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Medieval English root clauses ¹

Abstract

The movement operation Verb Second moves the finite verb from its base-generated position in VP to C via the I node within the Chomsky (1986) framework. As the finite verb and the complementiser are in complementary distribution, the above predicts that, contrary to fact, Verb Second is not possible in embedded clauses. However, in Frisian and Swedish Verb Second does occur in embedded clauses. This entails that a lexical complementiser does not always prevent a finite verb from undergoing Verb Second.

The aim of this paper is to provide a survey of Old English and Middle English root clauses particularly with respect to Verb Second. Old English does not strictly conform to Verb Second in declarative root clauses. In Old English finite verbs also occur in first position and in third position in declarative root clauses. A comparison with Icelandic data will be provided as this language displays all three verb placements in declarative head main clauses as well.

1. Introduction

Verb Second (V2) is a verb movement operation which, within the *Barriers* framework as developed in Chomsky (1986), moves the finite verb of a clause out of its base-generated position in VP through the I node to C.² The assumption that the landing site for the moved finite verb is C suggests that the V2 operation will fail to apply in embedded clauses having a lexical complementiser filling the C node. C is already occupied at D-structure. Therefore it is impossible to move

¹ The term *Medieval English* refers to Old English and Middle English.

² The idea that C is the landing site for the moved finite verb is often referred to as the Den Besten hypothesis (cf. Den Besten, 1977). For more information on verb movement in Germanic V2 languages we refer to Haider and Prinzhorn (1986), Holmberg (1986) and Kemenade (1987).

the finite verb into this position later on. This is a welcome corollary of the analysis of V2 sketched above. In a language like Dutch or German it is possible to introduce CP by a lexical complementiser, as in (1a), or by the finite verb of the embedded clause, as in (1b), but *not* by the complementiser and the finite verb together.

Dutch

- (1) a. Jan deed als *of* hij ziek was
John did as if he ill was
John acted as though he were ill
- b. Jan deed als *was* hij ziek
John did as was he ill
John acted as though he were ill
- c. *Jan deed als *of was* hij ziek
John did as if was he ill

The ungrammaticality of (1c) follows from the assumption that the finite verb, in order to end up in front of the subject of the embedded clause, must have moved to C which is in conjunction with the fact that *of* is a complementiser. The paradigm in (1) thus lends empirical support to the idea that V2 involves verb movement to C. This explains the complementarity of verb fronting and the presence of a lexical complementiser.

However, there are V2 languages in which the V2 word order does not appear to be ungrammatical in embedded clauses. Representatives of these languages are the Scandinavian languages and Frisian.³ To this end consider the paradigm in (2).

Swedish

- (2) a. Han sa att Bengt inte *kunde* göra det
he said that Bengt not could do it
He said that Bengt could not do it
- b. Han sa att Bengt *kunde* inte göra det
he said that Bengt could not do it
He said that Bengt could not do it
- c. Han sa att nu *kunde* Bengt göra det
he said that now could Bengt do it
He said that Bengt could do it now

³ For recent exponents on research on Medieval English syntax we refer to Kemenade (1987), Lumsden (1987) and Noteboom's research project at the Leiden University.

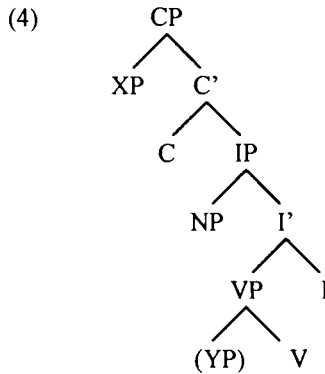
Frisian

- (3) a. Pyt sei dat hy my sjoen *hie*
Pete said that he me seen had
Pete said that he had seen me
- b. Pyt sei dat hy *hie* my sjoen
Pete said that he had me seen
Pete said that he had seen me

The Swedish example in (2a) displays the ‘normal’ order of sentential adverbial and finite verb in Modern Swedish. The reverse order of these two elements is also possible in clauses in which the truth of the content expressed in the subordinate clause is asserted by the speaker (so typical in the complement of a verb like *say*). The alternative word order is reflected by (2b). In Swedish (as opposed to some other languages that will be discussed in what follows) it even turns out to be possible to topicalise a constituent of the embedded clause. An embedded V2 word order is the result which is illustrated in (2c), where *nu* (now) has been topicalised (i.e. moved to SpecCP in the *Barriers* framework). The finite verb *kunde* ‘could’ has been moved to C as it precedes rather than follows the embedded subject NP). In the Frisian examples in (3) a similar word order alternation to the Swedish one in (2a, b) is found. There, too, the finite verb either is not or is moved to the subordinate C position. In the literature on Frisian sentence structure, however, attested constructions of the type illustrated for Swedish in (2c) have not been found. In Frisian, therefore, embedded V2 seems to be limited to embedded clauses in which the *subject* immediately follows the complementiser.

