in [87] here repeated as [168]).

- (168) Mood<sub>speech act</sub> > Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> > Mood<sub>evidential</sub> > Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> > TP(Past) > TP(Future) > Mood<sub>irrealis</sub> > Mod<sub>aletic</sub> > Temporal/Starting Point of Ongoing Event/Starting Point of Closed Event/Elapsed Time of Ongoing Event/Atelic Duration > Asp<sub>habitual</sub> > Asp<sub>repetitive(I)</sub> > Asp<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> > Mod<sub>volitional</sub> > Asp<sub>celerative(I)</sub> > TP(Anterior) > Asp<sub>terminative</sub> > Asp<sub>continuative</sub> > Asp<sub>proximate</sub> > Asp<sub>durative</sub> > Asp<sub>generic/progressive</sub> > Asp<sub>prospective</sub> > Locative > Comitative > Benefactive > Reason > Source > Telic Duration/Secondary Duration > Goal > Malefactive > Instrumental/Means/Path > Matter > Manner > Mod<sub>obligation</sub>/Mod<sub>permission&ability</sub> > Asp<sub>completive</sub> > VoiceP > Asp<sub>celerative(II)</sub> > Asp<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> > Asp<sub>frequentative</sub>

For the time being I will not go into the exact details of how the relation between the direct

object and the Prt is to be characterised from a structural perspective; for the purposes of the present thesis, I adopt Svenonius's (2003, 2007, 2010) idea that the direct object might be originated as the Figure, in the Spec of *pP* in the fine structure of PP as seen above.

Thus, I tentatively locate the merge position of transparent (either predicative/resultative or directional) Prts above Voice in the PP hierarchy of Schweikert (2005a,b) as they originate in the Spec of a thematic role assigned by V (either goal/source/path, or in a predicative/resultative projection). Such a high location for transparent Prts may be partly supported by the compositional semantics of the VPCs they form (just like the compositional semantics obtained by combining several thematic PPs). From a syntactic perspective, this position may account for topicalisation and coordination, operations which are possible with all the thematic PPs. Lastly, such location may be further supported by the fact that both the Modern German separable prefixes and the OE Prts do not interact with participle formation, as they do not replace the *ge-* morpheme, and precede both the infinitive marker (*to* in OE, *zu* in Modern German), and the clitic negation *ne* in OE (see 2.4 for a description of the morpho-syntactic distinctions in the distribution of prefixes and Prts in OE).

As regards the lower prefix position identified by Damonte & Padovan (2011), the one they label F1P in which incorporations obtains, I suggest that this is the position where the Prt of *look up* is also generated. I take this position to be a modifier of the verbal root, below Voice and above the merge position for the direct object in a sentence configuration à la Cinque (2005, 2006, 2009), in which the V starts the syntactic derivation and all its arguments and modifiers are generated to its left in the order modifiers > internal arguments > V (see Cinque 2006 for a derivation of internal argument and PP orders in this sense). Such a low position is compatible with the highly idiosyncratic and actional semantics of these Prts/prefixes, which can also alter the thematic grid and/or the thematic requirements of the verb. As we will see in 2.4, OE had a system of inseparable prefixes for expressing these values, prefixes like *to* conveying the non-transparent meaning of "in pieces" in a verb like *towerpan* "to throw in pieces, destroy" and *tobrecan* "to break in pieces, destroy", which has a near perfect counterpart in the Modern German *zerbrechen*. Interestingly, these prefixes behave in the exact opposite way w.r.t Prts and separable prefixes in past participle formation: the OE and Modern German inseparable prefixes are in complementary distribution with *ge-*,<sup>84</sup>

84 As will be shown in 2.4, OE *ge-* appeared on past participles (even though it was by no means obligatory as is the case of the Modern German and Modern Dutch past participles), but it could also appear on finite verbs, and in verb and noun formation, in which it added many different meanings to the lexical root (cf. *gebwa* "everyone", and *gesettan* plus direct object, "to occupy by sitting", *gedician* "make ditches in", *geliman* "join together", from "limb"). In such use, *ge-* is clearly an actional modifier of the lexical root, changing its selectional requirements. It has been proposed by McFadden 2011 that OE *ge-* is related to result (target)

and are not separated from the verb by the infinitive marker, and in the case of OE, by the negative clitic. This can be taken as further partial evidence that the Prts modifying the verbal root are merged very low, and interact very closely with the verb's selectional requirements on the semantic and syntactic category of its internal argument(s). Again, I will not enter the details of how these thematic relations are to be captured in structural terms, yet I do not take the direct object as originated within the PP (in Spec *p*P) containing the Prt/prefixes as the thematic role of Figure for the direct object is much less recognisable, see for instance the special cases of *squeeze the lemon out* or *fill the hole in* introducing what looks like the Ground (see Svenonius 2003 for a more detailed treatment of these cases).

Besides the above two positions, English also presents a third placement, at least for completive *up* in a VPC like *eat up*, which, as Cinque (1999: 101) himself claims, may be thought of as occupying the Spec of one of the two higher projections dedicated to completive aspect, either  $\text{Asp}_{\text{SgCompleative}}$ , or  $\text{Asp}_{\text{PlCompleative}}$  depending on the direct object.<sup>85</sup> The location of *up* in one of the aspectual projections of the functional hierarchy just above Voice may be also supported by the fact that the completive value of *up* in *eat up* applies to the whole event expressed by the verb and its object, and not just to the process of the verb (no change in the argument structure of the verb).

Schematically, the three different positions for *up* identified so far are located in the lower part of the functional hierarchy in the following order:

- (169) ... > Thematic Roles >  $\text{Asp}_{\text{Sg/PlCompleative}}$  > VoiceP >  $\text{Asp}_{\text{celerative(II)}}$  > ... > V  
           resultative/directional *up*      completive *up*                      verbal modifier/idiosyncratic *up*

Extending Damonte & Padovan's idea that prefixes are originated as part of a PP hosted in the Spec of specific projections, I assume that all the Prts in (169) realise portions of PPs hosted in dedicated projections pertaining roughly to two distinct areas: transparent Prts are hosted in a projection RP/PredP or in GoalP/SourceP/PathP within the functional thematic field of Schweikert (2005a.b), while non-transparent Prts occupy the Specs of the lower aspectual heads, which may have an impact on the verb's argument structure according to

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state, or telicity, and as such *ge-* lexicalises the head of Ramchand's (2008) ResultP. Although I think that *ge-* is not really telic, even under McFadden's analysis *ge-* is placed very low in the VP, which may explain why in both German and OE it was in complementary distribution with the inseparable prefixes (competing for the same position for lexical root modifiers in the lower VP area?)

85 Cinque (1999: 102) notices that *up* in *eat up* (but also *drink up* for that matter), indicates that the process has reached its natural end point, and in the case of a transitive verb, this natural end point is reached when the object is completely affected by the process of the verb. Yet, in the case the direct object is plural, completion implies two things: either (i) the plural set has been totally affected (i.e., each member has been affected); or (ii) each member has been totally affected. As some languages seem to make a distinction between the two, Cinque proposes two distinct heads.

whether they are originated under or below Voice. Notice that the schematisation in (169) does not present Prts hosted in one of the higher projections encoding the "outer" aspectual values like "retrospective", "progressive", "proximative", "prospective" etc., which seem to express a sort of quantification over the event. This is because ModE does not present the possibility of expressing these aspectual values using prepositions. Yet, many languages of the world have periphrastic constructions with a preposition modifying a nominal form of the verb for the expression of the progressive or of the retrospective.(cf. the Celtic languages for instance).<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, I would like to suggest that it is exactly the positions these Prts are base-generated in which decide whether the Prt is syntactically independent or not. More specifically, the transparent Prts—being generated in a sort of thematic extension of the verb's argument structure (PredP), or in one of the thematic projections as a thematic role selected by a verb of motion—behave more like other PPs in the functional thematic field, and permit topicalisation, focalisation and coordination. On the contrary, the impossibility to topicalise or coordinate the non-transparent Prts depends from the fact that this type of Prt is located below the functional thematic field, in the Spec of the lower aspectual projections (above or below Voice), which do not "quantify" the event but modify the verbal root (and its thematic grid).

One last interesting fact I would like to point out here possibly in support of the perspective presented so far is that a similar distinction between a v/VP-internal and a v/VP-external position for Prts/prefixes has also been proposed by Svenonius (2004a,b) for the Slavic prefixes. As mentioned above, the lexical prefixes contribute directional/resultative meanings, which can develop into idiomatic/idiosyncratic meanings by virtue of their being inside VP (see Svenonius 2004a, and Marantz 1984). Moreover, lexical prefixes can also change the number and the type of arguments selected by a verb (see Garzonio 2011 and references). On the other hand, the super-lexical prefixes, which contribute aspectual values and do not change the thematic requirements of the verb, may be considered as lexicalising the aspectual projections of Cinque (1999), outside v/VP (cf. Svenonius 2004a,b on an AspP projection outside VP). Such analysis, has been further developed and refined in Garzonio (2011), who furthermore shows how the incompatibility/compatibility of the Secondary Imperfective morpheme with the super-lexical prefixes follows straightforwardly by assuming that super-lexical prefixes are inserted higher/lower than the functional head, in which the Secondary Imperfective suffix is hosted and to which the verb moves. In the light of these

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86 Notice that Hiberno-English actually presents a prepositional construction for the expression of "retrospective aspect", the so called *after-perfect* (*I'm after breaking the window*). See Berizzi & Rossi (2009) for a treatment of this construction as involving a fine-grained PP containing *after* and hosted in the spec of AspRetrospective.

considerations, it is quite tempting to view the Slavic lexical prefixes as roughly corresponding to *up* in *look up* and *eat up*, while the superlexical prefixes may correspond to *up* in *eat up*.

In conclusion, the discussion in this section was aimed at presenting my assumptions on the structural representations behind the different types of ModE VPCs, which will provide a useful guideline for my analysis of the OE Prt and prefix system. In order to give a unitary treatment of all of the syntactic differences discussed above, I rely on a view which combines the proposals of Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), Svenonius (2003, 2004a,b, 2007, 2010) and Damonte & Padovan (2011). In particular, following Svenonius (2004a,b, 2007, 2010) and Damonte & Padovan (2011), I assume that Prts and prefixes, both transparent and non-transparent, have an adverbial origin, as they originate within a highly articulated PP, of which they lexicalise some given portion. The different syntactic possibilities associated with the different types of Prts—resultative/directional Prts vs. idiosyncratic/actional verbal modifiers—are dependent on the different structural positions each Prt is merged in. In the case of non-transparent Prts, I assume they are generated in a PP hosted in the Spec of those projections inside VP, in which the lower aspectual values are encoded and which closely interact with the verb and its internal argument. As regards transparent Prts, I am in fundamental accordance with Svenonius's (1996) and Ramchand & Svenonius's (2002) claim that a SC analysis is only applicable to this type of Prts: the verb selects for a SC, or better, a functional projection, PredP, which it projects as part of its thematic grid, i.e., as one of its internal object. This head creates a relation of predication between the direct object of the verb and a PP containing the Prt and hosted in its Spec. The different syntactic constraints on movement and coordination exhibited by each type of Prt depend on other general constraints operating on the structural positions the Prts are generated in. Under such a view, Particle Shift is to be viewed like a more general possibility of English Prts and by no means related to the presence of a PredP or RP. I will come back to a possible analysis of Particle Shift in 3.4.2, after my analysis of the OE Prts.

## 1.4 Summing Up

The present Chapter has presented, discussed and motivated the fundamental theoretical bases for the unitary analysis of the OE PP related phenomena (P-stranding, postposition and particles), which will be attempted in Chapter 3. In the first section, section 1.1, I discussed two highly relevant distinctions between two specific members of the category P, prepositions and particles. In particular, I showed that spatial prepositions are generally (even though not

uncontroversially) divided into functional and lexical Ps, a distinction which is supported by semantic and syntactic evidence across languages, as well as by neurolinguistic and acquisition studies. As I take prepositions to be always functional given that even the lexical ones can be shown to be highly characterised modifiers of a PLACE head and tend to form a large yet closed class, I propose to reformulate the lexical/functional split into a distinction between simple Ps and complex Ps: simple Ps have basic and simple semantic meanings, and assume various functional uses, which may vary across languages; complex Ps, on the other hand, usually establish a precise spatial relation, between a Figure (the entity whose location/position is at issue), and the Ground (the entity offering the reference point, and syntactically, the object of the P). These two types of Ps present rather systematic differences in their syntactic behaviour, differences which are largely language-specific, even though some degree of cross-linguistic solidarities can be detected.

Turning then to Prts, it has been shown that these P elements can participate in fundamentally two types of VPCs, which can be distinguished by the meaning these Prts contribute to the verb. If the overall meaning of the VPC derives compositionally from the combination of the meaning of the verb and that of the Prt (which usually conveys a directional/resultative meaning), the VPC is defined "transparent", while a VPC is said to be non-transparent if the Prt adds an actional/aspectual or even idiosyncratic meaning to the verb's semantics. Again, as in the case of prepositions, the two different types of VPCs are characterised and distinguished by different syntactic possibilities in all the languages of the world.

By adopting the Cartographic Approach, it can be shown that the different semantics and syntax associated with the two types of Ps and of Prts derive from the different underlying positions the Ps occupy within a fine-grained internal structure of the PP, and the Prts come to occupy in the clause structure. The central sections of this first Chapter, sections 1.2 and 1.3, were exactly aimed at providing the highly articulated representations behind the PP (1.2.1), the orders of the PPs within the clause (1.2.2) and the different types of VPCs (1.3).

Starting in 1.2 with the internal representation of the prepositional phrase, it was shown that there is strong cross-linguistic evidence supporting a split of the PP into a series of highly specialised projections organised and rigidly ordered into a hierarchy closely resembling the internal structure of both clauses and nominals. Similarly to both the verbal and the nominal domain, the PP domain presents: (i) a pragmatic layer CP<sub>place</sub> (Koopman 2000, den Dikken 2006[2010]), targeted by the movement of various PP material: (ii) a

functional layer consisting of projections encoding aspect (bound vs. unbound, Tortora 2006, 2008), directionality and stativity (Jackendoff 1983, Koopman 2000 just to quote the first ones); and (iii), a lower, lexical part, represented by a DP<sub>place</sub> projected by a silent PLACE head (Kayne 2004, 2005; Terzi 2008, Cinque 2010a). Just like any other ordinary DP, this DP<sub>place</sub> presents specific positions for highly specialised modifiers, which qualify the Ground, syntactically represented by the null PLACE head and a DP in an unalienable possess relation with it. In such highly detailed PP, simple Ps and complex Ps are hosted in different positions (Cinque 2010a): simple Ps are located in the higher functional projections, instantiating aspect (Tortora 2006, 2008), directionality and stativity. Conversely, complex Ps can be shown to occupy AxPartP, a projection specifically dedicated to Axial prepositions (Jackendoff 1990, Svenonius 2007, 2010), which define a portion of space w.r.t. the Ground. As has been shown in 1.2.1.3, the splitting of the extended projection of P into such a fine and highly articulated structure has numerous advantages, of which one of the most insightful is that the different elements appearing in a PP like Prts, deictics etc. can be in fact analysed as the realisation of different portions of the same and universal underlying structure.

The Cartographic Approach has furthermore yielded very interesting and useful results also on the organisation of argument and circumstantial PPs in the clause hierarchy. Specifically, section 1.2.2 has presented the studies of Damonte (2004), Schweikert (2005a,b) and Cinque (2006, 2009), who strongly suggest that PPs instantiating specific thematic roles (Locative, Temporal, Manner etc.) respect a universal and rigid relative order among themselves. In the light of this strong assumption, the different relative orders of PPs cross-linguistically attested can be shown to ultimately obey the fundamental left-right asymmetry of natural languages, by which the order of modifiers and functional heads associated with a given lexical category is rigid when the lexical head appears to the right of its modifiers, but it can be the same or its mirror image when the lexical head appears to the left (Greenberg's 1963 Universal 20, Cinque 2005, 2006, 2009). Thus, UG dictates a unique underlying structure of functional heads > lexical heads in all the major syntactic domains; the languages of the world may realise these hierarchy in many different ways, all of which are nonetheless predictable variations in the number and type of functional heads realised, in the types of phrasal movement allowed, and in the size of the constituent moved.

Section 1.3 was dedicated to the description and discussion of the most relevant generative approaches to the VPCs of ModE, which, despite their many merits, have also some important shortcomings. Most of the discussed analyses are exclusively concerned with transparent (resultative/directional) VPCs, for which they propose variants of the SC analysis.

Even though I think that the delimitation of the SC analysis only to transparent Prts is correct, the most critical point of these analyses is that they account for the Particle Shift alternation in relation to the satisfaction of some sort of requirement (be it EPP, or lexicalisation) of a functional projection encoding the predicative/resultative nature of the transparent VPC: the Prt may move and incorporate to the  $R^\circ$ /Pred $^\circ$  head, thus yielding V-Prt-DP, or the direct object of V may move to the Spec of RP/PredP, for checking its resultative feature (and yielding the order V-DP-Prt). However, Particle Shift is found also with non-transparent Prts, which cannot be said to involve a Result head, and thus, its with non-transparent Prts remains unexplained. Moreover, another important fact which on the contrary has received little attention, is that different types of Prts are also associated with different syntactic effects and restrictions. Basing upon the observation already made in Wurmbrand (2000) that the different syntactic possibilities found with the different types of German VPCs may indicate different underlying representation, I propose that the different Prts of English have different structural positions, allowing or disallowing syntactic independence and consequently the syntactic operations discussed above (topicalisation, focalisation etc.). Furthermore, I integrate this view with Damonte & Padovan's (2011) analysis of the Modern German variable prefixes, and claim that Prts are originated as part of an articulated PP hosted in the Spec of dedicated projections pertaining to two areas: transparent Prts originate as part of a (predicative or directional) projection selected by the verb as its argument, i.e., as part of its thematic grid, while non-transparent Prts are originated in the Spec of the VP-internal aspectual projections in the functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999; around Voice, but no higher than Asp<sub>SgCompletive</sub>). The syntactic differences exhibited by the two types of Prts depend on more general constraints on the projections pertaining to those two areas of the clause structure. Finally, as regards Particle Shift, I assume that it is a more general property found with most English Prts, irrespective of their transparent or non-transparent nature. I will come back to Particle Shift with a tentative proposal of analysis in 3.4.2.

In conclusion, this Chapter was aimed at providing the fundamental theoretical background from which I start my treatment of the various phenomena affecting the category P in OE, in particular those phenomena involving variation in the placement of PP internal material within both the PP and the clause architecture. The specific application to OE of all the assumptions here presented (Split PP and Damonte & Padovan's 2011 proposal) will be dealt with more in detail in the following Chapters. In the following Chapter, Chapter 2, I focus on some important aspects of the syntax of OE, which closely interact with the phenomena here investigated, as the V2 constraint, the OV/VO variation, (2.2), and the

syntactic representation of the monosyllabic elements (2.3). In this respect, I will deal with the major generative studies on OE word order and I will present my own view. In the last part of the Chapter (2.4), I also deal with the existing literature on the postpositions and Prts of OE.

# Chapter 2

## The Syntax of Old English

### 2.1 Introductory Remarks

In the previous section I discussed the theoretical background assumptions on PPs and Prts/prefixes which lie at the heart of the unitary syntactic account of OE P-stranding and Prts presented in Chapter 3. In particular, it was shown that the recent Cartographic developments on the internal architecture of (spatial) PPs have identified highly specific projections in the extend projection of P, identifying furthermore very interesting structural parallelisms between the prepositional domain on the one hand and the nominal and clausal domains on the other (see in particular den Dikken 2006[2010], and Tortora 2006, 2008). Such a detailed mapping of the PP internal structure has a series of very significant implications at both the theoretical and the empirical level, the most important of which is undoubtedly the possibility to consider the various PP material like Ps, Prts, adverbs, PP modifiers and DPs as the lexicalisations of different portions of one and the same underlying hierarchy of functional heads/phrases, shared by all languages.

In this respect, the different orderings and the different syntactic possibilities cross-linguistically attested with these elements within the PP are to be derived by a series of independent conditions imposed by each single language on the way phrases can move and on the size of the moved constituent (cf. pied-piping, stranding, roll-up movement, see Cinque 2005, 2006, 2009). The same picture emerges furthermore, when considering the various possible orders of circumstantial and argumental PPs in the clause. Damonte (2004), Schweikert (2004, 2005a, 2005b) and Cinque (2006) have argued extensively and convincingly that PPs bearing thematic roles are hosted in a specific area in the clause (the *thematic functional field*), and that, under specific circumstances, they can be shown to obey a very strict relative ordering among themselves. This strict order is to be considered as the "unmarked" order for the PPs of that language, which again derives from a universal hierarchy upon which each language operates through a limited number of phrasal movements. The possible deviations from the "unmarked" order of a given language are then due to focus-sensitive movements

operating in that language. Each of these considerations regarding the derivation of intra- and cross-linguistic variation from a *universal base* should be kept firmly and constantly in mind when considering the various word order options of OE in both the following sections and in the next Chapter.

As regards Prts and prefixes, it was shown in 1.1, that a distinction must be made between transparent and non-transparent VPCs, as in the former, the Prt/prefix typically conveys directional/resultative meanings, while in the latter, the Prt/prefix conveys aspectual, actional or even idiosyncratic meanings. This distinction is supported also from a syntactic perspective, since each type of VPCs is associated with different distributional properties in many languages, and as we will see, OE makes no exception in this respect. In the second part of the first Chapter (1.3), I turned to the structural representation of the VPCs as recently proposed in the major generative studies. It was shown that despite some important differences in the syntactic mechanisms involved in the derivation, the recent generative accounts considered give an underlying structural representation of VPCs in terms of a Small Clause: Prts, especially transparent Prts, are originated as an argument of the verb, and interact with a possible direct object through the presence of a predicative head located either in the clausal structure within the VP (cf. the Prt as the head of the Small Clause in Kayne 1985, Hoekstra 1988, den Dikken 1995; Pred<sup>o</sup> in Svenonius 1996, Result<sup>o</sup> in Ramchand & Svenonius 2002), or located within the PP (the Figure introducing *p* of Svenonius 2003, 2007, 2010).<sup>1</sup> In a sense, the cartographic approach to the German variable prefixes proposed in Damonte & Padovan (2011), which is the account I also adopt for OE Prts and prefixes, may be thought of as a Small Clause. More precisely, Damonte & Padovan's account starts from the important assumption that all prefixes are base-generated as parts of a PP, yet the differences in the separability and inseparability of these prefixes depend on the structural positions the PP containing the Prts have been generated in. In particular, the authors suggest that the non-transparent form of the prefix is generated in a lower position within the thematic field of Schweikert (2005a), while the transparent form is generated in a higher projection. As the verb undergoes a very short movement in German, Damonte & Padovan (2011) assume that the verb reaches the lower position and incorporates into the non-transparent prefix, which becomes inseparable, while the verb does not reach the higher prefix position, thus the transparent prefix becomes separable. Such a proposal can be well adapted to the facts of OE Prts and prefixes, as this language presents only transparent Prts (directional and/or resultative), while the more aspectual or actional meanings are conveyed by

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1 Notice that lexical decomposition analyses also present a Small Clause of some kind, cf. the BECOME operator of Elenbaas (2007), which may be thought of as a predicative head.

inseparable prefixes.

The aim of the present Chapter is to integrate the aforementioned theoretical assumptions by presenting some further considerations on both the derivation of the various word order possibilities of OE, and on its pronominal syntax, as these two aspects interact intimately and inextricably with the derivation and the distribution of the PP phenomena under consideration. For reasons of space, the discussion presented in the following sections will only hint at the major proposals and accounts, and it is by no means intended as an exhaustive treatment of all the extant contributions on these controversial topics. Similarly, my own proposals on the pronominal syntax and on the derivation of the OE word orders will be simply sketched, as a full and exhaustive investigation of these topics deserve a much better and in-depth consideration than was here possible. Nonetheless, I will hint at a possible alternative account of the OE word order in the light of the Cartography of syntactic structures (Cinque & Rizzi 2008), showing how the detailed mapping of the major syntactic domains together with a close comparison with similar phenomena of some German varieties (Grewendorf & Poletto 2006, 2010; Cognola 2010) and of Modern Icelandic (Franco 2009) can give us some interesting insights into the inner workings of the OE sentence structure.

The Chapter is organised as follows: the next section (2.2) deals with OE word orders, with sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 presenting the major generative accounts of the OE Verb Second (V2) and of the OV/VO variation. In section 2.2.3, I briefly outline my own account of how both the V2 constraint and the mixed OV/VO syntax of OE are to be derived. In this respect, I follow much of the recent generative literature on the derivation of OV/VO orders in both older and modern Germanic, and assume that the high degree of variation in constituent order is the result of one single grammar (cf. van Kemenade 1987, Roberts 1997, Biberauer & Roberts 2005 for OE; Hróarsdóttir 2001 for Older Icelandic; Zwart 1993, 1994 for Dutch and West Germanic; Diesing 1997 for Yiddish; Hinterhölzl 2006 for German; Grewendorf & Poletto 2006 for Cimbrian, and Cognola 2010 for Mòcheno, two German varieties spoken in Northern Italy). In the next section, 2.3, I concentrate on OE monosyllabic elements, most notably personal pronouns and "light" adverbs, which can show up in different positions in the clause, and which have at various times being used as evidence for the movement/non-movement of the finite verb (Pintzuk 1991, 1999, Fuss & Trips 2002, Pintzuk 2005, Pintzuk & Haeberli 2008 among many others). In this section, I will show that the different distributional patterns associated with these elements (see Koopman 1997 for a detailed discussion) can be captured by assuming that in OE personal pronouns and light adverbs come in both a strong and a deficient form in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke

(1999). In the last section (2.4), I present the extant literature on the phenomena investigated in this thesis, P-stranding and Prts. Here I will also sketch the most recent accounts of the OE VPCs, as presented in Fischer et al. (2000) and Elenbaas (2007). Section 2.5 concludes the Chapter.

## 2.2 Some notes on Old English word order

The word order(s) of OE has been and still is the object of a very long and much debated discussion in both the generative and non generative literature.<sup>2</sup> One of the first breakthrough syntactic studies in this respect is Smith (1893), in which the possible syntactic orders of OE are claimed to be dependent primarily on syntactic factors, rather than on rhetorical or metrical reasons. In particular, Smith (1893) noticed that the normal order of OE was SV, which was the basic order, presenting however two contextually-determined alternatives, either (X)VS as a marked order for main clauses, and SXV as the typical order of embedded clauses (and some subordinate clauses as well). In most recent years, Mitchell (1964) has pointed out however that the above description of OE word orders are by no means *rules*, as they are for instance in Modern German, but are at best *tendencies*.

Over the last thirty years the generative research has paid a lot of attention to the OE facts, as the mixed OV/VO syntax of this language and its subsequent development into a uniform VO order in ModE can offer very significant insights into the mechanisms and the reasons behind the change from OV to VO. Thus, the generative literature has seen a flourishing of very important studies, which are primarily concerned with establishing whether the word order options of OE are to be attributed to specific operations within one single grammar, or, by contrast, whether the superficial variation depends on the interactions of two competing phrase structures, differing minimally as regards the setting of the head parameter for both INFL and VP. These two opposite views go under the name of *Universal Base Hypothesis* and *Double Base Hypothesis* respectively, and will be presented in the following sections through their most significant representative studies. The next sections present then a brief outline of the standard generative accounts of the word order possibilities of OE, deviding the debate into two though closely interacting parts: in the first part, section 2.2.1, I deal with the major proposals on the type of V2 exhibited by OE; in the second part, 2.2.2, I turn to the various accounts of the OE OV/VO mixed syntax. Finally, in section 2.2.3, I

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<sup>2</sup> See for instance the summary of some of the major contributions in Denison (1993).

present my own assumptions, which will provide a very sketchy description of the OE sentence structure and of the major syntactic movements operating upon this structure to give the superficial attested orders. I will adopt this sketchy outline when trying to make sense of the distributional patterns of P-stranding and Prts in Chapter 3.

### 2.1.1 What type of V2?

The study of the V2 phenomenon of the Germanic languages has always gone hand in hand with the study of the word order variation between main and embedded clauses. This is primarily due to the fact that most Germanic languages exhibit a clear asymmetry in verb placement between main and embedded clauses: generally the verb appears in second position in main clauses, while it occurs in a lower position in subordinate clauses.<sup>3</sup> Following den Besten's (1983) original definition, V2 is primarily a root phenomenon, syntactically characterised by subject-verb inversion and by a linear restriction on the inflected verb, which occurs in second position. Before Rizzi (1997), the traditional generative accounts of V2 assume that the inflected verb moves from the inflectional domain,  $I^\circ$ , to the  $C^\circ$  head of the Complementiser Phrase (CP); as to the linear restriction, this derives from the fact that there is only one projection above  $C^\circ$  available for XP movement, namely, SpecCP. In view of this, the different position of the finite verb in main clauses has generally been accounted for by assuming that the head of the embedded CP is unavailable for verb movement because it is already filled by a complementiser.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the finite verb remains in  $I^\circ$  in embedded clauses.

For OE, this analysis is precisely the one put forward in van Kemenade's (1987) doctoral dissertation, one of the first generative accounts of OE syntax, and definitely, one of the most influential. In her study, van Kemenade shows that OE has "asymmetric V2", which she accounts for by applying the standard GB analysis of Modern German and Modern Dutch to OE (see Koster 1975 a.o.), i.e., van Kemenade assumes that the basic order for OE is SOV (see below), which becomes visible in the subordinate clauses, while the surface order

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3 As is well known, there is indeed variation among Germanic languages w.r.t the situation just depicted: "asymmetric V2", is found in German, Dutch and Mainland Scandinavian, while Yddish and Modern Icelandic present V2 also in embedded clauses ("generalised V2"). Notice furthermore that even though presenting the linear V2 constraint in main clauses, unlike German and Dutch, Mainland Scandinavian does not present the inflected verb in sentence final position in embedded clauses, being uniformly SVO. Nonetheless, it can be shown that also in Mainland Scandinavian the embedded verb does not move as high as it does in main clauses, as in emebded clauses the verb does not move across negation and sentence adverbs (see Vikner 1995 for an extensive discussion of all these aspects).

4 Thus, the difference between V2 languages and non-V2 languages has been defined as the requirement for the former to always fill  $C^\circ$ .

in main clauses is SVO due to the V2 property of the language. However, van Kemenade (1987) also points out the particular type of V2 exhibited by OE, which is not as strict as in German. In particular, she shows that the verb strictly appears in second position when the first constituent of the sentence is a *wh*-interrogative pronoun, a null interrogative operator in polar questions, the adverb *þa* and the negation *ne*, cf. the schema in (1):

$$(1) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \textit{þa} \\ \textit{ne} \\ \textit{wh}/?Op \end{array} \right] V S_{\textit{pro}/DP}$$

However, when the sentence-initial position is occupied by a fronted non-subject XP (a direct object, a Scene Setting adverb, an argument etc.), there is an asymmetry in the distribution of the subject according to whether it was pronominal or a full-DP: full-DP subjects appear after the finite verb in second position, while pronominal subjects appear between the fronted XP and the finite verb, thus giving rise to superficial V3 orders. This asymmetry is schematised in (2):

$$(2) \quad \textit{XP} \text{ --- } \textit{Subject pronoun} \text{ --- } V \quad \textit{vs.} \quad \textit{XP} \text{ --- } V \text{ --- } \textit{DP subject}$$

The following examples illustrate the V2 of OE, the examples in (3) illustrating (1) and the examples in (4) illustrating (2):

(3) a. ***wh* – *S<sub>pron</sub>***  
 Hwi sceole we oþres mannes niman?  
 Why must we other.GEN man.GEN take?  
 (ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 183)  
 "Why must we take another man?"

b. ***ne* – *S<sub>pron</sub>***  
 ne mihton hi nænigne fultum æt him begitan, [...]  
 Neg-could they not-any help at him get  
 (Bede 1, 10.48.9)  
 "They could not obtain any help from him ..."

c. ***þa* – *S<sub>pron</sub>/S<sub>DP</sub>***  
 þa gemette he sceaðan, [...]  
 Then met he robbers  
 (ÆLS Martin, 150)  
 "Then he met robbers, ..."

(4) a. ***XP* – *S<sub>pron</sub>* – *V<sub>fin</sub>***  
 [Ælc yfel] he mæg don & ælc he deð  
 Each evil.ACC he can do and each he did  
 (WHom 4, 62)

“He can do every evil and every evil he did”

- b **XP—V<sub>fin</sub>—S<sub>DP</sub>**  
[<sub>COMP</sub> ælc riht:] [<sub>INFL</sub> sculon<sub>j</sub>][<sub>s</sub> gehadode men *t*<sub>i</sub> lufian *t*<sub>j</sub>]  
each right shallt much monastic man love

(WHom 10a.10)

“Monastic men must love each right...”

In order to give a unitary account for these orders, van Kemenade proposes that the finite verb always targets COMP, whose Spec may or may not host a Topic (an XP). The fact that SpecCP can be optionally filled makes sense of both the strict V2 orders with the elements in (1), and also of the numerous V1 orders attested in OE. In addition, van Kemenade derives the instances of V3 orders with pronouns by proposing that the OE personal pronouns are syntactic clitics, which can either left- or right-adjoin to COMP. Thus, the presence of a personal pronoun does not prevent the case in (4a) to be analysed as an instance of V2. In subordinate clauses, COMP hosts a complementiser thus blocking verb movement (see the standard pre-Split-CP analysis of asymmetric V2 in den Besten 1983). In such cases, the verb remains in its base generated position, and since OE is underlying OV, it surfaces in sentence-final position.

Some years later, Pintzuk (1991, 1999) challenges the analysis proposed in van Kemenade (1987), in particular as regards verb movement in the subordinate clauses and the basic word order of OE (see next section). Pintzuk (1991, 1999) proposes that the OE verb *always* targets INFL, in both subordinate and main clauses (see next section for her account of the varying position of the finite verb), while verb movement to COMP is restricted to a number of exceptional main clauses in which SpecCP hosts an operator-like element, i.e., V moves to COMP only when the conditions in (1) are met, or when the finite verb is in first position (V1 contexts). By contrast, the V2/V3 orders with a fronted XP as a Topic or a subject have the verb in INFL and the fronted XP—generally a Topic or a subject—is hosted in SpecIP, while the clitics can either left- or right- adjoin to SpecIP.

Pintzuk's (1991) idea of OE V2 as V to INFL has been revisited in Kroch & Taylor (1997), who adopt a typological distinction within the Germanic languages according to the type of V2 they present.<sup>5</sup> Specifically, there are *CP V2* languages, which present V to C movement in main clauses, and consequently asymmetric V2 in subordinate clauses, as the C head hosts a complementiser. Modern German, Modern Dutch and Mainland Scandinavian are thus *CP-V2* languages. Conversely, Modern Icelandic and Yddish are examples of *IP-V2* languages, which have generalised verb movement to the highest head of IP and present

<sup>5</sup> See Kroch & Taylor (1997) for the relevant literature and for some more discussion.

symmetric V2. Under such assumptions, Kroch & Taylor modify Pintzuk's (1991, 1993) proposal and argue that the OE finite verb always moves to INFL in both main and subordinate clauses, but in main clauses the topicalised elements do not move to IP as in IP-V2 languages, but to SpecCP, so that OE is a hybrid between a CP-V2 language and a IP-V2 language. This proposal is meant to account for the various V3 orders with pronouns, which they take to be clitics moving to a dedicated projection between IP and CP.<sup>6</sup>

Another slightly different proposal is that of Kiparsky (1995), who argues that OE faithfully maintains the Proto-Germanic syntax in the CP domain.<sup>7</sup> Kiparsky proposes that OE had two distinct landing sites for the movement of constituents from their base-generated positions, a higher Spec for Topics or left-dislocations, which are left adjoined to CP, and SpecCP, which hosts focussed elements and the operator-like elements in (1). However, both these positions were optional. As regards the finite verb, Kiparsky argues that verb movement to C does occur, but this head is not obligatory, thus the finite verb moves to C only when C is present (and must be lexicalised). Under such account, V2 in OE is movement of V to C, and, given the optionality of both Topic and SpecCP, the superficial manifestations of V in C include also cases in which the finite verb in first, second and third position. When the main clause has no C, there is no V2, irrespectively of the position of the verb.<sup>8</sup> In subordinate clauses, C is always present and must be lexicalised by a complementiser which blocks verb movement to C.

One last proposal I would like to consider is that of Roberts (1996), in which the author proposes an account of the V2 phenomena of OE in the light of the Split-CP Hypothesis. The fine structure of the CP Roberts adopts is a first version of Rizzi (1997), here reported in (5):

(5) [ForceP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [TP<sup>9</sup>

In this structure, the Topic and the Focus projections are nested between a higher projection, ForceP, closing off the CP, and a lower projection, Fin for Finiteness, just above IP: ForceP is

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6 In the passage from OE to ME, OV is lost in all the dialects, but as regards V2, the southern dialects maintain the OE V2, while the northern dialects develop a CP-V2 grammar with a more strict V2, by contact with the Scandinavian languages. The competition between the two types of V2 leads to its loss.

7 Kiparsky assumes that Indo-European had no complementisers and no CPs. In the change from Indo-European to Proto-Germanic, C was introduced as a consequence from adjoined subordinate structure to embedded subordinate structures. Thus, the verb second phenomenon is a consequence of the introduction of C.

8 Notice that it is not at all clear which are the reasons determining the presence or absence of C in main clauses.

9 Rizzi (1997) claims that TopP is recursive. Benincà (2001), Benincà & Poletto (2004) and Benincà (2006) have argued extensively and convincingly against Topic recursion.

the projection looking "outwards", i.e., it connects the sentence it starts with its preceding contexts or marks it for clause type; on the contrary, FinP looks "inwards", towards the content of IP (the choice of the complementiser is, for example, dependent on the modality and tense features of IP as if by a sort of agreement between Fin<sup>o</sup> and I<sup>o</sup>).

Starting from the assumption that OE subject pronouns are CP-oriented clitics attracted to C, Roberts proposes that they are hosted in SpecFinP. Under this assumption, the alternation between *Cl-V/V-Cl* as seen in (3) vs. (4a) derives from the possibility for the verb to move across SpecFinP and target a higher C head. In other words, Roberts (1996) analyses the cases of "strict V2", i.e., those cases in which the first position is occupied by an operator-like element in (1) causing subject-verb inversion, as verb-movement to the head of the Focus projection, Foc<sup>o</sup>, whose Spec hosts the operator. Structurally, this is represented as the following (6), while (7) gives the structure of (3c):

(6) [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> *wh-/ne / þa* Foc<sup>o</sup> V ] [<sub>FinP</sub> Clitic subjects Fin<sup>o</sup> ] [<sub>IP</sub> ...

(7) [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> **þa** Foc<sup>o</sup> **gemette**] [<sub>FinP</sub> **he** Fin<sup>o</sup> ] [<sub>IP</sub> ... *sceaðan*

In these contexts, the finite verb moves to Foc<sup>o</sup> for criterial reasons (as in the analysis of ModE "residual V2" proposed in Rizzi 1996). In all the other cases in which we find V3 orders with a subject pronoun, Roberts (1996) proposes that they should be analysed as verb movement to the lower head of CP, Fin<sup>o</sup>, cf. (8) and (9), which provides the structure of (4a) above:

(8) [<sub>ForceP</sub> (YP) [<sub>Foc</sub> XP ... [<sub>FinP</sub> Clitic subjects [<sub>Fin</sub> V ] ] ] [<sub>IP</sub> ...

(9) [<sub>ForceP</sub> (YP) [<sub>Focus</sub> *Ælc yfel* [<sub>FinP</sub> **he** [<sub>Fin</sub> **mæg** ] ] ] [<sub>IP</sub> ... **don**

Roberts (1996) supports his account by drawing on two empirical facts: first, when the verb is in Foc<sup>o</sup>, the expected endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural *-ap/-on* change to *-e*, cf. (10) (examples from Roberts 1996: 159, [8]):

- (10) a. Ne sceole ge swa softe sinc gegangen  
not must you so easily treasure obtains  
"You must not obtain treasure so easily" (Mald 1.59)
- b. Hwæt secge we be þæm coc?  
What say we about the cook  
"What do we say about the cook?" (Ælfric's Colloquy on the Occupation, p. 188, l. 68)

Secondly, as Pintzuk (1991) observes, only *Cl-V* can be preceded by two XPs, while *V-Cl* can be preceded by just one XP (examples from Roberts 1996: 159, [9] who in turn cites Pintzuk 1991, 104-105):

- (11) a. eft æfter lytlum fyrste on þysre ylcan Romana byri he wearð forbærned  
 afterwards after little time in this same Roman borough he was burned  
 (GD(H) 30.20-23)  
 "Again, after some time in that same Roman city, he was burned ..."
- b. þa under þæm þa bestæl he hine on niht onweg  
 then meanwhile then stole he himself in night away  
 (ChronA 92.9-10 (901))  
 "Then meanwhile he stole away in the night ..."

As regards subordinate clauses, Roberts claims that verb movement to  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  and  $\text{Foc}^\circ$  does not occur since the complementiser is generated in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , thus blocking verb movement; subsequently, the complementiser raises to  $\text{Force}^\circ$ , where it lexicalises the clause type features of the embedded clause.

In 2.2.3, I follow Roberts' (1996) proposal that OE V2 is better captured in terms of a highly detailed Left Periphery, but I will also integrate his account with the recent developments on Medieval Romance V2 (see in particular Benincà 2006), which has many aspects in common with the OE V2

### 2.1.2 OV or VO?

As mentioned above, the mixed OV/VO syntax of OE has been much studied in the generative tradition, principally or almost exclusively with the intent of identifying the underlying order of OE, in particular whether its phrase structure is head-final or head-initial.

Following much of the GB accounts developed in her time for the word order of German and Dutch, van Kemenade (1987) assumes that the final position of the finite verb in the OE subordinate clauses signals that the basic order of this language is head-final in both VP and INFL (cf. Koster 1975), cf. (12):

- (12) ... þæt his gemong him mid sibbe sittan mosten  
 that they among them with peace settle must  
 (Or 52.33; van Kemenade 1987, 59)  
 "... that they must settle in pæce among themselves".

However, OE presents a high degree of variation in the constituent order of subordinate clauses, presenting not only VO orders but also some type of OV orders, which are not found in Modern German and Modern Dutch. Abstracting away from the positions of the pronouns, the possible orders in subordinate clauses can be summarised as follows, (schema adapted from Roberts 1997: 418, [29]):

- (13) a. S – V – Aux – O  
 b. S – O – Aux – V  
 c. S – Aux – O – V  
 d. S – O – V – Aux  
 e. S – Aux – V – O  
 f. \*S – V – O – Aux

To account for these options maintaining the uniform OV base, van Kemenade (1987) proposes that these orders are the result of rightward movements targeting the verbal complex and/or the direct object(s). Specifically, the rightward movements she assumes are *Extraposition* (14a), *Verb Raising* (14b), *Verb Projection Raising* (14c,c'), (examples from Fuss & Trips 2002: 175f., their examples [9-11], who in turn quote Pintzuk 1993, and van Kemenade 1987):

- (14) a. **Extraposition** (derives S-V-Aux-O)  
 [...] þæt ænig mon t<sub>i</sub> atellan mæge [**ealne þone demm**]<sub>i</sub>;  
 ... that any man relate can all.ACC the.ACC misery.ACC  
 (Oros. 52.6-7; Pintzuk 1993: 14)  
 "... that any man can relate all the misery."
- b. **Verb Raising** (derives S-O-Aux-V)  
 [...] þæt he Saul ne t<sub>i</sub> dorste [**ofslean**]<sub>i</sub>.  
 ... that he Saul not dared murder  
 (Oros. 52.33; van Kemenade 1987: 59)  
 "... that he did not dare to murder Saul"
- c. **Verb Projection Raising** (derives S-Aux-O-V)  
 [...] þæt he t<sub>i</sub> mehte [**his feorh generian**]<sub>i</sub>.  
 ... that he could his property save  
 (Oros. 48.18; van Kemenade 1987: 59)  
 "... that he could save his property."
- c'. [...] þæt hi t<sub>i</sub> mihton [**swa bealdlice Godes geleafan bodian**]<sub>i</sub>;  
 ... that they could so boldly God.GEN faith preach  
 (Aht, I, 232; van Kemenade 1987: 59)  
 "... that they could preach God's faith so boldly"

(As Roberts 1997: 418 notes, the order S – Aux – V – O can be derived through an interaction of Verb Raising and Extraposition).

Pintzuk (1991, 1993, 1999) points out several problems with van Kemenade's (1987) analysis, as there are some VO subordinate clauses in OE which cannot be derived through rightward movement. In this respect, particularly problematic are those subordinate clauses in which the finite verb appears in sentence medial position and it is followed by a "light" element, namely, a *Prt* (15a), an object pronoun (15b) and a monosyllabic adverb (15c):<sup>10</sup>

- (15) a. [...] þæt he wearp þæt sweord *omweg*.  
 ... so-that he threw the sword away.  
 (Bede 38.20; Pintzuk 1999: 57)  
 "... so that he threw away the sword."
- b. [...] swa þæt hy asettan *him* upp on ænne sið.  
 ... so that they transported themselves up in one journey  
 (ChronA 132,19 (1001); Pintzuk 1993: 17)  
 "... so that they transported themselves inland in one single journey"
- c. [...] þæt martinus come *þa* into þære byrig.  
 that martin came then into the town.  
 (ÆLS 31.490-491; Pintzuk 1993: 17)  
 "... that Martin came then into the town"

Van Kemenade accounts for these orders as deriving from extraposition, but, as Pintzuk's (1991, 1999) notes, such light elements cannot undergo extraposition under the standard GB assumptions (cf. the separable prefixes of German for instance). Moreover, there are also other cases which cannot be accounted for through rightward movement. These cases present the finite verb in sentence medial position and a pronominal object between the finite verb and the non-finite verb like the following:

- (16) þæt heo wolde *hine* læran  
 that she wanted him teach  
 (ÆLS 25.173; Pintzuk 1999: 73, [82])  
 "... that she would teach him"

Van Kemenade proposes to analyse these as instances of Verb Projection Raising, yet, as Pintzuk (1999) observes, these cases are not found in those Germanic languages which display Verb Projection Raising (cf. Pintzuk 1999; 72 ff. for discussion). In addition, Pintzuk (1999) also shows that there are other cases difficult to handle under van Kemenade's account, which present instances of a verbal particle and a pronominal object occurring after a non-finite verb, cf. (17) (examples from Fuss & Trips 2002, 180:[18-19], who in turn quote Pintzuk 1999):

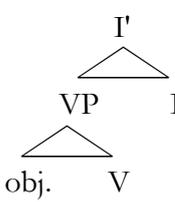
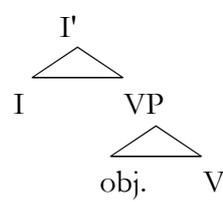
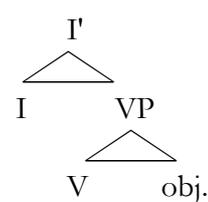
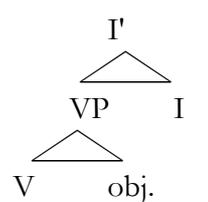
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<sup>10</sup> Koopman (2005) argues that the occurrences of these cases are more numerous than Pintzuk (1999) indicates.

- (17) a. ... he wolde adræfan *ut* anne æþeling  
 he would drive out a prince  
 ("... he would drive out a prince"  
 (ChronB (I) 82.18-19 (755))
- b. þæt he wolde geswutelian swa his digelnysses *eow*  
 that he would manifest so his secrets you  
 ("... that he wanted to reveal his secrets to you in such a way"  
 (ÆLS Thomas, 166)

Thus, Pintzuk (1991, 1999) points out that there is a significant number of OE subordinate clauses in which the finite verb has had to *move* to a sentence medial position.

In order to account for all these facts, Pintzuk (1991,1999) rejects the idea that there is a uniform OV and INFL-final base in OE, and proposes instead that the OE finite verb *always* targets INFL in subordinate clauses, but its varying position within the sentence depends on the fact that OE admits for two synchronically co-existing settings of the head parameter for both IP and VP (as the example in [17] indicates). In other words, the variation attested not only in the position of the finite verb but also in the position of the non-finite verb is the reflex of the variation in the underlying position of INFL and VP. Adopting Kroch's idea of Grammar Competition, Pintzuk proposes that individual speakers of OE had access to various grammars, each minimally different for the setting of the head parameter in the relevant domain (V-final, I-final; V-final, I-initial; V-initial-I-final, V-initial, V-initial), and, in the course of time, one of the available grammars wins out. In Pintzuk's analysis, which goes under the name of *Double Base Hypothesis*, OE is predicated to have the following four phrase structure options, generating all the possible orders of OE (Fuss & Trips 2002: 183, their example [25]):

- (18) a. 
- b. 
- c. 
- d. 

However, as Fuss & Trips (2002) notice, Pintzuk's (1999) account predicts a grammar with a

head-final IP and a head-initial VP, (18b) which generates the order  $S - V - O - Aux$ , an order which is never attested in OE (cf. [13] above), and is furthermore cross-linguistically absent (see fn. 5 in Fuss & Trips 2002: 184).

In the light of this consideration, Fuss & Trips (2002) argue that Pintzuk's analysis should be revisited in order to propose an account which is liberal enough to derive all the word order options of OE, but excludes the unattested one. According to Fuss & Trips (2002), such an account is indeed possible by combining a form of the Universal Base Hypothesis with the Double Base Hypothesis, namely, that lexical heads may either follow or precede their complement, but functional categories triggering *obligatory* movement are consistently head-initial (Kayne 1994). In particular, the authors propose that in main clauses the OE finite verb obligatory moves to  $T^{\circ}$ , and to  $C^{\circ}$  only when a syntactic operator is in sentence-initial position. By contrast, the finite verb of a subordinate clauses does not reach  $T/INFL$ , but a lower functional head,  $v^{\circ}$ . Evidence in favour of this short verb movement in subordinate clauses comes from the fact that in main clauses no adverb can intervene between a pronominal subject and the verb, while this does occur in subordinate clauses. Their generalisation goes as follows :

- "a. In main clauses, adverbs must not intervene between a subject pronoun in second position and a leftward moved finite verb:  
 $XP - subject\ pronoun - (*adverb) - V_{fin} - [...]$
- b. In embedded clauses, adverbs may intervene between a subject pronoun in second position and a leftward moved finite verb:  
 $C^{\circ} - subject\ pronoun - (adverb) - V_{fin} - [...]"$   
(Fuss & Trips: 2002: 193, [34])

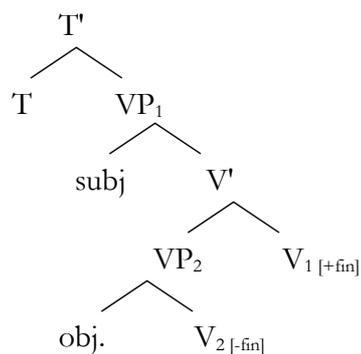
Here follow a couple of examples from Fuss & Trips (2002: 192ff. [32b] and [33b]) illustrating this generalisation:

- (19) a. Nu þu meahst sweotole ongitan þæt þæt is good self  
Now you can openly understand what that is good self  
(Boethius 83.6.168)  
"Now you can openly understand that that is the good itself"
- b. þa hie ða hæfdon Cirinen þa burg ymb seten  
when they then had C. the stronghold surrounded  
(Orosius 66.17.62)  
"... when they had surrounded the stronghold Cirinene"

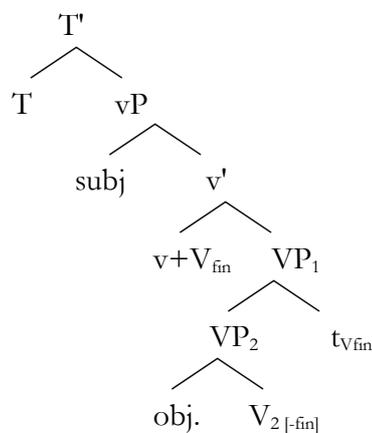
Assuming that the subject pronoun is hosted in SpecTP, Fuss & Trips (2002) argue that the impossibility for an adverb to separate the verb and the pronominal subject in main clauses

indicates that the tensed verb is the head of TP, T°. On the contrary, if in subordinate clauses an adverb can intervene between the subject pronoun in SpecTP and the verb, this must be due to the fact that the finite verb of a subordinate clause is hosted lower in the sentence structure, in v°they argue.<sup>11</sup> As for the superficial variation in the placement of the finite verb in subordinate clauses, Fuss & Trips (2002) maintain that it is best accounted through the Double Base Hypothesis, and they argue that it is dependent on the presence or absence of v°, i.e., the presence of vP is parametrised. More specifically, the authors claim that the different constituent orders are the result of grammar competition between *three* distinct grammars: the first grammar, the older one, is a pure OV grammar with no separate vP, hence no obligatory movement to v°, cf. (20); there is then a second grammar, representing the intermediate step, which has an OV base order but V-movement to v° (since its presence forces obligatory movement),<sup>12</sup> cf. (21); the third competing grammar, the one which ultimately wins out, presents a VO base with a separate vP, cf. (22) The following structures illustrate the three grammars they propose, simplifying their structures in (38), (40) and (42):

(20) S – O – V – V<sub>fin</sub>

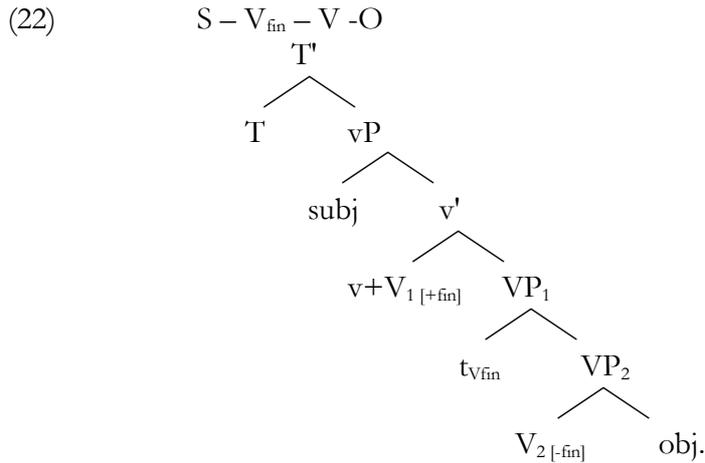


(21) S – V<sub>fin</sub> O – V



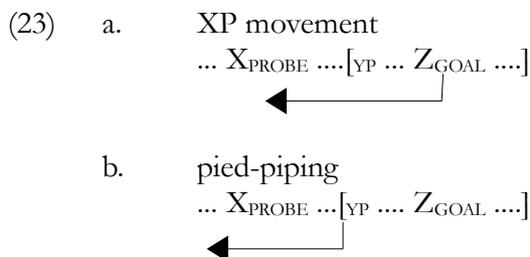
11 Notice that v° is also considered the landing site of the finite verb in ModE in many Minimalist accounts.

12 Following Chomsky (1995), Fuss & Trips (2002) assume that vP is a functional category (hence head-initial under their assumptions), which is furthermore universally endowed with strong feature triggering over movement of V.



Thus, the various orders of OE subordinate clauses are the result of three competing grammars minimally different "as to whether they licence overt movement of the finite verb to a lights verb *v*, that closes off the series of VP-shells" (Fuss & Trips 2002: 195). As regards the origin of the grammar competition, the author propose that the presence of a separate vP is due to language contact with the Scandinavian languages.

A completely different stand is taken by Biberauer & Roberts (2005), who argue that the various word order patterns of OE subordinate clauses (and ME as well) are the outputs of *one single grammar*, with a uniform Kaynian (1994) VO phrase structure, which allows both DP movement and large XP movement. More precisely, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) propose that OE is a *Spec Pied-Piping language*.<sup>13</sup> starting from the idea that the Spec of TP has a strong EPP feature triggering movement, Biberauer & Roberts assume that  $T^\circ$  acts like a *probe* for a D-element, the Goal. The checking of this EPP feature triggers overt movement of either the Goal bearing the relevant D-feature, or of a larger constituent containing the Goal (pied-piping). The two checking options are illustrated in (23) (I borrow the schema from Elenbaas 2007: 182, [13])



13 Biberauer & Roberts (2005) follow a typological distinction proposed in Richards & Biberauer (2004), which is based on two parameters: the *source* of the D-feature, and the *size* of the constituent containing or bearing the relevant feature. As this parametrisation is not relevant here, I only present the gist of their analysis for OE referring the reader to their work (and references cited therein) for a detailed discussion of these aspects.

T bears an EPP feature, and T probes for a D-bearing Goal, the subject DP; the satisfaction of T's EPP feature proceeds in two ways, each involving XP movement: either T triggers the movement of the subject in SpecTP, or the movement of the entire vP containing the subject. The authors assume furthermore that also  $v^\circ$  has an EPP feature probing for a D bearing element, the object, triggering movement in the exact same fashion: either by moving into it only the object DP, or by pied-piping the whole VP.<sup>14</sup> To use Biberauer & Roberts' (2005:10) own words, their proposal maintains that:

"OE is 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."

I illustrate how their account operates with their example (12), which presents the typical order of subordinate clauses, not only in OE, but also in Modern German and Modern Dutch, i.e., *S – O – V – Aux* (see also Elenbaas 2007: 183ff):

- (24) Da se Wisdom þa þis fitte asungen hæfde...  
 When the wisdom then this poem sung had...  
(Boethius 30.68.6; Fischer et al. 2000: 143, their example [25])  
 "When Wisdom had sung this poem..."

Starting from a Kaynian (1994) uniformly head initial structure of the type  $T [_{VP} v [_{VP} V O]]$ , Biberauer & Roberts propose that the derivation of the order in (24) goes as follows:

- (25) a. > V to  $v^\circ$  raising  
 $[_{VP} \mathbf{V+v} [_{VP} t_V O]]$   
 b. > VP to (inner) SpecvP  
 $[_{VP} [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}] V+v [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}]]$   
 c. > Merge of the subject in the Spec of the outer vP:  
 $[_{VP} \mathbf{Subject} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] V+v [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}]]]$   
 d. > vP movement to SpecTP:  
 $[_{TP} [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}] V+v [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}]]] T^\circ [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}] V+v [_{VP} t_V \mathbf{O}]]]$

Notice that the proposal in (25), by which *O – V – Aux* is derived by moving a remnant OV as a constituent before the auxiliary verb was already present in Kayne's (1994) account of Modern German.

<sup>14</sup> It follows that Biberauer & Roberts (2005) maintain that SpecTP could be filled also by constituent other than the subject, and indeed, they propose that the restriction of SpecTP to subjects came about only in later Middle English.

However, as the chart in (13) shows, OE subordinate clauses permit many possible patterns. For instance, OE had the pattern  $S - O - Aux - V$ , the so-called "verb raising", cf. (26):

- (26) þe æfre on gefeohte *his handa wolde afylan*  
 who ever in battle his hands would defile  
 ("... whoever would defile his hands in battle")  
 (ELS 25.858; Pintzuk 1999: 65, [62])

In such a case, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) propose that the structure is biclausal, since modals in OE were still lexical verbs selecting for a non-finite complement (see Lightfoot 1979 a. m. o.). Moreover, following van Kemenade (1997), Biberauer & Roberts (2005) assume that these verbs are the Germanic counterparts of the Romance restructuring verbs; under the current Minimalist view, this means that such verbs select a defective (non-phi complete) T (Chomsky 2001).<sup>15</sup> In the light of this, the derivation of (26) goes as in (27):

- (27) a. > V to  $v^{\circ}$  raising  
 $[_{VP} \mathbf{V+v} [_{VP} t_V O]]$   
 b. > VP to (inner) SpecvP  
 $[_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] V+v [_{VP} t_V \Theta]]$   
 c. > Merge of the subject in the Spec of the outer vP:  
 $[_{VP} \mathbf{Subject} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] V+v [_{VP} t_V \Theta]]]$   
 d. > merge of the infinitival  $T_{def}$ , and v-V raising to  $T_{def}$   
 $[_{TP_{def}} \mathbf{V+v+T_{def}} [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] t_{V+v} t_V]]]$   
 e. > vP raising to infinitival SpecTP<sub>def</sub>  
 $[_{TP_{def}} [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] t_{V+v} t_V] V+v+T_{def} [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] t_{V+v} t_V]]]]]$   
 f. > verb raising trigger  $V_R$ <sup>16</sup> merges with the matrix TP and T (I call Aux):  
 $[_{TP} \mathbf{Aux} V_R [_{TP_{def}} [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] t_{V+v} t_V] T_{def}+V+v} t_{vP}]]]$   
 > merge of the content of infinitival SpecTP to matrix SpecvP and matrix SpecTP  
 $[_{TP} [_{TP_{def}} [_{VP} \mathbf{Subj} [_{VP} [_{VP} t_V O] t_{V+v} t_V] \mathbf{Aux} V_R [_{TP_{def}} t_{TP_{def}} T_{def}+V+v}^*T] t_{vP}]]]$

Thus, the derivation of verb-raising structures involves: 1) pied-piping of VP to SpecvP; 2) pied-piping vP to infinitival SpecTP; 3) pied-piping of infinitival SpecTP to matrix SpecTP.

The derivation of the order  $S - Aux - O - V$ , i.e. of "verb projection raising" structures, goes in the same way, with the only difference that the satisfaction of the EPP feature of the matrix TP is done by the non-pied-piping option, namely, by moving only the

15 Under Chomsky's (2001) phase theory, the selection by the restructuring V of this defective TP complement implies that the material within and under TP is available for syntactic manipulation, since the phase is not complete until the merging of the restructuring V itself. This enables SpecvP to move into Spec of the infinitival TP (otherwise, vP closes off the VP phase, and once  $v^{\circ}$  is merged, only  $v^{\circ}$  and SpecvP would be accessible to other operations, cf. *Phase Impenetrability Condition*).

16 The exact syntactic nature of this verb raising trigger  $V_R$  is not clear, however, I suspect it realises the "lexical" nature of the modal verbs involved. This explains why Biberauer & Roberts (2005) refer to matrix SpecvP, even though there is no trace of such projection in their derivation.

subject DP from infinitival SpecTP, which contains the SpecvP. Here is an example of verb projection raising, cf (14c) above and its derivation according to Biberauer & Roberts (2005) is as given in (28):

- (28) [...] þæt hi t<sub>i</sub> mihton [**swa bealdlice Godes geleafan bodian**]<sub>i</sub>  
 ... that they could so boldly God.GEN faith preach  
 (Ahtth, I, 232; van Kemenade 1987: 59)  
 "... that they could preach God's faith so boldly"

- (29) a. > V to v<sup>o</sup> raising  
 [vP **V+v** [vP t<sub>v</sub> O]]  
 b. > VP to (inner) SpecvP  
 [vP [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] V+v [vP t<sub>v</sub> O]]  
 c. > Merge of the subject in the Spec of the outer vP:  
 [vP **Subject** [vP [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] V+v [vP t<sub>v</sub> O]]]  
 d. > merge of the infinitival T<sub>def</sub> and v-V raising to T<sub>def</sub>  
 [TP<sub>def</sub> **V+v+T<sub>def</sub>** [vP Subj [vP [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] t<sub>v+v</sub> t<sub>v</sub>]]  
 e. > vP raising to infinitival SpecTP<sub>def</sub>  
 [TP<sub>der</sub> [vP **Subj** [vP [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] t<sub>v+v</sub> t<sub>v</sub>] V+v+T<sub>def</sub> [vP Subj [vP [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] t<sub>v+v</sub> t<sub>v</sub>]]]  
 f. > verb raising trigger V<sub>R</sub> merges with the matrix TP and T (I call Aux):  
 [TP **Aux** V<sub>R</sub> [TP<sub>def</sub> [vP Subj [vP [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] t<sub>v+v</sub> t<sub>v</sub>] V+v+T<sub>def</sub> t<sub>VP</sub>]]  
 > merge of the content of infinitival SpecTP to matrix SpecvP and matrix SpecTP  
 [TP [TP<sub>der</sub> [vP **Subj**]] **Aux** V<sub>R</sub> [TP<sub>def</sub> t<sub>subj</sub> [vP t<sub>Subj</sub> [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] t<sub>v+v</sub> t<sub>v</sub>] T<sub>def</sub> **V+v+T** t<sub>VP</sub>]]

Similarly, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) propose that the order *S – Aux – V – O*, here exemplified in (30), is to be treated again as the case of "verb projection raising" above, with the only difference that in a case like (30), the non-pied-piping option is chosen to satisfy the EPP feature of the *infinitival* SpecTP. In other words, the subject is moved from Spec(outer)vP to SpecTP<sub>def</sub> and then to SpecTP of the matrix clause, giving rise to the structure in (31):

- (30) þæt he mot ehtan godra manna  
 that he might persecute good men  
 (Wulfstan's Homilies 130.37-38; Pintzuk 2002: 282, [13b])  
 "... that he might persecute good men"

- (31) [TP [TP<sub>der</sub> [vP **Subj**]] **Aux** V<sub>R</sub> [TP<sub>def</sub> t<sub>subj</sub> **V+v+T<sub>def</sub>** [vP t<sub>Subj</sub> t<sub>v+v</sub> [vP t<sub>v</sub> O] ]

Lastly, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) address the derivation of the pattern *S – V – Aux – O*, thus completing the word order options in (13), cf. (32):

- (32) þæt ænig mon **atellan** mæge **ealle þone demn**  
 that any man relate can all the misery  
 (Orosius 52.6-7, Pintzuk 2002: 283, her example [13b])  
 "that any man can relate all the misery"

Such an example can be accounted for, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) claim, by remembering that the EPP feature on  $v^{\circ}$  triggering movement of the direct object or of the VP is *optional*. However, its presence vs. absence is not truly optional, as it is connected to an "interpretative effect" (Biberauer & Roberts 2005), namely, OE direct objects not moving to SpecvP and remaining *in situ* receive a "focus" interpretation, or better, a "new interpretation".<sup>17</sup> As a consequence, the subject is merged in the outer vP-shell, and T probes only the vP containing the non finite verb. Moreover since Kroch & Taylor (2000) and Pintzuk (2002b) have observed for Early Middle English and OE respectively that negative and quantified/indefinite objects tend to appear preverbally and seem to scramble leftwards less often (and probably for different reasons) than "positive"/definite objects, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) also propose that  $v^{\circ}$  could also have an *obligatory* EPP feature associated with a [+Op] D-seeking Probe. In other words, OE  $v^{\circ}$  had two EPP features, one obligatory when seeking for a [+Op] Goal object, and another, optional, with interpretative effects (if absent the DP object is focussed, if present, the DP object is moved and receives a defocused interpretation).

To summarise, Biberauer & Roberts (2005: 20) describe the relevant parametric properties of OE as follows:

- "(a)  $v$  is not consistently associated with an EPP feature. When it acts as a Probe for D-elements of a restricted (i.e. [+Op]-featuring) type, it is, however, obligatorily associated with an EPP feature. Additionally, it may also bear an optional EPP feature which results in the moved material receiving a defocused interpretation. In both cases, the pied-piping option alternates with non-pied-piping to satisfy the EPP-feature associated with  $v$ ;
- (b) T is a Probe for a D-element, and the pied-piping option once again alternates with non-pied-piping to satisfy T's EPP feature;
- (c) V undergoes head-movement to  $v$ ."

(Biberauer & Roberts 2005: 20, their [25])

Under such a proposal, all the variation attested in the word orders of OE derive from the different ways in which the EPP feature on T and on  $v^{\circ}$  can be satisfied in a uniform VO grammar, namely, via pied-piping of the larger constituent containing the Goal or by movement of the Goal itself.

In the next section, I will present my own sketchy account of the mixed OV/VO

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<sup>17</sup> Partial support for this claim comes from the fact that Kroch & Pintzuk (1989) have noticed that the postverbal material in Beowulf bears focus.

syntax of OE, which intends to show how the detailed mapping of the High and Low Left Periphery—together with some hints at comparative studies on Old Italian, Modern Icelandic and the modern German varieties presenting the same phenomena—can shed important insights into the syntax of OE. Even though I do not completely agree with some of the assumptions in Biberauer & Roberts (2005), and indeed, I will show that there are at least a couple of problematic aspects with their analysis, I nonetheless take advantage of their proposal, and exploit the mechanism of pied-piping/non-pied-piping in my own account of the OE word order presented in the next section.

### **2.2.3 OV and V2: same property, different phases**

In the present subsection I introduce my basic assumptions on the major syntactic phenomena involved in the derivation of the various linear orders in OE main and subordinate clauses, namely, V2 and OV/VO. As already mentioned at the outset of this Chapter, the following discussion is meant to present only some initial indications on how these orders can be accounted for in the light of the Cartographic Approach, in particular as regards both the richness of the underlying structures involved and the syntactic movements which operate on this underlying order to give rise to the attested variation. Despite the need for a much more in-depth investigation than was here possible, I will nonetheless show that the recent Cartographic developments on the internal architecture of both the High and Low Left Peripheries (Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Benincà 2006; Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2001, 2004, Poletto 2006a,b, 2011a), together with a comparison of similar phenomena regarding V2 and OV/VO in Old Romance and in other Germanic varieties, both old and modern, can shed very relevant insights into the inner workings of OE syntax.

My first assumptions regards the type of V2 exhibited by OE. As the brief outline in 2.2.1 shows, OE presents "asymmetric V2", that is, the placement of the finite verb is sensibly different in main and embedded clauses. Yet, unlike Modern German and Modern Dutch, OE V2 violates the linear constraint, i.e., the finite verb does not obligatorily appear in second position, as we find cases of superficial V1, V2, V3 etc. in main clauses, see also the detailed discussion of Kroch & Taylor (1997). In my MA thesis (Rossi 2008), I suggested that such orders of OE are reminiscent of the situation found in Old Italian<sup>18</sup> and more generally in all the medieval Romance varieties (cf. Benincà 1984, Benincà 2006), which have been argued to have a V2 property, at least till the fourteenth century. More specifically, like the Germanic V2

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18 Following Poletto (2006b) who in turn follows Lorenzo Renzi, Old Italian is defined as the Florentine variety written in texts dating from 1200 to 1350.

languages, Old Italian shows cases of a fronted XP, with subject-verb inversion (examples from Poletto 2006b, and Benincà 2006):

- (33) a. [quali denari] *avea* Baldovino lasciati loro (Doc. fior. 437)  
which money had Baldovino left them
- b. [...primieramente] *avea* ella fatta a llui ingiuria (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, 116)  
...for first had she done to him injury
- c. [L'uscio] *mi lascerai* aperto istanotte  
The door Cl.dat.1sg will.leave2sg open tonight.  
(Novellino, XXXVIII; Benincà 2006, 270 [38])

Compare these cases with the OE cases in which the fronted XP is followed by the inflected verb and the full-DP subject (cf. [4b] above), and crucially, the fronted XP can be a direct object, an adjunct or even an adverb (Kroch & Taylor 1997: 302).

Moreover, Old Italian presents also various cases of V3 orders, with two XPs before the inflected verb, cf. the following:

- (34) a. [Et dall' altra parte] [Aiaces] *era* uno cavaliere franco  
And on the other side A. was a knight courageous  
(Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 94, r. 7)
- b. [E la reina Artemidora di Alicarnasso, che in adiuto di Serses era venuta],  
and the queen A. of Alicarnasso, who in help of Serses was come  
[francamente] *si mescolò* nella battaglia (Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, p. 92, r. 1)  
courageously herself mingles into the battle
- c. [A voi] [le mie poche parole ch'avete intese] *holè* dette con grande fede  
To you the my few words that have2pl heard / have1sg.Cl.acc.3pl.f them said with great faith  
(Old Florent., Schiaffini, p. 282; Benincà 2006: 271 [40b])

Similar cases of V3 with two XPs are found also in OE, especially when the first constituent is a "scene setting" adverb, cf. Kroch & Taylor (1997: 304) and their example (7a,c) here reported in (35):

- (35) a. [ða þy ylcan gere onforan winter] [þa Deniscan þe on Meresige sæton] tugon  
then the same year before winter the Danes that on Mersey sat pulled  
hire scipu up on Temese  
their ships up on Thames  
(ChronA, 895)  
"Then, that same year before winter the Danes who were staying in Mersay,  
pulled up their ships on the Thames"
- b. [Her] [Oswald se eadige arceb] forlet þis lif

Here Oswald the blessed archbishop abandoned this life

(ChronE 992)

"In this year, the blessed archbishop Oswald forsook his life"

Another interesting parallelism between Old Italian and OE concerns V1 constructions, cf. (36) and (37) respectively (the OE example is again from Kroch & Taylor 1997: 303, [6d]):

(36) Leggesi di Salamone che... (*Novellino*, p.138, r. 1)  
Reads-Climpers of Salomone that

(37) hæfdon hi hiora onfangen ær Hæsten to Beamfleote come  
had they them received before H. to B. came

(ChronA, 894)

"They had received them before Hæsten came to Beamfleote"

The parallelism is even more striking if one considers that both Old Italian and OE present obligatory enclisis in V1 contexts, i.e., all the possible pronouns must occur at the right of the verb.<sup>19</sup>

Summarising, the V2 property of Old Italian present the following syntactic characteristics, which are astonishingly similar to at least some properties of OE V2 (see below for relevant differences):

- V2 constructions with one XP before the inflected verb
- V3 orders with more than one XP before the inflected verb
- V1 with subject inversion
- Asymmetric *pro*-drop<sup>20</sup> licensed by V to C movement
- obligatory enclisis in V1 constructions

In order to account for these properties of Medieval Romance V2, Benincà (2006) assumes a fine-grained CP layer, containing various detailed positions encoding different semantico-pragmatic interpretations (Focus, Topic, Frame etc.), each associated with distinctive syntactic

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19 The placement of clitics in the Old Romance varieties is subject to the so-called Tobler-Mussafia law (in a nutshell, no proclisis when the verb is in first position). However, Benincà (2006) recently revisited this law and provides convincing evidence that the variation between proclisis and enclisis is sensitive to the content of the lower Focus Field of CP: if Focus contains an XP, enclisis is impossible (Benincà 2006: 75). Thus, proclisis is on the left of the C° of FocusP, while enclisis is on the right of FocusP.

20 Unlike Modern Italian, the *pro* drop of OI is licensed by a purely syntactic condition, namely, V in C. This condition (noticed by Benincà 1984 for Medieval Romance, Adams 1987 and Roberts 1993 for Old French) becomes visible since it is sensitive to the main vs. embedded distinction, i.e., *pro* drop is a root phenomenon while in subordinate clauses, which under the standard assumptions do not allow V in C, a subject pronoun is generally realized, cf. the following:

(i) E così ne provò \_ de' più cari ch'elli avea. (oFlor.; Testi fiorentini,74)

and so of-it tested3sg \_ of-the most dear that-he had

"So he tested some of the best friends he had."

Benincà (2006) has defined this phenomenon as "asymmetric *pro*-drop", and in Rossi (2008) I showed that it is possible also in OE poetry.

properties. The detailed map of the Left Periphery proposed by Benincà (2006) is as follow:

- (38) [Force C°[Relwh C°]/{<sub>Frame</sub>[ScSett][HT] C°} {<sub>TOPIC</sub> [LD] [LI] C°}  
 {<sub>Focus</sub> [I Focus][II Focus]/[Interr $\omega$ ] C°}[Fin C° ] }

The map in (38) is clearly much more detailed than the one originally proposed by Rizzi (1997), here reported in (5) above. The additional projections have been identified by Benincà (2001) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) on the basis of data from Modern Italian, which although not presenting V in C, does have a very active CP domain, and presents moreover a clear test for the distinction between Topics and Foci, namely, if the fronted constituent presents a clitic copy it is a Topic, while if no clitic copy is present, the fronted constituent is in Focus. The exact same diagnostic is found also in the medieval varieties. As to the precise order between the projections in (38), this has been pinpointed by testing the relative orders of the phenomena associated with each projection. As the description of these tests would take me too far afield, I just limit myself to pointing out the content of the above projections, providing but a couple of examples showing the possible orders.

As already mentioned above, Force and Fin are at the borders of CP and define the relation of the Left Periphery to the context (Force) and to the remainder of the sentence, especially with T (Fin). Above Fin, Rizzi's recursive Topic position has been shown to be a Focus *field* (Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004), which contains *wh*-interrogative elements, contrastively focalised elements (FocIP), and a projection, FocIIP for less 'marked' elements, like identificational, informational or 'unmarked' foci, anaphoric operators, or even elements with the pragmatic characteristics of a topic 'put into relief' (Benincà 2006: 252). (39) exemplifies a contrastive Focus in Italian:

- (39) MARIO (\*lo) vedo domani (non Luca)  
 Mario Cl.obj.3.sg.m I see tomorrow, not Luca  
 "Tomorrow I'm going to see MARIO, not Luca"

Notice that a clitic copy of the fronted element would be ungrammatical here, thus signalling that the fronted XP has been moved from within the sentence. Furthermore, this Focus field cannot host more than one element (for minimality reasons, cf. Poletto 2002). As to the FocIIP projection, Modern Italian does not exploit this position, but in the older varieties of Italian and in Medieval Romance in general, this projection was much more active.<sup>21</sup>

Just above the Focus Field, the the Topic field hosts the projections for left-dislocated

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21 FocIIP seems more available in the Southern varieties of Italy, which present various cases of fronted elements with no clitic copy.

elements (which can be more than one), and for Topics with a List Interpretation. The following examples illustrate the relative order of Left Dislocation and of Contrastive Focus in Italian (40a) and the relative order of Left Dislocation and List interpretation (40b):

- (40) a. [LD Il tuo amico [FocI A MARIA lo presenterò  
Your friend to Mary Cl.obj.3.sg.m present.fut.1.sg  
"I will introduce your friend TO MARY"]
- b. [LD Agli amici [LI la prima [IP gliela vendiamo (la seconda gliela regaliamo)]]]  
To-the friends the former Cl.dat.Cl.acc.3.f.sg sell the second Cl.dat.Cl.acc.3.f.sg give  
"To friends, the former we sell, the latter we give for free."

Notice again the obligatory clitic copy for both Topics, which is taken by Benincà (2006) as evidence that such fronted XPs have been in fact *base-generated* in CP. The next field above Topic, the Frame field, contains a specific position for "scene setting" adverbs and for Hanging Topics, and above the Frame field, there is a position for relative elements. Notice that only one Hanging Topic is possible.<sup>22</sup>

In the light of such fine-grained Left Periphery, Benincà (2006) proposes that the V2 property of Old Italian is to be analysed as verb movement to the head of one of the lower projections of the CP domain, namely, in the Focus field.<sup>23</sup> More specifically, in cases like the ones in (33), the verb moves to the head of the FocIIP projection, yielding subject-verb inversion.<sup>24</sup> In other words, the V2 constraint of Old Italian is satisfied in the lower portion of CP, which can host just one XP with operator-like properties: either an XP *moved* from within the sentence (hence the obligatory absence of clitic copies), or one of a small set of sentential operators (adverbs) like Old French (*ain*)*si* and Old Italian *sì*, "so", Old French *lors* "then", Venetian *an*, Old French *ainz* "on the contrary" etc. Under such account, the higher projections of the CP layer are still available and can host *base-generated* elements like Topic or Frame adverbs/PPs, thus yielding cases of V3, V4, V\*. Moreover, such an analysis accounts also for the various cases of V1, which can be analysed as involving a null Topic (or a null

22 Though presenting clitic copies like Left Dislocated elements, Hanging Topics: are DP elements (with no prepositions), can be copied by a clitic but also by a tonic pronoun or by a full DP, are rather restricted in embedded clauses (though not in Italian, where they appear before complementisers). See Benincà & Poletto (2004) for an exhaustive discussion of the relevant differences.

23 That V2 and the linear restriction should be viewed as a property of a low CP projection has also been proposed by Roberts (2004). In particular, Roberts (2004) assumes that V2 should be reformulated as a property of the Fin° head of FinP, which has a strong EPP feature requiring movement or merge of any XP in front of the verb in Fin°. In Roberts' terms, SpecFinP acts like a "bottle neck" through which only one XP can move: once the EPP feature on Fin° has been satisfied by an XP, no other XP is allowed to move into the Left Periphery. This derives the linear restriction and the subject-verb inversion, yet, as noticed in Poletto (2002), it does not prevent, in principle, cases of V3, provided that the other elements in the CP be base-generated there (as Topics typically are).

24 Notice that V2 languages show variation as regards the possibility of subject DP inversion (cf. for instance Bidese 2008 for such a ban in Cimbrian and the detailed discussion in Grewendorf & Poletto 2011).

Force Operator as I will assume for OE).<sup>25</sup>

Given the similarities shown above between the V2 patterns of Old Italian and the V2 patterns of OE, I propose that OE presents a Medieval-Romance-like "relaxed V2", in which the V2 constraint is satisfied only in specific contexts, but which allows also for V1, and V3 cases when specific elements like Topics and Frame elements are involved (see Kroch and Taylor 1997 on "true" V3 orders with scene-setting adverbs).<sup>26</sup> In the light of this, the absence of obligatory subject verb inversion as in the cases in (35), and the presence of V3 orders with pronouns and light adverbs constitute no evidence that these contexts should not present the finite verb in the CP domain.<sup>27</sup>

However, some further specifications are in order. Clearly, there are a number of very important differences between the superficial manifestations of the relaxed V2 of OE and those of the Old Italian V2. The first important difference regards the fact that OE does not present clitic-copies, hence we cannot rely on the strongest syntactic evidence for the identification of the Topic or Focus nature of a fronted XP. Furthermore, the next important difference regards the fact that most of the V3 orders of OE occur with personal pronouns, and light adverbs, cf. (4a). Interestingly however, the same type of elements were involved in the few cases of V3 attested in Old High German, cf. Tomaselli (1995) for V3 orders with (mainly subject) pronouns<sup>28</sup> (41), and Axel (2007) for V3 orders with some adverbs corresponding to those of OE, like *tho* and *nu*, the Old High German cognates of Old English *þa* and *nu*, cf. (42):

- (41) a. [dhaz] *ir* chichundida  
that(ACC) he showed.  
"That he showed"  
(*Isidor* 248; Tomaselli 1995: 346 [1a])
- b. [erino portun] *ih* firchnussu  
iron doors I shatter

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25 That such an account is on the right track comes from the fact that in V1 contexts Old Italian presents obligatory *enclisis*, which signals that the Focus field contains no elements and the verb has moved higher.

26 The linear V3 restriction is violated also in Old High German, which presents a series of V3 orders with very specific elements. For a detailed discussion of the contexts, see Fuss (2003) and Axel (2007).

27 Bidese (2008) interestingly shows that Cimbrian, a German dialect spoken in the north of Italy, presented in its earlier stages exactly these two properties: absence of subject-DP inversion and V3 orders with (possibly weak) pronouns. Nonetheless, Cimbrian was and still is a V2 language, with a V2 constraint operating much like the V2 constraint of older Germanic and Old Romance.

28 It should be noted however that the V3 orders with these types of elements are rather restricted in Old High German. In this respect, Tomaselli (1995:348) points out that there are at least two major differences between OHG and OE: (i) in OE this construction is well attested also in the prose whereas in OHG it is attested only in the translation of *Isidor* and partially in the *Monsee-Wiener Fragmenten* (a translation of parts of the Gospel of St. Matthew from the 9<sup>th</sup> century); (ii) in OHG the intervening pronoun is only the subject pronoun while in OE it could be the object (direct or indirect) of a verb, the object of a preposition or even a reflexive pronoun:

“I will destroy iron portals”  
*Portas aereas conteram* (Isidor 157; Tomaselli 1995: 346 [1b])

- c. [Dhes martyrunga endi dodh] *uuir* findemes  
 His martyrdom and death we demonstrate  
 mit urchundin dhes heilegin chiscribes.  
 with evidence the holy Writings(GEN)  
 “We demonstrate his martyrdom and his death with evidence from the Holy Writings.”  
*Cuius passionem et mortem in suo loco scripturarum testimoniis adprobabimus*  
 (Isidor 516; Tomaselli 1995: 346 [1c])

(42) a. /her *tho* antuurtita inti quad in/  
 he then answered and said them  
 “but he answered and said to them”  
*qui respondens ait eis:* (Tatian 335,18; Axel 2007: 224, [84a])

- b. Hinan frammert *nu* chichundemes mit herduome dhes heilegin chiscribes ...  
 from further now demonstrate with authority the.GEN holy.GEN Scripture.GEN  
 “from here on we will demonstrate with the authority of the holy Scripture...”  
*Dehinc scripture auctoritate eundem ... mostremus* (Isidors 379; Axel 2007: 225 [86b])

This situation seems to indicate that we are dealing with special elements, and indeed, it has been proposed that both pronouns and adverbs in such a position should be viewed like *clitics* (van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991, 1999), a view with which I also agree, though with some further specifications (see 2.3). In particular, anticipating here part of the proposals of the next section, if we consider such elements as "deficient", or better weak elements (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999) hosted in a dedicated Wackernagel-like position (WP) in the Left Periphery between Topic and Focus (see below for motivations), it is possible to use them as signposts, giving us at least some indication on the position of the finite verb and of the fronted XP in the CP domain. Starting from the cases of V3 like the following, (43) (examples from Kroch & Taylor 1997: 302-3, [4]-[5a]), the fronted XPs appearing before the pronouns may occupy a projection in the Topic/Frame field according to their semantic interpretation

(43) a. [Topic *Ælc yfel*] [WP *he mæg don & ælc he deð*]<sup>29</sup>  
 Each evil.ACC he can do and each he did

(WHom 4, 62)

29 This example is very much reminiscent of the Italian *anteposizione anaforica* ("anaphoric anteposition"), cf. the following:

(i) Il re portò un vestito alla figlia maggiore e un vestito portò anche alla figlia minore  
 the king brought a dress to the daughter elder and a dress brought also to the daughter younger  
 "The king brought a dress to his elder daughter and a dress he also brought to the younger daughter"

See Benincà (1988) for a more detailed discussion of the properties of this construction. As to the precise position occupied by the fronted XP in the CP domain, the fact that it does not present a clitic copy may indicate that it is hosted in the Focus field, yet it is still rather unclear (P. Benincà p. c.).

“He can do every evil and every evil he did”

- b. [Topic *scortlice*] [WP *ic hæbbe nu gesæd ymb þa þrie dælas...*  
briefly I have now spoken about the three parts  
"I have know spoken briefly about the three parts..."  
(Or 9.18)
- c. [ScSett *æfter his gebede*] [WP *he ahof þæt cild up ...*  
after his prayer he lifted the child up  
"After his prayers he lifted up the child..."  
(ÆCHom 2.28)
- d. [Topic *þin agen geleafa*] [WP *þe hæfþ gehæledne*  
your own faith you has healed  
"your own faith has healed you"  
(BlHom 15)

As regards the position of the finite verb, this appears immediately after the subject pronoun (at least in main clauses): this means that it does not reach the higher portion of the CP, and remains in its lower heads. The specific position targeted by the finite verb w.r.t the weak pronouns will be addressed more in detail in the next section, 2.3, as I will argue that it interacts with the grammatical function of the pronoun (if subject or complement).

Coming back to the cases of "strict V2" with the elements in (1), the fact that these elements are immediately followed by the verb, yielding inversion also with pronouns may be accounted for by assuming that the elements in (1)—usually viewed like operators (Pintzuk 1991, 1999)—are hosted in the higher portion of CP, above Topic. In this proposal, I follow Poletto (2000), who proposes that in V2 languages, in particular German, a fronted XP and the inflected verb move to the CP highest position, namely Force, in order to check some Force feature. Adopting her idea, I propose that something similar might be at work in the OE sentences starting with one of the "operators" in (1). In particular, I take *þa* to occupy ForceP, which I take to be a criterial position in the sense of Rizzi (2004), and as such, it hosts also the finite verb in its head. In the case of *ne* + V, I take these to be but instances of V1 since *ne* is a proclitic negation occurring always before the verb even in cases of Negative Concord. Under such a view, both *ne*+V and the cases of V1 may present either a null Topic or a null operator in Force, a null *þa*.<sup>30</sup> Lastly, the strict V2 orders with *wh*-elements and with main questions may be accounted for by assuming that both the *wh*-item and the interrogative null operator move to Force, moving across the position for weak pronouns.<sup>31</sup>

30 This proposal is completely in line with the traditional account of V1 in old Germanic as involving a null discourse operator like "then".

31 Notice that such a high positioning for *wh*-items is also argued for in Grewendorf and Poletto (2011), at least for a specific class of interrogative elements. Moreover, Poletto (2000) provides evidence from the Northern Italian dialects that different types of *wh*-items target different positions in the CP layer according

In the remainder of this thesis, I assume the following structure for the OE Left Periphery (C° marks where V can move, the criterial positions in the sense of Rizzi 2004):

- (44) (HT) [Force/ *pa* C° [<sub>Frame</sub> [SceneSetters (C°) [<sub>Topic</sub> [LD [LI {<sub>Wackernagel field</sub> [<sub>SubjP</sub> pro<sub>subj</sub> C° [<sub>WP</sub> pro<sub>obj/obl</sub> – *pa*] {<sub>Focus</sub> [FocI Contr [FocII Unmarked/ *WH/?Op* C° [Fin C°

Notice that I take Hanging Topics to precede the Force operator *pa*, as the HT position can sometimes be filled by a subject (see 2.3.2). This is in line also with Poletto (2002), who also assumes Hanging Topics to be higher than Force. Furthermore, in adopting a fine-grained CP structure for OE my proposal is also in line with many other authors who have argued for the presence of an articulated CP in the Germanic varieties, old and modern (Alber 1994, Guidolin, to appear, Cognola 2010, Gewendorf & Poletto 2011 among many others for the Left Periphery of the modern varieties of German; Franco 2009 for the relaxed V2 of Modern Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian).

Thus, the fine-grained structure of the OE Left Periphery allows for a straightforward derivation of the various superficial manifestation of "structural V" in main clauses, i.e., V1, V2, V3 ... V<sub>n</sub> orders, which depend on the types of XP that can be fronted, and whether they are fronted to a criterial position in the CP, in which case they are directly followed by the finite verb. On the other hand however, the adoption of a split CP perspective is not immediately compatible with the "asymmetric V2" of OE, i.e., if in the traditional pre-split CP accounts, verb movement to C° was blocked by the presence of a complementiser in C°, how is this restriction to be captured in an account which allows for several C head? In order to solve this apparent incompatibility, I make the very strong assumption that the finite verb *always* targets Fin° in a V2 language, in both main and embedded clauses, but in the embedded contexts, the C° heads above Fin° are blocked. This means that the "asymmetric V2" can be viewed as the possibility for the finite verb to move into the higher C° heads in main contexts (like Focus, Topic, Frame, Force, etc.), while in embedded clauses the verb remains in Fin°. Under such assumptions, only the heads of the various CP fields are blocked, but the Specs of the higher projections in (44) can still host some elements, thus still allowing for topicalisation in specific contexts like those identified in van Kemenade (1997) for instance<sup>32</sup>, for some Scene Setting adverbs/PPs and even for relative pronouns in both definite and indefinite

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to their semantic interpretation, and their interactions with a specific class of clitics.

32 Van Kemenade (1997) shows that embedded topicalisation is rather uncommon in OE, and it seems to occur mainly in unaccusative or impersonal contexts, i.e., when an *experimver* is in subject position. Notice however that such restriction does not constitute evidence against an analysis of OE V2 as involving a Split-CP since languages impose independent constraints on the availability of the higher Specs of CP in embedded clauses (cf. Benincà 2006, and the fact that HTs and Scene Setting adverbs are generally avoided in (non declarative) embedded contexts also in Italian).

clauses.

Speaking about embedded clauses, I turn now to my second assumption, which regards the derivation of the OV/VO alternations as this is especially evident in subordinate contexts. In complete accordance with Biberauer & Roberts (2005), I assume that OE mixed word order is the result of *one single* grammar, which allows a fair degree of variation as regards the size of the moved constituent to a specific projection. Though maintaining that all the possible patterns in (13) for both main and embedded clause of OE are to be derived by pied-piping of a more or less large constituent, I do not however agree with part of the assumptions and part of the derivation proposed in Biberauer & Roberts (2005) as their account is problematic at least under a couple of respects.

Frist, Biberauer & Roberts (2005) account for the word orders in (13) above by proposing that they all derive from the selection of either the pied-piping or non-pied-piping option for the checking of the strong EPP feature of TP and for the optional EPP feature of vP. More precisely, their account entails that T and v probes for a D-bearing element (the subject and the object), triggering the over movement of either the DPs alone or of the entire VP/vP. Under this proposal however, the checking of the EPP on TP treats subject pronouns and full-DP subject alike (both merged in Spec outer vP), and predicts that they should pattern alike, something which is clearly contrary to fact, as subject DPs and subject pronouns target different positions in both main and embedded clauses.<sup>33</sup> This problem however may be easily bypassed in the light of the proposal I will be making in the next section, i.e., that subject pronouns are weak elements hosted in a dedicated projection in the Left Periphery of OE. If we analyse, following van Kemenade (1987), these elements as binding a co-indexed *pro* in the relevant A-position for the subject in the Spec of the outer vP)<sup>34</sup>, the derivation may still proceed as in Biberauer & Roberts (2005), with *pro* involved in the derivation, while the subject pronoun hosted in SpecWP in the Left Periphery.

However, there is a second problematic aspect with Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) account, namely, the fact that their account of the "verb raising" and "verb projection raising" orders  $S - O - Aux - V$  and  $S - Aux - O - V$  crucially hinges upon the analysis of modals as "restructuring verbs" introducing an additional infinitival TP into structure (cf. the derivation in [27] and [29]), with its own EPP feature to check and triggering movement of the vP. I am not at all convinced by the fact that such verbs introduce such an infinitival TP, as I believe, in

<sup>33</sup> This is especially true of main clauses, cf. the restriction in (2) above. However, in subordinate clauses we do find cases of DP subjects in near-sentence-final position (within the VP; cf. the cases of impersonal passives and presentative constructions in van Kemenade 1987), while a comparable VP-internal position is not available to subject pronouns (cf. Pintzuk 1991, 1999)

<sup>34</sup> This is the traditional analysis of subject clitics, which are coindexed with a *pro* in the relevant A-position (see Poletto 1993 and references therein).

total agreement with Cinque (1999) that modals realise the heads of specific functional projections in the IP domain.<sup>35</sup> In the light of this, the OV/VO alternation has to be derived in a different way. Nonetheless, the real problem with an account of "verb raising" and "verb projection raising" in such terms is that it cannot be easily accommodated when these same patterns are found with compound tenses, with an auxiliary and a past participle, which cannot be analysed as "restructuring verbs", and thus introduce no infinitival TP since the auxiliary is no lexical head selecting for an infinitival complement.

One last third problematic aspect may regard a technicality of the derivation, i.e., the fact that the satisfaction of EPP feature of the matrix TP in a case like (28), i.e. of the sequence *S – Aux – O – V*—the typical "verb projection raising" sequence—involves extraction from a remnant vP, which has been moved to the Spec of the infinitival TP for checking its EPP feature. Under a more restrictive approach to remnant movement, such extractions are not admitted, and the remnant XP when moved into a specific projection should be "frozen" in place.

For all these reasons, I reject Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) account of the various word orders of (13) as deriving from the need to check the EPP feature of TP by moving the subject (or a larger constituent containing the subject). Nonetheless, I still believe that a revisited version of their proposal—together with my earlier assumption that the OE finite verb targets Fin<sup>o</sup>--can account in a rather simple way for the word order patterns found in *embedded clauses*. But, before turning to my proposal in this regard, I would like to spend a couple of words on the OV/VO alternation in OE *main* clauses, as a better understanding of how this alternation is to be derived can shed more light on the syntactic movements operating in embedded clauses, suggesting furthermore a possible answer as to how the order *S – V – O – Aux* is never attested.

Though the VO/OV alternation has been much studied in relation to subordinate clauses, OE presents mixed OV/VO orders in main clauses as well. Interestingly, this alternation is not only found in other modern Germanic varieties like Mocheno (Cognola 2010), which presents a OV/VO mixed syntax and crucially a relaxed V2, but also in Old Italian (Poletto 2006a,b), again a "relaxed V2 language", which could pre-pose to the non finite verb not only various internal arguments but also adverbials and verbal modifiers in general, cf. the following (example from Poletto 2006b):

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35 It is true that some OE modals had still preponderant lexical uses like *cunnan* "know" and *willan* "want" but may still be viewed as functional meanings, which Cinque (1999) locates in rather low in his hierarchy, very close to the boundary with vP/VP material.

- (45) a. Allora il cavaliere che'n sì alto mesterò avea **la mente** *misa*<sup>36</sup>,  
Then the knight that in so high work had his mind set  
(Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, v. 1975; Poletto 2006b: 210, [1])
- b. avegna che neuno possa **buono avvocato** *essere* nè perfetto  
happens that no-one can good advocate be, nor perfect  
(Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 147, r.1; Poletto 2006b: 212, [9e])
- c. il cavaliere era **molto bene** *costumato*  
the knight was so well educated  
(*Novellino*, p. 311, r. 3; Poletto 2006b: 213, [10e])

Noticing however that such OV instances do not constitute the unmarked order of Old Italian, Poletto (2006a,b) proposes that the Old Italian OV is due to a movement operation similar to scrambling, which targets a Focus position in the low IP area. More precisely, adopting Jayaseelan's (2001) and Belletti's (2001, 2004) proposal that there are Focus and Topic projections in IP, Poletto (2006a,b) proposes that the various XPs found in Old Italian OV have been moved to the Spec of a LowFocus position, located in the Low Left Periphery, i.e., the Left Periphery of the vP area:

- (46) [<sub>LowTop</sub> [<sub>LowTop</sub> [<sub>LowFocus</sub> **O** Focus<sup>o</sup> **V** ... [VP] ]

In Poletto's terms, the Low Left Periphery represents a "Topic-Focus field" closing off the lowest phase vP, which is structurally parallel to the High Left Periphery in CP. As to the motivation behind this scrambling, Poletto proposes to view the Old Italian OV as a case of V2 in the Low Left Periphery. More formally, Poletto claims that the features associated with a functional head—Focus in Old Italian—are parametrised as phase independent properties. Under such a proposal, which Poletto terms "parallel phases hypothesis", if a head is endowed with strong features in a given language, once it is introduced into structure it will yield uniformity of behaviour across phases. Thus, Old Italian presents a strong feature on Focus<sup>o</sup>, yielding not only V2 in the CP (see Benincà 2006 and above), but also OV orders in the Low Left Periphery and cases of antepositions in both the DP domain, and the PP domain (cf. 3.3.3). This predication is borne out, as crucially the OV orders are lost when the V2 constraint is lost (see Poletto 2006b).

Adopting Poletto's idea of "parallel phases" I propose that the OV cases of OE

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36 In the OV orders, the past participle always agrees with the preposed direct object (see Egerland 1996). Poletto (2006a,b) takes this as evidence that the OV structures involve overt movement of the direct object and of the participle through AgrOP, a projection encoding object agreement. AgrOP is located lower than LowFocusP, the projection targeted by both the object and the participle in Old Italian OV, this means that past participle is obligatory in OV structures. See Poletto (2006a,b) for a detailed discussion.

should be analysed as cases of V2 in the Low Left Periphery. Yet, I do not take OE main clause OV to involve a Focus position, but to involve a position in or above the LowTopics. In the most general case, the OV pattern in main clauses involves a direct object, which is moved from its base generated position to either a LowTopic, or to a dedicated position before adverbial PPs:

(47) [LowTopic **DO** [Adverbial PPs [LowFocus ... [VP

This is in line not only with Cognola's (2010) proposal for the derivation of the direct object position in the OV orders of Mocheno OV syntax in main declarative clauses, but also with the often noted asymmetry in the position of the direct object in standard German depending on its information status and on its definite vs. indefinite nature. Following the traditional accounts (as the one in Ross 1967), these cases involve scrambling to a position outside VP, a A'-position.<sup>37</sup> As to the position of the non-finite verb, I take this to be either in the head of the projection hosting the scrambled direct object or in one of lower projections, either an AspP of some kind (Cinque 1999) or in projection which I will call "GroundP", a projection parallel to the High Left Periphery "GroundP" argued for by Poletto & Pollock (2004) in their account of *wh*-doubling phenomena in Romance.<sup>38</sup>

(48) [LowTopic **DO** Topic° (**V-inf**) [Adverbial PPs [GroundP (**V-inf**) [LowFocus ... [VP t<sub>DO</sub> t<sub>V</sub><sup>39</sup>

Thus, the various attested orders in the OE main clauses derive from the fact that the non-finite verb has the possibility to target various positions within IP.

In the light of the above observations, we may consider such a derivation for the *S – Aux – O – V* orders as involving a V2 property parallel to the High Left Periphery V2 involving the higher "Force" and "Topic" projections (see above): given Poletto's "parallel phase" hypothesis, the higher projection hosting the direct object may be viewed as the "Topic" or "Force" projection of the Low Left Periphery, just in the same way in which the V2 property of the High Left Periphery involves *strict* V2 with operator-like elements in Force.

37 The traditional test involves the position of definite and indefinite objects w.r.t. negation *nicht* in German, which is considered as outside VP. Cf. Roberts (1997: 404ff.) and relevant references, for the possibility that certain direct objects have undergone scrambling.

38 In Poletto & Pollock (2004) this projection attracts (part of) a remnant IP whose constituents are marked with a [+ground] feature. Along the same lines, non-finite verb movement to this projection may involve remnant movement of the VP.

39 The order of the traces indicate that I follow what Cinque (2009) entails, i.e., that arguments are generated above the lexical projection containing the lexical entry of the V.

Under such an account then, the unmarked order of an OE main clause should be  $S - Aux - O - V$ . Yet, VO orders are possible as well, and as shown in Pintzuk (1991, 1999) they become more frequent towards the end of the Old English period.<sup>40</sup> In order to derive these orders I take the direct object to move to the Low Focus position, a criterial position in the sense of Rizzi (2006), thus undergoing "criterial freezing", i.e., the direct object cannot be further moved out of LowFocus. The non-finite verb in such cases moves, as usual, to one of the projections in the Topic area of the Low Left Periphery or to the "Ground" projection proposed above. Such an account may be supported by the observation made in Kroch & Pintzuk (1989) that post-participial objects in *Beowulf* are always focussed.

With this much picture in mind, I turn now to the derivation of the various word order patterns in the embedded clauses, showing how the proposed further step in the derivation of these clauses can be linked to the derivations just proposed for the OV/VO mixed syntax in root contexts. As mentioned above, I reject Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) idea that the alternations in (13) derive from the checking of an EPP feature on T, and I propose instead that such a feature is activated in FinP, the lower projection of the CP domain, by virtue of the fact that in embedded clauses the finite verb moves to Fin<sup>o</sup>. More precisely, the fact that in embedded clauses the higher heads of the CP layer are blocked forces the finite verb to stay put in Fin<sup>o</sup>, thus requiring that the Spec of FinP be filled by some sort of constituent, either by a direct object, or by the subject, or by a remnant of what remains after various focus specific operations (like DO in Focus of the low Left Periphery). I furthermore suggest that the syntactic operation moving some sort of element from within the clause targets the higher projections closing off the vP phase, i.e, the ones hosting the direct object and the Topics, leaving the LowFocusP in its place. Thus, the fact that the elements fronted to

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40 I do not wish to go into the details of why the change from OV to VO came about but I would like to give at least some indications on how it might have proceeded. First of all, Pintzuk (2002a) shows that, pace Roberts (1997), the change in the position of the direct object w.r.t to the verb has no relation whatsoever with the decline of overt case marking. That morphology has no impact on the change from OV to VO has also been confirmed by Polo (2004, 2006), who studied the alternation between OV and VO in a late Latin text, Titus Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*. Instead, Polo's study has shown a very interesting situation in late Latin: in the passage from OV to VO, OV is regularly attested with negative quantifiers, and VO starts to be attested first with definite non prototypical DO, (cf. also Poletto 2007 for OV orders with bare negative QPs in Old Italian, which derive because bare negative QPs have a dedicated slot in a higher position than other object DPs).

As regards OE, a similar situation seems to emerge as well: Pintzuk & Taylor (2004) for instance quantify OV orders in the YCOE corpus according to whether the object is positive, negative or quantified. Their table 3 (Pintzuk & Taylor 2004; 142) reports a very interesting 100% of one-word negative objects in pre-verbal position, while the lower rates of OV are found with positive objects (for all of the three factors considered: length, clausal type and date of composition). This tantamounts to say that OV orders are most conservative with negative bare quantifiers, as is the case in late Latin (Polo 2004, 2006) and Old Italian (Poletto 2007), while VO is more attested with positive (possibly definite?) DO's. For OE, see Pintzuk (2002b) and Kroch & Taylor (2000) who show that "positive" objects scramble leftward less often and for different reason than negative/quantified objects.

SpecFinP may be either the OV constituent, or the direct object or only the non-finite verb may be captured by Chomsky's *Phase Impenetrability Condition*: the constituents which will be fronted to SpecFinP are those located in the Spec and in the head of the outer projection of the vP phase, i.e, the direct object (and/or) the non-finite verb. <sup>41</sup>

In the following examples, I illustrate how such a fronting to SpecFin operates in OE subordinate clauses, showing how the very detailed maps developed by the Cartographic Approach for both the High and Low Left Peripheries are extremely helpful in the identification of what can be moved and where the moved XP can land. In the first example, (49), I present the structural representation of a subordinate clause introduced by a sort of temporal relative subordinator, and of an embedded complement clause:

- (49) *Pa æfter sumum fyrste* [<sub>ForceP</sub> *þa* Force<sup>o</sup> *ða*] [<sub>WP</sub> *he* [<sub>FinP</sub> (*ofaxod*)<sub>i</sub> Fin<sup>o</sup> *hæfde* *t<sub>i</sub>*] [<sub>SubP</sub> *þæt*  
 Then after svome.DAT period when.then he asked had that  
 [<sub>Topic</sub> *se halga Hilarius* [ ... [<sub>FinP</sub> (*ham cyrran*)<sub>k</sub> Fin<sup>o</sup> *moste* [<sub>IP</sub> ...*t<sub>k</sub>*] [<sub>SourceP</sub> *of þam wrecsiðe*,  
 [...]  
 the holy H. home returned must from the.DAT exile.DAT  
(ÆLS Martin 201)  
 "Then after a space when he had learned that the holy Hilary was allowed to return  
 homefrom his exile, ...."

The derivation of the second embedded clause in (49) interacts with the element *ham* which behaves like a Prt in OE (since, I argue, that *ham* and *of þam wrecsiðe* originate within the same PP, cf. 3.4.3). At any rate, *ham cyrran* has been fronted from a position above the PP, as can be inferred by cases of the pattern *Prt – V<sub>inf</sub> – PP* found in both main and embedded clauses, cf. the following:

- (50) a. ...*þu come hider, Maure, to uncuðum earde, and wendest þæt ðu mihtest us*  
 ... you come hither, M., to unknown.DAT nation.DAT and think that you can us  
***awegdrifan of urum wunungum.***  
 away-drive from our.DAT dwellings.DAT  
(ÆLS Maur, 304)  
 "Thou earnest hither, Maurus, to a strange land, and thoughtest that thou  
 couldst drive us away out of our dwellings"

In (50), the Prt precedes the non-finite verb and the PP follows it. Interestingly, such a case is in an embedded declarative clause, which may present in OE root word order (as is the case here, given the fact that the finite verb separates the two pronouns in WP; see next section for a discussion of this as an indication of main clause word order).

<sup>41</sup> OE also presents subordinate clauses with main clause word order (especially those embedded under bridge verbs), and also main clauses with verb final orders (Koopman 1995). Moreover, coordinate clauses (with *ac*, *and* etc) present both orders (see Mitchell 1985). All these facts can be easily accommodated in an analysis along the lines proposed here..

In the following example, I show the structural representation of a relative clause and of a coordinate clause, which tend to present subordinate word order in OE (cf. Mitchell 1985; Traugott 1972):

- (51) *Þa wende þæt fyr forð mid þam winde to anum þære huse, [Rel<sub>wh</sub> Rel<sub>wh</sub>° þe*  
 Then turned the fire forth with the.DAT wind.DAT to one.DAT the.GEN houses.DAT that  
*[Fin þær gehendost Fin° stod, [ac [Topic Martinus [ ...*  
 there nearest stood but M.  
*[ModP (mid ofste); [FinP (uppon þæt hus); Fin° astah t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub>, and [...]*  
 with haste.DAT up-in the.ACC house.ACC climbed and  
(ÆLS Martin 430)  
 "Then the fire turned forward with the wind towards one of the houses which stood  
 nearest thereto; but Martin with haste climbed up on to the house, and ..."

I derive (51) in this way since the subordinate clause introduced by *ac* exhibits the  $V_{fin}$  in sentence final position but  $V$  is preceded by two PPs in the order Manner > Locative. Now, if the sentence were truly V-final (in the sense of German), this order would be unexpected since  $Loc > Manner$  cannot be the basic, or the unmarked order when a language has OV properties: Cinque (2006) and Schweikert (2005) for German, and Koster (1974) and Barbiers (1995) for Dutch, which exhibit two possible orders,  $Temp > Loc > Manner > V$  in embedded clauses and  $V > Manner > Loc > Temp$  in V2 contexts. This means that the order before  $V$  in (49) is derived by some sort of focus sensitive movement; I propose that the Manner PP *mid ofste* moves to FocI for criterial reasons (or even to ModP, the projection identified for adverbial modifiers by Rizzi 2002), while the directional PP *uppon þæt hus* is in FinP, and the verb in Fin°.

The last example I consider involves an embedded complement clause with the order  $IO - V - Aux - DO$ :

- (52)  $[_{CP} C^{\circ} \text{þæt } [_{WP} \text{hi } [_{FinP} (\text{urum godum geoffrian}); \text{Fin}^{\circ} \text{magon}$   
 that they our.DAT gods.DAT offer may  
 $t_i [_{Foc} \text{þancwurþe onsægednyse}$   
 grateful sacrifice  
(ÆCHom I, 38.516.259; example (7) in Koopman 2005: 49)  
 "... that they may offer grateful sacrifice to our gods"

I propose that in (52) the direct object moves to the LowFocus position, where it remains "frozen", leaving the indirect object to move to a LowTopic position and the main verb to move into the head of this projection. The EPP feature on FinP targets this projection and moves it by pied-piping into SpecFin.

The analysis here proposed for the derivation of the OV/VO alternations in OE

embedded clauses as involving an EPP feature on FinP is reminiscent of the EPP feature of FinP triggering Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic and in Old Italian as shown by Franco (2009). Clearly, the two phenomena are not directly comparable since, as is well known, the Stylistic Fronting of Modern Icelandic obtains under the so called "subject gap" condition and targets a very small element, a Prt, a predicative adjective, a DP or a non-finite verb (see Franco 2009 for a review of the extensive literature on Stylistic Fronting). Although Franco analyses Stylistic Fronting as resulting from a remnant of the vP after it has been vacated from all its constituents,<sup>42</sup> it is nonetheless interesting that OE displays a comparable mechanism fronting the same types of elements, with the only exception that in OE this syntactic operation can target a larger XP. In this respect, OE Stylistic Fronting seems more similar to the cases of Stylistic Fronting of Old Italian, which as Franco (2009) notes, can move a rather "heavy" constituent into SpecFin (or SpecModP, the Modifier Phrase for adverb fronting identified by Rizzi 2004).

To conclude on this section, I have argued that the OE word order possibilities as regards both the mixed OV/VO syntax and the V2 property may be better captured in a detailed Cartography of the High and Low Left Periphery, which contain very specific projections encoding various interpretative features. Furthermore, I have shown that the high degree of variation attested in OE can be found also in other varieties, most notably in Old Italian (Benincà 2006, Poletto 2006a,b, Franco 2009) and in some modern German varieties (Cimbrian, Bidese 2008, Grewendorf & Poletto 2011, Mocheno, Cognola 2010). In particular, I have suggested that the special V2 property of OE may be better understood in the light of the Split-CP hypothesis and by assuming that OE presents a "relaxed V2" behaving like the relaxed V2 of Old Italian and Medieval Romance in many—even though not all—respects. Furthermore, following much recent work on the mixed OV/VO orders of both Old Italian (Poletto 2006a,b) and on Mocheno (a German variety spoken in Italy, Cognola 2010), I have suggested that the mixed OV/VO syntax of OE main clauses may be viewed as involving different positions in the Low Left Periphery. As regards embedded clauses, OE seems to present a syntactic operation similar to Stylistic Fronting which moves the higher portion of the vP phase into SpecFinP. As to the motivation behind this additional syntactic movement, I suggested that this may derive from the fact that the OE verb cannot raise higher than Fin<sup>o</sup> in embedded clauses, thus endowing FinP with an EPP, which recalls some sort of constituent in its Spec. Therefore, the first clear diagnostic for embedded word order in OE is not the exact position of the finite verb, if higher or lower in the sentence structure, but the presence of

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42 I refer to Franco (2009) for the technical details of the derivation and for the exact structural requirements that must be met in order for Stylistic Fronting to take place.

some sort of vP/VP constituent before the finite-verb.<sup>43</sup> In the next section, I present the second clear diagnostic for embedded word order, i.e., the presence of a cluster of weak pronouns, which derives again from the fact that the verb cannot move into the higher heads of the CP domain.

## 2.3 Monosyllabic Elements

In the above sections, it was mentioned in various occasions that OE monosyllabic elements, in particular personal pronouns and light adverbs like *þa/þonne* "then", *nu* "now", *swa* "so" etc., should be treated with special attention since they present peculiar distributional properties: while they may appear in various positions within the OE sentence, they may however also occur in some special positions, where other DPs or adverbs/PPs are not allowed. In particular, pronominal subjects, pronominal objects and light adverbs can appear in the Left Periphery of the clause, in a position between Topic and the inflected verb. Pronouns may also have a special placement when they are objects of preposition in that they can appear before their governing P.

The special behaviour of OE pronouns has been traditionally attributed to their status of "syntactic clitics", especially since van Kemenade (1987). In the next subsections I present a brief outline of the major theoretical treatments of OE pronouns, and I will present my own account (2.3.1), which hinges on the assumption that the distributional properties of both pronouns and light adverbs depend on the fact that they come in two series in OE, one "weak" and one "strong" in the sense of Cardianletti & Starke (1999). In the next subsection, I take into consideration the adverb *þa* "then, when". Following the proposal of Pintzuk (1991, 1999) that *þa* may be a syntactic clitic when appearing in specific positions, I claim that this adverb may have both a strong and a weak variant when functioning as a "discourse operator": when strong it appears in Force, when weak in appears in the weak field of the Left Periphery (WP). This claim will be supported by the observations made in van Kemenade & Milicev (2005), by a similarity of behaviour with the Old Italian *sì* (both adverb and sentential operator, or CP expletive, following Poletto 2005), and by the presence of the particle *da* in Cimbrian (cognate with the OE *þa*), which is argued to occupy a structural position within the Left Periphery (Grewendorf & Poletto 2011).

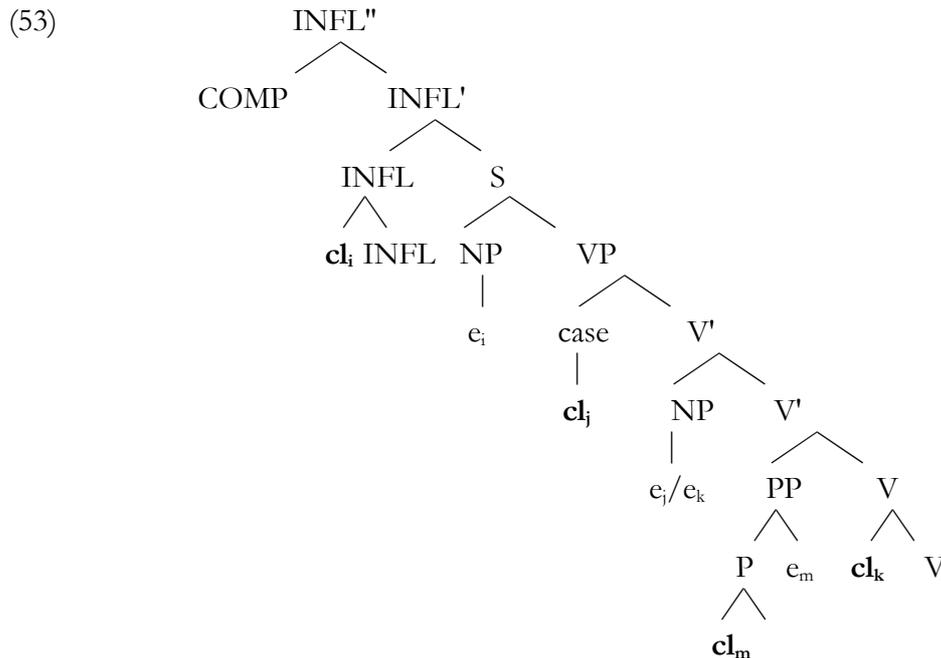
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43 This can give also a first possible account to the small but significant number of verb-final main clauses studied in Koopman (1995). In this respect, these clauses could present V in Fin<sup>o</sup> and no further movement.

### 2.3.1 Personal Pronouns and Light Adverbs: The Weak Field in CP for Wackernagel Elements

As shown above, V3 orders with pronouns and light adverbs are quite common in both OE and Old High German (Tomaselli 1995, Fuss 2003, Axel 2007). These orders however are rather problematic in a pre-Split CP framework, as they represent sheer violations of the V2 linear constraint, which is thought to be the distinctive property for V2 languages (but see the discussion in 2.2.3).

In order to maintain her claim that OE is a V2 language with such a linear constraint, van Kemenade (1987) proposes to analyse personal pronouns as syntactic clitic, which then do not "count" for the syntax (Koopman 1997: 74). More precisely, van Kemenade assumes that OE pronominal subjects, pronominal objects and also R-pronouns are base-generated in A-bar positions adjoined to their case-assigners, and co-indexed with the relevant A-position in the clause, cf. the structure in (53) (taken from Pintzuk 1999, 148: [51]):



In the structure above, there are four different clitic adjunction sites (in boldface): the first one,  $cl_i$ , is on INFL (=COMP in van Kemenade 1987). This position is specific for subject clitics, which adjoin to the left of INFL in main clauses and to the right of INFL in subordinate clauses (as INFL is occupied by a complementiser and clitics appear after it). The second and third positions,  $cl_k$  and  $cl_j$ , are one on the left periphery of VP for objects with

structural case, and the other to the left of the main verb for objects with oblique case. The fourth position,  $cl_m$  is to the left of the preposition for objects of P and R-elements. Given that OE clitics can "float" within the sentence, van Kemenaded furthermore assumes that clitics can move within the clause from their base generated position to other c-commanding clitic positions.

Rejecting van Kemenade's analysis on the basis of various theoretical and empirical arguments (which I must disregard here for reasons of space), Pintzuk (1999) Chapt. 4, proposes that OE pronouns and light adverbs are phrasal affixes, which "float" to clause-initial position, to the left periphery of IP. Pintzuk notices that pronouns tend to have these fixed positions in the clause:

- A. in IP: (Topic/COMP – *pro* –  $V_{fin}$ ;  $V_{fin}$  – *pro* – XP; *pro* – Topic –  $V_{fin}$ <sup>44</sup>)
- B. VP initial: *pro*-DO-V
- C. VP medial, DO-*pro*-V

Object pronouns appear in all of these positions, while subject pronouns can appear only in position A. Here follow some examples from Pintzuk (1999: 139 ff. [28a], [29a], [30a], [31b], [32a], [33a], [34a]):

- (54) a. *IP initial in both head-final and head-initial structures*  
*him se gysel ongan geornice fylstan*  
 them the hostage began willingly help (Mald 265)  
 "The hostage willingly began to help them"
- b. *him þær se gionga cyning þæs oferfæreldes forwiernan mehte*  
 him there the young king the.GEN crossing.GEN prevent could (Orosius 44.19-20)  
 "... the young king could prevent him from crossing there"
- (55) *After the topic, in both head-final and head-initial clauses:*
- a. *þin agen geleafa þe hæfþ gehæledne*  
 your own faith you has healed.ACC (BlHom 15.24-25)  
 "Your own faith has healed you"
- b. *buton se biscep hie mid him hæbban wille*  
 unless the bishop them with him have will (CP 8.5)  
 "... unless the bishop will have them with him..."

44 Pintzuk (1999) gives various examples of this pattern for both subject and object pronouns (cf. her ex. [20-21] on page 136, and [28-29] on pages 139-140), but all show the word order typical of subordinate clauses (there is always some constituent (subject, object or even vP before the finite V). Thus, pronouns do not precede Topics here, but precede the constituent moved into FinP or FocIIP and are to be considered as sitting in the exact same position as in the other two patterns.

- (56) *anywhere in VP:*
- a. swa we sceolan *hine* mid wordum weorþian  
so we must him with words.DAT worship  
(BIHom 31.11)  
"So we must worship him with words..."
- b. þu scealt mid eaforðnyssum *þe* metes tilian  
you shall with difficulties.DATþe food.GEN procure  
(ÆCHom i, 18.15)  
"... you shall procure food for yourself with difficulty..."
- c. ac ða burhware noldon þæs færes *him* getyðian  
but the citizens not-would the.GEN passage.GEN them allow  
(ÆLS 25.444-445)  
"But the burghers would not permit them the passage..."

Moreover, Pintzuk (1999: 147) notes that light averbs like *þa*, *swa*, *þonne* appear in the same positions as object pronouns, when not used as Topics. Here are her examples showing the same pattern of distribution of A, B, and C as noted above for pronouns, (examples from Pintzuk 1999: 144ff., her examples [43b], [44b], [45b], [46b], [47b]):

- (57) a. *clause initial, in both head-final and head-initial clauses:*  
þe ær nan folc ne mehte mid gefeothe gewinnan  
that before non folk not could with battle overcome  
(Orosius, 62.20-21)  
"... that no people could overcome in battle before"
- b. þæt þa se gionga cyning swiðor micle wenende wæs þæt ...  
so.that then the young king much more imagining was that...  
(Orosius, 44.26-27)  
"... so taht the young king then imagined much more that ..."
- (58) *after the topic, V3*  
mid þy ða ongon firenlust weaxan  
with this then began riotous-living increase  
(Bede 48.27)  
"With that, rioutus living then began to increase"
- (59) *anywhere in VP*
- a. se wæs ða reþan ehteras fleonde  
who was th en cruel persecutors fleeing  
(Bede 34.14.15)  
"... who was then fleeing cruel persecutors ..."
- b. þæt hie sceoldon þanon of mid gewinne & mid unfriðe  
that they would thence off with battle and with hostility  
*eft* þæs landes mare geræcan  
again the.GEN land.GEN more reach  
(ChronA, 101.18-19(921))  
"... that they would again reach more of the land from the point with strife and

with hostility")

Pintzuk interestingly notes that in *Beowulf*, both pronouns and light adverbs are unstressed when they appear together. For this reasons Pintzuk (1999: 147) proposes that they should be treated like clitics, which can either left- or right-adjoin to INFL, cf. (60) taken from Pintzuk (1999: 169, [97]):



However, Pintzuk also suggests that both personal pronouns and adverbs are *optionally* syntactic clitics. Specifically, she claims that adverbs and pronouns positioned within the VP are not clitics, as the domain for cliticisation in OE is IP, not VP.

A much deeper investigation of the "clitic" nature of OE personal pronoun is provided in Koopman (1997), whose contribution represents an attempt to establish the exact properties making OE pronouns clitics. Following the long tradition of studies on Romance clitics, Koopman applies Kayne's (1975) criteria for the identification of cliticness in French to the OE pronouns. Here is a very schmatized summary of his finding in connection to Kayne's criteria:

- 1) *clitics occur in special position within the sentence where DPs cannot occur*: OE pronouns do have a special position, namely, position A above, and when they appear before their preposition. Yet when they appear in position B and C above (in VP), they occur in exactly the same positions as other DPs (this is why Pintzuk 1991, 1999 does not considers clitics those pronouns appearing within VP);
- 2) *clitics must occur in their special position*: not obligatorily, as OE pronouns can appear also in sentence final position (even though very rarely, see Koopman 2005)
- 3) *clitics are obligatorily adjacent to their host*: OE pronouns do not always attach to V, and it seems that other constituent can function as hosts (even null hosts; Koopman 1997: 86).
- 4) *clitics cannot occur in isolation*: OE pronouns can occur in isolation
- 5) *clitics cannot be modified*: OE can be modified by *self*, *eall* and by an apposition. Crucially though, Koopman found no instance of modified pronouns in position A above.<sup>45</sup>

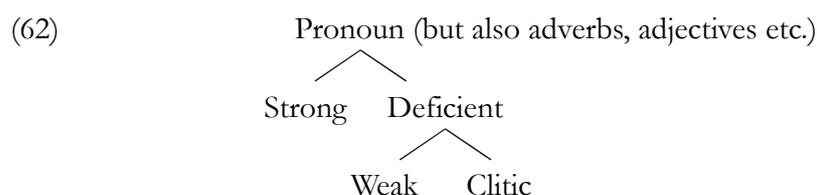
<sup>45</sup> Koopman (1997: 87, [37]) found only one, cf. (i):

(i) God us ealle getryme (Whom 174.86)

- 6) *clitics cannot bear stress*: OE tend to be unstressed in the poetry and not carry the alliteration, yet there are occasional instances of stressed pronouns. Furthermore, in the prose there are clear cases of contrastively focalised pronouns (Koopman 1997: 87, [38]):
- (61) Ne gecure ge me, ac ic geceas eow  
not chose you me, but I chose you  
(ÆCHom ii, 524.22)  
"You did not choose me, but I chose you"
- 7) *clitics cannot be co-joined*: both subject and object pronouns can be co-joined in OE, but the examples are extremely rare, and when coordinated, the object pronouns always occur after the inflected verb, i.e., coordinate object pronouns are never found in position A.
- 8) *clitics occur in clusters, with a special order which is usually the reverse order of their corresponding full NPs*: OE pronouns can appear in clusters, yet, as Koopman (1990) shows the order is ACC-DAT in all positions.

Koopman (1997) has shown then that OE pronouns are not clitics, as none of them in any of the above positions truly satisfies Kayne's criteria.

However, what Koopman (1997) has proved is that OE does not have Romance-type clitics. Since the publication of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), it is customary in the linguistic literature to make a distinction between *three* classes of pronouns, *strong*, *weak* and *clitic*, universally classified as follows:



In other words, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) take such a tripartition<sup>46</sup> to result from two

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God us all comfort

"May God comfort us all"

Notice however that such case can be analysed as V in Fin<sup>o</sup> and us ealle may be the direct object moved into SpecFinP and consequently not a true instance of pronoun modification in position A.

46 The universal tripartition *strong* > *weak* > *clitic* proposed by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) for pronouns and other grammatical elements can also be viewed as a grammaticalisation cline, or better, as a universal pattern of diachronic development for these elements. This seems especially true for some Romance pronouns, in particular for the Italian *egli* "he" and *loro* "they, to them, of them". As noticed in Egerland (2002: 28-29, who in turn quotes Salvi 1994), these elements derive from Lat. ILLE "he, that" and ILLORUM "of them" (genitive form of ILLE), which had strong properties in Latin. In the passage to the medieval varieties of Italian, the two pronouns became weak elements, and they still are weak in Modern Italian (see Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). However, *egli* and *loro* have also developed clitic forms: strong ILLE has become a clitic subject *ei* in the Northern Italian dialects, while a clitic *lo'* is attested in a number of text of 14<sup>th</sup> century Senese (see

fundamental dichotomies: the first one between "strong" and "deficient" elements, while the second is within the deficient forms, between "weak" and "clitic". Formally, such a tripartition is captured in terms of "structural deficiency", i.e., the strong forms have more internal structure than the weak forms, which in turn have more structure than the clitic forms. In the case of pronouns, the strong forms correspond to the fully-fledged structure of a referential DP, consisting of all the functional projections on top of the lexical category, cf. (63), (see Giusti 2006 for the internal architecture of DPs and the structural parallels with the clause):

(63) [CP [FP [FP ... [NP] ]

Deficient pronouns lack the highest functional layers, the difference between weak and clitic depending on how "severe" the structural deficiency is. From a syntactic perspective, strong and deficient pronouns are associated with different distributional properties: unlike strong pronouns, deficient pronouns cannot be used in isolation; they cannot bear focus or being topicalised, i.e., they cannot appear in syntactically-marked position, yet they must appear in derived and dedicated positions in the sentence structure; they cannot be modified or coordinated; and they cannot be governed by prepositions. Furthermore, strong and deficient pronouns differ both in their morphological and phonological forms. One last distinction between strong and deficient pronouns regards the fact that generally strong pronouns are specified for [+human], while deficient pronouns are not.

Thus, these diagnostics help us detect the strong vs. deficient nature of a pronoun, yet how are weak pronouns and clitics to be distinguished? Some clear indications in this respect can be found in Egerland (2002), who proposes that weak and clitic pronouns have the following contrasting characteristics.

1) Clitics, especially Romance clitics, are pre- or post-verbal depending on the form of the verb, whether finite or non-finite, cf. (64). By contrast, as the English translations show, the weak pronouns are post-verbal independently of the form of the verb.<sup>47</sup>

(64)	<i>Gli</i> <b>darò</b> il libro Cl.dat.3sg.m give.fut.1sg the book "I will give him the book"	vs.	Voglio <b>dar<sup>gl</sup></b> il libro want.pres.1sg. to.give-Cl.dat.3.sg.m the book "I want to give him the book"	(Italian)
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2) Clitics cannot be separated from their hosts by other elements, while weak pronouns can, cf. (65) for the clitics of Italian vs. (66) for the weak pronouns of Swedish, which can be separated from the verb but crucially only by some adverbs and by negation, never by the

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Egerland 2002 for clear arguments in favour of the clitic status of *lo*).

<sup>47</sup> The precise position of the Germanic weak pronouns depends on the SVO vs. SOV nature of the language.

direct object (Egerland 2002: 32):

- (65) \*Gli forse parlo  
Cl.dat.3.sg.m perhaps talk.pres.1.sg
- (66) Jag gav gärna honom boken  
I gave readily him the book  
"I give him the book readily"

3) Clitics appear in clusters, while weak pronouns can be separated by intervening material:

- (67) Glielo dico  
Cl.dat.3.sg.m Cl.obj.3.sg.m tell.pres.1.sg  
"I'm telling him"
- (68) Johan ger mig förmodligen den inte  
J. gives me probably it not  
"John won't probably give it to me"

4) A clitic cannot be the object of two co-joined verbs, while weak pronouns can:

- (69) a. \*Vorrei comprare\_ e leggerlo  
want.sbj.1.sg to buy and to-read.Cl.obj.3.sg.m  
b. Vorrei comprarlo e leggerlo  
want.sbj.1.sg to-buy.Cl.obj.3.sg.m and to-read.Cl.obj.3.sg.m  
"I'd want to buy and read it"
- (70) Jag vill köpa\_ och läsa den  
I want buy and read it

5) Lastly, weak pronouns usually have the exact same phonological and morphological form as their strong counterparts, cf. ModE *him-HIM*, *me-ME*, the only difference between the two being fundamentally their distribution. On the contrary, clitic pronouns are usually phonologically reduced, cf. the Italian object pronouns: *mi/m'-ME*, *ti/t'-TE*, *lo/l'-LUI* etc.

Comparing the Romance clitics with the Germanic pronouns which behave in a similar way to clitics as regards Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) test summarised above, it emerges that Germanic languages do not present real clitics, but weak pronouns.<sup>48</sup> In the light of this, the varying behaviour of the OE pronouns as highlighted in Koopman (1997) can be captured by assuming that OE pronouns were both strong and weak, presenting phonologically identical forms, but crucially different syntactic properties depending on the structural positions they appear in. In the case of OE, I assume that when the pronouns appear in position A above, i.e

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48 Cimbrian and Mocheno, two German varieties spoken in Northern Italy present strong, weak and clitic forms (see Bidese 2008 for Cimbrian and Cognola 2010 for Mocheno)

in the Left Periphery of the clauses, they are *weak* elements. The fact that they appear in a specific derived position indicates that they have a dedicated slot within the CP layer, which I take to be between the Topic Field and the Focus field, and which I label WP, W for "weak" but also for Wackernagel 1892, as they are typical Wackernagel elements:

(71) [<sub>Force</sub> [<sub>Frame</sub> [<sub>Topic</sub> [**WP pronouns**] [<sub>Focus</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub>...

Such a proposal is in line not only with Benincà (2006), who argues for C-oriented clitics in Old Italian, but also with Grewendorf & Poletto (2011), who assume a WackP position for Cimbrian clitic pronouns. Crucially, these languages present "relaxed V2" and present a weak/clitic slot between Topic and Focus.<sup>49</sup>

As to the relative order among pronouns, subject pronouns always appear before other complement pronouns in this position, which in turn appear in the order ACC-DAT (Koopman 1990). However, subject pronouns seem to be special in a way, since in main clauses they are separated from complement pronouns by the verb, while in subordinate clauses they appear together with other pronouns as if forming a sort of cluster, cf. (72) vs.

(73):

(72) **Hi** gebundon **hine** eft, oft and gelome, ac þa bendas toslupon <sup>50</sup>  
 They bound him again often and frequently, but the bonds slipped.off  
 swa swyðlice him fram, þæt man ne mihte tocnawan hwæðer hi gecnytte wæron.  
 so quickly him from that man not could perceive whether they knit were  
 (ÆLS Chrysanthus, 143)  
 "They bound him again, oft and repeatedly, but the bonds slipped off so quickly from him that one could not perceive whether they had been knit."

(73) Ða gemette he ðær ænne þearfan nacodne, biddende þa riddan  
 then met he there a.ACC poor.ACC naked.ACC, bidding the riders  
 þæt **hi him** sum reaf sealdon; ac hi ridon him forð, ne rohton his clypunge.  
 that they him some clothing give, but they went him forth, not reckoned his crying.GEN  
 (ÆLS Martin 61)  
 "Then he met there a poor man, naked, beseeching the riders that they would give him some clothing but they rode on, nor regarded his cry."

As subject pronouns are clearly weak pronouns when they appear in such a position, how can we accommodate this asymmetry of behaviour? I propose that weak subjects have a dedicated slot in the Wackernagel field, a slot I name SubjP. In Rizzi & Shlonsky's (2007) terms, SubjP is

49 Complement clitics and weak pronouns in this slot have the order Accusative > Dative, which is maintained by weak pronouns, which are phrasal, but appear as the reverse (mirror) order in most Romance varieties (probably due to the fact that clitics are heads and are then subject to the Mirror Principle, Baker 1988).

50 Interestingly, OE can present weak pronouns in sentence initial position, unlike Old Romance varieties which are subject to the Tobler-Mussafia law (obligatory enclisis when verb is first). This strengthens the proposal made in 2.2.3 that V1 contexts in OE present the verb in the Topic field if not in Force.

a criterial position at the boundary between CP and IP, but here we are dealing with a V2 language. Following the idea that there are three slots for pronouns available in the structure (CP, IP and VP; cf. Benincà & Tortora 2009 and references), I propose that OE makes use of the higher one in CP, by virtue of its V2 property (cf. Medieval Romance, which is V2 and has a clitic slot in CP, Benincà 2006). This means that OE also presents a dedicated projection for pronominal subjects in the CP layer<sup>51</sup>. In the light of this, the structure of the Wackernagel field in (71) should be revisited as in (74):

(74) [<sub>Force</sub> [<sub>Frame</sub> [<sub>Topic</sub> [<sub>SubjP</sub> **pron. subjects** C<sup>o52</sup> [<sub>WP</sub> **pron. objects** [<sub>Focus</sub> ... [<sub>FinP</sub>

Weak subject pronouns are *criterial* (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007) in the sense that they attract V in OE main clauses; on the contrary, DP subjects attract V only when in a criterial position (like Focus, Force or HT). This explains why with full DP subjects the verb is not attracted to the immediate left of the subject across the weak complement pronouns, cf. (75) (repeated from [] above):

(75) [<sub>Topic</sub> þin agen geleafa [<sub>WP</sub> þe [<sub>FocusP</sub> Foc<sup>o</sup> hæfþ gehæledne  
 your own faith you has healed (BIHom 15)  
 "your own faith has healed you"

Assuming that the verb moves into SubjP when no other criterial position is present, also makes sense of the fact that in subordinate clauses, the pronouns appear as a cluster: since the higher CP heads are blocked in embedded clauses, the verb does not move into Subj<sup>o</sup> but remains sitting in Fin<sup>o</sup>, thus giving rise to an apparent pronominal "cluster".

Therefore, the presence of a weak pronoun cluster can be taken as a diagnostic for embedded word order, or better, for non-movement of the verb into the higher CP layer. Thus, the two diagnostics for embedded word order can be summarised as follows:

- (i) presence of a IP/vP/VP constituent before the inflected verb, and/or
- (ii) presence of a weak pronoun cluster

In the light of these two diagnostics, we can also give a straightforward explanation to Fuss & Trips (2002) generalisation above, repeated below for convenience:

"a. In main clauses, adverbs must not intervene between a subject

51 See also Poletto (2000) who assumes the presence of a subject clitic position in COMP.

52 It is very tempting to view SubjP as the last projection of the Topic field, which can contain subject DPs in OE. This would recreate in CP Cardinaletti's (2004) mapping of subject positions in IP, with a higher position for DP subjects, and a lower position for pronominal subjects (and *pro* in Italian).

pronoun in second position and a leftward moved finite verb:

$XP - \textit{subject pronoun} - (*\textit{adverb}) - V_{fin} - [\dots]$

- b. In embedded clauses, adverbs may intervene between a subject pronoun in second position and a leftward moved finite verb:

$C^\circ - \textit{subject pronoun} - (\textit{adverb}) - V_{fin} - [\dots]$ "

(Fuss & Trips: 2002: 193, [34])

Fuss & Trips' (2002) generalisation crucially hinges on the distribution of the inflected verb and the adverbs w.r.t. the *subject* pronoun: as adverbs can intervene between the subject pronoun and the inflected verb in embedded clauses but not in main clauses, the authors conclude that the inflected verb must be hosted in  $v^\circ$  in embedded clauses. Under the present assumptions, this generalisation is to be expected given that, in main clauses, the inflected verb can target the head of SubjP hosting the weak pronoun in its Spec. By contrast, in embedded clauses, the higher CP heads are blocked and the verb can target only  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , which is lower in CP than the position for light adverbs (see below), or for other adverb pre-posing (if one wants to follow Rizzi 2004 proposal of a Modifier Phrase in the lower portion of CP).

Finally, before turning to light adverbs in V3 orders, I would like to make a couple of final considerations on this part. Given the structural parallelism between the High and Low Left Periphery argued for above (Poletto 2006a,b, 2011a), one might wonder if there is a comparable WP slot in the Low Left Periphery, between LowTopic and LowFocus. A possible indication may come from Pintzuk (1991, 1999), who claims that the pronouns in the B and C positions, i.e., VP internal position, are not clitics. On the basis of her observation, I reject the idea of a Wackernagel position for complement weak pronouns in the Low Left Periphery.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, the presence of weak pronouns in the lower phase can be also rejected on the basis of modern Germanic V2 dialects, which present both clitics and weak pronouns in the High Left Periphery (see Bidese 2008, and Grewendorf & Poletto 2011 for Cimbrian).

It follows that OE complement pronouns appearing in position B and C, i.e., in the vP/VP area, are strong pronouns, their varying position w.r.t the direct object (see above) depending on the fact that they can move to LowTopic or LowFocus of the Low Left Periphery, thus giving rise to the variation in the position with other VP material:

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53 It is a rather established fact that there are three different clitic "slots" in the sentence structure, one in CP, one in IP and one in VP/vP (see Benincà & Tortora 2009, 2010, and references). Yet as Benincà & Tortora (2009) point out there is variation in the chosen domain for clitic variation not only among languages but also within the same language according to clause type (see for instance Italian showing IP clitics in finite clauses, and VP-clitics in participial clauses, Benincà & Tortora 2009). It could be the case that OE exploited the CP-weak field for object pronouns as it is a V2 language (cf. Medieval Romance having V2 and CP-clitics, Benincà 2006). As the language lost the V2 property, weak object pronouns started to be located in the lower vP-weak field (which was never used in OE).

(76) [Topic DO [Focus *pronouns* ... [VP vs. [Topic *pron.* [Focus DO ... [VP

This explains why in this position they assume the same positions of DP, and why pronouns are very rarely in absolute final position (Koopman 1997). Moreover, this give also a straightforward explanation as to why coordinated, modified and focussed forms appear always in sentence final position, cf. (77) and Koopman's observations on Kayne's (1975) criteria 5), 6) and 7) reported above:

(77) a. Gif ge willað nu beon embe þa gebytlu swiðor, and embe þa heofonlican speda  
 If you will now be abot the buildings rather, and about the heavenly riches  
 spreca on eornost, þonne magon eowre æhta yrnan eow ætforan;  
 speak in earnest, than may your possessions ran before you  
 and hi ne magon [IP folgian [LowFrame(?) on forðsiðe [LowTop/Foc **eow**.  
 and they ne can follow in death you.

(ÆLS Thomas, 188)

“If then ye will now rather be busy about those buildings, and wish to speak in earnest concerning the heavenly riches, then may your possessions run before you, and they cannot follow you at your death”

b. [...] Gif ge on minum bebodum farað, and mine beboda healdað,  
 If you in my.DAT statutes.DAT go and my commandments hold  
 þonne sende ic **eow** renscuras on rihtne timan symble, and seo eorðe spryt  
 then send I you rain.showers in right time ever, and the earth yield  
 hyre wæstmas **eow**, and ic forgife sibbe and gesehtnyse **eow**, þæt ge butan  
 her fruits you, and I give peace and reconciliation, so-that you without  
 ogan eowres eardes brucan, and ic eac afyrsige ða yfelan deor eow fram.  
 fear your.GEN land.GEN enjoy, and I also flee the evil animals you from.

(ÆLS Pr Moses, 156)

“... ' If ye walk in my statutes and keep my commandments, then will I always send you rain-showers in due time, and the earth shall yield you her fruits, and I will give you peace and reconciliation, that ye may enjoy your land without fear, and I will also put the evil beasts far from you.”

### 2.3.2 Two types of *þa*<sup>54</sup>

As shown in the schema (1) above, the adverb *þa* usually triggers strict V2 in OE when it appears at the beginning of a sentence. But *þa* can also appear within the sentence, both pre- and post-verbally, as noticed by Pintzuk (1991, 1999), see above. Most importantly, *þa* can give rise to V3 orders, just like pronouns. For this reason, Pintzuk (1991, 1999) proposes to analyse *þa* as a clitic, but Koopman (1997) shows that Kayne's (1975) criteria are even less reliable in

54 I illustrate this with the adverb *þa*, whose varying distributional properties are more evident. However, the same can be argued also for other light adverbs like *nu* "now" and *swa* "so, as", which can be both subordinators, full adverbs and can appear in V3 orders. Furthermore, as I noticed in Rossi (2008), there are also other small adverbs giving rise to V3 orders like *eac* "also", *eft* "again", *git* "yet", *ar* "before". These adverbs can be analysed along the same lines of *þa*, or they can be viewed as occupying Rizzi's (2004) ModP, a projection in the lower portion of CP for adverb preposing. Notice moreover, that the Medieval Romance varieties present various discourse oriented small adverbs, which Benincà (2006) located in the Focus field.

the case of *þa*. In this section, I propose that *þa* is to be viewed as both a strong and a weak adverb: in its strong uses it can appear as an expletive filling Force, as a temporal adverb in both SceneSetter and in its dedicated position in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy<sup>55</sup>, or as a subordinator; in its weak form, it appears together with the pronouns in WP.

Evidence in support of this last claim comes from the fact that *þa* presents the same type of asymmetry w.r.t verb placement, which we saw above for complement pronouns when the subject is either a full DP or a pronoun. More precisely, *þa* appears after the inflected verb when the subject is a pronoun, but tends to appear before the inflected verb when the subject is a full DP. Compare (78) and (79) with (72) and (73) above:

- (78) a      Martinus **þa** ferde to þam fyrlenen lande, and þa þa he com to muntum,  
 M. then went to the.DAT distant.DAT land.DAT and when then he came to mounts.DAT  
 þa gemette he sceaðan, [...]  
 then met he robbers  
(ÆLS Martin 150)  
 "Then Martin journeyed to the distant land; and when he came to the  
 mountains, then met he with robbers, ..."
- b.      **Hi ealle þa** wunodon wuldrigende heora Drihten, and [...]  
 They all then lived honouring their Lord and  
(ÆLS Chrysanthus 216)  
 "The they all lived glorifying their Lord, and ...."
- (79) a      He ferde **þa** ongean to Italian lande, and on Mediolana him mynster arærde, [...]  
 He went then again to Italian.DAT land.DAT and in Milan him monastery built  
(ÆLS Martin 188)  
 "Then he went back again to the Italian land, and reared for himself a  
 monastery in Milan, ..."
- b.      Hit gelamp **þa** on fyrste þa þa þæt folc þider sohte [...]  
 It happened then on time when then the people thither sought ....  
(ÆLS Chrysanthus 333)  
 "Then it happened in the time when the people sought thither ..."

Moreover, in the few cases of co-occurrence of *þa* with the complement pronouns, the order tends to be complement pronouns > *þa* (Koopman 1997 claims that the relative order between *þa* and the pronouns is not clear, see below for a possible analysis of sentences presenting the reverse order):

- (80)      He gehet **him þa** Godes yrre and yfele þreala hwi he nolde gelyfan þæt he halig wære;  
 He promised him then God.GEN wrath and evil punishments why he not-wanted believe that he holy  
 were  
(ÆLS Martin 803)

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55 In this last case, *þa* is a temporal adverb sitting in IP, in T(past) in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. This position may account for Pintzuk's (1991, 1999) observation that *þa* can appear in (near) clause-final position

"Then he promised him God's anger and evil punishments if he would not believe that he was holy"

In the light of these examples, I assume that *þa* in (78)-(80) is not the same element as in (1) but a weak adverb appearing in the same area of the complement pronouns:

(81) [Force [Frame [Topic [SubjP pron. subjects C° [WP pron. objects – *þa* [Focus ... [FinP

In this position, *þa* may be considered the OE counterpart of the Old Italian *sì*, which can be seen as a discourse-oriented sentential adverb. Benincà (2006) provides convincing evidence that Old Italian *sì* is hosted in the Focus field. Interestingly, when *sì* appears with proclitics, the order is always *sì* > proclitics, the exact mirror order of OE, cf. (82):

(82) La volpe andando per un bosco *sì* trovò un mulo: e il mulo **si** *li* **mostrò** il piede dritto  
 The fox going in a wood so found a mule; and the mule so Cl.dat.3.f.sg showed the foot right  
 "While the fox was walking in the wood, it met a mule, and the mule showed it its right foot" (*Novellino*, p. 182; Poletto 2005: 20, [33f])

Furthermore, Cimbrian presents a particle *da* cognate with the OE *þa*, which acts like a clitic and can attach either to the inflected verb or to the complementiser *aʒ* "that",<sup>56</sup> forming the cluster V/*aʒ*-*da*-clitics (Grewendorf & Poletto 2011: 12ff., their example [39a,c]).

(83) a. Da soin vortgont ena *aʒ*-**ta**-s niamat barn.  
 they are away-gone before that-da-it nobody noticed  
 "They left before someone noticed"  
 b. I gloabe ke dar gebat-**mar**-s.  
 I think that he gives-to.me-it  
 "I think that he will give it to me"

Based on a number of syntactic tests (among which the relative position with respect to Topics), Grewendorf and Poletto (2011) show that these "clusters" cannot be separated by any elements and they are to be derived from the following structure:

(84) [ForceP *aʒ*/V [TopicP ... [WackP **clitics**] [GroundP *da* ... [FocusP [FinP [IP ...

Grewendorf & Poletto (2011) show that both the finite verb and the *aʒ* complementiser move from Fin° to Force°, picking up the clitics and the *da* particle, which appear in the mirror

56 Cimbrian presents two series of complementisers, the *ke*-series and the *aʒ*-series. The embedded clauses introduced by *ke*-type complementisers behave like main clauses under many respects, while embedded clauses introduced by *aʒ*-type complementisers display different properties. I refer the reader to Grewendorf & Poletto (2011) for a detailed treatment of the relevant differences and how these complementisers behave w.r.t the relaxed V2 property exhibited by Cimbrian.

order w.r.t their base position.<sup>57</sup> As can be seen from (84), Grewendorf & Poletto (2011) place *da* in GroundP, a position which can be thought as hosting elements indicating that the content of the following sentence is new but as to set against the background contexts provided by the preceding Topics (cf. GroundP in Poletto & Pollock 2004 on *wh*-doubling and *wh-in-situ* in some Romance varieties).

Thus, the comparison with other Wackernagel-like elements like the Old Italian *sì* and Cimbrian *da*, which have comparable uses (and possibly comparable semantics) with the OE *þa* lends further support to the proposal that OE *þa* may be a deficient adverb located in WP (or even in GroundP, following Grewendorf & Poletto 2011). The fact that the relative order between the pronouns and *da/sì* is exactly the mirror image w.r.t. the OE order is due to the clitic nature of the pronouns and of *da* in Cimbrian,<sup>58</sup> while in OE they are all weak elements. Finally, the position of *þa* in the Left Periphery is furthermore supported by van Kemenade & Milicev (2005), who concentrate on the distribution of light adverbs, especially *þa/þonne* w.r.t. the finite verb and the pronominal/DP subjects. By looking at various distributional patterns of these elements in relation to information structure, the authors conclude that *þa* is a focus particle marking the boundary between Topic and Focus. Though the authors explicitly take Topic and Focus as discourse-oriented notions differing from the notions attributed to these categories in formal syntactic analyses, it can be shown that the "interpretative" contents they recognise for the constituents—mostly subjects—appearing on the left of *þa* are the familiar ones of the Topic field (like "Switch Topic", or "Aboutness Topic").<sup>59</sup> Van Kemenade & Milicev's (2005) result support then from a discourse-oriented perspective the claim that *þa* is a sentential adverb hosted in the WP of the Left Periphery.

It should be noticed however, that, unlike Old Italian *sì*, OE *þa* can appear separated from its verb, as the following examples show:

- (85) a. Tetradius þa **sylf** com, and gesohte þone halgan, biddende eadmodlice  
 T. then self came, and sought the.ACC holyman.ACC. bidding humbly  
 þæt he to þam earman eode.  
 that he to the.DAT poor.DAT went.
- (ÆLS Martin 188)

57 The parallel between OE *þa* and Cimbrian *da* and Old Italian *sì* is even more striking when considering that all these "light" adverbs are also used as "strong" adverbs, in which case they maintain their full adverbial meanings, *þa/da* as locative/temporal adverbs, and *sì* meaning "so". When used in their adverbial meaning they have a different distribution and they can clearly co-occur with their weak counterparts (see Poletto 2005 for Old Italian *sì* and Grewendorf & Poletto 2011, fn. 8 for Cimbrian *da*). Thus, *da*, *þa* and *sì* behave like discourse-oriented sentential adverbs only when they appear in the CP domain after clitic/weak pronouns.

58 I do not suggest that Old Italian *sì* is a clitic, as it can appear in sentence initial position, something which is not possible for clitics under the Tobler-Mussafia law.

59 It is very interesting that van Kemenade & Milicev (2005) notice that indefinite DP subjects are very rare to the left of *þa*. They notice furthermore that there is a strong tendency for material appearing before *þa* to be definite and specific (like weak pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns).

"Then Tetradius himself came and sought the saint, praying him humbly that he would go to the poor man"

- b. Se manfulla gast þa **Martine** gehyrsumode, and ferde of ðære cy, [...]  
 The wicked spirit then Martin.DAT heard, and went from the.DAT cow  
 (ÆLS Martin 1050)  
 "Then the evil spirit obeyed Martin, and departed from the cow, ..."

These examples seem to exhibit a sort of "embedded" word order, with an element appearing before the finite verb. Under the assumption put forward above, namely, that OE embedded clauses present V in Fin<sup>o</sup> which recalls a constituent in its Spec, *sylf* and *Martine* can be considered as located in SpecFinP, thus making these sentences instances of "verb final" main clauses as the one investigated in Koopman (1995). Alternatively, one may argue that *sylf* and *Martine* occupy the Spec of the Focus position dedicated to "informational unmarked focus", SpecFinIIP, which being a criterial position, can "freeze" not only the DP in its Spec but also the finite verb in its head.

It is interesting to notice however, that such a low position is also available to DP subjects in subordinate clauses, as OE can present the order *þat/gif* – object pronouns – *þa* – DPSubject – V<sub>fin</sub> (see van Kemenade & Milicev 2005). For other similar cases, especially with unaccusative or "presentative contexts" see Chapter 3. By contrast, the following indicate instead that the subject may occupy also a very high position in the CP layer, a HT position above Scene Setting adverbs:<sup>60,61</sup>

- (86) [<sub>HT</sub> Iudas [<sub>ScSetter</sub> ða [<sub>Topic</sub> Machabeus [<sub>ModP</sub> micclum [<sub>FocIIP</sub> on God Fin<sup>o</sup> truwoðe, [...]  
 J. then M. greatly in God trusted,  
 (ÆLS Maccabees, 365)  
 "Then Judas Machabeus trusted greatly in God, and ..."

60 Notice that we have another similar case in the following:

- (i) Se papa ða Urbanus blissode on Gode, and [...]  
 The pope then Urbanus rejoiced in God.DAT and  
 (ÆLS Cecilia, 187)

"The pope then, Urbanus, rejoiced in God, and ..."

The derivation of (i) is ambiguous since we can consider *Urbanus* within the Focus Field and *þa* in its weak position with *se papa* in the Topic or HT position. See van Kemenade & Milicev (to appear) on OE discontinuous appositions.

61 For the time being, I assume that OE presents various positions for various types of subjects:

- a weak one in SubjP between Topic Field and Focus Field
- two higher ones, in Topic and HT
- two lower ones, SpecFinP/SpecFocIIP and SpecLowFocP for subjects in "presentational" structures, or simply focalised/new information

I leave a much more detailed investigation of OE subject positions for future research though noting in passing that Biberauer and van Kemenade (2011) have argued for at least *two* distinct subject positions in OE, related to information structure: a higher one above SpecTP (which I take to correspond to Topic/HT) and a lower one for *new* subjectes (which I take to correspond to the Focus positions in the High and Low Left Periphery). Notice however that the authors argue that subject in SpecTP was a minority pattern in OE.

In (86), I analysed *ða* as a Scene Setting adverb since if it were in Force we would have expected the finite verb to move to the head of Force<sup>o</sup> and strict V2 would have obtained. The possibility for *þa* to occur in ScSetter--together with the assumption of a higher HT hosting subject Dps—may explain why we may encounter cases like the following, in which the order between *þa* and the complement pronoun is the exact opposite of what I have argued for above (see also Koopman 1997, who argues that the relative order of pronouns and *þa* is not as clear as the order between ACC-DAT pronouns):

- (87) Iudas þa **him** com to, and [...]  
 J. then him came to, and  
 (ÆLS Maccabees, 304)  
 “Judas then came to him, and ...”

Here *him* must be weak, since, as I will argue on the basis of Wende (1915) and of the analysis in 3.2.1, postpositions do not occur with full-DP/strong pronoun complements. Then the unexpected order *þa him*, which is the opposite I propose for the weak elements must be derived by a HT *Judas* and a SceneSetter *þa*- Again, *þa* cannot be in ForceP as it would have been followed directly by the inflected verb. In further support of this, a very quick search in the *LS* shows that these clusters are rather uncommon, but in those cases in which *þa* precedes the pronouns, it can be shown that either *þa* is not in the weak field, or that the complement pronoun is not weak, cf. the following:

- (88) a. Hi þa **hine** tugon unþances þiderweard, and þæt reaf sona of heora gesihþe  
 They then him dragged unwillingly thither.ward, and the raiment soon from their sight  
 fordwan, and wæs ða geswutelod his scincraeft and hiwung.  
 vanished, and was then manifested his sorcery and hypocrisy  
 (ÆLS Martin 825)  
 "Then they dragged him against his will thitherward, and the raiment instantly  
 vanished from their sight, and then was manifested his sorcery and hypocrisy."  
 b. He beþohte þa **hine sylfne**, and geseah þæt he ne mihte þurh nænne fleam  
 þam fyre,  
 He bethought then him self and saw that he not could through no flight the.DAT fire.DAT  
 (ÆLS Martin 867)  
 "Then he bethought himself, and saw that he could not escape from the fire by  
 any mode of flight, ..."

The example in (88b) is straightforward: the adverb *þa* precedes *hine* because the pronoun, being modified, is in its strong form, and is in all probability hosted in the a LowTopic position, cf. (89):

- (89) [Force [Frame [Topic [SubjP **He** Subj<sup>o</sup> beþohte [WP **þa** [Focus [FinP [IP ... [LowTop **hine sylfne**, ...

The case in (88a) is rather less straightforward, Nonetheless, the interpretation of *hine* might be one of Focus, as the lines immediately preceding this extract present a monk who refuses to go with the men to saint Martin and in order to take him to the saint he had to be dragged. Thus, if *hine* can be interpreted as Focus, it must be viewed as a strong pronoun appearing in SpecFocI (or SpecFocII). Most importantly however, we can notice that the inflected verb does not move to the pronoun subject, thus indicating that it remains in the head whose Spec hosts *hine* (and since Focus is criterial ...)

In conclusion, in both the previous and the present subsection I have suggested that the high degree of variation attested in the distributional properties of personal pronouns and light adverbs, especially *þa*, can be better captured by assuming that both grammatical categories present strong and weak forms. When strong, these elements occur in positions where also other DPs and PPs/full adverbials can occur; when weak, they must occur in a dedicated slot in the High Left Periphery of the clause, in a position between the Focus field and the Topic field I label WP since it is specific for weak Wackernagel-like elements. The existence of such a dedicated slot in the OE Left Periphery has been further supported by comparative evidence coming from Old Italian and Cimbrian, which, by virtue of their V2 nature, present a clitic slot containing pronouns and closely interacting with sentential particles like *sì* and *da* in their Left Peripheries.

## 2.4 Prepositions, adverbs, particles and preverbs in Old English

When dealing with this part of OE grammar, Bruce Mitchell felt the need to entitle the relevant section of his 1985 with the rather clumsy heading “Prepositions, Adverbs, Prepositional Adverbs, Postpositions, Separable Prefixes and Inseparable Prefixes”. In his 1978 article in the *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, this title was followed by a very important question mark (see Introduction), which betrays the difficulty in ascribing the P elements of OE to one of the aforementioned grammatical categories, especially when they appear "alone" in the sentence, i.e., when their complement is either absent or elsewhere in the clause. The problem is for the most part terminological (and practical for dictionaries), but as we will see in this Section it is not simply that, since the category P in OE does have a very special

status.

The syntactic behaviour and the distributional properties of the OE prepositions have been much studied in the first half of the twentieth century (for references going back to the end of the nineteenth century see Mitchell 1978: 240, fn. 2), especially with regard to their grammatical function and their semantics. However, OE Ps have been rather disregarded in the more recent generative literature, with just a few formal proposals on the syntactic representation of Prts in VPCs (Koopman 1990, Fischer et al. 2000, Elenbaas 2007), while P-stranding, though extensively discussed and described in Allen (1980) and in one whole Chapter of van Kemenade (1987), has received even less attention, with the exception of some isolated studies of its syntactic constraints to be considered as the historical background for the syntactic possibilities ModE P-stranding (see in particular Denison 1993 on prepositional passives, and Fischer et al. 2000: 64ff.).

In the next subsection I briefly present the most authoritative study on postpositions (2.4.1), namely Wende (1915 (reported in Mitchell 1978, 1985), focussing primarily on the characteristics of the object of P and on the patterns of distribution. In 2.4.2, I turn to Prts; after a very brief presentation of the OE Prts and prefixes, I present the three major generative accounts of OE particle verbs, Koopman (1990), Fischer et al. (2000) and lastly Elenbaas (2007).

#### 2.4.1 P Stranding (Postpositions)

The most important study on postpositions is definitely Wende (1915), who investigates the placement of the prepositional objects of *to* "to", *on* "in, on", *fram* "from, by", *mid* "with" and *for(e)* "for, before" in four major OE prose texts: Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis*, the OE translation of Bede, the Parker Chronicle (the older version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ChronA), and the *Catholic Homilies*.

In his study, he identifies the fundamental patterns of distribution of the P w.r.t to the types of complement. Specifically, Wende shows that the the P *precedes* its object (*P – XP*) when the complement is a nominal, a demonstrative pronoun, an interrogative pronoun, and one of the relative pronouns *se, seo þæt*, cf. (90) for interrogatives and relatives (examples from Fischer et al. 2000: 67, [79]):

- (90) a. **To hwæm** locige ic buton **to ðæm eaðmodum** ...  
To whom look I except to the.DAT humble.DAT  
"To whom do I look except to the humble...?" (CP, 41.299.18)

- b.     Dæt fyr getacnode ðone Halgan Gast **ðurh ðone** we beoð gehalgode  
 The fire signifies the.ACC Holy.ACC Ghost.ACC through which.ACC we are hallowed  
(ÆCHom II, 17.167.190)  
 "The fire betokened the Holy Ghost, through whom we are hallowed"

This order is obligatory, even though Wende (1915; 136ff.) has found very few counterexamples with a DP object before its P.

The second strongest tendency, which may be indeed viewed as a rule, is that the P *follows* its object ( $XP - P$ ) when the complement is one of the so-called R-pronouns (van Riemsdijk 1978), i.e. the locative adverbs *her* "here" and "there" *þær* (this last one functioning also as a relative pronoun) and the interrogative *hwær* "where". Furthermore, the P obligatorily follows its object when it governs the the relative *þe* (a complementiser in most generative studies, but see 3.2.1). Here are some examples from Fischer et. al. (2000: 66 [76a, b, 77, 78a]):

- (91) a.     and com ... to ðam treowe, sohte wæstn **ðæron**  
 and came ... to the.DAT tree.DAT, sought fruit therein  
(ÆCHom II, 30.237.72)  
 "he got to the tree, sought fruit in it"
- b.     oð þæt he gestod bufon ðam gesthuse **þær** þæt cild **on** wunode  
 til that he stood above the.DAT inn.DAT where the child in stayed  
(ÆCHom I, 5.78.21)  
 "until it (the star) stood above the inn where the child was staying"
- c.     On þam munte Synay, **þe** se Ælmihtiga **on** becom, wearð micel ðunor gehyred  
 on the.DAT mount.DAT Sinai, that the Almighty on came, was great thunder heard  
(ÆCHom II, 12.1.116.226)  
 "On mount Sinai, on which the Almighty came, great thunder was heard"

Finally, Wende (1915) notes that the P may precede or follow its object ( $P - XP / XP - P$ ) when it governs a personal pronoun.

- (92)    Ða cwæð Tatheus **him to**, Crist ure hælend wolde his fæder willan gefyllan,  
 Then said T. him to, Christ our Saviour wants his father.GEN will fulfil  
 and eft faran **to him**. Abgarus cwæð **him** eft **to**, [...]  
 and back go to him. A. said him back to, ...  
(ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 150-152)  
 "Then Thaddeus said to him, 'Christ our Saviour desired to fulfil His Father's will, and again to go to Him.' Abgarus said to him ..."

As Mitchell (1978: 242), notes this situation is pervasive of the OE grammar as "contrasting pairs can be found in all periods of OE". Furthermore, Mitchell (1978) also notes that the two possible orders are not equally distributed in the OE texts, as he indicates a proportion of

6:13 for *pro P* vs. *P pro*, roughly a rate of 1:2.

At a closer look however, P-stranding by personal pronouns is by no means "free" as Wende (1915: 64-69) notes that it is mandatory when the personal pronouns are modified or coordinated, when the pronoun appears in a circumposition like *P – XP – weard* (cf. *to him weard*); and if the PP depends on a noun and when the P requires the genitive case (cf. *wid*).<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Wende (1915) has noticed that the Ps *be* "by" and *for* "fore, before" always present their stressed forms *bi(g)* and *fore* of *for* when used in post-position. Another peculiarity regards the fact that Wende (1915; 71) that certain Ps seem to prefer either of the two orders with pronouns: *onuppan* "above, over", *ymbutan* "around", *tomiddes* "midst" were found only in postposition in Wende's corpus, while *þurb* "through", *under*, *butan* "excepted", *in ær* "before", *ongemang* "among", *uppan* "upon", *behindan* "behind" and *widutan* "outside" were found only in preposition.

One final important result of Wende's work is that he found a clear asymmetry both between the frequency of *pro-P* orders with third person pronouns (45,5%) w.r.t to *pro-P* orders with first (5%) and second pronoun (6%), and between the frequency of *pro-P* orders with dative pronouns, w.r.t to *pro-P* orders with accusative pronouns. In this last respect however, Mitchell (1978) suggests that this asymmetry may simply reflect the fact that the great majority of OE Ps require the dative case.

What seems more relevant for the discussion in Chapter 3 is that Wende (1915) also pointed out the patterns of distribution of the pronoun, the stranded P and the finite verb in relation to clause type. Here I report Mitchell's (1978, 248) schema, which is mainly built upon Wende's original notational system:

**(A) = ... him (...) to (...) com:** the preferred order with subordinate clauses, some principal clauses (as is expected, cf. Koopman 1995 on verb-final main clauses), and in clauses introduced by *ac* or *ond* (as OE very frequently presented subordinate word orders in conjoined clauses, Mitchell 1985: 694).

**(B) = ... com (...) him (...) to:** the typical order in commands, exclamations and prohibitions (and in V1 contexts clearly).

**(C) =... him (...) com (...) to:** less common, and attested mainly in principal clauses.

As anticipated, the generative studies on OE P-stranding are not many. The two most significant contributions are Allen (1980) and van Kemenade (1987), who present a very detailed description, showing that the OE P-stranding had a very different distribution to

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<sup>62</sup> Neither Wende (1915) nor Mitchell (1978, 1985) found an unambiguous genitive pronoun before its governing P.

ModE. The first outstanding difference regards the fact that OE did not allow prepositional passives like the following:

(92) The doctor reassured Harry that his mother was cared for

Instead, OE P-stranding was clearly connected to *wh*-movement contexts, i.e. to those contexts in which a relative pronoun or a *wh*-item (which can be also null) leaves the PP and moves to the CP domain. Put it simply, Fischer et al. (2000: 66) propose the following generalisation about PPs in *wh*-movement contexts: when there is no overt pronoun as in *þe* relatives and infinitival relatives, P-stranding occurs; on the contrary, when an overt NP, a *wh*-constituent or a relative pronoun moves to SpecCP, it pied-pipes its preposition. From a syntactic perspective, this generalisation is accounted for in slightly different terms by Allen (1980) and by van Kemenade (1987). Allen suggests that the presence of P pied-piping with the relative *se*, *seo*, *þæt* and the obligatoriness of P-stranding with *þe* indicate that OE has two distinct relativisation strategies: the first one involve *wh*-movement with pied-piping of the P, the other involved the controlled unbounded deletion of a relative pronoun (*þe* being a complementiser in the head of the projection hosting the deleted relative pronoun). By contrast, van Kemenade takes both relativisation strategies to involve *wh*-movement, but P-stranding arises from the fact that with relative *þe* there is the *wh*-movement of a phonotically empty counterpart of a personal pronoun or of the adverb *þær*.

In the case of P-stranding with both R-elements and personal pronouns, van Kemenade analyses this as deriving from the fact that both R-elements and pronouns can be syntactic clitics which left-adjoin to their case-assigner, P (see above), and can even move into other clitic-adjunction sites c-commanding the base-generated position of the clitic (cf. the tree in [54] above, in which the base-generated position of pronominal objects of P to the left of P in  $cl_m$ , from which both R-element and pronouns can move to all the other positions since they c-command  $cl_m$ ),<sup>63</sup>

One of the last contributions on the pronominal objects of P is Alcorn (2009), who does not specifically study P-stranding, but presents some very detailed statistics for the various grammatical features of pronominal objects of postposition. After a discussion of the various factors influencing the special placement of a pronoun to the left of a P,<sup>64</sup> Alcorn

63 Starting from the observations he made in his 1964 article that S-pro-V-O is a form of S-V-O, Mitchell (1978: 243) correctly argues that the peculiar order *pro ... P* order depends on the fact that pronouns occupy unstressed positions "So the fact that post-position with the pers[onal] pron[ouns] [...] may reflect this tendency of the pers. pron. rather than testify that the word used in post-position was becoming a separable prefix or was used adverbially"

64 Quoting Alcorn (2009: 434), the special placement of the pronoun before its P is sensitive to: case (wende 1915, 89-91; Mitchell 1978; Taylor 2008); grammatical number (Taylor 2008); modification or coordination of

indicates that when appearing before their P, pronouns are more commonly in the dative case and in 3rd person. Thus, Alcorn claims, the placement of a pronoun before its P is conditioned by Grammatical Person.

## 2.4.2 Particles and Preverbs

The prefix/particle system of OE presents some clear innovations, as it is losing its prefixes in favour of Particles (Hiltunen 1983, Elenbaas 2007), yet there is also a sense in which this system is conservative, since in this process it shows some indications on how prefixes and particles are formed from adverbial/prepositional elements, and ultimately from PPs. From a typological point of view, the preverbs and particles of OE are very similar to those of Modern German, as there are true inseparable prefixes, which have a separable prefixes and particles.

Following Elenbaas (2007) clear description of the VPCs of OE, we can rather safely say that the true inseparable prefixes are basically *a-* and *ge-*, which are also the only OE prefixes not attested as prepositions (even though they might have an adverbial/prepositional origin). These prefixes are extremely frequent, not only in the verbal domain but also in the nominal domain as they combine also with the *nb* items to form indefinite like *abma/gebma* "whoever"). More specifically, the prefix *a-* has a clear directional origin since it developed from *uz̥* "out". Its original meaning is still detectable in a number of verbs like *ablawan* "blow away" or *asecgan* "express", in which the semantic contribution of *a-* as "away" is still very clear. Yet in many other cases *a-* does not seem to add any clear meaning at all, as for instance in *aġefan* "give" vs. *ġefan*, *asendan*, "send" vs. *sendan* or *astigan* "climb up" vs. *stigan*. Notice however that some other times, *a-* is the reduction of another prefix, *on-*, as in *aġindan/onġindan* "find out".

The other inseparable prefix is *ge-*, a pangermanic element, of unknown etymology. It has various meanings, each of which more or less denoting a change of state: it can be perfective as in *gefragian* "to get to know by asking"; it can have a transitivising effect as in *gedician* "to make ditches into"; it has been considered also an intensifier, cf. *geliman* "to keep together"; or it can add a completive/comprehensive meaning like in *gesettan* "to cover by sitting", *geweordan* "to be accomplished, to be fulfilled". *Ge-* appears furthermore in the verbal morphology as a part of the formation of the past participle. However, it is never obligatory, and it can also appear before some preterite, with verbs that do not present *ge-* in the

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the P (Wende 1915), and in translations, the occurrence or non-occurrence of the pronoun in the Latin original (Taylor 2008).

infinitive form.

Interestingly, as Hiltunen (1983) and Elenbaas (2007) have noticed, verbs that present *a-* or *ge-* present often a Prt. For Elenbaas (2007), when this occurs we are dealing with an instance of *particle doubling*, which she takes as evidence that these prefixes do not add any meaning to the verbs they form, and that they are losing their function.

As for the other inseparable prefixes, all of them are homophonous with a preposition. These are *be-* "about", *for/fore-* "before, away", *of-* "from, out", *on-* "on, in", *to-* "to, in", *þurb/ðurb-* "through", *ymb-* "around", *ut-* "out" e *wip/wid-* "with, against". These prefixes have various effects: they make the verb transitive, they intensify the meaning of the verb or they add a perfective/terminative meaning. This means that the OE inseparable prefixes are modifiers of the actional/aspectual values of a given verb (*Aktionsart*).

OE exhibits also true particles, all of which appear in transparent VPCs with a clear locative, more specifically directional meaning. Indeed, many scholars agree in saying that the OE Prts--by virtue of their resultative meaning--are to be analysed as "secondary predicates" (Roberts 1997, Fischer et al. 2000, Los & van Kemenade 2003, Elenbaas 2007 and Elenbaas and van Kemenade to appear). Prts however present the same phonological form as inseparable prefixes, cf. *to* "to", *of* "of", *on* "on", but they can be distinguished through a number of semantic and syntactic diagnostics:

- 1) there are differences in meaning with V + Prt w.r.t Prefix-V like for instance *forðgan* "pass away, depart" and *forð-gan* "go away, leave", *ofslean* "kill" and *of-slean* "strike off";
- 2) the Prt is stranded by V2 movement, while the separable prefix is carried along;
- 3) the negative particle *ne* (93a) and the infinitival marker *to* of the inflected infinitive of purpose (93b) appear between V and the Prt, but they appear before the the complex prefix-V:

- (93) a. forðæm hio nanne swetne wæsðm **forð ne bringð**  
because she no.ACC sweet.ACC fruit.ACC forth not brings  
(CP 45.341.22; Fischer et al. 2000: 183)  
"because she doesn't bring forth any sweet fruit"
- b. þæt him wære alyfed **ut to farenne**  
that him was allowed out to go  
(GD2 (H) 25.155.26; Fischer et al. 2000: 183)  
"that it was allowed to him to go out"

- 4) in the poetry, Prt can carry the alliteration while prefixes are usually unstressed:

- (94) Bealocwelm hafað // fela feorhcynna /forð onsended<sup>65</sup>  
 violent.death has many mankind.ACC forth sent  
 (Beo 2265-2266 ; Elenbaas 2007: 137)  
 "Violent death has sent forth many men"

As to the syntactic distribution of Prts, Mitchell (1978: 244) discusses four positions for particle placements with transitive verbs. First, we get the pattern  $S - V - O - Prt$  or  $V - S - O - Prt$ , in which the Prt does not need to be at the very end of the clause. This pattern resembles the ModE "He cut the meat up", and is most typically found in main clauses, but it is occasionally found also in subordinate clauses. Second, the Prt may appear immediately after the finite verb in the pattern  $S - V - Prt - P$  or  $V - S - Prt - O$ . This second pattern is the ModE "He cut up the meat", and again is found in both main and embedded contexts. In these cases, some adverbs like *þa* or *þær* may intervene between the verb and the Prt:

- (95) and hi hit awurpon þa ut  
 and they it threw then out  
 (ÆHom 14.118; Mitchell 1978, 245)  
 "and they threw it out then"

Third, the Prt occurs immediately before the verb ( $S - O - Prt - V$ ,  $S - Prt - V - O$ ), in both main and subordinate clauses. Lastly, the fourth position identified by Mitchell (1978) is when the Prt appear before both the direct object and the verb. However, Mitchell (1978) acknowledges that this word order is extremely rare as he found only one example, here reported as (96) (Fischer et al. 2000: 200, their example [38] report at least other two cases, but see their discussion):

- (96) Ic on neorxnawonge/niwe asette//treow mid telgum./þæt ða tanas **up**//**æpla bæron**.  
 I in paradise newly set tree with twigs.DAT that the branches up apples.ACC bear  
 (Solomon and Saturn, 479)  
 "I have newly establish a tree in paradise, with boughs whose branches bore aloft apples"

See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of Prt positions.

Turning now to the specific studies on OE VPCs, the first systematic and statistical study of the semantics and functional uses of the OE prefixed verbs is Hiltunen (1983). The fundamental concern of Hiltunen's investigation was to establish the reasons behind the progressive decline in the prefix system of OE and the concomitant rise of the modern Prt verbs. Focussing on three OE texts, the translation of Gregory's *Dialogue*, the *Gospel of St. Mark* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he notices a slight decrease in the use of the prefixes in

65 Notice the presence of the Prt and of another prefix.

late OE, which he accounts in terms of semantic and functional weakening. More specifically, Hiltunen attributes the decay of the prefixes in favour of the Prts to the fact that the prefixes were already losing their "concrete" meanings and were acquiring more and more abstract, actional, meanings.<sup>66</sup> The "overcharging" of prefixes with abstract meanings eventually lead to a functional load causing the collapse of the system. Another factor favouring the rise of the Prts to the detriment of prefixes is the fact that Prts and prefixes co-existed in OE, thus accelerating the replacement of prefixes by more analytic constructions. Finally, Hiltunen also notices that the breakdown of the prefix system ties in with the general syntactic change OE was undergoing, namely, the change from OV to VO.

In the most important generative studies of OE, van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1991, 1999), Prts have been considered not as the object of studies but as elements which indicate the basic word order and/or the possible movement of the verb. Starting from van Kemenade (1987), her syntactic account analyses OE has uniformly OV, with V2 in root clauses. Following Koster (1975), she takes Prts as base-generated immediately before the verb and proceeds to compare the OE VPCs with the Modern Dutch separable prefixes. Despite a number of similarities, van Kemenade notes however a significant number of differences between the syntactic behaviour of the OE Prts w.r.t their Dutch counterparts. First, while in Modern Dutch separable prefixes are obligatorily stranded in V2 contexts, in OE they are only optionally so. Moreover, in subordinate clauses the OE Prts can be separated from their verbs while Dutch separable prefixes cannot.

Van Kemenade acknowledges also that in specific positions the Prt can by no means signal the basic position of the verb: this is especially true of the pattern *Prt – PP – V*, which is robustly attested in OE. In this case, van Kemenade assumes that the Prt is not really a Prt but a modifier of the PP (yet see 1.2.1 for the idea that Prts are originated as PP modifiers and see also 3.4.2 for a syntactic derivation of these orders). Lastly, there are other cases in which the Prts cannot be signalling the basic position of the verb. These are instances of the word orders *V – Prt – DO* and *V – DO – Prt* found in embedded clauses. Van Kemenade (1987) analyses these cases by assuming that both the Prt (and the direct object) have been extraposed.

However, exactly basing upon occurrences of these last two patterns, Pintzuk (1991, 1999) argues that in those contexts the finite verb *must* have been moved, since Prts cannot be extraposed (see above). Acknowledging the problem in drawing a clear cut line between Ps,

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<sup>66</sup> Hiltunen supports his claim with a number of examples in which *a-* and *ge-* seem to be used interchangeably and with other examples in which the literal meaning of the prefix seems to be reinforced by a degree adverb. But see the discussion in Elenbaas (2007: 130ff.)

Prts and prefixes in OE, Pintzuk concentrated on Prts with the following three characteristics: (i) they must occur before and after the verb, thus providing evidence of their separability, (ii) they must not appear with PPs, (iii), the Prts must not change the valency of the verb. Even under these strong restrictions, Pintzuk (1991, 1999) shows that Prts have the same projections available in both main and embedded clauses. In Pintzuk's terms, this finding supports the Double Base Hypothesis: if Prts can appear post-verbally and pre-verbally in both main and embedded clause, then the verb must have moved (since the Prts cannot be extraposed), and the sentence-medial position of both the finite and the non-finite verbs depend on the directionality of the head of IP and VP.

Thus, van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1991, 1999) do pay attention to OE Prts but they consider them as syntactic diagnostics for either the basic word order or for verb movement. They make no speculation as to syntactic status of these Prts, nor do they offer any insight into the precise syntactic representation of OE VPCs. The first real attempt in this direction is represented by Koopman (1990). Starting from the assumption that OE has an SOV base, Koopman (1990) takes the preverbal position of the Prt to be basic, and following Koster (1975), he analyses the Prt and the verb as generated under one V node. In his terms, the Prt and the verb form a lexical combination, i.e., a complex word in the lexicon. This accounts straightforwardly for the cases in which the Prt moves along with the finite verb, but encounters a problem, as Elenbaas (2007: 151) notes, when the Prt is stranded by verb movement. In order to solve this problem, Koopman proposes that the lexical reanalysis of the Prt and the verb as a complex word is optional, with the clausal position of the Prt being "free". Clearly, this analysis too faces some problems as the reason why reanalysis should not occur are not discussed.

Ten years later, Fischer et al. (2000) address the question of the distribution of the OE VPCs in the light of the small clause analysis of Modern Dutch VPCs proposed by Zwart (1993). Even though not presenting a systematic account of the possible patterns, their study represent a significant initial sketch of how the OE VPCs could be analysed in a Kaynian framework. Following Zwart (1993), they maintain that OE has a uniform VO base, and that the resultative Prts of OE-just like the separable prefixes of Dutch--are to be considered secondary predicates in a small clause configuration. Structurally, Zwart's proposed structure is:

$$(97) \quad [_{AgrOP} AgrO^{\circ} [_{PredP} Pred^{\circ} [_{VP} V [_{AgrP} DP Agr [_{PP} Prt]]]]]]$$

In this structure, the SC corresponds to AgrP, whose Spec hosts the subject of the SC, while

its complement hosts the SC predicate. The two functional projections above VP, namely AgrOP and PredP are the licensing domains for the SC subject (DP in AgrP) and for the SC predicate (PP): the PP moves to SpecPredP for checking reasons, while the DP subject of the SC moves to AgrOP for case reasons. The checking of the predicative feature of PredP can proceed in either of two ways: the Prt head-moves to Pred°, but on its way up, it incorporates onto V, thus deriving preverbal Prts. This derives the orders DO – Prt – V, cf. the example in (98a) and its derivation in (98b,c):

- (98) a. [...] þæt hie mid þæm þæt folc **ut aleccoden**  
 that they with that.DAT the people out enticed  
 (Or 5.3.117.5; Fischer et al. 2000:198)  
 "... that they might entice the people with it (to come) out"
- b. [<sub>AgrOP</sub> AgrO° [<sub>PredP</sub> Pred° [<sub>VP</sub> V **aleccoden** [<sub>AgrP</sub> þæt folc Agr° [<sub>PP</sub> Prt **ut** > *ut* moves to Pred° by first incorporating into V:
- c. [<sub>AgrOP</sub> AgrO° [<sub>PredP</sub> Pred° [<sub>VP</sub> V ut-aleccoden [<sub>AgrP</sub> þæt folc Agr° [<sub>PP</sub> Prt ut > movement of *þæt folc* to SpecAgrOP for case reasons:  
 [<sub>AgrOP</sub> þæt folc AgrO° [<sub>PredP</sub> Pred° [<sub>VP</sub> V **ut-aleccoden** [<sub>AgrP</sub> þæt folc Agr° [<sub>PP</sub> Prt ~~ut~~

The second way to check PredP's predicative feature involves the movement of the whole SC (AgrP) to SpecPredP, cf. (99):

- (99) a. [<sub>AgrOP</sub> AgrO° [<sub>PredP</sub> Pred° [<sub>VP</sub> V aleccoden [<sub>AgrP</sub> þæt folc Agr° [<sub>PP</sub> Prt ut > movement of the entire SC (AgrP) to SpecPredP
- b. [<sub>AgrOP</sub> AgrO° [<sub>PredP</sub> (**[<sub>AgrP</sub> þæt folc Agr° [<sub>PP</sub> Prt ut]**) Pred° [<sub>VP</sub> V **aleccoden** [<sub>AgrP</sub> ~~þæt folc Agr° [<sub>PP</sub> Prt ut~~

Though this checking procedure derives exactly the same superficial order *DO – Prt – V*, this derivation crucially does not involve the incorporation of the Prt onto the verb, so that this account can derive also the cases of *Prt ... V*. Finally, when Prts appear postverbally, Fischer et al. (2000) propose that in those cases the *feature checking* of both AgrOP and PredP is *covert*, with no superficial movements. Despite the lack of a systematic application of Zwart's account to all the possible patterns of OE VPCs, Fischer et al. (2000) has the very important advantage of providing some indications on how the attested variation on the placement of Prts in OE can be captured by assuming a universal base.

The last syntactic account I present in this section is Elenbaas (2007), as her study represent the first fully-fledged syntactic account of the OE Prts. Following Fischer et al. (2000) and Los & van Kemenade (2003), Elenbaas (2007) assumes that OE Prts, by virtue of their transparent (resultative/directional meanign)--are secondary predicates, whose phrasal

nature she supports by showing that Prts can be coordinated, can be topicalised and bear stress in the poetry (Elenbaas 2007: Ch. 4). Her structural analysis of OE Prts hinges on the lexical decomposition analysis of ModE Prts (see 1.3.3). Summarising it briefly, Elenbaas (2007) applies a proposal by Baker (2003) on the lexical decomposition of resultatives like *to wipe something clean* and argues that the ModE resultative VPCs are lexically decomposed into the operators CAUSE in vP, BECOME in VP, whose Spec hosts the object required by the resultative P, and an adjectival abstract head (AP). The Prt is merged as a sister of A, cf. the structural representation of (100):

(100) The clumsy cook chopped his finger off  
 [<sub>VP</sub> *the clumsy cook* v CAUSE [<sub>VP</sub> *his finger* V BECOME [<sub>AP</sub> CHOPPED [<sub>PrtP</sub> *off*

The resultative VPC *chop off* is the lexicalisation of a conflation process which obtains via head movement of the abstract adjective head CHOPPED to BECOME and then to CAUSE. As to the Prt, this is claimed to have a syntactically hybrid nature, which can be either a head or a phrase, according to its possibility to project or not project its phrase (PrtP). This assumption is instrumental to Elenbaas for the derivation of the Particle Shift: if the Prt does not project, i.e., it is a head (as it should be in the *default* case for economy principles), it enters the conflation process with the verb and appear immediately after the verb (*V – Prt – DO*); on the contrary, if the Prt projects its phrase (as it would be the case when pragmatico-semantic requirement like focalisation or *right*-modification intervene), the Prt maintain its syntactic independence and does not enter the conflation process with the abstract adjectival head. This derives the order *V – DO – Prt*.

Given the *phrasal* nature of the OE Prts, it follows that the projection option is always chosen in OE. But OE presents various possible orders for the Prt. So, how are all the attested orders to be derived from a structural perspective? Elenbaas (2007) proposes that they are to be derived by applying Biberauer & Roberts's (2005) proposal, by which the different word orders are the result of the pied-piping or non-pied-piping of the larger constituents (VP and vP) containing the Gaol XP (the direct object and the subject) to SpecvP and SpecTP respectively. I illustrate Elenbaas (2007) application of Biberauer & Roberts (2005) to VPCs with just a couple of examples as a detailed exposition of the exact derivations of all the possible orders is well beyond the aims of the present section.

Starting from the most typical order, *DO – Prt – V*, Elenbaas shows that this order can be analysed in the same way as the order *S – O – V – Aux* in Biberauer & Roberts (2005), see the derivation of (24) in (25) above. Here is an example in (101a) with its step-by-step

derivation in (101b) (Elenbaas 2007: 190, her example and derivation in [21]):

- (101) a. þæt he [ðone cwelmbæran hlaf] **aweg***bære*  
 that he the.ACC deadly.ACC loaf.ACC awaycarries  
 (ÆCHom ii, 11:96.146.1988)  
 "... that he carries away the deadly loaf of bread"
- b. [VP **ðone cwelmbæran hlaf** V [AP **BÆRE** [PrtP **aweg**] ]  
 > merging of v<sup>o</sup> and movement of the adjective to v  
 [VP **bære**+V+v [VP ðone cwelmbæran hlaf V [AP ~~BÆRE~~ [PrtP **aweg**] ]  
 merge of the whole VP into (inner) SpecvP  
 [VP [VP **ðone cwelmbæran hlaf** V [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **aweg**] ] bære+V+v t<sub>VP</sub>  
 > merge the subject in Spec of the (outer) vP  
 [VP **he** [VP [VP **ðone cwelmbæran hlaf** V [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **aweg**] ] bære+V+v t<sub>VP</sub>  
 > merge T and move the complex head A+V+v *bære*  
 [TP bære [VP **he** [VP [VP **ðone cwelmbæran hlaf** V [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **aweg**] ] t<sub>bære</sub> t<sub>VP</sub>  
 > merge of the whole outer vP into SpecTP  
 [TP [VP **he** [VP [VP **ðone cwelmbæran hlaf** V [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **aweg**] ] t<sub>bære</sub> t<sub>VP</sub>] **bære**

In (101), the EPP feature on v<sup>o</sup> is satisfied by pied-piping the whole VP containing the direct object and the Prt; likewise, T's EPP feature is satisfied by pied-piping the whole outer vP, thus moving the subject, the object and the Prt before the tensed verb in T.

In the derivation of the Prt orders with modals, Elenbaas (2007) follows Biberauer & Roberts (2005) in considering modals restructuring verbs. As shown above, this entails that from a structural point of view, modal verbs introduce an infinitival TP (labelled T<sub>def</sub>P above) as their complement. Clearly, this infinitival TP has an EPP feature as well, which may be satisfied in the usual ways, thus giving rise to both "verb raising" and "verb projection raising" structures. A case in point is the following example, (102), which Elenbaas (2007) analyses as a case of "verb raising":

- (102) a. **Aux ... Prt V**  
 gif þu sylf wille **niþer** *astigan* [to helwarum] for manna alysednyse  
 if you self want down go to hell.DAT for man.GEN redemption.DAT  
 (ÆCHom i, 32:453.63.6404)  
 "if you yourself want to go into hell for the redemption of mankind"
- b. [VP **þu** v [VP V [AP **ASTIGAN** [PrtP **nyþer**] ]  
 > move A to V to v  
 [VP **þu** **astigan** [VP [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **nyþer**] ]  
 >merge infinitival TP and move v  
 [TP **astigan** [VP **þu** t<sub>V</sub> [VP [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **nyþer**] ]  
 > move vP to SpecTP  
 [TP [VP **þu** t<sub>V</sub> [VP [AP **t<sub>A</sub>** [PrtP **nyþer**] **astigan** t<sub>VP</sub>  
 > merge restructuring verb *wille* in T and move subject DP from infinitival

SpecTP to matrix SpecTP<sup>67</sup>

[<sub>TP</sub> **þu wille**-T [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> tv [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> t<sub>A</sub> [<sub>PrtP</sub> nyþer] astigan t<sub>VP</sub>

As shown above, on Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) account, "verb raising" orders involve the satisfaction of the EPP feature on infinitival T<sub>def</sub> by pied-piping the content of vP to SpecTP, which is then moved to

Moreover, Elenbaas (2007) analyses cases like the following by comparing them to "verb projection raising". Structurally, they derive through DP movement of the subject to SpecTP. Here follows an example of verb projection raising and Elenbaas (2007

(103) a. ... *Prt V Aux*

þæt hi ne mihton [ðā scipu] **ut** bringon

that they not could the ships out bring

(ChronC [Rositzke]:896.10.962)

"that they were not able to lead out the ships"

b. [<sub>VP</sub> **hi** v [<sub>VP</sub> ðā scipu V [<sub>AP</sub> **BRINGON** [<sub>PrtP</sub> **ut** ] ]

> move A to V to v

[<sub>VP</sub> hi **bringon** [<sub>VP</sub> ðā scipu t<sub>A+V</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> t<sub>A</sub> [<sub>PrtP</sub> ut] ]

> merge (infinitival) T<sub>def</sub> and move v

[<sub>TdefP</sub> **bringon** [<sub>VP</sub> hi t<sub>A+V+v</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ðā scipu t<sub>A+V</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> t<sub>A</sub> [<sub>PrtP</sub> ut] ]

> move vP to (infinitival) SpecT<sub>def</sub>P

[<sub>TdefP</sub> [**vP** hi t<sub>A+V+v</sub> [**VP** ðā scipu t<sub>A+V</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> t<sub>A</sub> [<sub>PrtP</sub> **ut** ] ] bringon ]

>merge V<sub>R</sub> and matrix TP

[<sub>TP</sub> VR(**mihton**) [<sub>TdefP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> hi t<sub>A+V+v</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ðā scipu t<sub>A+V</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> t<sub>A</sub> [<sub>PrtP</sub> ut] ] **bringon** ]

> move subject DP from infinitival SpecTP to Spec matrix TP

[<sub>TP</sub> **hi** T VR(**mihton**) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> t<sub>A+V+v</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ðā scipu t<sub>A+V</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> t<sub>A</sub> [<sub>PrtP</sub> **ut** ] ] **bringon**

In all of the above cases, the Prt projects its phrase and is moved along together with the vP. However, there are at least some orders in which the Prt cannot be analysed as a phrase. One of such orders is *Prt – V – DO*, see (104) (example from Elenbaas (2007: 191, [22]));

(104) And þa he **utdruf** [þa deofolseocnesse] þa ...

and when he out-drove the demoniacal possession, then...

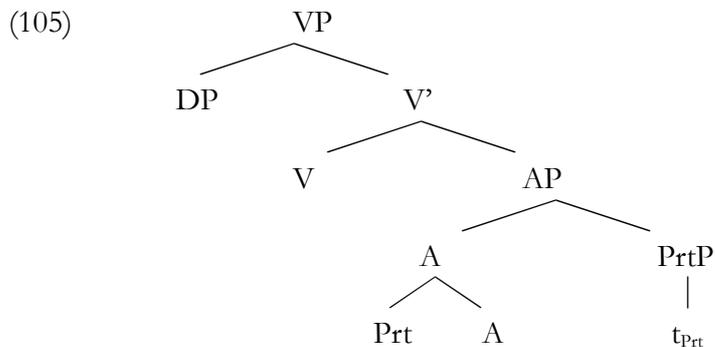
(Lk [WSCp]: 11.14.4570)

"and when he had cast out the devil, then ..."

Elenbaas accounts for this order by assuming Biberauer & Roberts' (2005) proposal that the EPP feature on v<sup>o</sup> is optional, and as a result of its absence no movement occurs, neither DP movement of the object, nor VP pied-piping of the object and Prt, which remain *in situ*, and

<sup>67</sup> I skipped a passage here, in which both the modal and the subject first move to matrix v<sup>o</sup> and SpecvP respectively, and then into matrix T and SpecTP. Notice that extraction from infinitival SpecTP to the matrix vP and TP is possible since infinitival TP is not a completed phase (Chomsky 2001).

consequently the direct object receives a specific interpretative value ("new information" or "focus"). Yet, the *Prt* moves out of the VP and appears before the verb. Elenbaas (2007: 191) makes sense of these cases by proposing that the *Prt* had the possibility to incorporate via head-movement, and attach to the left of the abstract head *A* forming the lexically decomposed verb, cf. Elenbaas (2007: 191, [23]).



In the light of this, the subsequent movement of the *A* to "verbalise" the lexically decomposed verb, i.e., *A* to *V* to  $v^\circ$ , carries along the *Prt*, which is subsequently moved to *T*.

Finally, Elenbaas (2007) also discusses the derivation of a minority pattern in her corpus, which presents the order *V – Prt – Obj*, the order Pintzuk (1999) analysed as the first instances of an incipient VO structure. This is the incipient order of ME and ModE, and Elenbaas claims that this should be derived by an analysis in which the *Prt* is not projecting like in the previous examples, but comflates with the adjective to form a complex head, cf. (106b):

- (106) a. for þan ðe se stream berð aweg Placidum  
 because that the stream bears away P. (ÆCHom ii, 11:95.97.1943)  
 "because the stream carries away Placitus"
- b. [<sub>VP</sub> **Placidum** V [<sub>AP</sub> **BERÐ aweg**]]  
 > merge inner vP and move *A* to *V* to  $v^\circ$   
 [<sub>VP</sub> **berð aweg** [<sub>VP</sub> Placidum V  $t_{AP}$ ]]  
 > merge subject in Spec vP  
 [<sub>VP</sub> **se stream** berð aweg [<sub>VP</sub> Placidum V  $t_{AP}$ ]]  
 > merge *T* and move *v*  
 [<sub>TP</sub> **berð aweg** [<sub>VP</sub> se stream  $t_v$  [<sub>VP</sub> Placidum V  $t_{AP}$ ]]]  
 > merge SpecvP into SpecTP  
 [<sub>TP</sub> **se stream** berð aweg [<sub>VP</sub>  $t_{subj}$   $t_v$  [<sub>VP</sub> Placidum V  $t_{AP}$ ]]]

In this derivation, the VPC moves  $v^\circ$  as a complex head. The object DP does not move, nor VP pied-piping occurs, i.e.,  $v^\circ$  does not have the EPP feature. This is in line with Biberauer & Roberts (2005), so the absence of the EPP feature in SpecvP has interpretative effects, namely

that the object DP is focussed, as in this case.

In conclusion, the analyses presented in this section represent the first important attempts at a formal syntactic account of the OE particle verbs in the light of some of the newest proposals on the structural representation of VPCs as presented in Chapter 1 (section 1.3). Though not agreeing entirely with some of the mechanisms and technicalities proposed, I nonetheless believe that each of these analyses have some interesting ingredient, which will be used in my analysis of the OE VPCs. Like Fischer et al (2000), I too maintain that OE Prts are secondary predicates base-generated as a thematic argument of the verb, but I believe that Elenbaas' (2007) intuition that OE Prts are "hybrid" elements is also insightful. In this respect, I think that the hybrid nature of OE Prts does regard the possibility to be either a head or a phrase and consequently the possibility to conflate or not. I believe instead that Elenbaas (2007) hybrid nature is better captured in the sense of a syntactically determined alternation between a weak and a strong form of the Prt. I address such a proposal in 3.4.2, showing how this can also account, at least in part, for the Particle Shift of ModE.

## 2.5 Summary

After a brief discussion of the major syntactic proposals on the derivation of both the peculiar type of V2 and of the OV/VO alternation exhibited by OE, I have offered an initial sketch of how the high degree of variation attested in the word order of OE main and embedded clauses can be accounted for in a Cartographic perspective. Following the theoretical assumptions behind this line of research (Cinque 1999, Cinque & Rizzi 2008, Cinque 2009), I reject the idea that the word order alternations found in this language are due to two competing underlying structures, and I assume instead that the different linear orders are the result of a number of restricted and motivated syntactic movements operating in the High and Low Left Periphery of the clause. In this proposal I follow much recent work on Old Italian and on some Germanic varieties like Cimbrian (Grewendorf & Poletto 2011), which present comparable phenomena as regards both the "relaxed V2" and the mixed OV/VO syntax. In particular, I have shown that the various V1, V2 and V3 orders attested in OE main clauses can be better captured by assuming the Split-CP hypothesis. Drawing a parallel with very similar orders in Old Italian (Benincà 2006), I have proposed that OE presents a "relaxed V2", in which the linear constraint typical of V2 languages is not always met. In particular, I have argued that those elements causing strict V2 (*þa*, *ne*, *wb*-items and the

null interrogative operator) are located in the higher portion of CP, in Force; the finite verb in these contexts moves to the head of Force<sup>o</sup>, thus moving across the position of weak pronouns (WP). As regards V3 orders with personal pronouns and light adverbs, I have refined Pintzuk's (1991, 1999) original intuition that these elements occurring between the Topic and the inflected verb should be considered as clitics. I have argued instead that pronouns and light adverbs in V3 orders represent the typical Wackernagel (1892) elements, and that in OE they have a weak nature in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999). As such, they occupy a dedicated slot in the High Left Periphery, which I have labelled WP. Furthermore, I have also shown that subject pronouns are hosted in a distinct projection above WP (SubjP following Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007), as in main clauses, they can be separated from the other complement pronouns by the finite verb.

As regards the mixed OV/VO syntax, I have suggested that the word order alternation in main clauses is to be derived through the interaction of the direct object with the Focus and Topic positions of the Low Left Periphery (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2001, 2004). Following Poletto's (2006a,b) "parallel phases hypothesis", by which the OV orders of Old Italian can be viewed as a V2 in the Low Periphery, I have claimed that the OV orders of OE main clauses may be considered as the parallel in the Low Periphery of the strict V2 obtaining in Force. In particular, I propose that the OV orders in OE main clauses obtain because the direct object targets a higher Topic position, while the VO orders obtain because the direct object moves into LowFocusP and the non-finite verb targets higher positions (either a GroundP position, parallel to the GroundP of the High Left Periphery, cf. Poletto & Pollock 2004, or one of the Asp heads). Support in favour of such a high position for direct objects comes from comparative evidence with the German and Mochoeno (Cognola 2010), which present a high position for definite direct objects, while the proposal that VO orders may involve focalised objects in OE is supported by Kroch & Pintzuk (1989), who notice that post-participial direct objects tend to be focalised in *Beowulf*.

My analysis of the OV/VO mixed syntax in embedded contexts starts from the very strong assumption that the OE finite verb always targets Fin<sup>o</sup>, the lower head in the CP domain, by virtue of its being a V2 language. The asymmetric position of the finite verb in main and embedded clauses derives from the fact that in main clauses the verb can move into the higher heads (in Focus, Topic, Frame etc.), while in subordinate clauses these heads are blocked and the verb remains in Fin<sup>o</sup>. When in Fin<sup>o</sup>, the verb recalls in the Spec of FinP a constituent of varying size, probably pied-piped from the LowTopic area (either the direct object, or the non-finite verb, a Prt, or even the constituent IO-DO etc.). Though with the

due differences, this account of the word order alternations in OE embedded clauses recalls Franco's (2009) account of Stylistic Fronting in Modern Icelandic and Old Italian, which she analyses as remnant movement of a vacated vP into the lower Specs of the CP layer, either SpecFin (for past participles) or ModP (for other vP material). In the light of the analysis here proposed, I have identified two diagnostics for embedded word order: (i) the appearance of a weak pronoun "cluster", and/or (ii), the presence of a vP/VP constituent before the finite verb. These diagnostics are respectively the indirect and the direct manifestations of the finite verb in Fin<sup>o</sup>.

I have then discussed very briefly the syntactic status of the OE personal pronouns and of the light adverbs, in particular *þa*. I have argued that Koopman's (1997) observation that the OE pronouns meet Kayne's (1975) criteria for cliticness only partly and only when in a specific position, namely, in WP, indicates that OE presents two series of phonologically identical pronouns, one strong and one weak, which can be distinguished however on the basis of their syntactic possibilities.

In the final part of this Chapter I presented the most authoritative studies on both postpositons and Prts. I have started by presenting the general distributional properties of particles and the syntactic characteristics of the complements of stranded Ps, capitalising on Wende (1915) and Mitchell (1978). In the last part of each subsection, I presented the most important generative treatments of both P-stranding and Prts. This last part of the present Chapter is instrumental to my syntactic unitary account of Prts and stranded Ps, which is based both on the description made in the above subsections and on the qualitative analysis of the syntactic behaviour of these P elements in the syntax of Ælfric's *Lives of Saint* presented in the next Chapter.

# Chapter 3

## The Syntax of P in Old English

### 3.1 Introduction

The previous two Chapters presented and discussed the different theoretical assumptions which lie at the heart of the analysis proposed in the present Chapter. In Chapter 1, I have described and slightly integrated the recent Cartographic proposals on the syntactic representation of prepositions and particles, both at the PP-internal level and at the sentence level. Following Cinque (2010a), I assumed that the different elements appearing in a PP like prepositions, adverbs and particles are but the realisations of different portions of one and the same underlying PP structure, here repeated in (1):

- (1) {CP<sub>Place</sub> ...} [PP<sub>dir</sub> [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [Asp<sub>Place</sub> [*p*P *Figure* [DP<sub>Place</sub> [DegP [ModeDirP [AbsViewP [RelViewP [RelViewP [DeicticP [AxPartP [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> [NPPlace *Ground* PLACE

As shown by Koopman (2000[2010]) for Dutch, by Svenonius (2010) for English, and by Cinque (2010a) for a number of unrelated languages, the relative orders between the PP material in (1) are subject to superficial variation not only cross-linguistically but also within the same language. However, Cinque (2006) and subsequent work has convincingly argued that all the attested variation is to be derived by a universal underlying structure, the one in (1), which interacts with the limited and independently motivated ways each single language allows phrases to move inside the PP. Moreover, the same conditioned phrasal movements also determine the various superficial orders among the different type of PPs, which obey a very rigid underlying hierarchy (see Schweikert 2005a, Cinque 2006). As regards Prts and preverbs, I have adopted and extended Damonte & Padovan's (2011) proposal, and I have argued that these elements are the realisation of some portion of the articulated PP structure in (1), which is in turn located in a precise structural position: transparent Prts are hosted in a projection, PredP for resultative particles and GoalP/SourceP/PathP for directional Prts, within the thematic field of Schweikert (2005a); non-transparent Prts, being modifiers of the verbal root, are hosted in the Spec of the lower aspectual positions within the VP (Cinque 1999).

In Chapter 2, I sketched my own assumptions on the underlying constituent order of OE, and I suggested what types of syntactic movements may be operating on it, in order to derive both the well-known superficial variation between OV and VO orders, and the syntactically ambiguous behaviour of certain monosyllabic elements, in particular personal pronouns and “light” adverbs like *þa*. Specifically, in complete agreement with Cinque's (2009) assumptions on the left-right asymmetry of natural languages, I assume that OE has a universal basic order OV, in the sense that all the arguments, functional heads and modifiers of a given lexical head are base-generated above the lexical head. Moreover, these modifiers and functional heads are rigidly ordered in a highly detailed and universal hierarchy, which presents parallels in all the major syntactic domains (CP, vP, DP, PP etc.). Upon this basic sentence order, two distinct but intimately interconnected properties operate: the V2 property and the anteposition rule deriving OV. In particular, I argued that OE had a “relaxed V2”, i.e. it allowed multiple, yet motivated access to the High Left Periphery (CP), thus permitting V1, V3 orders (cf. the V2 of Medieval Romance, Benincà 2006). I furthermore argued that the V2 property of OE requires that the finite verb always targets the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  head, even in subordinate clauses, but in main clauses the verb is allowed to reach the higher heads in the Topic, Focus, Frame and Force fields (because they are criterial positions, Rizzi 2003). When the verb remains in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , as is the case in subordinate contexts, SpecFinP must be filled by movement of either a constituent or the remnant vP (cf. Biberauer & Roberts 2005 for a proposal that OE OV is derived by pied-piping of some remnant vP). Moreover, I have also shown that the syntactic ambiguity in the behaviour of personal pronouns and light adverbs depends on the fact that they come in two series in OE: they can be either weak elements, and as such are hosted in a dedicated derived position within the High Left Periphery (WP, between Topic and Focus), or they can be strong elements, in which case they occupy the same positions as full adverbs. PPs and full DPs, i.e., their merge position and may undergo focus-sensitive movements. However, some distinctions must be made between the OE weak pronouns, since weak subjects behave in a different way w.r.t. weak object pronouns: weak subject pronouns are never found in the VP area (Pintzuk 1999), and attract the finite verb in main clauses, which ends up between the weak subject pronoun (which I take to occupy a special position in the Left Periphery weak field, SubjP), and weak object pronouns (hosted in WP). In the light of such considerations on both the clausal and the pronominal syntax of OE, I have argued that there are two possibly cooccurring diagnostics for the identification of subordinate clause word order: (i) the occurrence of a sort of pronoun cluster (subject + object), since in subordinate clauses the finite verb remains in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  and does not move higher up in CP; (ii) the

presence of some vP/VP material before the finite verb.

In what follows, each of these assumptions will play a most relevant role, as the unitary and principled treatment I attempt here of the cases of P-stranding and particles found in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* derives straightforwardly from their interaction. As already discussed in the Introduction (0.3), the present Chapter presents a qualitative analysis of the data from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, since the main intent pursued here is to offer an in-depth consideration of the PP-internal and clausal dynamics involved in the abovementioned phenomena as they are visible in the syntax of an extremely coherent text. The qualitative analysis put forward in the following sections also intends to shed some light on some specific aspects of the phenomena affecting the PP in OE.

In my investigation of OE P-stranding with relative *þe*, R-elements and personal pronouns, I try to establish the syntactic status of both the stranded Ps and their complements through the identification of their structural representation. The identification of the syntactic nature of the stranded P will be shown to be of relevance for its syntactic distribution in the clause, while the identification of the syntactic nature of the prepositional complement, and consequently of its structural representation, offers a syntactic motivation for both P-stranding with these precise elements and for the syntactic nature of the stranded P. In the case of Prts, I will show that their syntactic distribution w.r.t the verb and the other clause constituents indicates that Prts presented two forms, either weak or strong (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), which were syntactically determined again by the PP-internal movements operating in OE. The resulting P elements (stranded Ps and Prts) have different syntactic natures, to which the syntactic movements operating in the OE sentence are sensitive.

The Chapter is organised as follows: in the next section, 3.2, I deal with *obligatory* P-Stranding; which, as already mentioned elsewhere, obtains only when the Ground of the P is the relative *þe* or one of the R-elements. The section is further divided into two subsections, the first dealing with P-stranding in relative clauses (3.2.1) and the second with P-stranding with the R-elements (3.2.2). In each subsection, I present the distributional patterns found in the *Lives of Saints*, and how they are to be analysed under the assumptions summarised above.

The following section, 3.3, deals with *optional* P-stranding, which occurs only with bare personal pronouns. Again, I will present (3.3.1) the distributional patterns of the personal pronoun, the stranded P and the verb (as is usual after Wende 1915), and subsequently, I provide an analysis of this phenomenon by looking both at the structural representation of the stranded P and of the pronoun. The results of such analysis are presented in 3.3.3, where I also show how the optional cases of P-stranding in OE can tell us something more not only

about the internal architecture of the PP, but also on a structural parallelism which may be found between the clausal domain and the prepositional domain of OE.

In section 3.4, I consider some OE Prts and their varying orders w.r.t. the lexical verb and the surrounding constituents (3.4.1). I will show that the distributional properties of Prts are dependent on a slightly different application of the same type of requirements and syntactic movement which are at work in the case of P-stranding. Closely related to the application of this syntactic movements is the definition of the syntactic status of the Prts, which can be shown to have both weak and strong forms (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999; see 3.4.2). Consequently, strong and weak Prts will be shown to have different structural position: the merge position for strong Prts, as they are full-fledged PPs, and a derived higher position for weak Prts. This last claim is supported by a similar claim made in Hróarsdóttir (2008) for the Prts of Older Icelandic, and by Franco (2009) for Old Italian. Moreover, some evidence will be provided by a Northern Italian dialect, Borgomanerese (Tortora 2002, 2010), which presents some clear diagnostics for the identification of the derived position of Prts. Most of the typical distributional properties of Prts are to be found also in a special noun, *ham*, when used directionally in both OE and Borgomanerese. The special case of *ham* will be briefly considered in 3.4.3. Lastly, section 3.5 presents a summary of the results and of the rather intricate analyses here proposed.

## 3.2 Obligatory P-Stranding with relative *þe* and “R-elements”

The present section deals with the obligatory stranding of the P, which obtains only when the prepositional complement is either the relative particle *þe* or one of the R-elements. Each of these elements is considered in a separate subsection, 3.2.1 for relative *þe*, 3.2.2 for R-elements, since though obligatory in each case, P-stranding occurs for slightly different reasons, which are directly dependent both on their different syntactic natures and on the different syntactic contexts they appear in. Each subsection is further divided in two parts: the first (3.2.1.1 and 3.2.2.1) present the distributional patterns of the stranded P and its complements w.r.t the clause material and the verb, while the second part (3.2.1.2 and 3.2.2.2) presents the syntactic motivations connecting obligatory P-stranding to the structural representation of the relative *þe* and of the R-elements within the PP structure in (1). From this structural representation depends the syntactic status of the stranded P and its consequent position within the clause.

### 3.2.1 P-Stranding with relative *þe*

Before considering the distributional patterns of P-stranding with the relative *þe*, a brief description of the OE relative system is in order. OE presented three relativisation strategies, all lost in the course of time<sup>1</sup>, which involved substantially two types of relativisers both deriving etymologically from the same element, a demonstrative forming *þ*-element. Yet, crucially and most importantly for our purposes, the relativisers differed in their possibility of pied-piping or stranding their governing P (Mitchell 1985: §§2231-2248; 151-158). The three relativisation strategies of OE were the following, which were used in both definite and indefinite relative clauses (examples from Mitchell & Robinson 1986: §§ 162-164; 75-80):

- (1) an inflected form of the demonstrative pronouns *se, seo, þæt*, which receives case within the relative clause, and agrees in number and gender with its nominal antecedent, cf. (2):
- (2) *se hearpere ðæs nama wæs Orfeus hæfde an wife seo wæs haten Eurydice*  
the harper the.GEN name was O. had a wife who was called E.  
(Boethius 35.101.22)  
“the harper whose name was Orpheus, had a wife who was called Eurydice”

When such strategy occurs, as Mitchell & Robinson (1986: §162: 76) note, it is not entirely clear whether the pronoun is a real relative or a demonstrative (probably a Topic in the High Left Periphery in the framework here adopted). In any case, the demonstrative *se, seo, þæt* behaves like an ordinary DP in obligatory presenting pied-piping of its governing P, in both prose and poetry. See Mitchell (1985: §2232: 151) for details.

- (ii) the undeclinable element *þe*, a relative particle following Mitchell (1985), and a complementiser or subordinator in generative terms as it conforms to all the criteria of Radford (1988) for the identification of relative complementisers (undeclinability, impossibility of being governed by a P and insensitivity to the animacy of its antecedent; but see Seppänen 2004 and below for a slightly different account):
- (3) *of ðæm mere ðe Truso standeð in staðe*  
from the.DAT sea.DAT that Truso stands on coasts  
(Orosius, 1.16.32)  
“from the sea on whose shores Truso stands”

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1 The literature on the diachronic changes affecting the relative systems of both Standard English and its dialects is very extensive in both the generative and non-generative framework. For a very brief outline of these changes see Berizzi & Rossi (2011) and references cited therein.

Mitchell & Robinson (1986: §162; 75f.) note that the relative particle *þe* was very common when it relativised the subject or the object, but it could also occasionally function as a relative in the dative and in the genitive (as the case in [3] shows). As for P-stranding, “the undeclinable relative *þe* always precedes any preposition which governs it” (Mitchell & Robinson 1986: §162: 76).

- (iii) the co-occurrence of the particle *þe* with the demonstrative pronoun *se, seo, þæt*, which receives case within the relative clause, and agrees in number and gender with its antecedent:

- (4) *þystre genip, þam þe se þeonden self sceop nihte naman*  
 dark cloud, that.DAT that the Lord self created night name  
 (Genesis A,B, 138)  
 “the cloud of darkness for which the Lord made the name 'night' “

Mitchell (1985: §1062: 441) refers to this combination as the '*seþe* relative. However, Mitchell & Robinson (1986: §163: 77) warn readers that in some cases, the demonstrative pronoun could appear in the case of its antecedent, and not in the case required by the relative clause, cf. their example reported in (5) below, where the relative *þone* is in the accusative, as its antecedent *croccan*, while the relative clause requires for nominative:

- (5) *gedo grenne finul XXX nihta on ænne croccan þone þe sie gepicod utan*  
 do green fennel thirty nights in one.ACC jar.ACC which.ACC that be pitched outside  
 “Put green fennel for thirty nights into a jar which is covered with pitch on the outside”

Mitchell & Robinson suggest that “[i]n earlier times, *þone* was no doubt stressed in such sentences” (Mitchell & Robinson 1986: §163: 77), so that the sentence in (5) can be rephrased as “one jar, that one, which ...”. Thus, *þone* in this type of relative—referred to as the *se'þe* relative by the authors—belongs formally to the main clause, while the relativiser proper is *þe*. The fact that the demonstrative in the *se'þe* relative belongs to the main clause may be further confirmed by the interesting asymmetries exhibited w.r.t. pied-piping and P-stranding: *'seþe* presents pied-piping as was the case in (i), since the relative element contains the demonstrative, while *se'þe* presents P-stranding since the proper relative is *þe*, which, as shown in (ii), cannot be governed by a P.

The data in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* presents no exceptions to this picture. All the cases of P-stranding I found are with the *þe* relative. In the following section, 3.2.1.1, I consider the

position of the stranded P w.r.t. the verb, and in 3.2.1.2 I present my analysis of the phenomenon, which directly links the syntactic status of the stranded P to the syntactic status and to the consequent structural representation of the relative particle *þe*. The position of the stranded P in the sentence follows from its syntactic status, and from the strict syntactic movements operating in object relatives.

### 3.2.1.1 *The position of the stranded P in the clause*

As already mentioned in the above section, P-stranding occurs *only* with the relative undeclinable *þe*. The position of the stranded P in this type of relative clause is very rigid, as object relatives seem to be one of the strongest contexts for OV orders (see below). The pattern of distribution can be schematised as *þe* ..... P V (Aux), where the relative *þe* and its stranded P are separated by other sentence material (generally pronouns, subjects and objects, but also by other XPs). The following cases in (6) and (7) exemplify this rigid pattern with simple tenses and compound tenses respectively (please note how a case like [6a] may resemble a particle verb construction):

- (6) a. Das godnysse we sceolan simble lufian **þe us ælc god ofcymb**, [...]  
 This goodness we should ever love that us any good from comes  
 and seo an sawul is æðelboren þe ðonne lufað **þe heo fram com**, [...]  
 and she one soul is noble-born that that.ACC loves that she from comes  
(ÆLS Christmas, 93)  
 "This goodness, from which cometh to us every good thing, we must ever love, ..., and only that soul is nobly-born that loveth Him from whom it came, ..."
- b. Paulus eode þa [...] oþ þæt he funde an weofod **þe þis gewrit on stod**,  
 P. went then ... til that he found an altar that this writing on stood  
*Deo ignoto*; þæt is on Englisc, Uncuðum gode is þis weofod halig.  
 ----- that is in English, Unknown.DAT god.DAT is this altar holy  
(ÆLS Denis, 20)  
 "Paul then went ..., until he found an altar whereon stood this inscription, 'Deo ignoto' that is in English, 'To the unknown god is this altar holy.'
- c. [...] and hi wæl wyrðe wæron þæt hi wunodon butan æhtnysse  
 ... and they well worthy werethat they lived without persecution  
 on ðære ylcan byrig, **þe he hi ær of adræfde**.  
 in the.DAT same.DAT city.DAT that he them before from out-drove  
(ÆLS Eugenia, 270)  
 "..., and they were well worthy of living unpersecuted in the very city whence he before had banished them"
- d. Eala þu min fæder gemyltsa þinre dehter, and forgif me

Alas you my father, have pity your.DAT daughter.DAT, and give me  
 þam men **þe min mod me to spend**, elles ic mot sweltan sarlicum deaðe.<sup>2</sup>  
 the.DAT man.DAT that my mind me to urges, or-else I must die sore.DAT death.DAT

(ÆLS Basil: 387)

“ 'O, thou my father! Have pity on thy daughter, give me to the man to whom my mind enticeth me, else I must die a sore death.' ”

- e. [...] þæt ælc ðæra þe bið acweald for Cristes geleafan bið soðlice gefullod  
 ..., that each those.GEN that are killed for Christ.GEN fiath are truly baptised  
 [...] and leofað mid þam Drihtne **þe he his lif fore sealde**.  
 and live with the.DAT Lord.DAT that he his life for gave

(ÆLS Forty Soldiers, 293)

"..., that every one of those who are killed for the faith of Christ is truly baptised ..., and liveth with the Lord for Whom he gave up his life"

- (7) a. ...and he sceal smeagen embe þæt æce lif **þe he to gesceapen wæs** [...]  
 ... and he shall seek about the eternal life that he to created was ...

(ÆLS Christmas, 56)

"...and that he ought to seek after the eternal life for which he was created ..."

- b. [...] ic sceal ærest afyllan þa þincg **þe ic fore asend eom** and [...]  
 .... I shall first fulfil the things that I fore sent am and

(ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 118)

"... I must first fulfil the things for which I am sent, and ..."

- c. [...], oð þæt man him fette of ðære foresædan rode sumne dæl  
 afflicted very.much, til that man him fed from the.GEN aforesaid.GEN cross.GEN some part  
 þæs meoses **þe heo mid bewaxen wæs**, [...]  
 the.GEN moss.GEN that she with overgrown was, ...

(ÆLS Oswald, 34)

"... until some one fetched to him, from the aforesaid cross, some part of the moss with which it was overgrown, ..."

The *Lives of Saints* present also one exception to the pattern here exemplified, cf. (8), in which the P *mid* “with” appears postverbally:

- (8) a. Ða wæs seo wund gehæled, þe se læce worhte ær; eac swilce þa gewæda  
 Then was the wound healed that the doctor made before, also-so the clothes  
**þe heo bewunden wæs mid** wæron swa ansunde, swylce hi eall niwe wæron.  
 that she wound was with were so sound, as if they all new were.

2 Notice the asymmetry between (6a) and (6d) as regards the position of the subject w.r.t the pronoun. This may find an explanation in the fact that the subjects of unaccusative verbs originate in the object position (see Perlmutter 1978), and may appear postverbally in main clauses (for instance in Italian but also in OE). Belletti (2001, 2004) interprets this postverbal position as a Focus position, LowFocP, which is part of the vP-phase. Thus, the appearance of such a subject in (6a) between the pronoun in WP and the finite verb in Fin° may be due to the anteposition rule operating in OE subordinate clauses which pied-pipes (a remnant of )the vP to SpecFinP, in this case a constituent containing the postverbal subject in LowFocP and the stranded P. Alternatively, the subject may be moved to the Spec of the FocIIP in the High Left Periphery (while the stranded P is moved to SpecFinP), as there are very strong interactions between the High and Low Left Peripheries (see Poletto 2006b on Old Italian, and Cognola 2010 on Mochoeno, a Tyrolean dialect with OV/VO mixed syntax). By contrast, the example in (6d) presents a normal transitive verb, whose subject is not interpreted as a Focus and is in this case hosted in TopicP, structurally higher than WP.

"The wound which the leech had once made was healed; likewise the linen clothes in which she had been wound were as fresh as if they had been all new."

This case however is very isolated and should not represent a problem for the analysis since, as noticed by Pintzuk & Haeberli (2008), cases presenting a postverbal stranded P in head-final structures, i.e. ... V Aux, (the same pattern as in [8]) are very rare in OE, and, indeed, the whole YCOE presents just three examples.<sup>3</sup> It should be noticed moreover that some lines below the exact same relative clause is repeated, and in this case we find the expected order:

- (9) [...] and eac ða þe hrepodon þæs reafes  
 ...and also those that touched the.GEN shroud.GEN  
 ænigne dæl **þe heo mid bewunden wæs**, wurdon sona hale;  
 any.ACC part.ACC that she with wound was, were soon whole  
 (ÆLS Æthelthryth, 113)  
 "...; those also who touched any part of the shroud in which she had been wound, were instantly cured"

What seems more noteworthy to me is that there are a few instances in the *Lives of Saints*, in which the strict OV order fails, and some other constituent follows the tensed verb, cf. (10):

- (10) a. Eft he clypode þus, and cwæð to ðam halgan, Eala þu milda bisceop  
 Again he cried thus, and said to the.DAT holy.DAT, Oh, you mild bishop  
**þe manega wundra of cumað þurh þone lifigendan God**, leof, [...]  
 that many miracles from come through the.ACC living.ACC God.ACC, dear  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 214)  
 "Again he cried thus, and said to the saint, 'Oh thou mild bishop, from whom come often many miracles through the living God; ....'"
- b. Ða ahof se casere þa halgan rode up on þære ylcan stowe,  
 Then raised the emperor the saint rood up in the.DAT same.DAT place.DAT  
**þe heo on stod æt fruman**, ærþan þe se arleasa cyningc Cosdrue hi gename.  
 that she on stood at first, before that the cruel king C. her took  
 (ÆLS Exalt of Cross, 121)  
 "Then the emperor exalted the Holy Rood in that same place in which it stood"

3 The three examples Pintzuk & Haeberli (2008) report can actually be reduced to the one above and the following since the third one, their example [13b] can actually be treated in a different way (see next section):

(i) for ðan ðe [ælcum menn]; his agen dom cymd to *t*  
 because each man his own fate comes to

(ÆCHom I, 17 [App]:540.171.3303)

"because to each man comes his own fate"

Notice that all the cases reported in Haeberli & Pintzuk (2008) of postverbal Ps in "head-final" structures are from Ælfric and in subordinate clauses involving some sort of relative clause (even [i] above may be viewed as a relative clause). Pintzuk & Haeberli (2008) present a quantitative study of particles, stranded prepositions, pronominal and negative objects in preverbal position, claiming that the frequency of "head-final" clauses is probably much higher in OE than it was previously thought.

at first, before the impious king, Cosdrue, took it therefrom."

- c. [...] and him micclum sceamode þæs deofles manrædenne  
and him greatly shamed the.GEN devil.GEN vassalge

**þe he on wæs oþ þæt.**

that he in was until that

(ÆLS Martin, 1192)

"...and he was greatly ashamed of the devil's vassalage in which he had been until then."

- d. Anastasius wæs gehaten se arwurþa mæssepreost **þe se bisceop to fundode**  
A. was called the venerable mass-priest that the bishop to went

**swa færllice mid gange.**

so quickly with journey.DAT

(ÆLS Basil, 466)

"Anastasius was the name of the venerable mass-priest, to whom the bishop went so quickly in his journey."

Crucially, all the cases I found of this pattern present a postverbal circumstantial PP. I will come back to this point in the next section, where I tentatively present a possible explanation for these orders.

To sum up, despite some interesting differences in the “strictness” of the OV constraint, the stranded Ps with relative *þe* from the *Lives of Saints* show a very restricted distribution, as they always appear preverbally, either before the tensed lexical verb, or before the verbal cluster non-finite verb-auxiliary. I address the derivation of this pattern in the next subsection, since the position of the stranded P will be shown to depend on its syntactic nature, which is ultimately dependent on the syntactic nature of relative *þe*.

### 3.2.1.2 The syntactic nature of *þe* and of the stranded P

Recalling the above description, the two relativisers of OE, namely the demonstrative pronoun *se, seo, þæt* and the relative “particle” or subordinator *þe* behave differently w.r.t their governing P, the former presenting pied-piping and the latter P-stranding. This is interestingly exemplified in the following case, the only one I found in the *Lives of Saints*, in which there is strategy (iii) above, demonstrative + *þe*, with “doubling” of the preposition:

- (11) [...] ærþan þe he wære gefullod, ungewemmed swaþeah fram woruldlicre  
before that he was baptised unspotted so.though from worldly.DAT  
besmitennysse **on þære þe mennisc cynn micclum on syngað.**  
defilment.DAT in that.DAT that mankind greatly in sins

(ÆLS Martin, 40)

"..., ere he was baptized, being unspotted, nevertheless, by worldly defilement wherein

mankind especially sin."

As mentioned above, the generative accounts of these elements (cf. Allen 1980 among many others) take the lack vs. presence of overt morphological inflections and the asymmetries w.r.t. P pied-piping as evidence that the demonstrative *se, seo, þæt* is a relative pronoun hosted in a Spec of CP (Spec Rel $\bar{w}h$ , following Benincà's 2006 fine-grained map of the Left Periphery), while *þe* is a non-pronominal relative complementiser hosted in the head of that projection.

However, in most recent years, Seppänen (2004) proposes an alternative account for *þe*, in the attempt to reconcile the generative account with the more traditional approach of the descriptive grammars, which consider *þe* a pronominal element. According to Seppänen, *þe* is best analysed as representing three grammatically-distinct items in OE: a complementiser merely marking the subordinate status of the clause (especially when appearing in strategy [iii], and with relative adverbs like *þær*); a relative pronoun when it appears in strategy (ii) (as it parallels strategy [i] in this function); and a relative adverb, when it relativises antecedents of time and place. Seppänen claims further that the pronominal/adverbial use of *þe* developed from the subordinating use via a semantic change, which was presumably triggered for contextual specification. From the syntactic perspective, this semantic change entails that, when reinterpreted as a pronoun, the subordinating *þe* hosted in the C head can move to the higher node, SpecCP, containing relative pronouns *se, seo, þæt* and the relative adverbs.<sup>4</sup>

Even though I do not completely agree with Seppänen's analysis as it involves the movement of a head into its Spec, I nonetheless believe that the intuition that *þe* may have some pronominal content may be on the right track. Some indirect evidence in favour of such an account comes from the fact that, even though conforming to all Radford's (1988) criteria for relative complementisers, *þe* is not used a *declarative* complementiser, as is instead the case of true relative complementisers like the Italian *che* and the ModE *that*.<sup>5</sup> Rather than comparing *þe* to the ModE *that*, I suggest that this characteristic of *þe*—together with the insensitivity to the animacy of the antecedent, the impossibility of being governed by a P and its undeclinability—may be better understood if compared to the relative *what* of some modern dialectal varieties of British English (cf. *the girl what came yesterday*; see Berizzi & Rossi 2011 and references). More precisely, relative *what* presents P-stranding obligatorily, is never

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4 In Seppänen's terms, this syntactic analysis of *þe* can also constitute a background for the relativisers of both ME and ModE (in particular for *that*), which can occur in both SpecCP and C°.

5 The relative particle *þe* did have subordinating uses, as it introduced correlatives and the second term of comparison. These contexts of use are highly specific and can be shown to have something in common with relative contexts.

found as a declarative complementiser, and most importantly, it can take the 's genitive in some varieties, a clear indication of its phrasal status.<sup>6</sup> In order to account for this behaviour, Berizzi & Rossi (2011) propose that relative *what* may be analysed as a *deficient* relative pronoun, more specifically a *weak* relative pronoun in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999; see section 2.3 for a brief overview on the distinctions between strong-weak-clitic elements).

Drawing an explicit parallel with OE relative *þe*, I propose that this "particle" may be thought of as a relative *deficient* pronoun.<sup>7</sup> That such types of pronouns may be weak pronouns or even clitics is not completely unexpected since in their classification, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) proposed that the tripartition *strong-weak-clitic* applies not only to personal pronouns but also to other grammatical categories as well, like adverbs for instance (cf. their examples of weak adverbs from Modern Greek). Moreover, the strong-weak-clitic distinction is detectable also with other functional elements appearing in the CP layer, in particular with interrogative *wh*-elements, which present a strong vs. a weak and/or clitic series in many varieties of Northern Italy (see Benincà & Poletto 2005, Poletto & Pollock 2009).<sup>8</sup>

In the light of this, the presence of P-stranding with OE relative *þe* is directly put in relation to the *deficient* syntactic nature of its pronominal complement, a relation which is cross-linguistically well-attested with deficient personal pronouns (cf. Abels 2003 for the clitics of Serbo-Croatian). But how can this relation be captured in a structural way? That is, how is the stranded P to be structurally represented in (1), and how does it interact with the internal structure of the deficient relative *þe*? In what follows, I will attempt to give a first tentative answer to these questions, showing how the syntactic representation of the relative *þe* interacts and defines the structural representation of the stranded P, being thus ultimately responsible for the syntactic nature of it.

6 More precisely, there are dialectal varieties presenting *what's* and others presenting *what* + a possessive (*what his*, *what her* etc.). Berizzi & Rossi (2011) have proposed that those varieties presenting *what's* have a weak relative *what*, while those presenting a possessive pronominal copy have a relative complementiser *what*. Such a situation may have a parallel in OE *þe*, which, though usually presenting no pronominal copy, could at times occur with an inflected personal pronoun (cf. Seppänen 2004 and references). Extending Berizzi & Rossi's analysis, it could be the case that OE *þe* could have both a complementiser nature and a weak nature: it was a complementiser/clitic in those few instances in which it appeared with a pronominal copy, while it was a weak pronoun when it appeared alone.

7 In what follows, I simply refer to the syntactic nature of *þe* as 'deficient', without taking a precise stand on whether it is a weak or a clitic relative element. In any case, the details of the syntactic analysis here proposed remain unchanged.

8 My own variety, Gazzolo d'Arcole (VR) presents a deficient variant for *what*, namely *sa* (cf. strong *cossa*), which cannot be governed by a P and cannot be used in isolation, cf. (i);

- (i) a. De cosa gavio parlà?  
Of what have-Cl.2.pl talked ("Of what did you speak?")  
b. \*De ssa gavio parlà?  
c. Cossa? vs. \*Sa? ("What?")

See Poletto (2006c) and Poletto and Pollock (2009) for the interactions of the strong/weak nature with "wh-doubling" and *wh-in-situ* respectively.

As anticipated in 2.3, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) propose that the distinction between the three classes, strong-weak-clitic, is to be captured in terms of structural complexity. Illustrating this with personal pronouns, strong pronouns are fully-fledged referential DPs presenting a complete structure with both an extended projection complete with the full array of functional heads (DP, F1P etc.) and a lower lexical part, the NP, cf. (12a). By contrast, deficient pronouns have a defective structure: weak pronouns lack the highest functional level DP, cf. (12b), while clitic pronouns present only the lowest projections, containing the nominal/lexical part cf. (12c):

- (12) a. Strong pronoun = [DP [F1P [F2P ...[FnP [NP] ]  
 b. Weak pronoun = [F1P [F2P ...[FnP [NP] ]  
 c. Clitic pronoun = [FnP [ NP] ]

In a nutshell, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) propose that the distinction between strong, weak and clitic pronouns (and other categories like adverbs, quantifiers etc.) structurally depends on how much functional structure is missing from the extend projection of a lexical category.

Though maintaining the idea that clitic, weak and strong pronouns are indeed to be distinguished in terms of structural complexity, my derivation of the OE deficient relative *þe* adopts a syntactic mechanism which was originally proposed by Poletto (2006c) and subsequent work in order to give a syntactic account of three "doubling" phenomena attested in the Northern Italian dialects, namely, DP-doubling, *wh*-doubling and negative concord. The most interesting insight of Poletto's proposal is that it derives the "doubled" element and its generally *deficient* doubler from one and the same complex structure, showing how the deficient doublers are in fact constituted by the functional projections of a lexical category, and not by the lexical category alone. Her proposal has also the advantage of connecting the internal structural representation of weak/clitic pronouns to sentence structure through the satisfaction of a given feature.

I illustrate her approach with cases of subject-doubling as the following, in which the DP subject is doubled by a clitic subject in the Venetan varieties, cf. (13):

- (13) To nono el vien  
 Your grandfather, Cl.subj.3sg.m comes  
 "Your grandfather is coming"

Rejecting Kayne's (1994) idea a.o. that the DP (the *doublee*<sup>9</sup>) and its clitic doubler are part of a "big DP" with the structure [[X<sup>o</sup>][XP]], Poletto (2006c) assumes that doubler and doublee are

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9 My own shorthand for "the element which is doubled".

originated in the different projections of a fine-grained DP (Giusti 2006), in which there are syntactic projections corresponding to both morphological and pragmatic features like [addressee], [deictic] [gender], [plural], [Topic] [Focus] etc. The clitic doubler, being specified for Case (cf. accusative, dative etc. clitics) corresponds to the Case projection in the DP, KP, the higher projection corresponding to ForceP in the CP domain, following Giusti (2006); the DP doublee is hosted in the lower portion of the DP, containing also the nominal head, NP. The resulting structure looks like the following:

- (14) [ [KP [K° clitic] [TopicP [FocusP [DP [NP] ] ]  
 deficient doubler      DP doublee

In a sentence like (13), this DP has more than one feature to check, Nominative Case in IP and a Topic feature (or an EPP feature) in CP, referred to as F1 and F2 for convenience. In order for these features to be checked in the relevant sentence domains, they also have to be present in the internal structure of the DP itself, in a projection or head carrying the relevant (unmarked) value, which make them enter the probe-goal procedure with the IP or CP node carrying the relevant feature. At this point, Poletto proposes that the several features of the whole DP may undergo various checking procedures: feature-checking can proceed through Agree, and in this case nothing moves overtly in the syntax; the whole DP may be remerged in the relevant checking positions, first in F1 and then F2, and in such case, pied-piping of the whole DP occurs; or the DP may go through a process of *feature stripping*, by which the features are checked separately by moving first into F1 the XP piece of the DP carrying the relevant feature, followed by the movement into F2 of the remnant of the DP (in this case the clitic) containing the second feature. When *feature stripping* applies, doubling occurs: the DP doublee checks F2, while the deficient duobler checks F1.<sup>10</sup>

As regards the structural derivation of doubling, Poletto proposes that in order to strip away a portion of functional structure from the DP (the clitic in the case of [13]), movement of the lower DP portion (the doublee) to a specifier position above the clitic must occur, i.e., the stripping away of the functional part of the DP is preceded by internal movement of the lower portion of the DP to a higher position within the DP. Exemplifying this with the case in (13), the DP containing the doublee *to nono* "your grandfather" and its clitic doubler *el* "he" are originated within the same DP, which must check a Nominative case feature in AgrS or TP

<sup>10</sup> Poletto (2006c) does not deal with the reason why some languages allow or require doubling while others do not, and limits herself to suggesting that the difference does not lie in a special structure, since doubling does not require the projection of any special structure (which is universal), but rather, that "doubling" has to do with the amount of pied piping allowed in a given language, as it represents the possibility of splitting an XP and the possibility to avoid its copying as a whole.

and a Topic feature in CP. The element which can check Nominative is the one corresponding to the highest functional layer of the DP, instantiating Case, KP and lexically realized as the clitic *ei*, while the second feature, a Topic feature, is contained in the lower DP portion, lexicalised as *to nono* (cf. [14] where TopP is structurally lower than KP). By *feature stripping*, the DP portion containing the Topic feature moves to the Specifier of a DP internal projection immediately above KP containing the clitic, as in (15). This process creates the remnant KP in (15) containing only the clitic, which is then free to move into the appropriate position in the IP layer, where it checks Nominative Case:

(15)  $[[XP [TopicP [FocusP [DP [NP]]] [X^\circ [KP [K^\circ cl]]] - [[TopicP [FocusP [DP [NP]]]]]$

The DP portion which has previously moved above KP (*to nono*) thus creating the remnant KP *ei*, can be further moved independently out of SpecXP into TopP of the CP layer, where it checks its Topic feature.

Poletto's account of "doubling" can, I think, be insightfully applied to derive syntactically the strong-weak-clitic tripartition of pronouns, and in the case under consideration in this section, the deficient form of OE relative *þe* from a structurally more complex strong forms, the demonstrative *se, seo, þæt*, with which *þe* shares its etymology (see above). By straightforwardly applying Poletto's mechanism of *feature stripping*, I suggest that the deficient forms of pronouns are instantiations of the higher functional projection(s) of a fully-fledged DP, whose entire lexicalisation corresponds to the strong pronoun (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 on the idea that strong pronouns are referential DPs). The syntactic derivation of the deficient forms goes through the movement of the silent lower nominal part, a sort of *pro*, into a DP internal position above the functional positions instantiated by the deficient pronouns (case, number, gender etc). The difference between weak and clitic depends on how much functional structure is stripped away from the full DP in which they originate, i.e., from their strong form.<sup>11</sup>

In the specific case under consideration, P-stranding with the OE deficient relative *þe*, I propose that this element, represented as *þe*, is hosted in a projection in the higher functional layer of a full demonstrative DP (*se, seo, þæt*), in the area which corresponds to the CP domain. As regards the precise position of *þe* in this area, I do not locate *þe* in the K<sup>°</sup> head (cf. the

11 In the light of this, clitics may be thought as the doublers of a sort of *pro*, cf. Poletto (1993), Tortora (1997) (and references cited therein) who analysed subject clitics as the heads of AgrS, whose Spec hosts a coreferential *pro* with the clitic:

(i)  $[AgrSP \textit{pro}, AgrS^\circ \textit{clitic}]$

Such analysis maintains this idea, with the only difference that the clitics and *pro* instantiate respectively the functional projections and the lower nominal portion of a greater DP.





being governed by a P, and appear as doublers in *wh*-doubling, cf. Benincà & Poletto (2005) and Poletto & Pollock (2009).

The most straightforward advantage of such an account is that it captures in structural terms the relation existing between P-stranding/pied-piping and the syntactic status, i.e., the internal representation of the relative elements: if the demonstrative DP in the Ground of the PP does not undergo feature stripping, the relative element is realised as a strong relative pronoun, i.e., *se*, *seo*, *þæt*. In such case, the strong feature of PP<sub>stat</sub>/PP<sub>dir</sub> is checked via Agree, while the checking of the relative feature imposes movement of the DP with pied-piping of the whole PP. By contrast, if feature stripping applies, the nominal part of the DP moves first above *þe*, and then in the Spec of PP<sub>stat</sub>/PP<sub>dir</sub>, while the remnant *þe* moves alone into Rel $\bar{w}$ /P.<sup>15</sup> In the light of this, the strategy in (iii), i.e. the relative complex *se*, *seo*, *þæt* + *þe* can be considered as a sort of “doubling”.

A further advantage of such analysis is that it also sheds some interesting insights into the syntactic representation of the stranded P, thus giving us some clues about its syntactic status, and consequently the types of movements which it can or cannot undergo in the sentence. As the final steps of the derivation in (16) and (17) shows, in the cases of P-stranding with *þe*, the deficient relative has stripped away only the highest functional portion of the DP, while the nominal part, the NP, remains within the PP. Thus, the PP still contains a nominal element coreferential with the relative *þe*, which makes the P a “prepositional adverb”, to use Mitchell's (1978). Partial evidence of such “adverbial” nature may come from the fact, noticed by Wende (1915), that the *for* “for, because” appears in its stressed (or strong) form, *fore* when used in postposition. The examples in (6e) and (7b) illustrate the stranded *fore* with the relative *þe* (see next two sections for cases of *fore* stranded by R-elements and personal pronouns). The stressed form *fore* may provide some evidence for the analysis here proposed as it interestingly presents an ending *-e*, which may be viewed as a form of agreement with the nominal part of its Ground, as the ending *-e* corresponds to the inflection for instrumental in the strong declension of adjectives (an ending which also forms adverbs in OE, cf. Quirk & Wrenn 1955).<sup>16</sup> Notice moreover that under such account also a simple Ps like *to* and *fram* are “prepositional adverbs”, appearing alone in the sentence. This may be expected given that such simple Ps have no functional use in OE (see 1.1.1.), and may be

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15 For the time being, I must leave open the question of the motivations triggering feature stripping with the relative pronouns, as I have no satisfactory explanations. I limit myself to suggesting that this feature is permitted only with specific elements and in very specific contexts (like “doubling”).

16 There is another P in OE which presents a stressed form when used in postposition, *be* “by”, which appears as *bi(g)* when stranded, yet I found no case of this P in the *Lives of Saints*. Nonetheless, it is interesting to notice that in such case, *bi(g)* presents an ending *-ig*, which was used to form adjectives (again a nominal ending).

further confirmed by cases of *to* and *fram* used as Prts (see next sections), a use which is completely ungrammatical in ModE:

Now that I have established the syntactic status of the stranded P, I turn very briefly to the structural position of this P within the clause. As shown in the previous section, the stranded P appears, without (relevant) exceptions, before the verb (either finite or non finite). This fixed position derives straightforwardly from the fact that object relative clauses are one of the strongest OV contexts in OE. This fact is further confirmed by Old Italian, which presented OV orders, which were eventually lost in the course of time (see Poletto 2006a,b for a derivation of these orders). Yet, interestingly, Old Italian presented the possibility to front a vP element of some sort before V well into the 16<sup>th</sup> century (in Machiavelli for instance) precisely in object relative clauses (C. Poletto p.c.). Syntactically, I interpret such a strong OV constraint in object relatives as the requirement of moving into SpecFinP a very large remnant of the vP, a remnant containing also other sentence material like arguments and IP adverbs in their merge position (see in particular the cases in [6a] and [6e] above).

The stranded P, being in a PP, is hosted in the Spec of the relevant thematic projection in Schweikert's (2005) hierarchy. Yet, as shown by their distribution in P-stranding with R-elements and personal pronouns which occurs also in contexts other than relative clauses (see next two sections), stranded Ps do not seem to move from their basic position, unlike ordinary adverbs and ordinary PPs.<sup>17</sup> As such, the anteposition rule operating in OE subordinate clauses moves a large part of the vP, containing the stranded P, some IP adverbs and the object (which as mentioned in 2.2 I take to move independently as it interacts with the Focus or Topic position in the Low Left Periphery, see Poletto 2006a,b).

In the light of this, the structural derivation of (6b) goes as follows: the finite verb does not move to the head of Rel<sup>wh</sup>P since the higher heads in CP are blocked<sup>18</sup>, and remains in Fin<sup>o</sup>, while the (remnant containing the) stranded P is moved to its Spec; the subject *þis gewrit* is hosted in TopicP for reasons presented in 2.2:

(20) [Rel<sup>wh</sup> **þe** Rel<sup>o</sup> [TopicP **þis gewrit** [FinP **on** Fin<sup>o</sup> **stod** ...

17 Such a restriction is crucially paralleled also by the syntactic behaviour of Modern Dutch stranded Ps, which, as Koopman (2000[2010]: 40f.) shows, cannot appear “too high” in the clause (i.e. above negation), and cannot appear in the PP-over-V position, i.e., to the right of the verb. It is tempting to link this constraint to the fact that probably, even though the stranded P still contains the nominal part of its antecedent, the feature stripping movement has left a sort of incomplete PP (still an XP but not a real constituent capable of being fronted, contrasted etc.). This correlates interestingly with the fact that in OE fronting of the stranded P to the CP in a main clause is possible only when it is accompanied by its complement, thus when it is a proper PP (see below with R-elements and personal pronouns).

18 V movement within the relative clause seems to be more possible when *þe* is the subject. This is reminiscent of one of the mechanisms discussed in Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007) to escape “Criteria Freezing” in SubjP.

Under such an account, the cases reported in (10) above, in which some other XP remains behind the verb, may indicate that the fronting of the vP is becoming less strict in that it requires less structure, or alternatively, that the XPs appearing postverbally have been moved to criterial positions in the Low Left Periphery, from which they cannot be fronted.<sup>19</sup>

In conclusion, the account proposed in this section establishes a direct link between the obligatoriness of P-stranding and the deficient syntactic status of its complement, the relative *þe*. The syntactic derivation of such phenomenon starts from an articulated PP, whose Ground contains a fully-fledged DP corresponding in its structural representation to the demonstrative *se, seo, þæt*, the strong relative pronouns. This DP consists of a lower nominal part, a silent NP, while the element *þe* instantiates a functional projection, here labelled DP, hosted in the CP of this DP. Being a relative pronoun and being at the same time the Ground of a PP, this DP must check two features in two distinct domains, namely, the strong feature of PP<sub>stat</sub>/PP<sub>dir</sub> in the PP (depending on the directional/stative value of the PP), and the relative feature in Rel $\mathit{w}/$ P of the High Left Periphery of the clause. The differences in pied-piping and P-stranding results from the two different checking procedures available to the relative demonstrative DP: either the checking of the strong feature of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> is done by Agree and the whole DP moves as a whole (and as the strong form of the relative) to the Left Periphery pied-piping its PP, or by a process of feature stripping (Poletto 2006c), the nominal part moves out of the DP and checks the strong feature of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub>, leaving behind the functional part with *þe*, which is now free to move as a deficient element to Rel $\mathit{w}/$ P. When feature stripping applies, the nominal part, NP, or the DP remains inside the PP, which maintains thus part of its Ground and assumes the syntactic status of a "prepositional adverb", yet not a fully-fledged adverb. As such, the PP containing the stranded P remains in its merge position, in the Spec of one of the functional thematic projections in Schweikert's hierarchy (2005a), and may undergo only those syntactic movements which are related to sentence type. In the present case, the stranded P is part of an object relative, one of the strongest contexts for OV in OE, and is consequently moved SpecFinP by pied-piping a large portion of the remnant vP.

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19 These cases are however very interesting when considering that in a language like Modern Dutch, which presents many OV patterns but it not as rigidly OV as Modern German, PPs may appear in the so-called PP-over-V position, to the right of the past participle in main clauses (ia) and to the right of the auxiliary in subordinate clauses, cf. (ib) (the following examples from Koopman (2000[2010]: 38, 40; her examples [27c] and [32a] respectively:

- (i) a. omdat ik gesproken heb met Jan  
because I spoken have with John  
"because I have spoken with John"  
b. Zij heeft vroeger vaak gespeeld met Legos  
she has earlier often played with Legos  
"Earlier she often played with Legos"

### 3.2.2 P-Stranding with R-elements

In the present section, I deal with P-stranding by R-elements, which, though obligatory as in the case of relative *þe*, calls for a slightly different account since R-elements are associated with a different structural representation at the PP level. Nonetheless, the points of contact between P-stranding by R-elements and P-stranding by relative *þe* are many, so that it will be possible to check whether the mechanisms and the results proposed in the previous section may be also applied, at least partially, to P-stranding by R-elements.

The following subsection, 3.2.2.1 presents the distribution of the stranded P and the R-elements, which shows some more patterns than those identified for P-stranding with relative *þe*. Basing upon this distribution, subsection 3.2.2.2 presents my account of P-stranding with these elements, in which I will consider their syntactic representation in the fine-grained PP, the reasons triggering their movement and the consequent syntactic status of their stranded P.

#### 3.2.2.1 The distribution of stranded Ps and R-elements in the clause

As mentioned in 2.4, the "R-elements" of OE are *þær* "there", *her* "here" and *hwær* "where", and they all strand their P obligatorily. In the most typical case, the R-elements appear just before their P, forming a constituent with it, which occurs in near sentence-final position in main clauses, cf. (21a,b,c,d,e), or between the subject pronoun and the finite verb in subordinate clauses, (21f):

- (21) a. Numerianus þa, se manfulla casere, tealde þæt to drycræfte, [...] and het lædan  
 N. then the cruel emperor, attributed that to witchcraft.DAT ... and ordered lead  
 buta þa halgan togædere to anum sandpytte, and setton hi **þæron** [...]  
 both the saints together to a.DAT sandpit.DAT and set them there.on  
 (ÆLS Chrysanthus 322)  
 "Then Numerianus, the creul emepror attributed that not to a sing of God, ...  
 ordered that both the saints were brought to a sindpit, and set on there, ..."
- b. Ða æfter þrym dagum, com sum diacon **þær to**, Quirinus gehaten, and [...]  
 Then after three.DAT days.DAT came some diecon there-to, Q, called and  
 (ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 68)  
 "Then after three days came a certain deacon to that place, called Quirinus, ..."
- c. [...] gif se lið **her on innan** seðe me spræc to on swæfne þriwa.  
 ... if he lies here within he.that me spoke to in dreams thrice  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 62)

“..., if he lieth here within, who thrice spake unto me in a dream.’ ”

- d. Hi þa ealle glædmode begunnon to ceorfenne þone heagan pinbeam,  
They then all glad began to tear the.ACC high.ACC pinetree.ACC and  
and he wæs ahyld on ane healfe þæt man eaðe mihte witan hwider he sigan  
and was inclined in one half so.that man easily might know whither he settle would;  
wolde, and hi setton Martinum **þærforan** ongean,  
would and they setM.ACC there.before against,  
þæt he hine offeallan sceolde.  
so-that he him off fall might

(ÆLS Martin, 406)

“Then they all with glad minds began to cut down the high pine-tree, and it was inclined all to one side, so that one might easily know whither it would settle; and they set Martin there right opposite to it, that it might fall upon him.”

- e. Ac we cweðað **þærtogeanes**, þæt Cristes word ne bið leas; [...]  
but we say there-against that Christ.GEN word not is false

(ÆLS Exalt of Cross, 162)

“But we say to the contrary that the word of Christ is not false ...”

- f. And we healdað on hærfest mid halgum þenungum oþerne freolsdæg  
And we see in harvest with holy.DAT ministrations.DAT other-DAT festival.DAT  
on þam þe heo gefeod wæs eft to Hierusalem swa swa we **her æfter** secgað.  
in the.DAT that she brought was back to H. so as we hereafter say

(ÆLS Exalt of Cross, 17)

“And we observe in harvest-time with holy ministrations a second festival that on which it (the cross) was brought again to Jerusalem, as we shall hereafter relate.”

As mentioned elsewhere (2.4), the R-element can also appear preverbally in the CP domain, and other constituents and adverbs may intervene between the fronted R-element and the stranded P:

- (22) a. Hit gelamp þa sona þurh Godes foresceawunge þæt an sweart hrem  
It happened then soon through God.GEN providence that one black raven  
**þær** fleah sona **to**, and [...]  
there flew soon to, and

(ÆLS Vincent, 240)

“It happened then soon, through God's providence, that a black raven soon flew thither, and guarded the body against the wild fowls, and ”

- b. Hwæt þa Sisinnius mid swiðlicum prasse ferde, oð þæt he to þære byrig com  
What then S, with great.DAT army.DAT went til that he to the.DAT city.DAT came  
**þær** se bisceop **on** wæs lærende þæt læweda folc to geleafan georne.  
where the bishop in was teaching the lay folk to faith zealously

(ÆLS Denis, 208)

“Whereupon Sisinnius journeyed with great array until he came to the city wherein was the bishop teaching the lay folk zealously in the faith”

- c. Eft siððan ferde eac sum ærendfæst ridda be ðære ylcan stowe, and geband  
 Again afterwards went also some constant rider by the.DAT same.DAT place.DAT and bound  
 on anum claþe of þam halgan duste þære deorwurðan stowe,  
 in one clothe.DAT from the.DAT holy.DAT dust.DAT the.GEN precious.GEN place.GEN  
 and lædde forð mid him **þær** he fundode **to**.  
 and lead forth with him where he hastened to  
 (ÆLS Oswald, 221)  
 “Again afterwards, a certain horseman bound on an errand was passing by the  
 same place, and bound up in a cloth some of the holy dust from the precious  
 place, and carried it forward with him to where he was hastening.”
- d. [...] and he cunnode þæs sona, wearp þa ut his net, and **þær** wearð **oninnan**  
 ... and he tried of.this soon, threw then out his net and there was on.in  
 an ormæte leax;  
 one great salmon  
 (ÆLS Martin, 1272)  
 “...And he tried it immediately, cast out his net, and there was within it an  
 enormous salmon;”
- e. Betwux þam þe se bisceop on þære byrig wunode, þa cydde man geond þa  
 Between that that the bishop in the.DAT city lived then made-known man throughtout the  
 burh þæt **þær** cuman wolde **to** onsigendan here and hergian þa burh.<sup>20</sup>  
 city that there came would to invading army and harry the city  
 (ÆLS Martin, 548)  
 “During the time the bishop lived in the city, it was reported throughout the  
 town that there would come to it (some one) with an invading army to harry  
 the city.”

As already noticed in van Kemenade (1987: 146), these cases are special as we have a relative use of *þær*, cf. (22b,c), and cases in which these seem topicalised (22a,d,e). I will come back to these last examples in the next section and in 3.3.1 where I discuss similar cases with the personal pronouns,

The last interesting pattern I present is exemplified by the following cases, in which the R-elements co-occur with a fully-fledged PP. In this case, the R-elements may either precede the PP, appearing directly before the verb (23a,c,d) or right before the PP, cf. (23b):

- (23) a. He wæs þa iung mann, þa ða þis gewearð, and him com þæt leoht to,  
 He was then young man when then this happened and him came the light to  
 þurh Paulas lare syððan, swa swa we **her** secgað **on þisre soðan rædincge**.  
 through P.GEN lore afterwards so as we here say in this.DAT true.DAT reading.DAT  
 (ÆLS Denis, 17)  
 “He was then a young man, when that this happened, and that light came to  
 him through Paul's lore afterward, even as we shall here say in this true  
 reading.”
- b. Hinguar ure cyning, cene and sigefæst on sæ and on lande,

<sup>20</sup> This is the third case of Pintzuk & Haeberli (2008).

H. our king keen and victorious on sea and on land.DAT  
 hæfð fela þeoda gewyld, and com nu mid fyrde færlice **her to lande [...]**  
 has many nations.GEN rule and comes now with army quickly here to land.DAT  
 (ÆLS Edmund, 48)

“Hingwar our king, keen and victorious by sea and by land, hath rule over many peoples and has landed here suddenly even now with an army, ...”

c. Apollonaris þa **ðær** wunode mid him **on Rauenna byrig**, and [...]  
 A. then there lived with him in Ravenna city, and  
 (ÆLS Apollinaris, 61)  
 “Apollinaris then dwelt there with him in the city of Ravenna, and ...”

d. **Þær** scean ða mycel leoht **on þam sweartum cwearterne**, swa þæt ða weardas  
 wardas  
 There shone then great light in the.DAT dark.DAT prison.DAT so that the warders  
 flugon mid fyrhte fornumene.  
 fled with fright taken  
 (ÆLS Agatha, 147)  
 “Then shone there a great light in the dark prison, so that the warders fled, seized with fright.”

### 3.2.2.2 Analysis

Following the internal Cartography of PPs as proposed by Svenonius (2010) and Cinque (2010a), R-elements are hosted in DeicticP, the projection above AxPartP dedicated to these elements, cf. (24) (also Koopman 2000[2010] located the Modern Dutch *er* and other R-elements outside the projection of the lexical P: our AxPartP in [24]):

(24)  $\{ \text{CPPlace } \dots \}$  [PPdir [PPstat AT [DPPlace [DegP [ModeDirP [AbsViewP [RelviewP [RelviewP  
 [DeicticP ***þær/hwær/her*** [AxPartP [KP/PP  $K^{\circ}/P^{\circ}$  [NPlace *Ground* PLACE

However, I also elaborate on the proposal of Kayne (2004a, 2005) that *here* and *there* are modifiers in a PP of a silent PLACE, and propose that these R-elements are modifiers of a silent *Ground*, which is structurally represented as *pro* in the inalienable possessor position of the silent PLACE, cf. (25):<sup>21</sup>

(25)  $\{ \text{CPPlace } \dots \}$  [PPdir [PPstat AT [DPPlace [DegP [ModeDirP [AbsViewP [RelviewP [RelviewP  
 [DeicticP ***þær/hwær/her*** [AxPartP [KP/PP  $K^{\circ}/P^{\circ}$  [NPlace ***pro*** PLACE

21 It may be interesting to view R-elements as deriving by *feature stripping* of the relevant part of a Ground DP like the one proposed above for the relatives, in which the *þ-*, *h-* and *hw-* lexicalise some specific functional heads (respectively distal, proximal and *wh*). After feature stripping has occurred, these functional parts move to DeicticP, where the *-r* is contained, and thus form a modifier, leaving behind a nominal part in the Ground (or in KP/PP), which permits the interpretation of these R-elements. As this possibility does not change the details of the analysis here proposed, I will maintain a *pro* Ground for the sake of the simplicity.

The structural position of these R-elements derive straightforwardly the stranding of complex Ps like the ones in (21c-g), as these are hosted in AxPartP, which is structurally lower than DeicticP. But how is P-stranding with simple Ps like *on* and *to*, cf. (21a,b), to be derived since, as (1) shows, they hosted higher in the PP structure (in the head of PP<sub>dir</sub> and in RelViewP respectively)? To account for these orders, I follow the proposal of Koopman (2000[2010]) for the R-elements of Modern Dutch, and assume that these elements are allowed to scramble within their PP and target the Spec of either PP<sub>dir</sub> or PP<sub>stat</sub> in order to satisfy their strong feature (stative or directional).<sup>22</sup> Under this account, the R-elements are still part of the PP, and form a constituent with it, as the cases in (21), in particular (21f), seem to indicate. Moreover, the idea that R-elements are modifiers within a PP, with which they form a constituent, is further supported by the case in (23b), in which *her* modifies a full PP, the directional *to lande* and appears immediately before the directional *te*. The structures in (26a) and (26b) represent the internal arrangements of the PP in (21b) and (23b) respectively:

- (26) a. [...] com sum diacon **þær to**,  
 {CPPlace ...} [PP<sub>dir</sub> **þær** PP<sub>dir</sub><sup>o</sup> **to**] [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT] [DPPlace [DegP [ModeDirP [AbsViewP [RelviewP [RelviewP  
 [DeicticP **þær**] [AxPartP [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup>] [NPPlace **pro** PLACE
- b. [...] and com nu mid fyrde færlice **her to lande** [...]  
 {CPPlace ...} [PP<sub>dir</sub> **her** PP<sub>dir</sub><sup>o</sup> **to**] [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT] [DPPlace [DegP [ModeDirP [AbsViewP [RelviewP [RelviewP  
 [DeicticP **her**] [AxPartP [KP/PP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup>] [NPPlace **lande** PLACE

This account derives the cases in which the R-elements appear immediately before their stranded Ps, yet, as shown in (22) and (23), OE R-elements had also the possibility to escape their PP, and target a position in the High Left Periphery of the clause. This last possibility however is not freely available but becomes possible under specific circumstances. As the cases in (22) and (23) show, *þær* moves to the CP domain when it introduces a relative clause, cf. (22b,c), or when it appears in what may be considered "presentational" structures like existentials, impersonal passives, and unaccusative, cf. (22a,d,e) and (23b,d), or, more generally, in contexts with intransitive verbs (23a,c). Notice that *þær* appears in the exact same structures, and moreover in the same position, even when no P-stranding is involved, cf. (27):<sup>23</sup>

- (27) Ða wearð **þær** eorðstyrung, and eall seo stow byfode, and **þær** scan mycel leoht  
 Then was there earthquake and ell the place trembled and there shone great light

22 The strong feature of PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub> is checked by the R-elements and not by the nominal part of the Ground (as was the case with the deficient *þe* relative) for reasons of Relativised Minimality (Rizzi 1990).

23 Clearly these are not the only positions in which OE *þær* appears, as this element may be used as proper adverb (just like temporal *þa*), and shows up either in the thematic field (its merge position) or as a Scene Setter in the Left Periphery.





proper prepositions in OE, are still to be found as modifiers of ordinary PPs. As shown in 1.2, each of these elements occupies a dedicated position in the fine-grained structure of the PP, namely, *in/ut* "in/our" add a relative viewpoint to the Ground, and are hosted in RelViewP, while *riht* is hosted, following Koopman (2000[2010]), in DegP, a projection dedicated to measure phrases and adverbs like *riht*. In the fine structure in (1), both these projections are part of the DP<sub>place</sub>, and are higher than DeicticP, thus showing that *þær* has moved across them. In all the above cases, the feature triggering the movement of the R-element is PP<sub>stat</sub>, which, as shown in 1.2.1.3, may be taken as instantiating, besides stativity, a more subtle feature making the PP into an adverbial. Evidence that the PP presents a nominal elements in its Ground comes from the fact that *in*, *ut* and *riht* exhibit an *-e* ending, which is the typical ending of adverbs, and is also the instrumental ending of the strong adjectival declension (cf. what has been noticed above for *fore* in postposition).

As was the case with the stranded Ps of relative *þe*, the stranded Ps of R-elements remain in the lower portion of the sentence: as (22a) shows, the R-element has escaped its original PP, but the stranded P remains in its base position, in one of the thematic projections of Schweikert's (2005a), GoalP, since it follows the adverb *sona* "immediately", an adverb which occupies a specific projection in the Cinquean (1999) functional hierarchy, above the thematic field (cf. Schweikert 2005b). This indicates that stranded Ps cannot move freely within the sentence; they can at least undergo the syntactic movement fronting the remnant vP to SpecFin. This possibility is represented in (22b), where the headed relative clause presents a stranded P between the nominal subject (TopP), and the finite verb (Fin<sup>o</sup>).

To conclude, I argued in this section that P-stranding with R-elements is syntactically determined by the internal scrambling of these elements, which is triggered by the necessity of satisfying the strong features of PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub> (see Koopman 2000[2010] who proposes that Modern Dutch *er* moves to PlaceP, our PP<sub>stat</sub>). The R-element generally remains within its PP, yet, under specific circumstances, it is allowed to move into the Left Periphery of the clause in order to satisfy a relative feature in Rel<sub>wh</sub>P (relative *þær*), or a special EPP feature in FocIIP, when it appears in "presentational" structures, or intransitive contexts. As to the syntactic status of the stranded P, it was shown that a nominal element—here represented as a *pro*—remains in the Ground of the PP, thus making the stranded P a "prepositional" adverb. Similarly to the stranded Ps of relative *þe*, the stranded Ps of R-elements do not leave their merge position in the thematic field, unless they are pied-piped as part of the remnant vP to SpecFin.

### 3.3 Optional P-Stranding with personal pronouns (*pro-P*)

In the previous section, I analysed cases of *obligatory* P-stranding with relative *pe* and the R-elements. It was shown that the obligatoriness of P-stranding is syntactically determined by the peculiar features of these elements, which impose that they (or part of them) move PP-internally to the relevant checking positions, and undergo subsequent movement to the CP of the clause, if they have further feature to check in the Left Periphery. More specifically, it was shown that in the case of relative *pe* we are dealing with a *deficient* relative pronoun which is originated as the functional higher part of a full demonstrative DP, containing also a nominal lower part. This DP has to check two distinct features, the strong feature of PP<sub>dir</sub> or PP<sub>stat</sub>, which act like probes within the PP, and the relative feature in the High Left Periphery of the clause. By a process of *feature stripping* (Poletto 2006c), the nominal lower part moves to the Spec of either PP<sub>dir</sub> or PP<sub>stat</sub>, and after this movement has occurred, the remaining functional part containing the demonstrative element *pe* and the relative feature moves as a remnant to the Spec of Rel $\mathit{w}$ /P in the High Left Periphery. In the case of R-pronouns, I maintained with Kayne (2004a, 2005) and Cinque (2010a) that R-pronouns are originated as modifiers of the silent PLACE head in a dedicated projection hosted above AxPartP (see the PP structure in [24]). Yet, I integrated this intuition by assuming that the silent PLACE head is in fact in an inalienable possessive relation with a *pro*, so that the R-pronouns are actually modifiers of a *pro* Ground. In order to derive obligatory P-stranding with these elements, I followed an earlier proposal of Koopman (2000[2010]) on the equivalent R-elements of Modern Dutch, which present obligatory P-stranding, and I assumed that OE R-pronoun scramble internally and check the strong features of PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat</sub>, while the *pro* remains in its merge-position. Moreover, in specific contexts like relative clauses and “presentational” or intransitive/unaccusative contexts, OE R-pronouns moved to the Left Periphery of the clause, and checked these features (a relative feature in Rel $\mathit{w}$ /P, and an EPP or locative feature in FocIIP), thus escaping their original PP. In both of the above cases, the stranded P maintains in its PP part of its Ground (either the nominal part of the stripped relative, or the *pro*), which renders it a “prepositional” adverbs. Despite their adverbial nature, stranded Ps cannot leave their basic position, nor can the PP containing them be fronted to the CP area of the clause. The only syntactic movement allowed is the structural one in subordinate clause, by which they are fronted to SpecFI by pied-piping of the remnant vP.

In the present section, I turn to the cases of *optional* P-stranding, which occurs, as mentioned in various occasions, only with bare personal pronouns. In the syntactic account of

this phenomenon, many of the syntactic mechanisms presented in the previous section—in particular those operating in P-stranding with relative *þe*—will be shown to be at work also in the cases of P-stranding with personal pronouns, as the *optionality* of this phenomenon is straightforwardly dependent on the weak vs. strong nature of the pronoun. In this respect, we are dealing with a genuine grammatical option of OE, as Mitchell (1978) himself acknowledges, which, as we will see in what follows, is syntactically determined and involves the presence of a position dedicated to weak pronouns in the Left Periphery of the PP, WP, which I assume to parallel the WP field in the High Left Periphery (see below for details).

Turning now to the phenomenon under consideration proper, it was mentioned in 2.4 that minimal couples like the following are attested throughout the OE period, even in the same sentence, cf. (33):

- (33) Ða cwæð Tatheus **him to**, Crist ure hælend wolde his fæder willan gefyllan,  
 Then said T. him to, Christ our Savriour wants his father.GEN will fulfil  
 and eft faran **to him**. Abgarus cwæð **him eft to**, [...]  
 and back go to him. A. said him back to, ...  
(ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 150-152)  
 “Then Thaddeus said to him, 'Christ our Saviour desired to fulfil His Father's will, and again to go to Him.' Abgarus said to him ...”

Before turning to the distribution of pro-P orders and to the syntactic constraints and movements operating on the PP when this phenomenon occurs, it may be interesting to notice that despite appearances to the contrary, these cases do not involve any particle or prefix homophonous with the P. As was already noticed by Wende (1915), this possibility is completely ruled out because with full DP complements the order is, with virtually no or very few exceptions, *P-DP*, while we should clearly expect *DP ... P* if it was a VPC of some kind. The last of the following examples, (35), shows moreover that postposition is not possible if the pronoun is modified.

- (34) a. Ða dydon þa hæðenan swa swa hi het se dema, [...]  
 Then did the heathens so as them commanded the judge  
 and **comon to ðam martyre** and **him mid** eoden.  
 and went to the.DAT martyr.DAT and him with went  
(ÆLS Alban, 84)  
 “Then the heathen did as the judge commanded them, ... , and came to the martyr and went with him.”
- b. Ða com Martinus eft embe ða ylcan spræce **to þam modigan casere**,  
 Then came M. again about the same business to the.DAT haughty.DAT emperor.DAT  
 ac man hine beclysde wiðutan; and he þa gewende **to his gewunelican helpe**,  
 but man him closed without; and he then turned to his usual.DAT resource.DAT  
 scrydde hine mid hæran, and mid axum bestreowode, and fæstende

shrouded himself with hairs.DAT and with ashes.DAT strewed and fasting continued  
 þurhwunode on singallum gebedum oðþæt an scinende engel  
 in continous.DAT prayers.DAT until.that a shining angel  
 on þam seofopan dæge **him com to**, [...] and cwæð þæt he **to þam casere**  
 on the.DAT seventh.DAT day.DAT him came to and said that he to the.DAT emperor.DAT  
 ferde, and [...]  
 went, and ...

(ÆLS Martin, 659)

“Then came Martin again about the same business to the haughty emperor, but they shut him out; and he thereupon turned to his accustomed resource; he clothed himself with haircloth, and strewed himself with ashes, and continued fasting with unceasing prayers, until a shining angel came to him on the seventh day, and bade him go to the emperor and ...”

- c. Ða cwæð Moyses **to þam cenan Iosue**, Geceos ðe nu wæras, and gewend  
 Then said M. to the brave J. Choose yourself now men and go  
 tomergen **togeanes Amaleh**, and win **him on** swyðe;  
 tomorrow against A., and war him in very.much

(ÆLS Pr Moses, 6)

“Then said Moses to the brave Joshua, 'Choose thee now men, and go tomorrow against Amalek, and fight valiantly against him”

- d. Ða cwæð se yldosta **to ðam arwurðan witegan**, Gang nu, Godes man,  
 Then said the eldest to the.DAT honourable.DAT prophet.DAT, Go now, God.GEN man,  
**of þære grædan dune**, se cynincg gewilnað þæt þu cume **him to**.  
 from the.DAT grassy.DAT hill.DAT, the king desires that you come him to.

(ÆLS Book of Kings, 244)

“Then said the chief to the venerable prophet, 'Go now, man of God, from the grassy hill, the king desireth thee to come to him”

- (35) Hwæt þa on dægræd þæt deorwurðe mæden Cecilia clypode,<sup>25</sup>  
 What then in daybreak the precious maiden C. called  
 and **cwæð to him eallum**, Nu ge la Godes cempan, awurpað cælfice  
 and said to them all. Nw you lo! God.GEN champions, throw boldly  
**eow fram** þæra þeostra weorc,  
 you from the.GEN darkness.DAT work

(ÆLS Cecilia, 257)

“Lo then ! in the early dawn the precious maiden, Caecilia, cried, and said to them all:  
 'Now, oh ye soldiers of God, cast away from you boldly the works of darkness, ...”

Now that we have established that the cases of pro-P constitute PPs in their own right, I turn in the next section, 3.3.1, to the distribution of both the pronominal complement and of the stranded P in the clause structure, giving special attention to the distribution w.r.t the verb. This description of the possible orders will be accounted for in the following sections, in which I tackle first the syntactic status of stranded Ps (3.3.2), and subsequently their syntactic representation, in which also the syntactic representation of the pronominal *Grouna* will play a

25 Notice here a clause beginning with an exclamative *hwæt* (cf. *Beowulf*). Walkden (2010) shows that dependent word order is typical with this exclamative element, something which is not completely unexpected if we think of the double complementisers in Force and Fin of Paoli (2003), blocking verb movement to the higher C heads (cf. also German exclamatives which present OV orders, P. Benincà p. c., and the dialectal *Che bello che te sî!* "lit. that/what beautiful that you are = How beautiful you are!").

most relevant role (3.3.3).

### 3.3.1 The distribution of stranded Ps and personal pronouns w.r.t the verb

A first but very clear schematisation of the distribution of the pronoun and the stranded P w.r.t the verb was given in Wende (1915), which was subsequently adopted and slightly modified in Mitchell (1978). I report here the schema of Mitchell (1978) as given in section 2.4 (Mitchell 1978: 248):

**(A) = ... him (...) to (...) com:** the preferred order with subordinate clauses, some principal clauses (as is expected, cf. Koopman 1995 on verb-final main clauses), and in clauses introduced by *ac* or *ond* (as OE very frequently presented subordinate word orders in conjoined clauses, Michell 1985: 694).

**(B) = ... com (...) him (...) to:** the typical order in commands, exclamations and prohibitions (and in V1 contexts clearly).

**(C) =... him (...) com (...) to:** less common, and attested mainly in principal clauses.

Although such patterns are still much useful and very helpful in giving a bird's eye view of the possible distributions in relation to the main vs. embedded distinction, I nonetheless do not follow them strictly, as I provide a much less schematised description, which is principally aimed at identifying three major facts: (i) whether the personal pronoun and the stranded P may be considered as a single constituent (*pro-P*) when they appear together, and consequently, what is the position of such a constituent in the clause; (ii) what kind of elements can intervene between the pronoun and the stranded P in a pattern I label *pro ... P*, and when this occurs, whether their separation may be put in relation to any peculiar structure; (iii) the syntactic status and the structural position of both the personal pronoun and the stranded P when they appear separately. In such a description, I will use the mapping of the OE clause structure and the account of the OE pronominal syntax as given in Chapter 2, as these strong assumptions, in particular the detailed mapping of the High and Low Left Periphery, offer very useful guidelines for the better understanding of the distributional patterns, which can thus be shown to be dependent on the several yet independently motivated possibilities of XP movement in this language. Though the various aspects here considered clearly interact, for the sake of simplicity, I divide the description into three parts.

V<sub>fin</sub>... pro-P

This pattern—which is a restricted version of Mitchell's (1978) pattern (B)—is fairly common and presents the pronoun and the stranded P appearing one next to the other as a single unit, *pro-P*. This unit typically occurs towards the end of the clause, either following or preceding the DOs cf. (36) vs (37) respectively:

- (36) a. Se biscop þa leofode swa swa he bæd æt Gode,  
The bishop then lived so as he asked at God.DAT  
and on mergen gelangode *þone læce* **him to**.  
and in morning summoned the.ACC doctor.ACC him to  
(ÆLS Basil, 600)  
“Then the Bishop lived even as he had besought of God, and in the morning summoned the leech to him.”
- b. [...] and ic eac afyrige *ða yfelan deor* **eow fram**.  
fear your.GEN land.GEN enjoy, and I also flee the evil animals you from.  
(ÆLS Pr Moses, 156)  
“..., and I will also put the evil beasts far from you.”
- c. He hæfde geaxod be ðæs hælendes wundrum, and sende ða ardlice  
He had asked about the.GEN saviour.GEN miracles.DAT and sent then quickly  
*þis arendgewrit* **him to**, [...]  
this writing him to ....  
(ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 86)  
“He had enquired concerning our Saviour's miracles, and sent thereupon speedily to him this letter: ...”
- d. [...] and heora gewinn hæfde haligra manna getacnunge, þe todræfað  
... and their battle had holy.GEN men.GEN significance, that chases  
*þa leabtras and deofla* **heom fram** on ðære niwan gecyðnyse [...]  
the vices and devils them from in the.DAT new.DAT Testament.DAT  
(ÆLS Maccabees, 701)  
“... , and their contest had the signification of holy men who drive away vices and devils from them in the New Testament, ...”
- e. Hwæt þa Mauricius, se mæra godes ðegn, and Exuperius, [...] and bædon  
What then M. the glorious God.GEN servant, and E. and bade  
þæt hi awurpan *heora wæpna* **him fram**, and [...]  
that they cast.awaytheir weapons them from and  
(ÆLS Maurice, 59)  
“The Maurice, the illustrious servant of God, and Exuperius, ... and requested them to cast their weapons away from them, and ...”
- f. Hwæt ða Benedictus be his gebroðra ræde swa swa him God geswutolode  
Lo! then B. by his brethern.GEN counsel, so as them God revealed  
asende þa Maurum, þeah ðe he uneaðe mihte for heora micclum lufe  
sent then M though that he uneasy could for their great love  
*hine* **him fram** lætan to ðam fyrlenen lande.<sup>26</sup>

26 Here we have a very complex order in the embedded clause, in which the expected sequence Reason PP > Souce PP > Goal PP is interrupted by a pronoun. I take this to show an interaction with the Topic/Focus positions in the Low Left Periphery.

him him from let to the distant land

(ÆLS Maur, 60)

“Then Benedict, by his brethren's counsel, as God revealed to them, sent Maurus (though he hardly might, for their great love, himself go from him to the distant land.”

- (37) a. Ða asende se cynincg gyt ðriddan siðe **him to** *fiftig his ðegna*; [...] Then sent the king yet third time him to fifty his servants.GEN (ÆLS Book of Kings, 256)  
“Then sent the king yet a third time to him fifty of his servants; ...”
- b. Ða sende God **him to** *sumne witegan*, Ionas gehaten, and Then sent God them to some prophet, J. called, and ... (ÆLS Pr Moses, 276)  
“Then God sent to them a certain prophet, hight Jonah, and ...”
- c. Nu ge la Godes cempan, awurpað cafllice **eow fram** *þæra þeostra weorc*; [...] and said to them all. Nw you lo! God.GEN champions, throw boldly you from the.GEN darkness.DAT work (ÆLS Cecilia, 257)  
“ 'Now, oh ye soldiers of God, cast away from you boldly the works of darkness, ...”

In the above cases, the *pro-P* unit appears in both main and subordinate clauses (36d,e,f), but crucially, the inflected verb is always in sentence medial position. As mentioned in 2.4, I take these differences in the position of DOs w.r.t PPs to be dependent on their interaction with the Low Left Periphery, most precisely with the Topic and Focus positions (cf. also Poletto 2006a,b on the OV orders of Old Italian, and Cognola 2010 on the mixed OV/VO syntax of Mochoeno).

Further evidence that the personal pronouns and its stranded P form a constituent when they appear together towards the end of the clause comes from the following cases in which *pro-P* occurs both before and after other non argumental PPs, cf. (38) vs. (39), and even before and after the non-finite verb with a sentence medial auxiliary, cf. (40) vs. (41). The *Lives of Saints* present also a case in which *pro-P* occurs after the predicate of a Small Clause, cf. (42)

- (38) a. Sum æþelboren wif wæs þe wiste heora unræd, and gelaðode þa cwelleras Some noble.born woman was that knew their evil.counsel and invited the killer *swilce for cyððe hire to*, and fordrencte hi mid wine, and [...] as.if for familiarity her to, and drowned them with wine, and ... (ÆLS Denis, 325)  
“There was a certain noble lady who knew their evil counsel, and invited the executioners to her, as if for friendship, and made them drunk with wine, and ...”
- b. And him andwyrde þæt heafod, Her, her, her; and swa gelome And them answered the head, here here here, and so continually

clypode andswarigende him eallum, swa oft swa heora ænig clypode,  
 called answering them all.DAT so often so of.them any cried  
 oþþæt hi ealle becomen þurb ða clyþunga **him to**.  
 until.that they all came throught the callings it to

(ÆLS Edmund, 150)

"And the head answered them, 'Here, here, here.' And so it cried out  
 continually, answering them all, as oft as any of them cried, until they all came  
 to it by means of those cries."

- c. Ða cwæð Basilius *mid blyðum mode* **him to**, [...]  
 Then said B. with blithe mind him to,

(ÆLS Basil, 589)

"Then said Basil with blithe mood to him, ..."

- d. Ða sloh se cwellere git *mid þam swurde* **hire to**, ac [...]  
 Then struck the killer yet with the sword her to, but the holy trinity

(ÆLS Ash Wed, 222)

"Then the executioner struck at her yet again with the sword, but the Holy  
 Trinity held back the sword,that it could not wound the woman's neck"

- (39) a. [...], and fuhton **him togeanes** *for heora blafordum*.

one prince chose them to king,DAT, and fought him towards for their lords.DAT

(ÆLS(Book of Kings, 359)

"Then the bold Jehu commanded the citizens that they should choose a prince  
 from among those seventy, to be their king, and fight against him in defence of  
 their lords."

- b. Ða cwæð Crisantus **hire to** *mid clænum mode þus*, [...]  
 Then said C. her to with clean mind thus

(ÆLS Chrysanthus, 92)

Then spoke Chrysanthus thus to her with pure mind ..."

- (40) a. He læg swa ealne dæg on þære ormætan hætan, ac seo hyd ne mihte  
 He lay so all.ACC day,ACC in the.DAT great.DAT heat.DAT but the hide not could  
*abeardian* **him abutan**, ne þam halgan derian on þære hatan sunnan.  
 harden him about, nor the.DAT holy.DAT hurt in the.DAT hot.DAT sun.DAT

(ÆLS Chrysanthus, 161)

"He lay thus all day in the overpowering heat, but the hide could not harden  
 about him, nor hurt the saint in the hot sun."

- b. Gif ge willað nu beon embe þa gebytlu swiðor, and embe þa heofonlican  
 speda

If you will now be abot the buildings rather, and about the heavenly riches

sprecan on eornost, þonne magon eowre æhta *yrnan* **eow ætforan**; [...]

speak in earnest, than may your possessions ran before you

(ÆLS (Thomas, 188)

"If then ye will now rather be busy about those buildings, and wish to speak in  
 earnest concerning the heavenly riches, then may your possessions run before  
 you, ..."

- c. Sumes þegnes cniht feoll færlice of his horse þæt him tobærst se earm  
 Some.GEN thane.GEN servant fell suddenly from his horse.DAT so.that him burst the arm  
 and se oðer sceanca, and swiðe wearð gecwysed þæt hi sona wendon  
 and the other leg, and very.much became crushed that they soon thought

þæt he þærrihthe sceolde *sweltan* **heom ætforan**.  
that he thereright should die them before

(ÆLS Swithun, 323)

“A certain thane's servant fell suddenly from his horse so that his arm and left leg broke, and he was so much crushed that they straightway thought he would at once die right before them”

- (41) a He wearð þa swyðe fægen, and wolde faran mid heom,  
He was then very.much glad and wanted go with them  
ac þaþa he ne mihte **heom mid** *syðian*, þa flugon hi geond þa lyft and [...]  
but when.then he not could them with journey, then flew they throughout the air  
(ÆLS Swithun, 348)

“He was then very glad, and desired to go with them; but when he could not journey with them, then flew they through the air, ...”

- b. Him com to Godes æncgel and cwæð þæt he sceolde þe **him to** *langian*, [...]  
Him came to God.GEN angel and said that he should you him to summon ...  
(ÆLS Peter's Chair, 121)

“To him came God's angel, and bade that he should, summon thee to him, ... “

- (42) Martinus eode mid his munecum sume dæg tocyrcanwerd on wintres timan;  
M. went with his monks.DAT some day to-church-ward in winter.GEN time.DAT  
þa com þær sum þearfa healf *nacoa* **him togeanes** biddende georne  
then came there some poor half naked him towards bidding earnestly  
þæt he him sumne clað sealde.  
that he him some clothe gave  
(ÆLS Martin, 901)

“Martin was going with his monks one day towards the church in winter-time; then came there towards him a poor man half naked, begging earnestly that he would give him some clothing”

Lastly, the *pro-P* unit occurs also before a non-finite verb, most typically in ACI constructions with the verb *betan* "command" (43)<sup>27</sup> and with perception verbs (44), but also

27 The *Lives of Saints* also present several cases of this construction, with all the patterns here considered, i.e., with *pro-P* unit separated by other sentence constituents and the non-finite verb, cf. (i), and with the *pro-P* unit occurring before and after the direct object, cf. (ii) vs. (iii):

- (i) Ða awoc Eusebius, þære ceastra bisceop, and asende his preostas sona  
Then awoke E. , the.GEN city.GEN bishop, and sent his priest soom t  
him togeanes, het **him gelangian þa gebyfeden men to**, and [...]  
hem towards, commanded him summon the believing men to, and  
(ÆLS Basil, 92)

“Then Eusebius the bishop of the city awoke, and immediately sent his priests to meet them, bade summon to him those Christian men, and ...”

- (ii) Ða forhtode se cyning, and het *feccan* **him to þone foresædan þegen** [...]  
Then feared the king, and commanded fetch him to the.ACC aforesaid.ACC servant.ACC  
(ÆLS Thomas, 360)

“Then feared the king, and bade men fetch to him the aforesaid thane ...”

- (iii) [...] and het *afyllan þæt chyf færllice* **him onuppan**, þæt [...]  
... and commanded cast.down the cliff immediately it upon so that ...  
(ÆLS Chrysanthus, 333)

“..., and bade men cast down the rock suddenly upon them, so that ...”

Clearly, such cases deserve a much refined investigation as they represent an interesting area in which the

with the *to*-infinitive (45):

- (43) a. Hwæt þa Agricolaus on ærnemergen gegaderode his geborenan magas  
 Lo! then A. in early-morning gathered his born kinsmen  
 to his manfullan geþeahte, and het **him to lædan þa halgan godes cempa**n.  
 to his wicked council, and commanded him to lead the holy.ACC God.GEN champions  
 (ÆLS Forty Soldiers, 52)  
 “Then Agricola in the early morning gathered his born kinsmen to his wicked  
 council, and bade lead to him the holy soldiers of God.”
- b. Ða het se burhealdor þone bisceop **him to gefeccan**, and [...]  
 Then commanded the city.governor the bishop him to fetch, and ...  
 (ÆLS Apollinaris, 203)  
 “Then the governor of the city sent to fetch the bishop to him, and ... ”
- c. Martinus þa het þa þone man **him to lædan**, ac [...]  
 M. then commanded them the man him to lead, but ...  
 (ÆLS Martin, 509)  
 “So Martin ordered them to bring the man to him, but ...”
- (44) Oft Martinus geseah englas **him to cuman**  
 Often M. saw angels him to come s  
 (ÆLS Martin, 682)  
 “Often Martin saw angels come to him ...”
- (45) [...] ac he ne ablan na swaþeah mid seofonnihte fæstene **him fore to þingiende**,  
 ... but he not cease not so.though with seven.night fasting.DAT them for to intercede  
 oðþæt he beget þæs þe he biddende wæs.  
 until.tht he got this.GEN that he praying was  
 (ÆLS Martin, 1281)  
 “... ; but he ceased not, nevertheless, to intercede for them with a seven nights' fast,  
 until he obtained that for which he was praying.”

The cases in (38)-(39) and (40)-(41) show yet again some alternations which can be captured by assuming an interaction with the Low Topic/Low Focus projections, triggering the movement of the non-finite verb as a sort of V2 within the Low Left Periphery (see Poletto 2006a,b).

In all the instances considered in this initial part, the personal pronoun and the stranded P form a constituent, the pronoun being part of the PP headed by the stranded P. As to the structural position of *pro-P*, I claim that it is hosted in the relevant projection of the thematic field (Schweikert 2005a). From this projection, the only movement *pro-P* can undergo are related to its interaction with the Topic(s) and Focus in the Low Left Periphery (cf. Belletti 2001, 2004 on the possibility of multiple Topics in the Low Left Periphery).<sup>28</sup>

account of OE word order presented in Chapter 2 can be tested. I leave this investigation for future research.  
 28 Clearly, a more telling test for the base position of *pro-P* would be their relative order w.r.t. the “low adverbs” of Cinque (1999), like “well” (cf. Schweikert 2005b who locates the thematic field above Asp/Completive and VoiceP). Yet, I found no case of this adverb with these patterns in the *Lives of Saints*; I found just a couple of cases with the adverb *sona* “immediately, soon” (both before and after the *pro-P* complex), but they do not

V<sub>fin</sub> pro...P or pro ...V<sub>fin</sub> ... P

In this second part, I consider the cases in which the personal pronoun and its stranded P are separated by other sentence material, typically by either the verb, or less commonly, by the subject and by adverbs. One of most attested contexts for *pro ... P* is undoubtedly the pattern *XP pron V (... ) P*, in which XP is typically the nominal subject (46), or a Scene Setter (47):<sup>29</sup>

- (46) a. Se halga wer **him** cwæð to, Ne hoga þu embe þæt; [...]  
The holy man him said to. Not think you about that;  
(ÆLS Basil, 416)  
“The holy man said to him, 'Be not anxious about that; ...’”
- b. Crist **him** þa eode to, and cwæð openlice, Hwæt bigst þu iunglingc?  
C. him then went to, and said openly, what buy you youth  
(ÆLS Thomas 32)  
“Then Christ went to him, and said openly, 'What buyest thou, youth?’”
- c. [...] and God **him** sende ða to Gad þone witegan, ðas word him secgende, [...] <sup>30</sup>  
and God him sent then to Gad the.ACC prophet.ACC, these words saying,  
(ÆLS Mark, 78)  
“... and then God sent to him the prophet Gad, saying these words to him, ...”
- d. Hit gelamp þa sume dæg, ða ða se Hælend siðode,  
It happened then some day, when then the Savriour journeyed,  
þæt sum man **him** cwæð to, [...]  
that some man him said to  
(ÆLS Memory of Saints, 154)

---

constitute decisive evidence since the “higher” Cinquean adverbs could also appear in a low projection of the CP domain of the clause (thus giving rise to V3 orders). Here I report just two cases for the sake of completeness:

- (i) a. Ða awoc Eusebius, þære ceastra biseop, and asende his preostas **sona him togeanes**,  
Then awoke E. , the.GEN city.GEN bishop, and sent his priest soon them towards,  
(ÆLS Basil, 92)  
“Then Eusebius the bishop of the city awoke, and immediately sent his priests to meet them, ...”
- b. Ða rædde se aldorman þæt ærendgewrit, and sende **him ongean sona** on gewryte, [...]  
Then read the alderman the message, and sent him back soon in writing,  
(ÆLS Basil, 177)  
“Then the alderman read the letter, and sent to him in return immediately in writing, ...”

29 I found two cases, here reported in (i) with multiple XPs before the pattern *pronoun-finite verb-P*. As I have no precise analysis for these, I limit myself to reporting them and leave an account of these orders for a much more in-depth analysis of the OE Left Periphery than was possible here:

- (i) a. [Eac swilce] [þa deofla] [mid heora searocræftum] **him** comon gelome to, and [...]  
So likewise the devils with their treacheries.DAT him came frequently to and ...  
(ÆLS Martin, 706)  
“So likewise the devils with their treacherous arts came to him frequently; and ...”
- b. [...] and [þa deofla] [siþþan] [of þam geswenctum mannum]  
and the devils afterwards from the.DAT afflicted.DAT men.DAT  
[mid wundorlicum gebærum] wurdon him sona fram, þæt [...]  
with wondrous.DAT gestures.DAT were them soon from, that  
(ÆLS Martin, 1207)  
“... and the devils afterwards were immediately driven from the afflicted men with wonderful gesticulations; that ...”

30 I take this instance of *þa* as a temporal adverb hosted in the IP domain.

“Then it befell one day as the Saviour journeyed, that a certain man said to Him, ...”

- e. Ac Iudas **him** *com to*, and acwealde hine sona, and fela his folces, and ða oðre ætflugon.  
But J. him came to, and killed him soon, and many his people.GEN and the other fled  
(ÆLS Maccabees, 293)  
“But Judas came to him, and killed him soon, and many of his people, and the others fled.”
- (47) a. Eac on oðre healfe **him** *comon ærendracan to*, of Galileiscum lande,  
Also in other.DAT side.DAT him came messengers to, from G.DAT land.DAT  
heora lifes orwene, and [...]  
their life.GEN despairing, and  
(ÆLS Maccabees, 393)  
“Eke, on the other side, messengers came to him from the Galilsean land, despairing of their lives, and ...”
- b. Æfter ðam fæstene **him** *comon færllice to* twegen scinende englas  
After the.DAT fasting.DAT him came suddenly to two shining angels  
mid sperum and scyldum, swilce on gelicnysse heofonlices werodes, [...]  
with spears.DAT and shields.DAT as.if in likeness heavenly.GEN army.GEN  
(ÆLS Martin, 449)  
“After that fasting there came suddenly to him two shining angels with spears and shields, as if in the likeness of a heavenly army, ...”
- c. Efne ðæs on mergen **him** *com swa mycel mennisc to* þæt  
Even this.GEN in morning him came so great men to that ...  
(ÆLS Maccabees, 417)  
“Verily, then in the morning there came against him so many men that ...”
- d. On þære nihte **him** *com an engel to* him sylfum onlocigendum, and [...]  
In the.DAT night.DAT him came an angel to him self.DAT on looking.DAT  
(ÆLS Martin, 606)  
“That night there came to him an angel, whilst he himself was beholding, and ...”

These cases indicate that the personal pronoun objects of a stranded P appears in the Left Periphery, most precisely in the WP position identified in 2.3, as they occur between the inflected verb and XPs which are typically hosted in the Topic/Frame Field.

Another pattern indicating that pronominal objects of P appear in WP comes from sentences in which the subject is a personal pronoun. As argued in 2.2 and 2.3, the OE subject pronouns are weak pronouns hosted in a dedicated projection, SubjP (located above WP), to which the verb moves in main clauses. In these cases, the pronominal objects of P occurs immediately after the inflected verb, as is expected (in the pattern *Subj<sub>pron</sub>-V<sub>fin</sub>-Obj<sub>pron</sub> ... P*, cf. (48):

- (48) a. [...] and gif ge þonne git nellað eow wendan to me,

and if you then yet not.want you turn to me,  
 ic sende **eow *swura* to** and eow sleað eowre fynd, and [...]  
 I send you sword to and you kill your enemies and

(ÆLS Pr Moses, 167)

“...; and if ye even then will not turn to Me, I will send the sword to you, and your enemies shall slay you, ...”

- b. Ða com seo cwen on æfnunge to þam cyninge ham,  
 Then came the queen in evening to the.DAT king.DAT home  
 and he cwæð **hire *sona* to**, Swyðe lange þu wære.

and he said her soon to, very long you were

Heo cwæð *efi* **him to**, [...]<sup>31</sup>

She said again him to

(ÆLS Thomas, 349-351)

“Then came the queen at evening home to the king, and he forthwith said to her: 'Thou hast been very long!'. She said again him to, ...”

The same pattern *Subj<sub>pron</sub>-V<sub>fin</sub>-Obj<sub>pron</sub> ... P* is found also with some subordinate clauses introduced by the complementiser *þæt*, cf. (49). This is not completely unexpected since there is evidence from other Germanic varieties and from Romance varieties as well that there is more than one type of complementiser (even though they may be lexicalised by the same element).<sup>32</sup> In these cases, *þæt* could be hosted in a very high position, SubP above ForceP (cf. Grewendorf & Poletto 2011 for the *ke* complementiser of Cimbrian), a position which does not block access to the higher CP heads, thus permitting the verb to move to SubjP:<sup>33</sup>

- (49) a. Ða ongeat se casere þæt þa Cristenan þær næron, and het ða mid gramam  
 Then perceived the Emperor that the Christians there not-were and ordered then with anger  
 his gegadan to faran, and beodon þam Cristenum *þæt hi comon* **him to**.  
 his companions to go, and bid the.DAT Christians.DAT that they come him to

(ÆLS Maurice, 40)

“Then perceived the Emperor that the Christians were not there, and thereupon angrily commanded his companions to go, and bid the Christians to come to him.”

- b. Ða cwæð se yldosta to ðam arwurðan witegan, Gang nu, Godes man,  
 Then said the eldest to the.DAT honourable.DAT prophet.DAT, Go now, God.GEN man,  
 of þære grædan dune, se cynincg gewilnað *þæt þu cume* **him to**.  
 from the.DAT grassy.DAT hill.DAT, the king desires that you come him to.

(ÆLS Book of Kings, 244)

31 The monosyllabic adverb *efi* “again” is one of the typical monosyllabic adverbs giving rise to V3 orders (see Rossi 2008). It could be viewed as part of the WP field, or alternatively, as instantiating the ModP, the Modifier Phrase projection for adverbs in the Left Periphery (cf. Rizzi 2001), which I located in the Focus field. Whatever view is taken, the fact that *him* appears after it and not before it indicated that the pronoun is part of the PP and has not moved to the WP of the clause.

32 This is the case of *che* “that” in some Italian dialects (cf. Paoli 2003), which occurs twice, in Force and in Fin, in exclamative contexts. Moreover, Grewendorf & Poletto (2011) have shown that Cimbrian presents two complementisers, a lower one *aç*, and a higher one *ke*. Interestingly, these two complementisers appear in different contexts and are associated with different word orders.

33 If the CP heads were blocked, the finite verb would not leave Fin°, and the pronouns would appear as a cluster.

“Then said the chief to the venerable prophet, 'Go now, man of God, from the grassy hill, the king desireth thee to come to him”

Similarly, the following instances of the pattern *V-pro ... P*, are intimately connected to the ones above, since they obtain when the subject is deleted under coordination, cf. (50). From a structural perspective, the weak subject pronoun is deleted but the finite verb still targets the head of SubjP:

- (50) a. On sumum dege ferde seo foresæda bisceop, þa rad Iulianus se arlease  
on certain.DAT day.DAT went the aforementioned bishop, then rode Julian the wicked  
casere mid mycelra fyrdinge, swiðe fus to wige, and gecneow Basiliūm  
emperor with great army, very eager to battle, and recognised B.  
and **cwæð him sona to**, [...] and said him soon to, ...  
(ÆLS Basil, 205)  
“On a certain day the aforesaid bishop was journeying, where rode Julian the wicked emperor, with a great army, very eager for battle, and he knew Basil, and instantly said to him, ...”
- b. Ða com þæs gerefan suna to þære scinendan stowe, mid his sceandlicum  
Then came the-GEN prefect.GEN son to the.DAT shining.DAT place.DAT with his shameful  
gegadam, wolde þa godes þinene gebysmrian, and **sende him sona ætforan**  
matesDAT wanted the God.GEN servant dishonour and sent him soon before s  
sume into hire, ac [...] ome.ACC into her, but  
(ÆLS Agnes, 163)  
“Then came the Prefect's son to the shining place with his shameful companions, desiring to dishonour the virgin of God, and straightaway sent in before him some of them to her, but ...”
- c. Ða geseah sona Sebastianus þæt, hu þa godes cempan ongunnon hnexian  
Then saw soon S. that, how the God.GEN champions began yield  
for þam mycclan gewynne, and **wearð him þa tomiddes** and [...] for the great conflict, and became them then amidst  
(ÆLS Sebastian, 50)  
“Then Sebastian soon perceived that, how God's champions began to yield by reason of the great conflict, and he was soon in their midst, and ...”
- d. Ða awende se Flaccus to Feliculan his mod, and **cwæþ hire þus to**  
Then turned the F. to F his mind, and said her thus to  
mid þrutigendum mode, [...] with threatening.DAT mood.DAT,  
(ÆLS Peter's Chair, 272)  
“Then Flaccus turned his mind to Felicula, and thus said to her with a threatening manner, ...”

Another case in which the verb appears before the *pro...P* pattern involves the adverb *þa* in first position. In these cases, the verb moves to SpecForceP, in which *þa* is hosted (see

2.2) since Force P is a criterial position, while the pronoun and the stranded P may appear either as a constituent, cf. (51), or separated by various elements like the subject (32), some adverbs (53) and even the predicates of Small Clauses (54):

- (51) a. Eac swilce of his bedstrewē man band on anne wodne,  
 Also such from his bedstraw.DAT man bound in one.ACC madman.ACC  
 þa gewat *se deofol* **him of**, and he his gewit underfeng.  
 then went the devil him from, and he his wit received  
 (ÆLS Martin, 572)  
 “In like manner men bound some of his bedstraw on a lunatic, when the devil went from him and he received his reason.”
- b. [...] þa wan **him on** swiðe *Amalech se cynincg* mid his leode feohtende.  
 then warred them in very much A. the king with his people fighting  
 (ÆLS Pr Moses, 1)  
 “... there warred mightily against them Amalek the king, fighting with his people.”
- (52) a. Ðonne **cymð him** *deað to*, and deð of gemynde ealle þa blysse  
 Then comes him death to, and does from memory all the bliss  
 þe he breac on his life, [...]  
 that he enjoyed in his life  
 (ÆLS Cecilia, 149)  
 “Then cometh death to him and putteth out of remembrance all the bliss which he enjoyed in his life; ...”
- b. Ða *asende* **him** *Goð to* swyðlice steore, swa þæt **him** comon **to**  
 Then sent him God to very.much punishment, so that him came to  
 ða Chaldeiscan leoda and [...]  
 the C. people and  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 437)  
 “Then God sent him a severe chastisement, so that the Chaldean people came to him, and ...”
- (53) a. Ða *asende se cynincg* **him sona æfter** mycele meniu to ðam widgillum  
 muntum, [...]  
 Then sent the kind him soon after great moltitude to the.DAT vast.DAT mount.DAT  
 (ÆLS Maccabees, 233)  
 “Then sent the king soon after him a great company to the vast mountains, ...”
- b. Ða ða Iudas gehyrde þæra hæðenra gehlyd, and þæs feohtes hream,  
 When then J. heard the.GEN heathens.GEN tumult, and the.GEN battle.GEN shout  
 þa *ferde he* **him hindan to** mid ðrym scyldtruman, and [...]  
 then went he them back to with three companies, and  
 (ÆLS Maccabees, 421)  
 “When Judas heard the noise of the heathen, and the shout of the fight, then went he behind them with three companies, and ...”
- c. SE halga wer ferde mid his fare hwilon, þa *com* **him** *faringa to* micel folc  
 manna, [...]  
 The holy man went with his journey once, then came him suddenly to great folk men.GEN  
 (ÆLS Martin, 1011)

“The holy man was once travelling with his company, ...”

- (54) *Ða com him gangende to se Godes witega Helias, asend fram Gode and [...]*  
 Then came him going to, the God.GEN prophet H, sent from God.DAT and said him these words  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 206)  
 “Then came, meeting him, God's prophet Elijah, sent from God, and ...”

The above cases are particularly interesting as they show quite clearly that there are various positions available to DP subjects in OE: (51a) and (52a) show the canonical position in the CP domain, a Topic position, as they appear before *þa* in Force and the weak pronoun in WP; (52) present a subject DP after the weak pronoun, which may be hosted in the Focus Field of the CP domain; finally, (51b), (52c) and (54) show a subject following the stranded P, a subject which may be hosted in the Low Left Periphery. This last position seems particularly plausible with (53a) and (54), as they present an unaccusative verb with an indefinite subject in what I have elsewhere defined a “presentational” construction, in which the LowFocus position seems to be involved (see again Belletti 2001, 2004 on the Romance postverbal subjects as involving focalisation).

A comparable distribution of subjects is also found in those cases in which the pronominal object of a P appears alone at the beginning of a sentence and is immediately followed by the finite verb. In these cases, the subject may either precede or follow the stranded P, cf. (55) in main clauses and (56) in coordinate clauses:

- (55) a. **Him com stemn to**, þus clypiende þriwa, aris nu Petrus, [...]  
 Him came voice to, thus calling thrice, arise now P.  
 (ÆLS Peter's Chair, 87)  
 “A voice came to him, thus crying thrice, 'Arise now, Peter, ...”
- b. **Him eode þa to Gezabel** and cwæð, [...]  
 Him went then to G., and said, ...  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 180)  
 “Then Jezebel went to him, and said, ...”
- c. *Ða cwæþ se geeadcucoda, me coman to silbearwan* atelices hiwes swa heage  
 Then said the revived.NOM, Me came to Ethiopians terrible.GEN appearance.GEN so high  
 swa entes, mid byrnendum eagum and egeslicum toðum.  
 as giants with burning.DAT eyes.DET and horrible.DAT teeth.DAT  
 (ÆLS Julian and Basilissa, 285)  
 “Then said the revived man 'There came to me Ethiopians of terrible  
 appearance, as tall as giants with burning eyes and horrible teeth.”
- d. **Him comon to** on swæfne *þa soðan Godes halgan*,  
 Him came to in dream the true God.GEN holymen,  
 and sædon hwær heora ban þa gebrohte wæron.  
 and said where their bones then carried were.  
 (ÆLS Forty Soldiers, 265)

“To him came in a dream the true saints of God, and said whither their bones had been carried.”

- e. **Him** *cwæð þa to Helias, ...*  
 Them said then to Helias,  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 138)  
 “Then Elijah said to him, ...”
- h. **Him** *comon þa on swefne to* twegen scinende halgan, and [...]  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 341)  
 “To him came in a dream two shining saints, and ... ”
- (56) a. Eugaaenia þa wunode on Rome, and **hire** *coman to gebmylce madenu, and [...]*  
 E. then lived in Rome, and her came to every maiden,  
 (ÆLS Eugenia, 322)  
 “Then Eugenia dwelt in Rome, and there came to her many maidens, and ...”
- b. He wearð ða bebyrged, and **him** *læg onuppan fela byrðena eorðan*  
 He was then buried and him lay upon many loads earth.GEN  
 binnon seofon nihton, þæs ðe he forsoc þa feawa axan.  
 within seven nights, what.GEN that he refused the few ashes  
 (ÆLS Ash Wed, 56)  
 “He was then buried, and there lay upon him many loads of earth within seven nights, because he had refused those few ashes.”
- c. **And him com** *gangende to Godes witega Isaias, [...]*  
 And him came going to God.GEN prophet I., ...  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 412)  
 “And God's prophet Isaiah came walking to him, ... ”
- d. Ic ða sona behet, swa swa þa halgan me tihton, and **me** *com þarribte to*  
 I then soon promised, so as the holy me exhorted and me came immediately to  
 Godes engei mid rode, het me niman min swurd and siðian mid him.  
 God.GEN angel with cross, commanded me take my sword and go with him  
 (ÆLS Agnes, 355)  
 “I then straightway promised, even as the holy men exhorted me, and there immediately came to me God's angel with a cross, bidding me take my sword and go with him”

The varying position of the subject is also well exemplified by the following case, in which the contextual situation may offer some indications on the structural position of the subject *alc get*, cf. (57a) with its continuation in (57b).

- (57) a. [...]oðþæt an scinende engel on þam seofoþan dæge him com to,  
 until.that a shining angel on the.DAT seventh.DAT day.DAT him came to  
 and cwæð þæt he to þam casere ferde, and **him** *alc get sceolde beon open*  
 and said that he to the.DAT emperor.DAT went, and him every gate should be open  
**togeanes** and þæs modigan caseres mod beon geliðegod.  
 towards and the.GEN haughty.GEN emperor.GEN mind be softened  
 (ÆLS Martin, 659)  
 “... , until a shining angel came to him on the seventh day, and bade him go to the emperor and every gate should be open before him, and the haughty

emperor's mind should be softened.

- b. Se bisceop þa ferde swa swa him bebed se engel, and **him** wearð *geopenod*  
The bishop then went so as him bade the angel, and him were opened  
*alc gæt togeanes*, oðþæt he færlice stod ætforan þam casere.  
each gate towards, until.that he suddenly stood before the.DAT emperor.DAT  
(ÆLS Martin, 659-668)  
"The bishop then went as the angel commanded him and all the gates were  
opened before him until he was soon before the emperor"

In (57a), the subject *alc gæt* occurs after *him* but before the finite auxiliary. In the light of the fine-CP structure I have adopted (Benicà 2006), the subject may be hosted in the Focus Field (FocIIP), something which may be partly supported by the context. On the contrary, (54b) shows *alc gæt* in a post-participial position, probably hosted in the LowFocPosition.

One last interesting thing I would like to point out is that (57) presents another typical context for “presentational” constructions, i.e., impersonal passives. The following example is another instance of this context with the *pro ... P* pattern, in which there is also an XP before the pronoun, cf. (58):

- (58) *Priwa him wæs þus geclypod to*, and þærrihte wearð þæt fæt upp to heofonum  
Thrice him was thus cried to, and straightaway was the vessel up to heavens.DAT  
*abroden, eft mid þam nytenum.*  
drawn back with the.DAT beasts.DAT  
(ÆLS Peter's Chair, 94)  
“Thrice was it thus cried to him, and straightway the vessel was drawn up to Heaven  
again, together with the beasts.”

Koopman (1997) analyses all these cases of *him* in sentence-initial position as cases of topicalisation of the pronoun, hence evidence for the non-clitic nature of *him*. Yet, consider the rather similar contexts of Italian, which present a *clitic* in sentence-initial position:

- (59) a. *Mi duole un dente*  
Cl.1.sg.dat hurt a tooth  
“One of my teeth hurts me”
- b. *Mi è stato detto che ...*  
Cl.1sg.dat is been said that ...  
“It was said to me that ...”
- c. *Mi è arrivata una lettera*  
Cl.1sg.dat is arrived a letter  
“There arrived a letter for me”
- d. *Mi è capitato in casa all'improvviso*  
Cl.1sg.dat *pro* is happened in house all-of-a-sudden  
“He popped at my place all of a sudden”

The comparison with the Italian facts and the correspondence in the contexts with the OE examples indicate that in all the OE cases of “topicalisation” (see also van Kemenade 1987) in (55)-(58), we are in fact dealing with a special type of structure, namely, “presentational constructions”, which involve a focussed subject (either in the CP domain, or most commonly in the Low Left Periphery). Moreover, the fact that Italian presents a clitic in what could be in principle a Topic position is by no means evidence of the syntactic nature of the *him* pronoun in the OE cases (contra Koopman 1997).

On the basis of the parallelism with the Italian facts in “presentational” constructions and given the syntactic position of the pronoun in all the cases so far considered for the *Vfin pro ..P/pro Vfin P* patterns (in both presentational and non-presentational contexts), I conclude that we are *always* dealing with a weak pronoun hosted in the WP. As to the position of the stranded P, this seems to remain in its merge position, the various material appearing before or after it depending on their interaction with the Topic properties of the Low Left Periphery.

pro (...) P Vfin

The last pattern I consider here is when the finite verb follows the *pro P* complex, in a pattern which is basically the (A) pattern of Mitchell (1978). As already mentioned above, this pattern is attested with subordinate clauses, or with coordinate clauses, cf. (59), which however are known to present also the subordinate word order (see Mitchell 1985; Pintzuk 1999 among many others). In the most typical case, the pronoun and its stranded P appear as one unit immediately before the verb, cf. (60) for *þæt*-clauses, (61) for coordinate clauses, and (62) for various types of subordinate clauses (among which also a relative clause with *þe*):

- (60) a. Eft þa Ðeodred bisceop sceawode his bec syððan behreowsode  
 Even then D. bishop look his books afterwards rued  
 [...] and þa leode bæd georne, *þæt hi him mid fastan* fullice þry dagas, [...]  
 and the people prayed earnestly  
 (ÆLS Edmund, 225)  
 “Then Theodred the bishop, after he had searched his books, ..., and earnestly prayed the people to fast with him fully three days, ...”
- b. [...]oþþæt he gelyfde on God, and Martine fyligde micclum hine biddende  
 unitl.that he believed in God, and M.DAT followed greatly him praying  
*þæt he him fore gebæde*; and [...]  
 that he him fore prayed and  
 (ÆLS Martin, 165)  
 “... till he believed in God, and followed Martin, earnestly entreating him that he would pray for him ; and ...”
- c. Hwæt þa Chromatius se mihtiga gerefa, þe romana byrig under þam casere  
 Lo! then C. the mighty judge, that Roman city under the emperor

geweold, het *Tranquillinum* þæt he **him to come**, wolde witan [...]æt him  
governed commanded T.ACC that he him to came, wanted know

(ÆLS Sebastian, 152)

“Then Chromatius, the powerful prefect, who governed the Roman city under the emperor, bade *Tranquillinus* to come to him, desiring to know ...”

- (61) a. [...] **ac him æfter eode** þæt oðer gefylce mid gefeohte hindan  
... but him after went the other troop with battle behind  
(ÆLS Maccabees, 664)  
“... but after him went the other troop, with battle, behind (him)”
- b. And ðær com ridende sum egeful ridda, **and him mid siðedon** twægen  
scinende englas,  
and there came riding some terrible rider, and him with journeyed two shining angels  
(ÆLS Maccabees, 773)  
“And there came riding a terrible rider, and with him journed two shining  
angels, ...”
- c. And Martinus sona siðode to þam woda, and **his hand him on asette**, [...]  
And Martinus soon journeyed to the.DAT madman.DAT and his hand him on set  
(ÆLS Martin, 519)  
“And Martin at once went to the madman, and laid his hand on him ...”

- (62) Se halga Martinus com to him hwilon, and þa þa he eode into his spræchuse  
The holy M. came to him once, when then he went into his parlour.DAT  
þa geseah he sittan æne sweartne deofol ormætne on his hrycge, **and he him on  
ableow**. Ða wende Auitianus þæt he **him on ableowe**, and cwæð to þam halgan were,  
blew. Then thought A. that he him on blew, and said to the.DAT holy.DAT man.DAT  
hwi behylst þu me swa, halga?  
why look you me so, holy  
Se bisceop him andwyrde, Ne behealde ic na þe, **ac þone sweartan deofol**  
The bishop him answered, Not behold I not you but the.ACC dark.ACC devil.ACC  
**þe sit on þinum hneccan, ic þe of ableow**.  
that sits in your.DAT neck.DAT, I the from blew  
Auitianus soðlice siðþan wæs mildheortra of þam dæge æfre þe  
A. truly afterwards was more merciful from the.DAT day.DAT ever that  
**se deofol him fram wearð**, oþþe forþanþe he wiste þæt he his willan  
the devil him from went, or because that he knew that he his will  
ær worhte, oþþe **forþanþe se unclane gast him ofafliged wæs þurb Martines mihte**,  
before performed or because the unclean ghost him from fled was through M.GEN might  
and him micclum sceamode þæs deofles manrædenne þe he on wæs oþ þæt.  
and him greatly shamed the.GEN devil.GEN vassalage that he on was until that  
(ÆLS Martin, 1182-1192)

“The holy Martin once came to him, and, as he was going into his parlour, he saw then a huge swart devil sitting on his back, and he [Martin] blew on him; then Avitiauus thought that he was blowing upon him, and said to the holy man, 'Why dost thou look at me so, holy father?' The bishop answered him; 'I look not at thee, but at the swart devil which sitteth on thy neck; I blew him off thee.' And so the devil departed, and straightway abandoned his familiar seat. And Avitianus was more merciful ever afterward from the day on which the devil departed from him, either because he was aware that he had been performing his will, or because the evil spirit was expelled from him through Martin's might; and he was greatly ashamed of the devil's vassalage in which he had been until then.”

From a structural point of view, the cases in (60)-(62) are potentially ambiguous, as they may have two different underlying representations: either the pronoun has left its PP and has moved to WP, while its stranded P is moved as a remnant of the vP to SpecFinP (as in the case of the stranded Ps of relatives considered in 3.2.1), cf. (63a), or the pronoun is still part of the PP, *pro-P*, which has been moved as a unit to SpecFinP, cf. (63b):

- (63)            [Frame [Topic [WP **him** [Focus [FinP ([PP **to**)]<sub>i</sub> Fin<sup>o</sup> .... t<sub>i</sub>]  
 b.                [Frame [Topic [WP [Focus [FinP ([PP **him to**)]<sub>i</sub> Fin<sup>o</sup> .... t<sub>i</sub>

There are however at least a few cases of subordinate clauses in which the preverbal *pro-P* unit is separated by some sentence material, in particular by subjects (64) and by adverbs (63):

- (64) a.        He æteowde þa wiðutan ealle eadmodnysse and unscæððignysse,  
 He showed then without all humility and innocence  
 and sæde ða æt nextan þa **him englas wið spræcon**, and gewunelice foroft.  
 and said then at next that him angels with spoke, and customarily very often  
(ÆLS Martin, 796)  
 “He showed outwardly all humility and innocence, and at last he said that  
 angels had spoken with him, customarily, very often”
- b.            Ða arærde hine se engel and het hine rædan þa gylden an stafas  
 Then raised him the angel and commanded him read the golden letters  
 þe **him Goð to sende**.  
 that him God to sent  
(ÆLS Cecilia, 59)  
 “Then the angel raised him, and bade him read the golden letters which God  
 had sent to him.”
- (63) a.        [...] ac he feng to his gebedum, and eall seo sarnys **him sona fram gewat**.  
 but he took to his prayers.DAT and all the pain him soon from went  
(ÆLS Martin, 196)  
 “...; but he took to his prayers, and all the pain soon departed from him.”
- b.            Wearð þa se ealdorman awreht færllice þurh Godes engel,  
 Was then the aldermen awoke suddenly through god.GEN angel  
 and he **him gramlice to cwæð**, [...]  
 and he him terribly to said  
 List ðu and rest þe, and Godes þeowa lið æt þinum gatum?  
 Lie you and rest yourself and God.GEN servant lies at your.DAT gates.DAT  
(ÆLS Martin, 1151)  
 “Then the count was suddenly awaked by God's angel, who said to him sternly,  
 'Liest thou and restest thyself, and God's servant lieth at thy gates?' ”
- c.            [...] ðeahðe hi heora ærende abudon, swa swa ða oþre ðe **him ær to comon**.  
 though.that they their errand announced, so as the others that him before to came  
(ÆLS Book of Kings, 256)  
 "... though they announced their errand, like the others who had come to him  
 before."

- d. [...] and hit bið swyðe derigendlic þæt hi Drihtnes þeowdom forlætan,  
 ... ; and it is very.much harmful that they Lord.GEN service neglect  
 and to woruldgewinne bugan, *þe him naht to ne gebyriað.*  
 and to worl.battle incline, that them naught to not concernes  
 (ÆLS Maccabees, 827)  
 “... ; and it will be very harmful that they leave their service of the Lord, and  
 incline to the worldly struggle, that in no way concerns them.”
- e. [...] and ealle ða untruman þe him ofi to comon wurdon gehælede, and [...]  
 and all the sick that him often to come, were healed  
 (ÆLS Apollinaris, 186)  
 “... and all the sick who oft came to him were healed, and ...”

These cases are particularly interesting since, as shown above, the intervening elements appear in this position also in other contexts. More precisely, it was mentioned various times that OE had the possibility to locate subjects in the Focus Field of CP; as regards the adverbs of (65), these may occupy a position identified by Rizzi (2001), which seems to be dedicated to adverb preposing, ModP (Modifiers Phrase), and which he hosts in the lower portion of the CP domain, above Fin, our Focus Field.<sup>34</sup> In the light of this I take the structural representation of (64b) and (65d) to be as in (66a) and (66b) respectively:

- (66) a. [RelwhP **þe** [ ... [WP **him** [FocIP **God** [FinP **to** Fin<sup>o</sup> **sende**  
 b. [RelwhP **þe** [ ... [WP **him** [ModP **naht**<sup>35</sup> [FinP **to** Fin<sup>o</sup> **ne gebyriað.**

In the light of these cases, it would be tempting to analyse also the cases in (60)-(62) as instances of the pattern *pro ... P*.

To conclude on this section, all the observations made so far on the distributional patterns of P-stranding with personal pronouns indicate quite clearly that the pronoun may appear right before its P and form a constituent with it, but it can also leave its P behind and appear in the sentence WP. As regards the position of the "stranded" P, it appears in exactly the same positions in which it would appear if it still had its pronoun, i.e., it appears in its base position at the end of the clause (in the relevant thematic projection), and the only movements it is allowed to undergo are either directly dependent on its interaction with the Topic/Focus positions of the Low Left Periphery, or the pied-piping of the remnant vP to SpecFinP in embedded clauses.

34 This may also be the position for the monosyllabic adverbs *eft* “again, back”, *git* “yet, still”, *eac* “also” etc., which give rise to V3 orders (see Rossi 2008).

35 That *naht* is to be considered an adverb and not a constituent meaning “nothing” is clear also from the translation given by Rev. Skeat.

In the next two sections I rely on these observations and address the syntactic nature of the pronoun when it appears immediately before its P, *pro-P*. For my account, I will again exploit the mechanism of *feature stripping* illustrated in 3.2.1 for relative *þe*. As was already the case with the deficient relative, I will show that the stranded P of personal pronouns is a “prepositional” adverb, a syntactic status which may be further confirmed not only by the usual case of strong *fore* in postposition, but also by the peculiar behaviour of a specific P, *between*, which displays two different forms in Ælfric according to its relative position w.r.t. its pronominal complement.

### 3.3.2 A syntactic account of pronominal objects with postpositions: a weak pronoun projection in the Left Periphery of the OE PP

That there is a strong and direct correlation between the presence or absence of P-stranding and the syntactic nature of the complement of P is a well-known fact (see Abels 2003), which was shown to hold also in OE with the relative pronouns (see 3.2.1). In this section, I will show that the same correlation is found also in the case of optional P-stranding by personal pronouns, the variations in the orders *pro-P* vs. *P-pro*, cf. (32), deriving straightforwardly from the strong vs. deficient form of the pronominal complement of P.<sup>36</sup> Syntactic evidence in support of this correlation comes from the restrictions, noticed in Wende (1915) and reported also in 2.4, namely, that the order *P-pro* is nearly the rule not only with full DPs, but also with coordinated and modified pronouns.<sup>37</sup> In other words, when the pronoun appears before its P, in both the *pro-P* and the *pro ... P* patterns, it can be neither coordinated nor modified, two syntactic restrictions which, following Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), indicate its *deficient*, more precisely, weak, nature (see also 2.3).

Once we have established that P-stranding occurs only with weak pronouns, the next question to be addressed regards the structural positions of this pronoun. The distributional patterns considered above clearly indicate that weak prepositional objects appearing in the *pro ... P* are located in the Left Periphery of the clause, more precisely, in the projection dedicated to this type of pronouns, WP. Yet, when the pronoun forms a constituent with its stranded P, i.e., when it is still part of the PP, where is it hosted inside this PP?

The recent Cartographic proposals on the internal architecture of (spatial) adpositions

<sup>36</sup> As in the case of the strong vs. deficient distinction proposed in 3.2.1 for the relative elements of OE, I will not investigate the reasons regulating the choice of one form over the other. I limit myself to noticing the existence of such a distinction in some OE pronouns, and the connection between the pronominal weak forms and the Left Periphery of both the clausal and the prepositional domain.

<sup>37</sup> Wende (1915) notices furthermore that in the poetry, the pronoun is preceded by its P, *P-pro*, when it is stressed.

have assumed and demonstrated the existence of very striking structural parallelisms between the clausal domain and the prepositional domain (1.2). Following this line of thinking, I propose that the OE cases of *pro-P* provide evidence that the fine structure of the PP contains a dedicated projection for weak pronominal complements of P. Drawing an explicit parallel with the WP of the High Left Periphery, I propose a WP in the Left Periphery of the PP, CP<sub>Place</sub>, cf. (67):

$$(67) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CP}_{\text{Place}} \dots [\text{WP weak pronouns}] \\ \text{[NP}_{\text{Place}} \textit{Ground PLACE}] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \text{PP}_{\text{dir}} \left[ \text{PP}_{\text{stat}} \textit{AT} \left[ \text{DP}_{\text{Place}} \left[ \dots \left[ \text{AxPartP} \left[ \text{KP/PP} \textit{K}^{\circ}/\textit{P}^{\circ} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

Evidence in favour of such a high positioning of the WP projection comes from the numerous cases of *him to*, *him of* and *him fram* (see above), in which the pronoun appears before the typical Ps hosted in PP<sub>dir</sub>, the highest functional head of the PP (Koopman 2000[2010], Cinque 2010a).

Turning now to the syntactic derivation of this weak pronoun, I suggest that it should proceed in exactly the same way as in the case of deficient relative *þe* considered in 3.2.1. More precisely, I take the personal pronoun to instantiate the higher functional portion, KP (Case), of a full referential DP, corresponding structurally to the strong form, cf. (68):

$$(68) \quad \left[ \text{KP} \textit{him} \left[ \text{Topic} \left[ \text{Focus} \left[ \dots \left[ \text{NP NP} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

As was already the case with relative *þe*, this DP is base generated in the Ground of the P, or better, it is the inalienable possessor of the silent PLACE head. By a process of *feature stripping* (Poletto 2006c, see above), the nominal part of this DP, NP, moves out of the DP in a projection above KP (I argued into the KP/PP of the PP). In so doing, the NP leaves behind its functional part, instantiated by the weak pronoun. At this point, this functional part cannot remain in its base position as it contains no lexical head, and must move to a derived position, a dedicated projection for weak elements, the WP in the Left Periphery. From this position, the weak pronoun is also allowed to move into the sentence structure, and appear in the clausal WP, especially under some special circumstances as in the case of “presentational contexts”. The last step in the derivation moves the NP part of the DP into the Spec of either PP<sub>dir</sub> or PP<sub>stat</sub> in order to check their strong feature (directional or stative, see 1.2.1). I schematise the derivation here proposed in (67) for a case like *him to*:

$$(69) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & \left[ \text{CP}_{\text{Place}} \left[ \text{WP} \left[ \text{PP}_{\text{dir}} \textit{to} \left[ \text{PP}_{\text{stat}} \textit{AT} \left[ \text{DP}_{\text{Place}} \left[ \text{AxPartP} \left[ \text{KP/PP} \textit{K}^{\circ}/\textit{P}^{\circ} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[ \text{NP}_{\text{Place}} \right. \\ & \left. \left[ \text{KP} \textit{him} \left[ \text{Topic} \left[ \text{Focus} \left[ \dots \left[ \text{NP NP} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[ \text{PLACE} \right] \right. \\ \text{b.} & > \text{movement of NP to KP/PP} \end{array}$$

- [<sub>CPPlace</sub> [**WP** [<sub>PPdir</sub> *to* [<sub>PPstat</sub> AT [<sub>DPPlace</sub> [<sub>AxPartP</sub> [<sub>KP/PP</sub> [<sub>Topic</sub> [<sub>Focus</sub> [**NP** NP] ]K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> ]]<sub>NPPlace</sub> [<sub>KP</sub> *him* [<sub>Topic</sub> [<sub>Focus</sub> [**NP** NP] ]]<sub>PLACE</sub> ]]
- c. > movement of the remnant functional part to WP
- [<sub>CPPlace</sub> [**WP** *him* [<sub>PPdir</sub> *to* [<sub>PPstat</sub> AT [<sub>DPPlace</sub> [<sub>AxPartP</sub> [<sub>KP/PP</sub> NP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> ]]<sub>NPPlace</sub> [<sub>KP</sub> *him* [<sub>Topic</sub> [<sub>Focus</sub> [**NP** NP] ]]<sub>PLACE</sub> ]]
- d. > movement of NP to Spec PP dir
- [<sub>CPPlace</sub> [**WP** *him* [<sub>PPdir</sub> NP *to* [<sub>PPstat</sub> AT [<sub>DPPlace</sub> [<sub>AxPartP</sub> [<sub>KP/PP</sub> NP K<sup>o</sup>/P<sup>o</sup> ]]<sub>NPPlace</sub> [<sub>KP</sub> *him* [<sub>Topic</sub> [<sub>Focus</sub> [**NP** NP] ]]<sub>PLACE</sub> ]]

Yet again, the analysis here proposed entails that the PP headed by the stranded P still maintains in its structure a nominal part of its Ground complement. Thus, the stranded Ps of bare personal pronouns have exactly the same syntactic nature of the Ps stranded by relative *þe* and by the R-elements. As anticipated in the previous sections, such an “adverbial” nature characterises not only the complex Ps (which can be used adverbially even in ModE), but also the simple Ps *to* and *fram*. This is supported by the following examples, in which the P *to* is used as an adverb, and seems to contain a lexical null elements:

- (70) a. Heo let to slege and he sloh þa **to** mid eallum mægene, ac þæt swurd  
 She let to blow.DAT and he stroke then to with all.DAT might.DAT but the sword  
 ne mihte buton þa hyde ceorfan, þeah þe he hetelice sloge.  
 Not could but the skin cut, though that he fiercely stroke  
 (ÆLS Ash Wed, 211)  
 "She bent down for the stroke, and he then struck at her with all his might, but the sword could not cut anything but the skin, though he struck fiercely."
- b. Hi eoden ardlice **to** ac heo wæs eall freten, butan þam handum anum  
 They went quickly to but she was all eaten-up, but the.DAT hands.DAT alone.DAT  
 and þam hæfde ufweardum, and þam fotwylmum, þurh fule hundas.  
 And the.DAT head.DAT up.ward.DAT, and the.DAT footsoles.DAT, through foul hounds  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 352)  
 "They went quickly but she was all devoured, save only the hands and the upper part of the head, and the soles of her feet by foul dogs."
- c. Ða ongeat se casere þæt þa Cristenan þær næron, and het ða mid graman  
 Then perceived the Emperor that the Christians there not-were and bade then with anger  
 his gegadan **to** faran, and beodon þam Cristenum þæt hi comon **him to**.  
 his companions to go, and bid the.DAT Christians.DAT that they come him to  
 (ÆLS Maurice, 40)  
 "Then perceived the Emperor that the Christians were not there, and thereupon angrily commanded his companions to go, and bid the Christians to come to him."

Furthermore, the “adverbial” nature of the stranded Ps of personal pronouns is also confirmed not only by the usual cases of stranded *fore*, cf. (60b), but also by the peculiar behaviour of the P *between*, which in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* occurs in two distinct forms,

*betwynan* and *betwux*, according to whether it follows or precedes its pronominal complement. Yet before turning to the discussion of this most interesting case (section 3.3.3), some final remarks on the PP Left Periphery and on its accessibility in OE seem in order.

The presence of a CP layer in the PP was already established in 1.2., where it was shown how Koopman (2000[2010]) assumed the presence of a CP<sub>place</sub> based upon some clear evidence coming from the various phenomena affecting the PP in Modern Dutch. Moreover, the existence of a CP layer in the PP is furthermore supported by some interesting anteposition facts in the Old Italian PPs, which show very clearly that the various prepositional elements were quite mobile in the Old Italian PP. In particular, Andreose (2007, 2010) reports both cases in which the Ground occurs before its complex P, and cases in which a constituent formed by the complex P + Ground appears before before measure phrases, cf. (71), and (72) respectively (examples from Andreose 2007):

- (71) a. Ma molte genti di religione mettono [CP<sub>place</sub> *a' buoi* [A<sub>xPartP</sub> **innanzi** t<sub>i</sub>]] il carro ...  
 But many people of religion put to.oxen before the cart  
 (1310; Zuccher Bencivenni, *Esposizione del Paternostro*)  
 "But many religious people put the horse before the cart"
- b. Ballata, i'voi che tu ritrovi Amore/e con lui vade  
 Ballad, I want that you found.back Love / and with him go  
 [CP<sub>place</sub> *a madonna* [A<sub>xPartP</sub> **davante** t<sub>i</sub> ]]  
 to milady before  
 (1295; Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, chap. 12 parr. 10)  
 "Oh ballad, I wish you to find again Love, and to go with him before my Lady"
- c. E come fue [CP<sub>place</sub> *a te* [A<sub>xPart</sub> **presso** t<sub>i</sub>]], così è a tutti coloro  
 and how was to you near, so is to every those  
 che voglion te seguitare ...  
 that want you follow ...  
 (Bono Giamboni, *Il Libro de' Vizii e delle Virtudi*, cap.60, par. 5)  
 "And as it was near to you, so it is to everyone else who want to follow you ..."
- d. ... e poscia imaginando, / [CP<sub>place</sub> *di caunoscenza e di verità* [A<sub>xPartP</sub> **fora** t<sub>i</sub>]],  
 ... and afterwards imagining, of knowledge and of truth out,  
 / visi di donne m'apparver crucciati ...  
 faces of women to-me appeared frowned  
 (1295; Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova*, chapt. 23, par. 22, ll. 39.41)  
 "... and then in my imagination, far from reason and from truth, some women's faces appeared to me, frowning ..."
- (72) a. [CP<sub>place</sub> ([A<sub>xPartP</sub> *Dipo'* [NP<sub>place</sub> *la distruzione di Troia* ])]<sub>i</sub> [DegP **ANNI CCCCXIV** t<sub>i</sub>],  
 after the distuction of 'Troy years 414  
 la cittade di Roma in Italia da Romolo e Remo, fratelli, fatta fue.  
 the city of Rome in Italyby Romolus and Remus, brothers, made was  
 (Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, L. 2, cap. 4, p. 72, rr. 13-15)  
 "The city of Rome in Italy was built 414 years after the distruption of 'Troy by

the brother Romolus and Remus ...”

- b. [CP<sub>place</sub> ([AxPartP *Appresso* [NP<sub>place</sub> *la morte di questa donna*]])<sub>i</sub> [DegP *ALQUANTI DIE* *t<sub>i</sub>*]  
 After the death of this woman some days  
*avvenne cosa per la quale me convenne partire de la sopradetta cittade...*  
 happened thing for which me was-better leave from the abovementioned city  
 (Dante, *Vita nuova*, cap. 9, par. 1)  
 “After the death of this woman, something happened for which I had better  
 leave the abovementioned city ...”
- c. ...e in quello di medesimo,  
 .... and in that of same  
 [CP<sub>place</sub> ([AxPartP *apresso* [KP/PP *a* [NP<sub>place</sub> *nNapoli*]]<sub>i</sub> [PP<sub>stat</sub> **A** [DegP **VJ MILGLA** *t<sub>i</sub>*],  
 close *a* Naples at 6 miles  
*intopparsi coll’armata del re Giacomo...*  
 clash with the army of king G.  
 (Cronica fiorentina, p. 131, rr. 28-30)  
 “... and in the same,

These examples show that Old Italian had the possibility to front part of the lower portion of the PP into a projection of the CP<sub>place</sub>. In this respect, (72c) represents a very telling example as it shows two occurrences of the P *a* “to, at”, the higher one lexicalising the KP/PP head between the AxPartP and the Ground, and the lower one lexicalising the head of PP<sub>stat</sub>.<sup>38</sup>

As regards the availability of such a fronting rule in the Old Italian PP, Andreose (2007: 62ff.) explicitly relates this syntactic possibility to the general possibility for this language to front some constituents at the beginning of the major syntactic domains, i.e., at the beginning of the sentence (CP) and at the beginning of the noun and adjective phrase. To capture this observative generalisation in formal terms, Poletto (2006a,b, 2011a) has proposed that these syntactic possibilities of Old Italian derive from one and the same feature, which is strong and active in the CP layer of all the major syntactic structures, or *phases* (“parallel phases” hypothesis), and attracts various material in its Spec. Basing upon this idea, Poletto (2006a,b, 2011a) insightfully proposes to view V2, the OV orders and the various antepositions within the DP and the PP attested in Old Italian as the superficial realisations of the effects of the strong feature of Focus (Benincà 2006; see Poletto 2006a,b for the idea that OV may characterised as a V2 in the Lower Periphery, and Poletto 2011a for the idea that antepositions in the nominal domain may be a sort of V2 in the DP). The anteposition facts discussed in Andreose (2007, 2010) can be viewed as a sort of V2 property operating in the PP, fronting the lower portions (the Ground and AxPartP) to the Left Periphery.

Drawing an explicit parallel with Old Italian, I propose that the presence of the WP

<sup>38</sup> Notice that the possibility of lexicalising the PP<sub>stat</sub> head with measure phrases is still a possibility of Modern Italian, see 1.2.1 and Cinque (2010a).

projection for weak pronouns in the PP of OE may be connected to such a strong feature. More precisely, the strong feature connecting the Left Periphery of the PP and the Left Periphery of the clause in OE is structurally represented in  $W^{\circ}$ , which attracts to its Spec the weak pronominal elements resulting from *feature stripping* (and may indeed trigger it). Under such a perspective, the alternation in the *pro-P* vs. *P-pro* orders may be due to an incipient weakening<sup>39</sup> of this feature in interaction with some other principle (possibly dependent on information structure), prohibiting *feature stripping* and mandating the appearance of strong forms.

Finally, the idea that WP contains the strong feature causing the structural and the syntactic parallels in pronoun placing in the Left Peripheries of CP and PP may shed some light on the reasons why the *pro-P* orders were ultimately lost: in the passage from Old to Modern English, the language still retained a distinction between strong and weak pronouns, yet it lost the possibility to host such pronouns in the High Left Periphery (probably as a consequence of the loss of V2).<sup>40</sup> Consequently, the strong feature associated with the WP of the PP Left Periphery was lost, and the *pro-P* orders together with it.

### 3.3.3 Evidence for the syntactic nature of the stranded P: the case *betwýnan/betwux*

As was already the case with P-stranding by the relative *þe*, the analysis of pronominal complements of stranded P in terms of *feature stripping* entails that the nominal portion of the DP Ground—from which the weak pronoun is stripped—remains inside the PP, thus marking

39 There is at least another two marginal cases in which the  $CP_{place}$  is exploited in OE, with Particles + PPs, see 3.4 and in the following cases, with a special use of *to*:

- (i) a. [...] þæt hi his hæse gefyldon, and mid him geoffrodon ealle  
 ... that they his hest fulfilled, and with his offered all  
 heora lac þam deoflicum godum, **Gode ælmihtigan to teonan.**  
 their sacrifice the.DAT devilish.DAT gods.DAT, God.DAT almighty.DAT to dishonour  
 (ELS Maurice, 23)  
 “... that they might fulfil his hest, and with him might all offer their sacrifices to the  
 devilish gods, to the dishonour of God Almighty.”
- b. [...] and þu lutodest oð þis on þam laðum Cristendome,  
 ... and you lurked til this in the hateful Christianity,  
 þam godum to teonan and me to unþearfe.  
 the.DAT gods.DAT to dishonour and me to disadvantage  
 (ELS Sebastian, 410)  
 “..., and thou hast lurked until now in that hateful Christianity, to the dishonour of the  
 gods, and to my disadvantage.”

Moreover, the few cases of postpositions with full DPs reported in Wende (1915) and Mitchell (1978) may represent residual cases of the possibility to move a DP to one of the projections of  $CP_{place}$ , thus signalling the weakening of the features of these projections.

40 ModE now exploits the vP-oriented slot for weak elements (see Benincà and Tortora 2010 and references for the three slots of clitics in the sentence structure, CP-, IP- and vP-oriented, and for the possibility that different languages may use only one of the three, or that a single language may use each in different contexts).

it as “adverbial”. This prediction is confirmed by the cases of stressed *fore* stranded by personal pronouns, cf. (60b). But not only. Some clues that this analysis is on the right track come also from a special case, the P *between*, which appears to have two distinct forms in Ælfric, namely *betwynan* (and variants) vs and *betwux* (and variants), according to whether it precedes or follows its pronominal complement.

From an etymological point of view, these two forms derive from the same element made up by a form of the preposition *by* and a form of *two*, to which however two different endings are attached. More precisely, *betwux* (*betweox/betwux/betwuh etc...*) derives from *be-* “by” + *tweo* “two” + *isc* “ish”, a suffix forming adjectives (>ModE. *betwixt*, with pleonastic *-t*, arch., poet. and dial. OED s. v. *betwixt*, prep. and adv.), while *betweonan/betwynan* derives from *be* + *tweone* + *an*, a reduced form (?)<sup>41</sup> of *betweonum* (< *be* “by” + *tweon* “two” + *um*, the dative ending in nominal and strong adjectival declensions; > ModE. *between*). Mitchell (1985:§1178, 497) lists both forms under the same headings and notes, quoting Bately (1970), that two Alfredian texts like the *Orosius* and *Boethius* prefer either of the two, *Orosius* preferring *betweonum* while *Boethius* *betweob* (and variants).

However, from my analysis of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (and from a quick search into the *Catholic Homilies I and II*), it emerges that, despite a couple of apparent exceptions, the two forms are not interchangeable and are in fact selected according to the position they assume w.r.t. their pronominal complement. More specifically, the form *betwux* is used with full DP complements (73), and when it forms a subordinating conjunction together with the demonstrative *þam* + *þe*, cf. *mid þam þe* “lit. with this that = while”, cf. (74):

- (73) a. **Betwux þysum tihtingum** tengdon þa hæþenan mid andþrecum wæpnum  
 between these exhortations hastened the heathens with dreadful weapons  
 to þam æwfaestum heape, and slogon þa Cristenan, [...]  
 to the glorious group, and killed the Christians, ...  
 (ÆLS Maurice, 66)  
 “In the midst of these exhortations, the heathen hastened with formidable  
 weapons to the pious company, and slew the Christians, ...”
- b. [...] þa wearð Lucia on slæpe, and geseah Agathen **betwux engla werodum**, [...]  
 ..., then became L. on sleep and saw Agatha.ACC between angels.GEN hosts, ...

41 The ending *-an* could result from the levelling of the inflectional system in the nominal domain which was already visible in the late WS period (on an analogy with the weak declension *-an*, which substitutes the strong *-um*). But it could also be the nominal and adjectival weak ending for the dative and the instrumental, which is found on other P material to form adverbs, like *norþan* “from the north”, or *abutan*, “on+be+ut+an” lit. “on the outside of”, cf. also *(b)utan/(b)innan* “outside, except, but/(on the) inside”).

I take the *-an* ending on *betwynan* to be the same ending which forms the prepositional adverbs just mentioned, as Ælfric still retains the distinction *-an/-um* in the nominal domain. Moreover, it seems rather improbable that the morphological levelling should have taken place only in this P, as Ps deriving from an inflected nominal element tend to maintain a crystallised case form, cf. the Italian *sopra* < Latin *supra*, abl. fem. of the adjective *superus* “located above”.

(ÆLS Lucy, 22)

“... , Lucy fell asleep and saw Agatha amongst hosts of angels, ...”

- c. [...] and Martinus wæs gewenod to wæpnum fram cildhade,  
... and M was accustomed to weapons.DAT from childhood.DAT,  
and campdome fyligde **betwux larlicum gefylcum**; [...]  
and championdoom followed between soldiers in training

(ÆLS Martin, 15)

“... , and Martin was accustomed to weapons from childhood, and followed war amongst the soldiers in training; ...”

- (74) a. **Betwux þam þe** se biseop on þære byrig wunode, þa cydde man [...]  
Between this that the bishop in the.DAT city.DAT lived, then made.known *man*

(ÆLS Martin, 548)

“During the time the bishop lived in the city, it was reported ...”

- b. Pa began se preost swa swa he God lufode his gebedu singan  
Then began the priest so as he God loved his offices to.sing  
and swyðe fæstan, and dæges and nihtes his Drihten herian, and **betwux ðam**  
and very.much to.fast and days and nights his Lord to.praise, and between this  
secgan ðone soðan geleafan þam arwurpan Albane, [...]  
say the.ACC true.ACC faith.ACC the.DAT honourable.DAT Alban.DAT, ...

(ÆLS Alban, 23)

“Then began the priest, forasmuch as he loved God, to sing his offices, and fast strictly, and day and night to praise his Lord, and meanwhile to teach the true faith to the honourable Alban, ...”

However, when *between* takes a pronominal object, the form *betwynan* is used in the *Lives of Saints* almost exceptionlessly (see below) when the pronoun *precedes* it, while we find *betwux* when the pronoun *follows* the P. The following pairs illustrate the distribution for all pronouns, cf. (75)-(76) for 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural forms, (77).(78) for 1<sup>st</sup> plural and (79) for 2<sup>nd</sup> plural (some examples are from *Catholic Homilies I*, and *II*, which exhibit the same pattern):

- (75) a. Nu gewearð us þæt we þas boc be þæra halgena ðrowungum and life,  
Now becomes us that we this book by the.GEN holymen.GEN behaviours,DAT and life.DAT  
gedihton þe mynstermenn mid heora þenungum **betwux him** wurðiað.  
write that monastery men with theri offices between themselves honour

(ÆLS Pref, 9)

“Now it has seemed good to us that we should write this book concerning the sufferings and lives of the Saints whom monks in their offices honour amongst themselves. “

- b. [...] and he mid þam gescryd **betwux him** wunigende Godes mihte æteowde.  
... and he with that clothed between then living God.GEN might manifested.

(ÆLS Martin, 803)

“... ; and he, dwelling amongst them, clothed therewith, would manifest God's might.”

- (76) a. And Gode is swyðe lað on geleaffullum folce, þæt hi beon ungedwære

And God.DAT is very.much hateful on faithful.DAT folk.DAT that they be disagreeing  
and þwyre **him betwynan**;  
and perverse them between

(ÆLS Pr Moses, 235)

“And it is very hateful to God in the faithful people, that they shall be disagreeing, and perverse among themselves”

- b. Hi sungon þa sona þisne sealm **him betwynan**, [...]  
They sang then soon this psalm them between,

(ÆLS Sebastian, 391)

“They sung then immediately this psalm between them, ...”

- c. Me is eac gesæd þæt ða iudeiscan syrwiað, and runiað **him betwynan**  
Me is also said that the Jews lay snares and conspire them between  
hu hi þe berædan magon,  
how they you dispossess can

(ÆLS Abdon and Sennes, 98)

“It is also told me that the Jewish people lay snares, and conspire among themselves how they may dispossess Thee”

- (77) a. And **betwux us** is micel þrosm gefæstnod. þæt ure nan ne mæg to eow; ne ge  
to us.

And between us is great vapour fastened, that of.us none not can to you, nor you to us

(ÆCHom I, 23, 365.18)

“And between us is fixed a great vapour that none of us can get to you nor you to us.”

- b. Eala mære witega aras **betwux us**. & god geneosode his folc.  
Alas great prophet arose between us and God visited his people

(ÆCHom I, 33, 459.14)

“Alas, a great prophet has risen among us, and God has visited his folk”

- (78) a. [...] Þæt is þæt we beon mildheorte **us betwynan**. & [...]  
That is that we be merciful us between and

(ÆCHom I, 19, 329.130)

“... that is, we should be merciful to each other and ...”

- b. [...], nu we swa recelease syndon, and swa reþe **us betwynan**.  
... , now we so reckless are, and so cruel us between

(ÆLS Maurice, 132)

“..., now that we are so reckless and so fierce amongst ourselves”

- c. Micele selre us wære þæt we unswicole wæron and wordfæste **us betwynan**.  
Much better us were that we trustworthy were and true us between

(ÆCHom I, 17 (App), 540.171)

“It were much better for us if we were true and trustworthy among us, ...”

- (79) Wunige **betwux eow** lufu soðre broðer rædene. and ne forgymeleasige ge  
Live between you love true brother rule and not neglect you  
cumliðnyse; Sume gecwemdon englum on heora gesthusum underfangenum.  
hospitality. Some gave.pleasure angels.DAT in their guesthouses.DAT received,DAT  
þurh cumliðnyse; Be ðisum eac cwæð se apostol petrus; Beoð cumliðe

through hospitality. about this also said the Apostle P.  
**eow betwynan.** buton ceorungum;  
 Be hospitable you between, without murmuring

(ÆCHom II, 16, 163.76-80)

“ 'Let the love of true brotherhood dwell among you, and neglect not hospitality."  
 Some through hospitality have given pleasure to angels, whom they received into their  
 guest-houses. Of this also the apostle Peter said, 'Be hospitable among yourselves,  
 without murmuring.”

These examples seem to indicate that the alternation *betwynan/betwux* is syntactically determined in Ælfric, that is, the form *betwynan* is used with weak pronouns, while the form *betwux* is used with strong pronouns and full DPs. This intuition is further confirmed by the cases in which we find *betwux* when the pronouns are coordinated with other pronouns or with other DPs, cf. (80) and (81):

- (80) a. Eft þa on fyrste þa he furðor dwelode, he sæde þæt he dæghwamlice  
 Even then in space when he further erred he said that he daily  
**betwux Drihtne and him** ferdon heofonlice englas, [...]   
 between Lord and himself went heavenly angels  
 (ÆLS Martin, 799)  
 “Then after a space, when he further erred, he said that heavenly angels went  
 daily between the Lord and himself; ...”
- b. [...], and eahta bisceopas wæron **betwux him and sancte Aðelwolde.**  
 God.GEN servant, and eighty bishops were between him and saint Æ.  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 14)  
 “... ; (there were eight bishops between him and St. Æthelwold.)”
- c. [...] and he wæs ægðer ge ælic ge godspelic, swa swa gemæru  
 and he was both ge lawish ge godspelly, so as landmark  
**betwux moysen and us,** swa anræde Godes man, þæt [...]   
 between M and us, so constant God.GEN man that  
 (ÆLS Memory of Saints, 98)  
 “... , and he belonged both to the Law and to the Gospel, like a landmark  
 between Moses and us, so constant a man of God, that ...”
- (81) a. Ic eom ælmihtig drihten: gang beforan me: & beo fulfremed. & ic sette  
 I am almighty lord, go before me and be perfect and I set  
 min wed **betwux me & þe.** & [...]   
 my covenant between me and you and  
 (ÆCHom I, 6, 224.14)  
 “I am the Lord Almighty; walk before me and be perfect. And I will set my  
 covenant betwixt me and thee and ...”
- b. Ðis is min wed þæt ge healdan sceolon **betwux me & eow:** þæt ælc hysecild  
 This is my covenant that you hold should between me and you; that every male.child  
 on eowerum cynrene beo ymbsniden þæt tacen sy **betwux me & eow.**  
 in your.DAT family.DAT be circumcised the sing is between me and you  
 (ÆCHom I, 6, 224.20)

“This is my covenant which ye shall hold between me and you; that every male child in your tribe shall circumcised; be that a sign betwixt me and you”

- c. Se heahfæder cwæð to þam welegan. **betwux us & eow** is gefæstnod micel  
 The highfather said to the.DAT wealthy.DAT between us and you is fixed great  
 þrosm. þeah hwa wille fram us to eow. he ne mæg: ne eac fram eow to us.  
 vapour though who wants from us to you he not can; nor also from you to us.  
 (ÆCHom I, 23, 368.84)  
 The patriarch said to the wealthy man “between us and you is fixed a great  
 vapour; though any-one will pass from us to you he cannot; nor also from you  
 to us”

Though *betwynan* and *betwux* are by no means derived one from the other, as their etymologies show, it is nonetheless interesting that Ælfric presents the variant with the inflectional nominal ending *-an* when it is preceded by a weak pronoun. This fact may offer some support in favour of the *feature stripping* derivation of weak pronouns proposed above. In particular, the nominal ending *-an* can, I believe, be taken as a form of “agreement” of the AxPart *between* with the nominal portion of DP remaining within the PP, which is triggered when the nominal part of the Ground moves across AxPart in its way into Spec PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> to check their features.<sup>42</sup> By contrast, in the case of *betwux* + DP/strong pronouns, *betwux* does not show any inflection with the Ground because there is no *feature stripping* involved, as there is no nominal portion leaving the Ground DP and moving into PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub>.<sup>43</sup>

Although the *betwynan/betwux* alternation is quite strong in Ælfric, there are nonetheless a couple of exceptions, which however can be made sense of. The first exceptional cases are represented by the few instances of *betweonan* before a full DP complement. The only two cases I found are from the *Catholic Homilies* and are reported below, cf. (82):

- (82) a. *Seraphim* sind gecwedene byrnende oððe onælende: [...] for þan ðe  
 S. are said burning or inflaming ... because that

42 A very cursory look at the *Orosius* showed that in this text both forms are used, but while *betweonum* is used with pronouns in both post- and pre-position, *betwux* and variants are never used in postposition. The same holds in *Boethius*, which presents only *betwux* (and variants), but crucially we always get the order *betwux pro*, and never *pro betwux*.

43 Other OE complex Ps with *-an* ending are indeed found with complement DPs as well (like *onuppan*, or *oninnan/binnan* + DP). This may be explained as follows: most (even if not all) of these Ps present another simple P like *on* or *be*. Consider that *betweonum* could be used as a circumposition, with the form *be DP.dat tveonum*, cf. Bosworth-Toller s. v. *tweóne*, I., *be werum tveonum* “among men”). So, there might have been a stage in which these Ps were not AxParts but adjectives (like *ut* and *in*) in the Ground of DP<sub>place</sub>, which got inflected as normal adjectives. Their use as AxParts (and the incipient use of *betweonan* before DPs) arises from a subsequent grammaticalisation of these forms, along the lines of the Italian AxParts *sopra* or *prima* which developed from two Lat. adjectives *susperus* and *primus*, and maintain a fossilised form of ablative feminine (? from LAT *supera* PARTE.abl; ablative which was the case for stative location, at least with the word for *home* and with place names, and more in general for adverbiality, see *participio assoluto* or the idiomatic *strictu sensu*).

nane oþre englas ne sind **betweonan him & þam ælmihtigan gode.**

no other angels not are between them and the.DAT almighty.DAT god.DAT

(ÆCHom I, 24, 374.97)

“Seraphim are interpreted burning or inflaming; ...; for there are no other angels between them and the Almighty God”

b. Lucas se godspellere awrat on oðre stowe. þæt ða Iudei læddon crist

L the evangelist wrote in another place, that the J. led Christ

æt sumum sæle to anum clife. and woldon hine niðer ascufan. ac he eode

at one occasion to some.DAT cliff.DAT and wanted him down push, but he went

**betweonan heora handum** aweg. swa þæt heora nan nyste hwær he becom;

between their hands.DAT away, so that of.them non not knew where he went

(ÆCHom II, 13, 134.231)

“Luke the Evangelist wrote in another place, that the Jews at one time led Christ to a cliff, and would shove him down; but he went away from between their hands, so that no-one knew what became of him”

I take these two cases to be the first instances of the incipient use of *betweonan* as an AxPart P in its own right (cf. the other complex Ps of OE exhibiting an *-an* ending like *binnan*, *atforan* etc).

The next potential exceptions I found come from the *Lives of Saints* and regard two cases of *betwux* stranded by the R-element *ðær*, cf. (83):

(83) a. Hi sceolon swaðeah ealle on ende gelyfan, ac **ðær** losiað to fela on þam fyrste

they shall however in end believe, but there lose too many in the time ,

**betwux**, for heora heardheortnyse wið þone heofonlican Hælend.

between for their hardheartedness against the.ACC heavenly.ACC Saviour.ACC

(ÆLS Maccabees, 527)

“They shall, however, all finally believe, but there shall perish too many, in the period between, for their hardheartedness against the heavenly Saviour.”

b. Ic bidde nu on godes naman gif hwa þas boc awritan wille, þæt he hi wel

I pray now in God.GEN name.DAT if someone this book write will, that he it well

gerihte be þære bysne, and **þær** namare **betwux** ne sette þonne we awendon.

correct be the.DAT example.DAT and there nomore between not set, that we translated

(ÆLS Pref, 40)

“I pray now in God's name, if any man desire to transcribe this book, that he correct it well according to the copy; and set down therein no more than we have translated.”

These cases may seem to constitute a counterexample to the idea here proposed for the distinction *betwynan*/*betwux* in Ælfric: if *betwynan* is the usual form in postposition, how come we find *betwux* in P-stranding by R-elements? This apparent exception can be given a straightforward explanation by considering the derivation of P-stranding by R-elements as proposed in 3.2.2. As argued in that section, R-elements are base generated in DeicticP as the modifier of a silent Ground, which I took to be syntactically represented by the *pro* possessor



ða wæs eac swylce se scucca **him betwux**, [...]

then was also as if the devil them between

(ÆCHom II, 35, 260.17-19)

“Thus did Job all days for his sons, and thus hallowed them; *una translation dicit filii dei, et altera dicit angeli dei*. It happened one day, when God's angel came, and stood in his sight, that there was also Satan among them, ...”

The only other attested case of *him betwux* seems to be the one in the Benedictine Rule (see Visser 1963; §483, 441), but there is no other instance of this order even in *Boethius*, which does not present *betweonan* but always *betwux* and always in preposition. I conclude that these two cases are spurious, and do not represent a real counterexample to the syntactically determined alternation *betwux*/*betwux* proposed here for Ælfric.

In conclusion, the case of the P *between* in Ælfric, which seems to be unparalleled in any other major writer of OE or even in any other OE text, shows in a very clear way that at least one complex P exhibits different forms according to whether it is used in preposition or postposition. Interestingly, when used in postposition with weak pronouns, we always found the adverbial form (the inflected one, so to speak). This is also partly confirmed by Visser (1963§483, 441), who reports together with *him betweonan*, also a form *him betwuxan*.<sup>45</sup>

### 3.4 Particles (and Preverbs)

In the previous sections I dealt with cases of P-stranding, both optional and obligatory, showing how the phenomenon is fundamentally dependent on the syntactic status of the prepositional complements, and on their consequent syntactic mobility within the PP structure (and within the sentence structure when specific features are involved, cf. relative, and “presentational contexts”). In particular, I proposed that both the relative *þe* and the weak personal pronouns appearing before their governing Ps are to be analysed as deriving by a process of *feature stripping* (Poletto 2006c), which “strips” away the functional part/heads (lexicalised by the relative and by the weak pronoun) from a fully-fledged DP (corresponding to their strong counterparts), which is hosted in the Ground of the PP. In more formal terms, this process obtains by moving the lower lexical portion of this DP (NP) outside the DP itself, in order to check the strong features associated with the heads of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub>, hence stranding the higher portion of the DP Ground with the functional heads carrying the relevant

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45 For the sake of completeness, Visser reports also case of *betweonan him* and *betwuxan him*, which are however far less common. These cases do not constitute counterexamples since the inflected form *betweonum* is found with pronouns, in both preposition and postposition.

features (like relative, case etc...). The resulting element, the relative *þe* and the weak form of the pronoun have no lexical head, i.e., are *structurally deficient*, and must leave their merge positions and move into dedicated projections: the relative *þe* carrying the relative (criterial) feature moves into Spec Rel $\bar{w}$ P in the Left Periphery, while the weak pronoun is attracted by the WP in the PP (which as argued has a strong feature), and may move higher up into the sentence WP, especially when featuring in “presentational constructions”.<sup>46</sup> In the case of P-stranding by R-elements, this derives from the fact that R-elements are base-generated in dedicated projections of the PP (DeicticP), as they are modifiers of a silent Ground, here syntactically represented as a *pro* possessor of the PLACE head. The checking of the strong features of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> trigger the PP-internal scrambling of the R-element (being the nearest *goal*). Under specific circumstance, the R-elements are also allowed to move into the Left Periphery of the clause, in particular to Rel $\bar{w}$ P if they carry a relative feature, or into SpecFocIP when they act as the locative subjects in “presentational” constructions.

In each of the derivations proposed for P-stranding, a part of the Ground, either the *pro* or the NP, remains within the PP, thus marking the stranded P as a “prepositional” adverb. In some cases, this “marking” is overt, as some Ps present different forms when they appear in postposition. Crucially, these forms present an inflectional ending deriving from the nominal domain: either *-e* (cf. *fore*), which is the strong adjectival ending for dative/instrumental (forming also adverbs), or *-an* (cf. *betmynan*), which is the weak adjectival ending for dative/instrumental. As regards the syntactic mobility of these stranded Ps, they usually remains in their merge position in the functional thematic field of the clause (Schweikert 2005b), the syntactic movements allowed being related to either Focus/Topic movements in the Low Left Periphery, or to the pied-piping of a remnant vP into SpecFinP:

In the present section I address the other great phenomenon closely related to the OE PP, i.e., Prts. As is customary from the above sections, I first present the distribution of these Prts as found in the *Lives of Saints*, 3.4.1, and subsequently, I address their syntactic status, 3.4.2. In my analysis of OE Prts, I will again adopt the Split-PP hypothesis presented in 1.2, but I will also combine it with Damonte & Padovan's (2010) derivation of separable prefixes in German, i.e., I will consider Prts as the instantiations of specific projections in a fine-grained PP which is hosted in a precise structural position within the sentence structure. Starting from this analysis, I argue that the high degree of variation attested in the orders of these Prts w.r.t the verb and to the other sentence constituents derives straightforwardly from their being either *strong* or *weak* elements, the latter deriving by movement of the lower PP

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<sup>46</sup> In this contexts, the weak pronoun may be carrying a special locative or EPP feature which must be satisfied in SpecFin, thus giving rise to its interpretation as a sort of locative subject (probably linked to a null Topic?)



"But their comrades at home fought unwarily against the heathen people, transgressing Judas' leave, the while that he was away, ..."

- e. .; ac het se arleasa hine **utan** belucan, [...]  
but commanded the cruel-one him outside lock  
(ÆLS Martin, 650)

"... but the impious man bade men lock him out, ..."

- f. .; beo þonne se soð god þe asent þæt fyr **ufan**.  
be then the true God that sent that fyre from.above  
(ÆLS Book of Kings, 107)

"... let Him be the true God that sendeth fire from above."

- (87) Warniað eow georne wið lease witegan, þa ðe cumað to eow on sceape  
Be.warned yourselfs much against false prophets, those that come to you in sheep  
gelicnysse, and hi synd **wipinnan** reafigende wulfas.  
resemblance and they are within ravening wolvs.  
(ÆLS Mark, 119)  
"Carefully be ye ware of false prophets, who came to you in sheeps' semblance, and within they are ravening wolves"

Turning now to the distributional properties of OE Prts<sup>49</sup>, there are many instances in which the OE Prts behave like the Modern German and the Modern Dutch separable prefixes, i.e, they occur in sentence-final position when stranded by V2, cf. (88a), and incorporate with non-finite verbs (88b) or in subordinate clauses, (88c,d):

- (88) a. Hi eodon þa ealle **ut**, [...]  
They went then all out  
(ÆLS Agnes, 199)  
"Then they went all out ..."
- b. Ða het se hæþena cynincg his heafod **of**slean and his swiðran earm, [...] <sup>50</sup>  
Then commanded the heathens.GEN king his head off-slay and his right arm  
(ÆLS Oswald, 162)  
"Then the heathen king commanded to strike off his head and his right arm, ..."
- c. Ða comon on sumne sæl ungesælige þeofas, [...], woldon stelan þa maðmas  
Then came in some time unblest thieves, ... wanted steal the treasures  
þe men þyder brohton, and cunnodon mid cræfte hu hi **in** cumon mihton.  
that men thither brought, and tried with craft how they in came could.  
(ÆLS Edmund, 198)  
"Then once upon a time came some unblest thieves , ... , desiring to steal the treasures which people had brought thither, and tried how they might get in by craft."

49 I did not consider cases of the Prt *forð* "forth" as this prepositional element is used not only as a proper directional element but also as an aspectual adverb like the German *weiter* "forth". I decided to leave out this Prt as it deserves a much more in-depth consideration.

50 Notice the co-occurrence of the prefix *a-* and of the Prt *of*, a first indication that these "incorporations" are not real incorporations. On the restriction on double prefixes in Modern Dutch, cf. den Dikken (2003).

- d. *Pa ceman þa cyddon þæt Claudio heora ealdre, and he sylf com þærto,*  
 The champions then made.known that C.DAT their officer.DAT and he self come thereto  
 and geseah þæt leoht, and het hine **ut**gan, and [...]  
 and saw the light, and ordered him outgo and  
 (ÆLS Chrysanthus, 170)  
 “Then the soldiers made that known to Claudius their officer, and he himself  
 came thereto, and saw the light, and bade him come out, and ...”

Another typical characteristic that OE Prts share with the Germanic transparent Prts is the possibility to occur with modals with no verb of motion, cf. (89):

- (89) a. [...] þæt se casere het ahebban ænne wāh to þæs scræfes ingange,  
 ... that the emperor commanded raise a wall to the.GEN cave.GEN entrance.DAT  
 þæt hi **ut** *ne mibton*, and [...]  
 toso-that they out nou could and  
 (ÆLS Chrysanthus, 333)  
 "... , that the emperor commanded men to build a wall at the cave's entrance,  
 that they might not come out, ..."
- b. *Gif seo hringe nele up* þurh his anes tige [...]  
 If the ring not-will up through this tug  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 47)  
 "If the ring will not come up at his unaided tug, ..."
- c. [...] ac þa þa he **inn** *wolde*, þa wearþ þæt geat belocen, [...]  
 but when then he in wnted, then beccame the gate locked ...  
 (ÆLS Exalt of Cross, 84)  
 “... Bbt when he would enter (the city), then was the gate closed, ...”

Furthermore, OE transparent Prts can also appear before a PP, thus giving rise to complex Ps, (90), among which also the OE predecessors of the ModE *into* and *upon*, cf. (91):

- (90) a. He eode æfter mæssan **ut** *of þam temple*, and [...]  
 He went after mass out from the.DAT temple.DAT and  
 (ÆLS Basil, 169)  
 "He went after mass out of the temple and ..."
- b. *Pa wearð Dioclitianus deoflice gram* and het hine lædan on heardum bendum  
 Then became D. devilishly angry and ordered him lead in hard.DAT bonds.DAT  
**ut to anum felda** and [...]  
 out to one.DAT field.DAT and  
 (ÆLS Sebastian, 421)  
 “Then became Diocletian fiendishly angry, and commanded him to be led out,  
 in hard bonds, into a field, and ...”
- d. *Pa bead he þam folce þreora daga fæsten,*  
 Then bade he the.DAT people.DAT three.GEN days.GEN fast,  
 and het hi astigan **up** *to anre sticolre dune*, [...]

and commanded them climb up to one.DAT steep.DAT hill.DAT

(ÆLS Basil, 234)

"Then he enjoined for the people a three-days' fast, and bade them mount up a steep hill, ..."

e. Ða cwæð se bisceop eft, Gange him to minre byrgene,

Then the bishop again, go him to my.DAT tomb.DAT

and ateo ane hringan **up** of ðære þryh, and [...]

and draw a.ACC ring.ACC up from the.DAT coffin.DAT and

(ÆLS Swithun, 43)

"Then said the bishop again; 'Let him go to my grave, and draw up out of the coffin a ring and ...'"

f. Ða sende se casere sona him þis gewrit, Gif ænig man gremige ure godas

Then sent the emperor soon them this message, If any man blaspheme our gods

dyrstiglice, gebete he wið hi oððe he beo adræfed **awæg** of ðære byrig, [...]

presumptuously, atone he with them or he be driven away from the city, ...

(ÆLS Apollinaris, 197)

"And forthwith the Emperor sent them this writing: 'If any man presumptuously blaspheme our gods, let him make atonement to them, or let him be driven away from the city ...'"

(91) a. Hwæt þa se læce þe ðær gelyfed wæs, feoll **uppon** his breost mid flowendum tearum [...]

What then the doctor that there believed was, fell upon his breast with flowing.DAT tears.DAT

(ÆLS Basil, 625)

"Lo ! then the leech who had there become a believer, fell upon his breast with flowing tears, ..."

b. Eac se stan tobærst and heo sæt **up on** þam watere, þæt [...] seðe hwilon ær

Also the stone burst and she sat up on the.DAT water.DAT that... who at.times before

þone halgan Petrum be ðære handa gelædde **up on** þam heagan brymme, [...]

the.ACC saint.ACC P.ACC by the.DAT hand.DAT lead up in the.DAT high.DAT surge.DAT

(ÆLS Eugenia, 391)

"Even the stone brake in twain, and she sat upon the water, ..., He who whilom led the holy Peter by the hand along, over the lofty surge,

c. On ðæs caseres dagum ðe Claudius wæs gehaten, com se eadiga Petrus

In the.GEN emperor.GEN days.DAT that C. was called came the blessed P.

fram Antiochian byrig, **in to** Rome byrig mid manegum gebroðrum, and [...]

from A. city in to Rome city with many.DAT brethren.DAT and

(ÆLS Apollinaris, 1)

"In the Caesar's days who was hight Claudius, came the blessed Peter, from the city of Antioch into the city of Rome, with many brethren, and ..."

d. Daria him andwyrde, ne dyde ic for galnysse,

D. him answered, not did I for wantonness

þæt ic þus gefretewod ferde **in to** þe, ac [...]

that I, thus adorned, went in to thee, but ...

(ÆLS Chrysanthus, 99)

"Daria answered him 'I did it not for wantonness, that I, thus adorned, came

in unto thee but...”

Closely related to these complex Ps are cases like the following, (92), in which the Prt appears following the PP it modifies, thus giving rise to an order which looks suspiciously like the Modern German orders:

- (92) a. *Æfter þissere rædinge and oðrum tihtingum gewendon þa halgan*  
After this.DAT readings.DAT and other.DAT persuasions.DAT went the saints  
*to þam Hælende upp.*  
to the.DAT Saviour.DAT up.  
(ÆLS Julian and Basilissa, 73)  
“After this reading and other persuasions the Saints returned back to the Saviour”
- b. *We synd gesette on sælicum grunde, and ure blod fleoð*  
We are set on wet.DAT ground.DAT and our blood flows  
*to urum fotum adune, [...]*  
to our feet down,  
(ÆLS Forty Soldiers, 190)  
“We are set in the watery depths and our blood fleeth adown to our feet ...”

However, as is well known, OE Prts have many distributional patterns which are not found with the Modern German or the Modern Dutch separable prefixes. The first peculiarity regards the positioning of the Prt w.r.t. the direct object in a transitive VPC: OE presents the expected order DO-Prt, cf. (92), but also the ModE order, Prt-DO, cf. (93). In the latter case, the Prt appears in sentence-medial position, something which seems rather unexpected if Prts are truly to signal the base-position of the lexical verb.

- (92) a. *And heo þæt reðe attor eall ut aspaw, þe hyre dærede, and [...]*  
And she the evil poison all out spit, that her harmed and  
(ÆLS Eugenia, 138)  
"And she vomited out all the evil venom that was harming her, and ..."
- b. *Adræfde þa Gallicanum þone godes man aweg.*  
Drove then G.ACC theACC God.GEN man.ACC away  
(ÆLS Agnes, 398)  
“Then he banished Gallicanus the man of God”
- c. *Hwæt ða Godes miht mycclum wearð geswutelod, swa þæt þæs mædenes fex*  
What then God.GEN might greatly was manifested, so that the.GEN maiden.GEN hair  
*befeng hi eall abutan sona swa þa cwelleras hire claðas of abrudon, and [...]*  
surrounded her all about soon as the killers her clothes off tore, and  
(ÆLS Agnes, 144)  
“Lo then! God's power was mightly manifested, so that the maiden's hair covered her all about as soon as the executioners tore off her clothes ...”

- d. Gelæhte þa of ðam ente his agen swurd, and *his ormæte beafod*  
 Took then from the.DAT giant.DAT his own sword and his great.ACC head.ACC  
 mid þam **of** asloh, and hæfde ða gewunnen sige his leode.  
 with that.DAT off stroke and had then won victory his people.DAT  
 (ÆLS Book of Kings, 25)  
 “Then he took from the giant his own sword, and struck off his huge head  
 therewith, and so won the victory for his people.”
- e. Martinus þa ferde to þam fyrlenen lande, and þa þa he com to muntum,  
 M then went to the.DAT distant.DAT land.DAT and when then he came to mounts.DAT  
 þa gemette he sceaðan, and heora an sona *his exe* **up** abræd, wolde hine slean,  
 then met he robbers, and their one soon his ax up lifted, wanted him kill..  
 (ÆLS Martin, 150)  
 “Then Martin journeyed to the distant land and when he came to the  
 mountains, then met he with robbers, and one of them straightway lifted up his  
 ax, wishing to slay him; but...”
- (93) a. Þa com færlice mycel wynd and wearp **upp** þa duru,  
 Then came quickly great wind and threw up the doors  
 (ÆLS Basil, 347)  
 "Then suddenly came a great wind, and threw open the door, ..."
- b. ... and hine man sona gelæhte and æfter worulddome dydon him **ut** þa eagan,  
 ... and him man soon brought and after judgement did them out the eyes  
 and his earan forcurfon, ...  
 and his ears cut.off  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 265)  
 "... and according to the sentence, put out his eyes, and cut off his ears; ..."
- c. Hwæt ða se casere cafllice lihte, þancigende Gode þære wissunge,  
 What then the emperor quickly alighted, thanking God.DAT the.GEN direction.GEN  
 and dyde **of** *his purpuran*, and [...]  
 and did off his purple and  
 (ÆLS Exalt of Cross, 101)  
 "Lo ! then the emperor quickly alighted, thanking God for the lesson; and he  
 took off his purple and ..."
- d. ... þa tugon þa hæþenan þone halgan to slæge, and mid anum swencge  
 .. then dragged the heathens the.ACC saint.ACC to slaughter and with one.DAT blow.DAT  
 slogon him **of** *þæt beafod*, and his sawl siþode gesælig to Criste.  
 stroke him off the head, and his soul went happily to Christ.DAT  
 (ÆLS Edmund, 123)  
 ".. the heathen drew away the saint, to slay him, and with one blow struck off  
 his head; and his soul departed joyfully to Christ."
- e. Martinus þa inneode þær se man læg dead, and adræfde **ut** *ealle þa menin*, and  
 M. then in went where the man lay dead and drove out all the moltitude and  
 (ÆLS Martin, 247)  
 “Then Martin entered where the the man lay dead and drave out all the  
 multitude and...”
- f. [...] and þæt heofonlice hors þe se heahengel on sæt

... and the heavenly horse that the archangel on sat  
 wearp sona **adune** þone *dyrstigan Heliodorum*, and [...]  
 threw soon down the.ACC venturous.DAT H.DAT and

(ÆLS Maccabees, 773)

“ ... and the heavenly horse, that the archangel sat on, soon threw down the  
 venturous Heliodorus, and ...”

Moreover, the *Prt* can also be followed by another circumstantial *PP*, cf. (95), and even  
 by a subject, cf. (96):

- (95) a. Ða bærst sum sagol into anes beateres eagan,  
 Then burst some rod into one.GEN beater.GEN eye.DAT  
 swa þæt his eage wand **ut** *mid þam slæge*.  
 so that his eye went out with the.DAT blow.DAT

(ÆLS Julian and Basilissa, 143)

"Then one of the rods broke into a beater's eye, so that his eye rolled out, by  
 means of the stroke."

- b. Arn þa him sylf **inn** *mid sceandlicum willan*, [...]  
 Ran then him self in with shameful will, ...

(ÆLS Agnes, 170)

“Then he himself ran in with shameful intent ...”

- c. Ða gewende Tranquillinus **awæg** *after þysum*.  
 Then went T. away after this.

(ÆLS Sebastian, 182)

“Then Tranquillinus went away after this”

- d. An ðæra wæs Arrius, þe þæt yfel ongann, ac him eode se innoð **ut** *at his*  
*forðgange*.

One those.GEN was A. that the evil began, but him went the bowels out at his draught.DAT

(ÆLS Memory of Saints, 206)

"One of those was Arius, who began that evil, but his bowels gushed out at the  
 draught."

- (96) a. ... and hi cwædon þa sume þæt se læce sceolde asceotan þæt geswell;  
 and they said then some that the doctor should cut the swell  
 þa dyde he sona swa, and þær sah **ut** *nyrms*.  
 then did he soon so, and there came out worms

(ÆLS Æthelthryth, 61)

"... and some of them said that the leech ought to lance the tumour; he did so  
 forthwith, and there came out matter."

- b. He wearð þa beheafdod for ðæs Hælendes naman uppan ðære dune, [...]  
 He was then beheaded for the.GEN Saviour.GEN name.DAT upon the.DAT hill.DAT  
 ac his slaga ne moste gesundful lybban, forðam þe him burston **ut**  
 but his slayer not could sound live, because that him burst out  
*butu his eagan*, and to eorðan feollon [...]  
 both his eyes, and to earth.DAT fell

(ÆLS Alban, 116)

“He was then beheaded for the Saviour's name, upon the hill, ...; but his slayer

might not live in full health, because that both his eyes burst out of him, and fell to the earth ...”

These cases indicate that the Prt may appear before elements hosted in the thematic field (Schweikert 2005), and before subjects in “presentational” contexts, which, as argued above, I take to be hosted in the LowFoc position in the Low Left Periphery. In any case, these instances show that OE Prts can appear rather high in the sentence structure, probably in a position within IP (or at least at the edge of the vP phase), which I will refer to PrtP for the moment.

Other interesting cases are the following, cf. (97), in which the Prt is separated from the PP it modifies, cf. (90) above:

- (97) a. Efne þa færllice com fyr of heofonum, and an scinende culfre scæt  
 Even then quickly came fire from heavens.DAT and one shining dove shot  
 of þam fyre into ðære ea, and astyrede ðæt wæter,  
 from the.DAT fire.DAT into the.DAT river.DAT  
 fleah siþþan **upp forðrihte to heofonum.**  
 and stirred the water, flew afterwards upp straight to heavens.DAT  
(ÆLS Basil, 72)  
 "Behold ! then suddenly fire came from heaven, and a shining dove darted out  
 of the fire into the river, and stirred the water, and afterward flew up  
 straightway to Heaven"
- b. Hwæt ða Nicostratus wearð swiðe afyrht,[...]  
 Well then N. was very.much afraid, ...  
 and feol **adune sona to Sebastianes fotum,**  
 and fell down soon to S.GEN feet.DAT  
(ÆLS Sebastian, 112)  
 "Then Nicostratus was greatly afraid, ... , and straightway fell down at  
 Sebastian's feet, ..."
- c. Ða gelæhte Petrus hire liþian hand, arærde hi **upp hale of þam bedde.**  
 Then took P. her feeble hand, raised her upp whole form the bed  
(ÆLS Peter's Chair, 73)  
 “Then Peter took her feeble hand, and raised her up whole from the bed.”

Yet again, such cases signal that the Prt appears in a higher position in the IP/left edge of vP, PrtP, as the intervening elements are adverbs, in particular *sona* in (97b) which is one of higher adverbs in the functional hierarchy of Cinque (1999), and the Small Clause predicate *hale* of (97c), which may be hosted in a Topic position in the Low Left Periphery.

Yet another peculiarity of OE Prts is that they can “incorporate” into the non-finite verb, when this is in sentence medial position. In these cases, the direct object may appear before the Prt-V complex, cf. (98) and also the PP modified by the Prt may appear in this

position, cf. (99):

- (98) a. Pa getimode hit ymbe twelfmonað æfter Agathes þrowunge,  
Then happened about twelvemonth after A.GEN passion.DAT  
and Ethna **up** ableow *snyðe egeslice ontendnyse*, and [...]  
and E. up blew very terrible burning and ...  
(ÆLS Agatha, 221)  
"Then befell it, about twelve months after Agatha's passion, that Etna blew up  
a very fearful burning, and ..."
- b. Comon þa syððan sona þa Cristenan, eawfæste veras  
Came then afterwards soon the Christians pious men  
and hi **aweg** feredon *þæs godspelleres lic*, and [...]  
and they away took the.GEN evangelist.GEN corpse, and  
(ÆLS Mark, 97)  
"Then soon after came the Christians, pious men, and they bare away the  
Evangelist's body, and ..."
- (99) a. And Maurus þa bletsode bliðelice þæt win, cwæð þæt God mihte gemycclian  
And M. then blessed blithely the wine, said that God might multiply  
þone wætan, se ðe iu on westene wæter **utteab of heardum stanclude**, [...]  
the drink, he that before in desert water out-dragged form hard.DAT stone-cliff.DAT  
(ÆLS Maur, 276)  
"Then Maurus blithely blessed the wine, and said, that Grod could increase the  
drink, He who of old in the wilderness drew out water from the hard stone-  
cliff, ..."
- b. ..., þa þa se heofonlica cyning Crist sylf **inferde** þurh þis ylce get  
... when then the heavenly king Christ self in-went through this same gate  
**to his agenre þrowunge**, [...]  
to his own passion.DAT ...  
(ÆLS Exalt of Cross, 90)  
"... When that the heavenly king, Christ Himself, entered in through this same  
gate to His own passion, .."
- c. ... ac hi ealle **ut** eodon *ansunde to ðam cynincge*.  
... but they all out wend sound to the.DAT king.DAT  
(ÆLS Memory of Saints, 71)  
"... but they all went out, injured, to the king"
- d. Pa gebæd hine Thomas bealdlice to his Drihtne, and het þone scuccan  
Then commended himself T. boldly to his Lord.DAT and commanded the.ACC devil.ACC  
þe on þam scincrafte wunode þæt he **ut eode of þære anlicnyse him to**,  
that in the.DAT magic.work.DAT lived, that he out went from the.DAT image.DAT him to  
and [...]  
(ÆLS Thomas, 403)  
"Then Thomas boldly commended himself to his Lord, and bade the devil  
who dwelt in the magic work that he should come out of the image to him, and  
..."
- e. Efne þa þa hi **uteodon of þam ealdan cwearterne**, þa [...]  
(ÆLS Thomas, 163)

“Lo! then, as they went out of the old dungeon, ...”

In this last respect, I also found a case in which the Prt appear before the verb, while the PP appears in the Left Periphery, in what looks like a Topic position, cf. (100):

- (100) ... and on ðam seofodan cyrre sæde ðam witegan þæt an gehwæde wolcn  
and in the.DAT seventh return said the.DAT prophet.DAT that one little cloud  
**of ðære widgillan sæ efne þa upp** astige mid þære unscæðþigan lyfte.  
from the wide-reaching see even then upp climbs with the.DAT stainless air  
(ÆLS Book of Kings, 147)  
"... and on the seventh return said to the prophet, that, "behold there ariseth one little  
cloud out of the wide-reaching sea, in the stainless sky"

In the above cases, I take the positioning of the direct object and of the PPs to be determined by an interaction with the Low Left Periphery. More precisely, the PPs may be in their position in the thematic field or, at least, in the LowTopP(s) (cf. also the PP in [100] which is in the one of the Topic positions of the High Left Periphery), while direct objects can be either hosted in LowTopP or even in LowFocP. Interestingly, all the cases in (98)-(100) involve a subordinate clause, or a coordinate clause, which notoriously may present subordinate clause word order. Hence I claim that the Prt, which was probably hosted in the higher position PrtP as is visible in (95)-(97) above, has been moved to SpecFinP by remnant movement.

A possible indication in this respect comes from the following cases, in which the pattern *Prt-V-PP* is found with a non-finite verb, cf. (101):

- (101) a. ...þu come hider, Maure, to uncuðum earde, and wendest þæt ðu mihtest us  
... you come hither, M., to unknown.DAT nation.DAT and think that you can us  
**awegdrifan of urum wunungum.**  
away-drive from our.DAT dwellings.DAT  
(ÆLS Maur, 304)  
"Thou earnest hither, Maurus, to a strange land, and thoughtest that thou  
couldst drive us away out of our dwellings"
- b. Ða comon þa sacerdas to þam cynincge ealle,  
Then came the priests to the.DAT king.DAT all  
and he het hi **ingan to ðam gode Baal**, and [...]  
and he commanded them in-go to the.DAT god.DAT Baal, and  
(ÆLS Book of Kings, 374)  
"Then all the priests came to the king, and he bade them enter in unto the god  
Baal, and ..."
- c. He het sona þa **awægdon** þæt weofod **of þære stowe**, and [...]  
He commanded soon then away-do the altar from the.DAT place.DAT and  
(ÆLS Martin, 364)  
"Then he bade forthwith remove the altar from the place, and ..."

- d. *Þa wearð Godes wundor geworht an þam menn þurh Swyðunes þingunge*  
 Then was God.GEN miracle wrought on the.DAT man.DAT through S.GEN intercession  
*þæt he geseah beorhte ansundum eagum, þeah ðe hi ær wæron ut adyde*  
 that he saw brightly sound.DAT eyes.DAT, though that they before were ut done  
**of þam eahhringum, and [...]**  
 from the.DAT sockets.DAT and

(ÆLS Swithun, 276)

“Then God's wonder was wrought in that man through Swithun's intercession, that he saw clearly with perfect eyes, though they had before been thrust out of the eye-rings [sockets] and ...”

Crucially, most of the cases present a *main* clause word order: (101a), though presenting a complementiser, presents the modal verb between the pronominal subject and the pronominal object, thus indicating that the C° heads are available (cf. Grewendorf & Poletto 2011 on the higher complementiser *ke* of Cimbrian which triggers main clause word order); (101b,c) present ACI constructions. As to (99b), we do have a subordinate clause, but this presents a V3 order with the adverb *ær*, which may be occupying SpecFinP, blocking the movement of the Prt to this projection.

Thus, all the clauses above do not require SpecFin to be filled, either because the verb is in a C° head higher than Fin°, or because SpecFinP is already filled. I suggest that in these cases the Prt is hosted in the Spec of PrtP in the IP domain/left-edge of vP, and the non-finite verb usually moves to the head of PrtP, hence giving the impression of “incorporation”. When this occurs, and SpecFinP has to be filled, we get the expected order from German, cf. (88c), via remnant movement of this projection:

- (102) a. [CP ...<sub>[FinP] Fin° Aux [... <sub>[PrtP] Prt Prt° Vini<sub>i</sub> [... t<sub>i</sub></sub></sub>  
 b. [CP ...<sub>[FinP] [PrtP Prt Prt° V-ini] Fin° Aux [... <sub>[PrtP] Prt Prt° Vini<sub>i</sub> [... t<sub>i</sub></sub></sub>

When the non-finite verb does not reach the higher position of the Prt, as it moves to a lower head in the Low Periphery like LowFocP (cf Poletto's 2006a,b proposal on OV as a V2 in the Low Left Periphery), only the Prt is moved to SpecFinP. Similarly, if SpecFinP does not need to be filled, the Prt remains in this higher projection, or in its merge position within the PP.

Further support that Prt “incorporation” in OE may be due in fact to structural adjacency comes from the following, though very restricted, cases, in which the Prt either “incorporates” onto the finite verb in a main clause, cf. (103), or it does not incorporate at all with a non-finite verb, cf. (104)::

- (103) *Martinus þa inneode þær se man læg dead, and ...*  
 M. then in-went where the man lay dead, and ..

"Then Martin entered where the man lay dead and ..."

- (104) a. *Priwa him wæs þus geclypod to, and þærrihte wearð þæt fæt*  
 Thrice him was thus called to, and there.right was the vessel  
**upp to heofonum** *abroden*, eft mid þam nytenum.  
 up to heavens.DAT brought, back with the.DAT beasts.DAT  
 (ÆLS Peter's Chair, 94)  
 "Thrice was it thus cried to him, and straightway the vessel was drawn up to Heaven again, together with the beasts"
- b. *Ða wolde seo Sexburh æfter syxtyne gearum don hire swustor ban*  
 Then wanted the S. after sixteen years.DAT do her sister.GEN bones  
 of ðære byrgene **up**, and beran into þære cyrcan;  
 from the.DAT tomb.DAT up and bear into the.DAT church.DAT  
 (ÆLS Æthelthryth, 73)  
 "After sixteen years Sexburh desired to take up her sister's bones from their burial-place and translate them into the church."
- c. *Ða gebroþra sarige þa sæton ofer þæt lic, and Martinus com þa*  
 The brethren sorrowfully then sat over the corpse and M came then  
 micclum dreorig, and het hi *gan ut* and [...]  
 greatly dreary and ordered them go out and ...  
 (ÆLS Martin, 212)  
 "Then the brethren, being sorrowful, sat around the corpse and Martin came then very sad, and bade them go out, and ..."
- d. *Ða gesohte he hi and sæde mid fyrhte, Læt me gan gesund ut and [...]*  
 Then visited he her and said with fright. Let me go save out and ....  
 (ÆLS Chrysanthus, 274)  
 "Then he advanced towards her, and said with fear: "Let me go out safe, and ..."

Thus, the distribution so far considered indicates that Prts may appear in a sentence final position, but they can also appear in a higher position above the Low Left Periphery. In any case incorporation onto the verb is in fact apparent: the incorporated order obtains since the non-finite verb can move to the head of the higher position hosting the Prt, and in the case of subordinate clauses, the Prt is fronted via remnant to SpecFinP (cf. also the cases of stranded Ps considered above, which looked like incorporation).

Finally the *Lives of Saints* also report two cases of "doubling" of the same Prt, cf.

(105):

- (105) a. And an leo **utbærst ut** of þære leona pearruce, [...]<sup>51</sup>

51 Notice that the OE counterpart of *burst out* is not a prefixed verb, as the following reported above shows:

(i) forðam þe him burston **ut** butu his eagan, and to eorðan feollon mid Albanes heafde [...]  
 ... because that him burst out both his eyes and to earth.DAT fell with A.GEN head.DAT

(ÆLS Alban, 116)

"... because that both his eyes burst out of him and fell to the ground with Alban's head..."

And one lioness out-burst out of the.GEN lions.GEN enclosure.DAT  
 (ÆLS Chrysanthus, 253)  
 "And a lioness escaped out of the lion's enclosure ..."

- b. He teah ða þæt isen **up** swa eaðelice **up** of ðam stane  
 He dragged then the iron up so easily up from the.DAT stone.DAT  
 swilce hit on sande stode, [...] <sup>52</sup>  
 such it in sand.DAT stood ...  
 (ÆLS Swithun, 69)  
 "Thereupon he drew the iron out of the stone as easily as if it had stood in  
 sand, ..."

The fact that we have reduplication cases when a “complex PP” is involved, signals that these Prts are originated as modifiers of a PP, and their occurrence alone in the sentence is syntactically determined by some special movements operating within the PP itself. The next section addresses precisely this question, with the intent of identifying the syntactic nature of OE Prts. It will be shown that the distributional facts here considered derive from the syntactic nature the Prt acquires after some special movements have vacated its PP.

### 3.4.2 The weak and strong nature of Particles

Given their transparent meanings, OE Prts have been analysed as XPs, and their phrasal nature is supported by the fact that they bear stress/alliteration in the poetry (Elenbaas 2007), and they can be coordinated or topicalised, cf. (106) and (107) respectively:

- (106) a. ... ac se man ana gæð uprihte, þæt getacnað þæt he sceall ma þancan  
 ... but the man alone goes upright, that signals that he shall more think  
**upp þonne nyðer**, þelæs þe þæt mod sy neoðer þonne se lichoma and ...  
 upwards than downwards, lest that that mind be lower than the body and  
 (ÆLS Christmas, 56)  
 "... but man alone goeth upright, which signifieth that his thoughts should be  
 more upward than downward, lest the mind be lower than the body ..."
- b. We sceolon eac on ðysum dagum began ure gebedu & fylían urum  
 We should also in this.DAT days.DAT began our prayers and follow our.DAT  
 haligdomum **ut & in**. & þone ælmihtigan god mid geornfulnysse herian.  
 relics.DAT out and in, and the.ACC almighty.ACC God.ACC with zeal.DAT praise  
 (ÆLCHom I, 18: 318.40; Elenbaas 2007: 135, her example [51])
- (107) Niðer he ahreas  
 Down he fell  
 (ÆLCHom I, 11: 270.111; Elenbaas 2007: 135, her example [53b])

<sup>52</sup> Notice that Skeat reports this as "wrongly repeated".

Notice however that the coordinated Prts are towards the end of the sentence. Moreover, the example in (107)--like the other one reported in Elenbaas 2007; 135, (53a)-- presents the Prt *nyðer*, clearly bi-morphemic (comparative grade of an adjective). I think that this should be better analysed as an instance of PP fronting rather than Prt fronting, since, as Mitchell (1978) notes, there seems to be no case in OE of something comparable to ModE *Up he throw the ball, up the ball went*, i.e. monosyllabic particles never show up in sentence-initial position. So, a case like (107) would be rephrased as "He fell onto a lower place".<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, I agree with most of the previous analyses of OE Prts (Fischer et al. 2000, Elenbaas 2007), in considering OE Prts as secondary predicates, and in attributing to them a phrasal nature.

However, I do not share the view of Elenbaas (2007) that OE Prt can be “optional projecting elements”, i.e., they can also be heads forming complex heads with the verb when they “incorporate”, or when they appear in the V-Prt-DO order, since, as shown above, Prt “incorporation” is in fact apparent and not even mandatory (cf. [103]). Instead, I propose that Prts are *always* phrasal, and the various orders seen above (together with the observation that they can bear stress in the poetry) can be accounted for in terms of a variation between two forms of the Prts, as weak vs. strong elements (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). In particular, in those cases in which the Prt appears alone at the end of the sentence, and when it can be coordinated, we are dealing with a strong adverbial element. On the contrary, in those cases in which it precedes various PPs and even the direct objects, the Prt is to be considered a weak element, hosted in a derived, dedicated position (the PrtP projection proposed above). In what follows, I will show that the distinction between the strong and the deficient form of the Prt is syntactically determined in OE, and depends on the presence or absence of the Ground within the fine-structure of the PP in which the Prt is originated.

In this respect, I adopt and extend Damonte & Padovan's (2011) idea that the variable German prefixes are originated as part of a PP, which is in turn hosted in a structural position in the thematic field of Schweikert (2005a), in PredP if the Prt is resultative, or in GoalP/SourceP or PathP if the Prt is directional (cf. 1.3.1.4). In the case of the OE Prts, I propose that these Prts are originated as specific Specs/heads in a fine-structure of the PP, in particular *ut/in*, *up* in RelViewP, *aweg, adune* in AxPart, and *to/oj/on* as the heads of PP<sub>dir</sub> and PP<sub>stat.</sub>. This is particularly clear with *up*, *ut* and *in* (but also with *away* and *adune*), which can combine with a PP. So the complex PP *up to anre sticolre dune* of (90d) above has the internal analysis in (108):

---

<sup>53</sup> Consider for instance those verbs which take a stative PP, like *arrive at* and *arrive to*, and the alternation *to fall on the ground* vs. *to fall to the ground*. The above case with *nyðer* might be a similar case).

(108) [<sub>CP</sub>place [<sub>PP</sub>dir *to* [<sub>PP</sub>stat AT [<sub>RelViewP</sub> *up* [... [<sub>Np</sub>place *anre sticolre dune* PLACE]...]]

In order to derive the surface order in which the RelViewP Prt (or even the AxPartP Prt) appear before the Ps instantiating the heads of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub>, I follow Koopman (2000[2010]) and propose that *up* scrambles to a higher projection than Spec PP<sub>dir</sub>, SpecCP<sub>place</sub>.

(109) [<sub>CP</sub>place *up* [<sub>PP</sub>dir *to* [<sub>PP</sub>stat AT [<sub>RelViewP</sub> ~~*up*~~ [... [<sub>Np</sub>place *anre sticolre dune* PLACE]...]]

At this point, the Prt may remain in its PP and give rise to the complex Ps reported in (90d) above. But not only. OE had also the possibility to move the lower constituent from PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> down out of the PP, into as shown by many of the above cases in which the Prt appears separated by the PP it modifies. As a result of this movement, the Prt remains *stranded* in CP<sub>place</sub> and is free to move as a weak element to a dedicated derived position, PrtP. The reduplication facts in (105) seem to support this view, the Prt appearing in the PP being the undeleted copy of the weak Prt which has moved to PrtP and then to SpecFinP via remnant movement. As there are also many cases in which the Prt does not modify a PP, I assume that the exact same syntactic possibilities are available also to Prts when they have a *pro* Ground.<sup>54</sup>

That Prts have the possibility to appear in a position in or immediately above the vP peripheral area has been proposed also by other authors. In particular, Hróarsdóttir (2008) has analysed the word order possibilities with the Prts of Older Icelandic (16th century), which presents various orders similar to the OE ones, with pre- and post-verbal Prts, and with pre- and post-verbal DOs/PPs.<sup>55</sup> As a full discussion of the derivational details of Hróarsdóttir's (2008) would take me to far afield, I just present here the gist of her analysis, which derives all the possible linear orders by assuming a remnant vP/VP account of VPCs. More specifically, Hróarsdóttir proposes that the Prt-V orders may be derived as Prt fronting to a functional projection she names Pred(icate)P, which is located outside the past participle domain, hence in a peripheral area of vP.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, evidence that Prts can move in the sentence structure

54 Notice that in their ability of scrambling PP internally Prts resemble the R-elements, which are again modifiers of the Ground.

55 Clearly, these orders have varying frequencies in the corpus considered, however it is interesting that they are sufficiently attested. However, the most interesting fact is that the corpus contains no instance of the Prt-DO-V order, an order which is never attested also in OE (probably for the same reasons why the order V-inf-O-Aux is never attested, cf. Fuss & Trips 2002)

56 Hróarsdóttir's (2008) proposal has been adopted also by Franco (2009) in her treatment of some cases of Modern Icelandic Stylistic Fronting, which she analyses as remnant movement of a vacated vP to SpecFin. Interestingly, Franco (2009) notices that Stylistic Fronting was well attested and also less restricted in old varieties of Scandinavian, and suggests that the modern Stylistic Fronting may be viewed as a residual mechanism (moving a very "light" piece of vP). The same may hold for the OV constraint of OE in subordinate clauses, which seems to start moving less and less structure in the older stages than it was previously allowed (thus giving a possible explanation to the differences in the rates of OV orders from early West Saxon to late West Saxon, see Pintzuk 1991, 1999).

comes also from cases of Prts appearing in a sort of OV order in Old Italian, cf. (110) (examples from Poletto 2006a: 213, her examples [11b] and [11d]):

- (110) a. e quelli che sono *già avanti* iti  
 and those that are already forward gone  
 (Tesoro volg. p. 350, r. 2; Poletto 2006: 213, her example [11b])  
 "and those that are already gone forward..."
- b. Poi lo fece **fuori** trarre  
 Then Cl.Obj made out took  
 (Novellino, p. 158, rr. 6-7; Poletto 2006: 214, her example [11d])  
 "Then he made him bring out..."

Since Old Italian is not an OV language, but does nonetheless present OV orders, Poletto (2006a) proposes that these orders are to be derived by movement of the Prt to a projection in the Low Left Periphery (LowFocP).<sup>57</sup>

Further evidence that Prts appear in a higher position in the structure comes also from some interesting facts of Borgomanerese, a Northern Italian dialect spoken in north-eastern Piedmont (Novara). As Tortora (2002 and subsequent work) convincingly argues, Borgomanerese presents a clitic slot in the vP/VP area, as enclisis show up on past participles, on the higher adverbs of the functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999), in particular on *already* and *anymore*. but crucially, enclisis is not possible with the lower adverbs like *always* and *well*. Interestingly, Borgomanerese presents verbal enclitics on Ps, which can be easily analysed as resultative/directional Prts, cf. Tortora (2002), her examples [43a] and [44a]:

- (111) i porti **denta-la** vs. \*i porta-**la denti**.  
 SCL bring.1sg inside-it SCL bring(1sg)-it inside  
 "I'm bringing it inside"

Notice moreover, that enclisis is not possible when the same Prt function as circumstantial adverbials, cf. the following (examples from Tortora 2002: 747, her examples [45]):

- (112) i moengia-**la denti**. vs. \*i moengia **denta-la**  
 SCL eat(1sg)-it inside SCL eat(1sg) inside-it  
 "I'm eating it inside"

<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, Old Italian had also the possibility to front a Prt to a position in the High Left Periphery (cf. Franco 2009: 224, her example [54]):

(i) e niuno era ardito che **su** vi sedesse  
 and no-one was brave who on LOC would.sit  
 "and there was no one who dared to sit on it" [N, XLI, 8-9]

Franco (2009) reports very few cases of these orders, but the scarcity of similar instances is undoubtedly due to the fact that Old Italian had very very few VPCs (just like Modern Italian).

If we take *denti* “inside” to be hosted in a PP, in turn hosted in the Spec of the relevant thematic role in the functional thematic hierarchy (Schweikert 2005), LocativeP, the facts in (111) indicate that the position for Prt movement is in the IP domain/vP periphery, just like the PrtP proposed here for OE weak Prts.<sup>58</sup>

The view advocated here, namely that Prts may have either a strong or a weak nature, and in the latter case they move to a higher position, may shed some light on the development of OE Prts into the well-known system of modern Prts. More specifically, it may give us a clue for the development of "Particle Shift", which as argued at length in 1.3.1.4, should be reconsidered as a general possibility available to the ModE Prts independently from their resultative vs. aspectual/non-transparent value, and consequently from the position the same Prt is ultimately generated in. In this last respect, it can be shown that despite the syntactic differences between transparent and non-transparent Prts presented in that section, both types of Prts are subject to the same syntactic restrictions when they appear in the shifted position, in particular, all Prts do not admit *right*-modification when the Prt occurs in the V-Prt-DP order. However, it is very interesting to notice that, even when the Prt can be coordinated or modified by a PP in the V-DP-Prt order, as is typically the case with directional/resultative Prts, these syntactic possibilities are completely ruled out when the Prt is in the shifted position, cf. (113b',c'):

- (113) a. John threw the ball *right* up  
 a'. \*John threw *right* up the ball  
 b. John threw the ball *up and down*  
 b'. \*John threw *up and down* the ball  
 c. John threw the ball up *into the sky*  
 c'. \*John threw *up into the sky* the ball<sup>59</sup>

The ungrammaticality of (113a',b',c') clearly indicates that the syntactic status of the Prt in the V-DP-Prt order is crucially different from the syntactic status of the Prt in the V-Prt-DP order. Even though this may lend support to Elenbaas' (2007) analysis of Prts as having a hybrid head vs. phrasal nature, I reject this idea in favour of a purely syntactically-constrained derivation, in which the Prt is always phrasal, and, as such, always hosted in the Spec of a specific dedicated projection, never forming a complex head. The different syntactic status of the shifted Prt w.r.t. the non-shifted Prt can be characterised in terms of "structural deficiency" in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999): the syntactic restrictions reported in

58 Tortora (2002) suggests that this position may be the Spec of one of Cinque's (1999) Asp heads (an AspTelic head, given the telic meaning of the Prt).

59 I thank Christina Tortora for these judgements. Notice that both b' and c' become acceptable if the direct object is focussed.

(113a',b',c') correspond to some of Cardinaletti & Starke's tests for the identification of the deficient (weak or clitic) nature of an element, i.e., impossibility of being coordinated and modified, and obligatory occurrence in a derived position. As the shifted Prts meet all these restrictions, they should be considered as *weak* adverbial elements, which, unlike clitics, are phonologically identical to their strong counterparts (the non-shifted Prt of [113a,b,c]). As regards the obligatory V-pronoun-Prt order, I agree with Wallenberg (2008) that this order obtains because complement personal pronouns are weak elements in ModE, and as such appear in a dedicated derived position in the sentence structure. In the light of the analysis so far proposed for OE Prts, I suggest that "Particle Shift" may essentially be considered as a "residual" phenomenon, like the Double Object Construction: in the passage from Old to Middle English, the language lost the possibility to express *Aktionsart*/actional values through the prefixes (Hiltunen 1983), and as these functions were taken up by the Prts, the incipient non-transparent Prts also inherited the syntactic possibilities of the transparent Prts, i.e., to be either strong or weak (and as weak, to appear in a derived position in the IP/vP-peripheral position).

To conclude on this section, I add just a final note on OE *inseparable* prefixes just mentioned. As it has been shown in many studies (Mitchell 1985, Hiltunen 1983, Elenbaas 2007), the true inseparable prefixes of OE convey *Aktionsart*/actional or idiosyncratic meanings. Following Damonte & Padovan (2011), I assume that OE prefixes were base generated in a PP in the the Specs of the appropriate lower aspectual projections in the Cinquean (1999) hierarchy, specifically in those closer to VP (see 1.3.1.4). The verb, be it finite or non-finite, moves into the head of this projection, so that a Spec-head incorporation obtains (cf. the analysis of Hoekstra 1992). At this point, the OE prefixes show all the morpho-syntactic characteristics of other inseparable prefixes, i.e., inseparability from their verb, and movement as a unit in V2.

### 3.4.3 A brief note on *ham*

When used in a spatial adpositons, the placename *home* represents a very curious case, as it is associated with morpho-syntactic idiosyncrasies<sup>60</sup> in many languages of the world. In ModE for instance, the directional goal P *to* is obligatorily deleted with *home*, while stative *at* is usually, even though not obligatorily, expressed, becoming mandatory only when the PP is an adjunct, cf. *I'm eating \*(at) home*. The exceptional behaviour of *home* is even more visible in some

60 For instance, *home* forms a preposition in Modern Frech, *chez*, which is never used as "house" (cf. *maison* the usual nominal for "house"). See Longobardi (2001).

Northern Italian dialects (Penello 2003 on Venetan, Cattaneo 2009 on Bellinzonese, Switzerland; cf. also Longobardi 2001 and references), in which directional and stative Ps are obligatorily omitted (or optionally omitted in the case of Bellinzonese), when their complement is the noun *casa* “home, house” (examples from my variety, Gazzolo d'Arcole, VR):<sup>61</sup>

- (114) a. L'è (\*a) casa/El sta (\*a) casa  
 Cl.subj.3.sg.m is home/Cl.subj.3.sg.m stays home  
 "He is at home/He's staying at home"  
 b. El va/El scapa/El te porta casa  
 Cl.subj.3.sg.m goes/Cl.subj.3.sg.m runs/Cl.subj.3.sg.m Cl.dat.2.sg take home  
 "He's going (\*to) home/He's running (\*to) home/He's taking you (\*to) home"

Similarly, Modern Greek has the possibility to optionally omit the locative P *se* “to, at” with the noun *spiti* “home, house”, but the exceptionality of this placename is visible in the fact that, even though Modern Greek allows null directional goal Ps with a larger set of nominals, only *spiti* seems to be much more acceptable with a null P in stative contexts, i.e., with verbs like *ime* “to be”, *meno* “stay/live” (cf. Terzi to appear).

The major syntactic accounts of these facts generally attribute the peculiar behaviour of *home* to either a silent directional P, syntactically present but phonologically null, and taking *home* as its complement (in a DP with a full syntactic structure), or to the peculiar syntactic status of *home*, which acts like a “light noun” when it is the complement of an unpronounced P (see Terzi to appear for discussion). More recently, in her treatment of the null spatial Ps of Modern Greek in the light of the Cartography of PPs, Terzi (to appear) has proposed that place nominals like *home* are in fact instantiations of the otherwise silent PLACE head, which move to the Specs of  $PP_{stat}/PP_{goal}$  for the lexicalisation requirements of their silent heads, cf. (115b) (in Terzi's structure  $PPLoc = PP_{stat}$ ,  $DP/NP = PLACE$ ):

- (115) a. Pao (sto/sti) spiti/gimnastirio/sxolio/grafio/eklisia.  
 go-1s (se.the-neut/fem) home/gym/school/office/church  
 “I go home(to the gym/school/to the officc/to the church)  
 b.  $[VP\ V\ [PP_{Goal}\ P_{goal}\ 0\ [PPLoc\ P_{Loc}\ 0\ [DP/NP\ spiti/grafio\ ]]]]$
- 

Basing upon some considerations on the OE *ham* “home”, I would like to put forward a

<sup>61</sup> Apart from *casa*, null stative and directional Ps are attested, in the Northern Italian Dialects, also with a very small set of nominals, *scola* “school”, *mesa* “mass”, *laorare* “work”, *militare* “army”, and *l'asilo* “the-kindergarden” (this last one in my variety, Gazzolo d'Arcole, Verona), and in some Venetan varieties, also with some city names (cf. Penello 2003). Modern Greek allows null directional goal Ps with a slightly more consistent number of nominals (see Terzi, to appear).

slightly different account of *home* in directional PPs, suggesting that it should be considered a *modifier* of the Ground hosted in the DP<sub>place</sub>, and not instantiating the Ground itself (or parts of it).

Just like ModE, OE presents the PP *æt ham* “at home” in stative contexts, cf. (116), but when used in directional contexts, *ham* has the syntactic behaviour of a Prt<sup>62</sup>, exhibiting many of the characteristics seen in 3.4.1, i.e., it is found with a PP, which it may either precede or follow, cf. (117a) vs. (117b), it is found with a modal with no verb of motion (117c), and it seems to incorporate into the inflected verb in subordinate clauses (117d):

- (116) Se halga wer þa cwæð, wif ne sceal na faran to wera fyrdwicum, ac wunian **æt ham**;  
[...]  
The holy man then said, woman not shall not go to men.GEN camps but remain at home  
(ÆLS Martin, 1095)  
"Then said the holy man, 'A woman should not go to men's camps but remain at home; ...'"
- (117) a. Ða com seo cwen on æfnunge to þam cyninge ham, and [...]  
Then came the queen in evening to the.DAT king.DAT home, and  
(ÆLS Thomas, 349)  
"Then came the queen at evening home to the king and ..."
- b. [... ]and he hine up ateah, bær ham to mynstre,  
an enormous salmon and he it up dragged, took home to monastery,  
and þam halgan gearcode.  
and the.DAT saints.DAT prepared  
(ÆLS Martin, 1272)  
"... and he drew it up, bare it home to the monastery and prepared it for the saint."
- c. Eft ða he ham wolde þa wearð he geuntrumod, and [...]  
Again when he home wanted then was he sick, and  
(ÆLS Martin, 1330)  
"Afterward when he would have returned home he became ill, and ..."
- d. Ða wurdon hi ofwundrode þæs wulfes hydrædenne, and þæt halige heafod  
Then were they marvelled the.GEN wolf.GEN guardianship and the holy head  
ham feredon mid him, þancigende þam ælmihtigan ealra his wundra;  
home took with them, thankng the.DAT almighty.DAT all.GEN his wonders.GEN  
(ÆLS Edmund, 158)  
"Then they were astonished at the wolf's guardianship, and carried the holy head home with them, thanking the Almighty for all his wonders"

Under a closer scrutiny, the distributional properties of *ham* just described in (117) are the same of a particular type of Prt, i.e., of *up*, *ut* and *in*, the Prts hosted in dedicated projection in

62 Modern German still retains the prefixed verbs *heim-kehren* “come back home”, *heim-fliegen* “fly home, come back to one's homecountry”, and *heim-führen* “take (someone) home”.

the DP<sub>place</sub>, which introduce *relative viewpoint* modifiers of the Ground. Taking the parallel behaviour of *ham* with these Prts to indicate a structural similarity, I propose that *ham* should be considered a viewpoint modifier, which introduces however an *absolute viewpoint* like those in Cinque (2010a) as it may be viewed as an element providing a prototypical *geographical* viewpoint like *north*, or *inland*.<sup>63</sup> This *ham* element can be furthermore speaker-oriented, something which can be structurally represented as *ham* modifying a Ground made up of the null PLACE head plus a genitive *pro* coreferential with either the speaker or with the Topic of the discourse. Under this proposal, *ham* and *ham to mynstre* in (117c,d) and (117b) respectively can be given the following structural representations:

- (118) a. [CP<sub>place</sub> [PP<sub>dir</sub> [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [AbsViewP *ham* [... [NP<sub>place</sub> *pro* PLACE]...]]  
 b. [CP<sub>place</sub> *ham* [PP<sub>dir</sub> [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [AbsViewP *ham* [... [NP<sub>place</sub> *pro* PLACE]...]]
- (119) a. [CP<sub>place</sub> [PP<sub>dir</sub> *to* [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [AbsViewP *ham* [... [NP<sub>place</sub> *mynstre* PLACE]...]]  
 b. [CP<sub>place</sub> *ham* [PP<sub>dir</sub> *to* [PP<sub>stat</sub> AT [AbsViewP *ham* [... [NP<sub>place</sub> *mynstre* PLACE]...]]

As an AbsViewP Prt, *ham* can behave like *ut*, *in* and *up*, scramble PP internally to CP<sub>place</sub>, and being moved via pied-piping to SpecFinP. In the latter case, (119b), *ham* can furthermore either remain in the PP, thus giving rise to a complex PP like *ham to mynstre*, or the PP *to mynstre* can move to a position in the Low Periphery, stranding *ham*, which can now move as a weak Prt into PrtP.

The idea that *ham* might be base-generated in AbsViewP and act like a Prt may also be applied to the cases of prepositionless *casa* in the Northern Italian Dialects, which, as shown in 1.1.2, do have Prts. Evidence in support of this idea comes furthermore from some facts of Borgomanerese, with the placename *cà* “home” (Tortora 2002). As mentioned in the previous section, Borgomanerese presents vP-oriented clitics, which show up in enclisis not only to the past participles, but also to some “higher” adverbs of the functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999), like *anymore* and *already*. and, most interestingly, to directional and resultative Prts. Since enclisis does not occur on the lower adverbs, like *always* and *well*, the fact that Prts host verbal clitics just like past participles and higher adverbs provides evidence that the Prt is hosted in a specific projection in the functional hierarchy of the clause (or at least in a specific high aspectual projection, as argued in Tortora 2002). Crucially, enclisis is found also on the placename *cà*, i.e. *cà* can host the clitic complements of a verb, cf. Tortora (2002: 746),

63 Note that most of the nominals occurring with null Ps in Modern Greek and in the Northern Italian Dialects represent, in a sense, the *absolute viewpoints* of a given community or of a person (*school*, *church*, *work*, *office* etc.). Moreover, the cases of prepositionless city names attested in the Northern Italian Dialects (Penello 2003, Cattaneo 2009) may be considered in a similar way, i.e., as the modifiers of a silent Ground. I tentatively suggest that something similar may be at work also in OE, in which there are many instances of city names followed by the noun *byrig*, which may be thought of as instantiating the Ground.

her example [44b] and [44b]):

- (120) *i porti cà-tti.* vs. *\*i porta-ti cà.*  
SCL bring(1sg) home-**you** SCL bring.1sg.-you home  
"I'm bringing you home"

Thus, Borgomanerese *cà* is hosted in the same structural projections hosting other Prts, supporting the view that *home* is to be considered as a Prt, not only in OE, but also in the Northern Italian Dialects.

In conclusion, the analysis here proposed for OE *ham* considers this nominal as a modifier of the Ground appearing in the projection of the DP<sub>place</sub> dedicated to elements conveying *absolute viewpoints*. As such, it shares many of the syntactic characteristics of other viewpoint Prts like *ut*, *in* and *up*, and it can surface either as a fully-fledged adverb, a strong adverb, or as a weak Prt, hosted higher up in the structure (PrtP). Under such a view, the ModE directional *home* can be considered as a "relic" of this Prt use of OE *ham*.

### 3.5 Summing Up

The qualitative analysis of the *Lives of Saints* presented in this Chapter has lead me to a very close consideration of the distributional patterns of the P-stranding and the Prts of OE, in an attempt to identify the syntactic mechanisms regulating these phenomena at least in Ælfric's prepositional syntax. Adopting the most recent Cartographic proposals on the internal architecture of (spatial) PP, I addressed in the first two sections both obligatory P-stranding by relative *þe* and by the R-elements, and optional P-stranding by bare personal pronouns. I have shown that this phenomenon is directly dependent upon the special status of the prepositional complements, while the syntactic status of the stranded P depends on the structural representation of the Ground within the PP. In particular, I argued that both the relative *þe* and the personal pronouns are weak elements, base generated as fully-fledged DPs in the Ground of the PP. Both deficient elements instantiate the functional heads of this DP, which are stripped away after the lower nominal part of the DP, NP, has moved into the PP to check the strong features of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub>. In more formal terms, the NP moving to PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> strands the higher functional heads of its DP, which must move to dedicated projections within the clause: by virtue of its relative feature, the relative *þe* moves to SpecRelwhP, in the Left Periphery of the clause, while the weak personal pronoun moves to a projection for weak

elements within the Left Periphery of the PP, which I label WP on a parallel with the WP of the main clause. From this projection, the weak prepositional object has also the possibility to move into the sentence WP, especially in specific contexts like “presentational” contexts involving a focussed subject (in either LowFoc or in FocIIP). In both cases, the process of *feature stripping* deriving these deficient prepositional complements leaves a silent NP of some kind into the PP, thus “marking” or “inflecting” it into a “prepositional” adverb. Evidence of such a syntactic status comes from cases of stranded *fore* (Wende 1915), the stressed/strong form of *for* “for, because of, in front of” plus a nominal ending *-e*, which is the strong adjectival ending for dative/instrumental forming adverbs in OE. Further evidence in favour of the “adverbial” syntactic status of the stranded P comes from the peculiar behaviour of the P *between* in Ælfric, which present two forms according to whether the pronoun precedes it or follows it, namely, the form *betwýnan* with weak pronouns, and the form *betwux* with the strong pronouns (and full DPs complements). Crucially, the form *betwýnan* stranded by weak pronouns contains the weak adjectival ending *-an* for dative/instrumental, which may be taken as a sort of agreement with the nominal NP part, when this moves across AxPartP hosting *between* in its way to Spec PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub>.

As regards obligatory P-stranding by R-elements, I assumed, in line with Kayne (2004, 2005) and Cinque (2010a) a.m.o., that these elements are base-generated as modifiers in DeicticP, a position in the DP<sub>place</sub> just above AxPartP. I furthermore assumed that these elements are modifiers of a *pro* Ground, syntactically represented as a *pro* possessor of the silent head PLACE. Following an earlier proposal of Koopman (2000[2010]) on the Modern Dutch R-elements, I proposed that their OE counterparts move to the Spec of PP<sub>dir</sub>/PP<sub>stat</sub> to check their strong features, thus stranding both complex and simple Ps. Under specific circumstances, namely when the R-elements appear as relatives or as locative subjects in “presentational” or more simply intransitive contexts, these R-elements are allowed to leave their PP and appear in the relevant projections for feature checking, Rel<sub>wb</sub>P or SpecFocIIP. Again, the stranded Ps of R-elements contain a *pro* Ground thus making them “prepositional” adverbs. As a final remark, I point out that also simple Ps like *to* and *fram* may behave as adverbs in OE, as confirmed by the cases in which they appear without a complement.

In the last section of this Chapter I took into consideration the transparent Prts of OE. Rejecting Elenbaas' (2007) idea that Prts are hybrid elements in the sense that they come either as heads or as Prts, I proposed to analyse the wide range of word order possibilities attested with OE Prts in terms of strong vs. weak forms (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). Basing upon Damonte & Padovan's idea that the variable prefixes of Modern German are base-

generated in a PP hosted in one of Schweikert's (2005a) projections (cf. 1.3.1.4 for the precise locations of resultative and directional Prts), I argue that Prts are different instantiations of the different projections of the fine-grained PP. In particular, I suggested that Prts like *ut*, *in* and *up* are generated as modifiers in the DPplace, and then move to SpecCPplace (cf. Koopman 2000[2010] for a similar proposal on Modern Dutch Prts). At this point, the remaining PP material (or even *pro*) may remain inside the PP, thus giving rise to complex Ps, or to the strong form of the Prts. But the PP material below PP (and *pro*) may also vacate their PP, stranding the Prt in CPplace, which is now free to move as a weak element to a rather high projection in the IP/vP-periphery, here labelled PrtP. Support in favour of the idea that Prts move to a position just above vP—or in its higher periphery—comes from the analysis proposed by Hróarsdóttir (2008), who accounted for the various word orders of Older Icelandic Prts by assuming remnant VP-movements plus Prt movement to a projection outside the past participle domain (which she names PredP). Further evidence of the mobility of Prts comes from the facts of Borgomanerese, which presents enclisis on Prts: as enclitics are hosted in a dedicated slot among the higher adverbs of Cinque (1999), above *always* and *well* but under *already* and *anymore*, it follows that enclisis on Prts signals that these Prts can move to a projection among those adverbs. As a concluding remark to my analysis of OE Prts, I hinted at the possibility that an account of OE Prts as a syntactically determined strong vs. weak elements can shed some light on the “Particle Shift” of ModE. As there is evidence that ModE Prts are weak when they appear in the shifted position (irrespective of their being transparent or non-transparent), I proposed that the “Particle Shift” phenomena may be a residual of the syntactic possibilities of the OE transparent Prts, which have been extended to non-transparent Prts when these subseeded prefixes in expressing *Aktionsart*/actional or even idiosyncratic meanings in the course of the Middle English Period.

In the last part of this third section, I made some brief remarks on OE *ham* which shares many of the syntactic characteristics of *ut*, *up* and *in* when used in directional contexts. Basing upon this parallelism, I argued that *ham* may be considered as an element instantiating an *absolute viewpoint* modification of the Ground, hence hosted in the DPplace. As such, *ham* behaves like a Prt proper modifying also a directional PP. This proposal may also shed some light on the peculiar syntactic characteristics exhibited by the placename *home* in many languages, in particular on its possibility to take a null directional goal P in ModE, in Modern Greek and in the Northern Italian dialects.

## Conclusions (or, why Mitchell was right)

“For we have reached the boundaries  
where the kingdoms of the preposition,  
the adverb, the separable prefix and inseparable prefix  
meet and melt into one another.”  
(Mitchell 1978: 256)

The present thesis represents first and foremost an attempt to give at least a first fromal answer to Mitchell's (1978) question: "Prepositions, adverbs, prepositional adverbs, postpositions, separable prefixes, or inseparable prefixes, in Old English?".

The question, though pirmarily terminological in Mitchell's terms, has a significant syntactic and more generally theoretical import, as the peculiar syntactic possibilities of the OE prepositional elements can offer interesting insights into the interactions between the internal structure of Ps and the argument and functional structure of the clause. In this respect, two specific phenomena affecting the OE PP are of the utmost relevance: (i) preposition *stranding*, obligatory with the relative particle *þe* and the R-elements (*þær* > ModE. *there*, *her* > ModE. *here*, *hwær* > ModE. *where*), and optional with the personal pronouns; (ii) the system of particles (and preverbs) of prepositional/adverbial origin. In each of these phenomena, the complement of the preposition either remains unexpressed or precedes its preposition. The preposition seems thus to occur alone and its syntactic status appears ambiguous between a preposition, an adverb and a preverb. In the light of the recent Cartographic developments on the internal architecture of prepositional phrases (Koopman 2000[2010], den Dikken 2006[2010], Tortora 2006, 2008, Cinque 2010a, Svenonius 2007, 2010), prepositions, particles, adverbs and preverbs are not to be considered as distinct grammatical elements, but rather as the realisations of different portions of one and the same underlying fine structure, cross-linguistically shared, upon which each language operates with different but independently motivated phrasal movements (Cinque 2006, 2009). Furthermore, the recent proposals on both the external organisation of circumstantial and argument PPs in the clausal hierarchy (Damonte 2004, Schweikert 2005a, 2005b, Cinque 2006), and on the structural representation of verb-particle/prefix combinations (Svenonius 2003, 2004a,b 2007, 2010; Damonte & Padovan 2011), provide very insightful indications on how these prepositional elements relate to argument structure and to the functional structure of the

clause.

With this much theoretical background in mind, I proceeded to a qualitative analysis of the relevant cases in the *Lives of Saints* (996-997 AD), with the intent of identifying the syntactic motivations behind P-Stranding and Prts in the grammar of Ælfric. The distributional patterns of stranded Ps w.r.t their complements and the clausal constituents, and of Prts w.r.t the finite verb and the verbal arguments show that the syntactic nature of both stranded Ps with the relative *þe*, with R-elements and with personal pronouns, and of verbal particles/prefixes depends on the different projections of the fine PP-structure they lexicalise and on the syntactic nature of their *Ground*. More specifically, I argued that stranded Ps are to be considered “prepositional” adverbs, structurally deriving from the fact that a nominal part of their complement remains within the PP. In particular, in the case of the relative *þe* and of personal pronouns, their special placement w.r.t their governing P is a straightforward consequence of their *deficient* nature (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), which is supported by their morphosyntactic properties. From a purely derivational point of view, I have argued that both the relative *þe* and the weak pronouns are originated within a full DP in the Ground of the PP, consisting of a higher functional part and a lower nominal part. Extended the syntactic mechanism of “feature stripping” proposed by Poletto (2006c) for the *doubling* phenomena of the Northern Italian dialects, I have proposed that the structural deficiency of these elements can be captured by proposing that the nominal part of the big DP moves to the higher functional heads of the PP in order to check the strong feature of PPdir/PPstat (stativity or directionality), while the functional part of the DP is left behind. At this point, this functional part, lexicalised as *þe* and as a weak pronoun, moves to dedicated projections: to the Left Periphery in the case of the relative, or to a projection dedicated to weak elements within the Left Periphery of the PP (WP), in the case of weak pronouns. Under specific circumstances, the pronominal object of stranded Ps can also move into the WP of the High Left Periphery. The process of “feature stripping” leaves then a nominal part within the PP, marking it as an “adverbial”. Evidence in favour of such analysis comes from Wende's (1915) observation that only the stressed form of *for* “for, before”, *fore*, is found in postposition. Furthermore, supporting evidence may also come from the alternation *betwynan/betwux*, which is Ælfric is sensible to the weak vs. strong nature of the pronoun, as the form *betwynan* is found only in postposition with pronouns. Interestingly, both forms *fore* and *betwynan* present an ending, *-e* and *-an* respectively, homophonous with the nominal endings for dative/instrumental of the strong and weak adjectival declension respectively. The presence of such a nominal ending on these two Ps can be considered as a form of “agreement” with the nominal part in the PP.

Unlike the *pe* relative and the pronouns, R-elements are not weak elements, and the stranding of the P has been given a different account. Slightly modifying Kayne's (2004, 2005a) original proposal, I argued that R-elements are generated in the DPplace as modifiers of a *pro* Ground. As regards the reason why these elements obligatorily strand their P, I follow Koopman's (2000) analysis of their Dutch counterparts, and propose that they scramble within their PP and target either PPdir or PPstat depending on the stative or directional nature of the PP. In so doing, they leave a *pro* in the Ground, thus providing the PP with a nominal element which makes the stranded Ps of R-elements "adverbial".

In the case of particles (or separable prefixes), I claimed that their distribution indicates that they are again to be viewed as adverbial elements with both a weak and a strong nature (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). In particular, I argued that particles, which have a resultative/directional nature, originate within a PP, which is located in the Spec of one of the thematic projections identified by Schweikert (2005a). From a PP internal perspective, I follow Koopman (2000) in arguing that Prts have the possibility to move to a higher position within the PP, which I take to be CPplace. This derives the various instances in which the Prt appears together with a directional PP. Subsequently, if any other type of material is moved out of the PP, particles have the possibility to move as weak elements into a specific projection in the Low Periphery (Jayalaasen 2001; Belletti 2004). The assumption that particles have syntactically determined weak and strong forms account for the variation attested in the order of constituents and for the fact that, with non-finite verbs, their incorporation onto the verb is not obligatory. It follows that all the instances in which the Prt appears as incorporated onto the verb are in fact cases of structural adjacency: in main clauses, this derives from the fact that the non-finite verb moves to the head of the projection hosting the Prt in its Spec, while in subordinate clauses, the structural adjacency obtains because the Prt is moved to SpecFinP by virtue of the syntactic movement similar to Stylistic Fronting, operating in OE embedded contexts. The exact same syntactic possibilities are available to the nominal *ham* which behaves like a Prt in OE. On the basis of comparative evidence with the special behaviour of the placename *home* in some Northern Italian dialects (Penello 2003, Cattaneo 2009) and in Modern Greek (Terzi to appear), I propose that *ham* originates as a modifier of the DPplace, and as such may appear with directional PPs and leave its PP to target the same clausal positions of other Prts.

Particles differ thus in a very substantial way from inseparable preverbs, which convey actional/aspectual or even idiosyncratic values in OE, and as such, always incorporate. Just like Prts, inseparable prefixes are base-generated in a PP, which is however hosted in one of

the projections dedicated to the lower aspects within the VP in Cinque's hierarchy (1999). These projections are structurally lower than the projections in which particles are generated. This difference in the base-generated position accounts for the morphosyntactic differences between Prts and preverbs, as proposed by Damonte & Padovan (2011) for the variable prefixes of Modern German.

The proposed account of OE Prts as both weak and strong elements can also shed some light on the "Particle Shift" of the ModE Prts, as it can be shown that directional Prts—the only ones which can be coordinated and modified by a PP—cannot be coordinated and modified precisely when they appear in the shifted position. This supports an analysis of "Particle Shift" in the sense of weak vs. strong Prts: non-shifted Prts remain below the object in their base-generated position, while shifted Prts appear in immediate post-verbal position because of their weak nature. In this sense, the distributional properties of ModE Prts may be viewed as resulting from an extension of what used to be a syntactic possibility available only to transparent (directional/resultative) Prts in OE.

The analysis here presented for the syntactic behaviour of the Old English PP has allowed me to test, further confirm and partly refine the most recent proposals on the internal architecture of the PP and on the structural representations of the different types of verb-particle combinations. A significant result concerns the identification of a Left Periphery in the PP, parallel to the one already argued for the DP, in which Old English presents residual evidence of a property loosely definable as V2, which is manifested through the presence of a position for weak pronominal elements like the one in the clause. Thus, the answer here proposed to Mitchell's question does not provide an indication of how these elements should be categorised but regards more properly the structural representation of these prepositional elements in the light of a universal structure for the prepositional phrase.

Besides finding a syntactic solution to Mitchell's question, the more general intent of this thesis was to give some first indications of how the high degree of structural variation in the constituent orders of Old English can be derived by a single, cross-linguistically shared, basis, upon which very few and motivated phrasal movements apply, movements which are attested also in other languages. In particular, a comparison with recent the proposals on Old Italian as regards the syntactic representation of both OV/VO orders (Poletto 2006a,b) and the "relaxes V2" property (Benincà 2006), can shed a very new and much significant insight into the precise nature of the syntactic movements operating within both the High and Low Left Periphery. In this respect, I have suggested that the "parallel phase hypothesis" proposed by Poletto (2006a,b, 2011a), by which the V2 property, the OV instances, and the

antepositions in the DP and PP of Old Italian are the result of a strong feature in the Left Periphery of each major phase, can be insightfully applied also to OE. Furthermore, a comparison with similar phenomena of both the modern German varieties (Cimbrian, cf. Grewendorf & Poletto 2011, Mocheno, Cognola 2010) and Modern Icelandic (Franco 2009) strongly suggest that the OE word orders are the result of one grammar, with one universal base, allowing few but motivated syntactic operations. This line of research opens up a new perspective on OE, which is certainly worthy of future investigation.



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