Constructions of the type illustrated in (2) and (3) pose problems for the theory of V2 alluded to at the beginning of the present paper. Apparently, a lexical complementiser does not always prevent a finite verb from undergoing V2 movement. The question that arises is how to capture sentences of this type in a restrictive theoretical framework like that of Chomsky (1986) and related work.

Old English (OE) is an OV language (cf. Van Kemenade, 1987). All OE sentences, be they root clauses or embedded clauses, have a D-structure in which the verb takes its complement (if it has one) to its left. IP is head-final, C, on the other hand, is assumed to take its IP complement to its right. The D-structure of an OE sentence hence looks as in (4), given the *Barriers* framework.



The word order reflected by this underlying structure is not, however, the one that is found in all OE sentences.⁴ Whereas the structure in (4) reflects the word order generally found in an OE subordinate clause, as is illustrated in (5), the finite verb ends up to the left of its complement in a root clause, as the examples in (6) bear out.⁵

- (5) a. eh e he hie mid mecle forlore s folces beagate (Or 72.11)
 though that he them with great loss of people achieved
 though he achieved them with great loss of people
- b. gif hie him s rices u on (Chron 755)
 if they him the kingdom granted
 if they would grant him the kingdom
- (6) a. Se swicola Herodes cw to am tungel-witegum
 (1HomT 1.82.15)
 the treacherous Herod spoke to the star-wise men
 The treacherous Herod spoke to the astrologers
- b. Maran cy e habba englas to Gode onne men
 (1HomT 1.10.3)
 more affinity have angels to God than men
 Angels have more affinity to God than men
- c. On re tide w s sum o er witega on ludea lande
 (1HomT 1.570)
 on that time was some other prophet in Jews' land

⁴ This paper is concerned with Medieval English Root clauses, not with Medieval English embedded root phenomena.

⁵ The data used here have been derived from a variety of sources listed at the end of this paper. The abbreviations used to specify the provenance of the examples are also explained there.

In these days there was another prophet in the land of Judah

- d. y ilcan geare drehton a hergas on East englum (Chron 895)
 the same year harried the armies in East Anglia
 In the same year the armies harried East Anglia

The examples in (5) and (6) are reminiscent of the word order found in Dutch and German main and subordinate clauses. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume a full structural parallel between OE on the one hand and Dutch and German on the other. All three languages are underlyingly OV. They all feature the V2 transformation.

OE does not strictly conform to the V2 pattern in declarative root clauses. Although the bulk of OE declarative main clauses have the finite verb in second position, there are exceptions to this in two directions. On the one hand, we find (non-interrogative and non-imperative) sentences on which the finite verb occupies the *first* position. On the other hand, it is not exceptional to come across an OE clause in which two constituents precede the finite verb, so that this verbal form ends up in *third* position. Thus it appears that apart from the obvious choice (i.e., V2) instances of V1 and V3 in OE example material is found. Icelandic, too, displays all three verb placements in declarative headclauses (Thráinsson, 1986). A systematic comparison with the Icelandic data might hence prove to be a useful undertaking. However, Icelandic and OE differ in one most significant respect. The latter is an OV language, whereas Icelandic is a VO language. In the survey of the various root clause types a comparative eye on Icelandic (as well as on other related languages, where relevant) will be kept. At the same time it will be investigated whether these word order correspondences are also paralleled by structural similarities between the languages concerned.

2. Declarative V1

Sentences in which the finite verb finds itself in first position are far from exceptional in the group of Germanic V2 languages. A V1 clause is the standard mould in which a yes/no-question is cast in these languages. Imperatives, too, have the verb in first position. As illustrations, consider the Dutch examples of a yes/no-question and an imperative, respectively, given in (7).

- (7) a. Gaat Jan vandaag naar huis?
 Goes John today to home
 Will John be going home today?
- b. Ga naar huis!
 Go to home
 Go home!

Instances of VI in *declarative* clauses will be discussed here. Such sentences are not very common among the Germanic languages. In Dutch, for instance, a sequence of declarative VI clauses as in (8) is characteristic only of lively, spoken narrative.

- (8) Gaat Jantje naar de markt. Komt 'ie twee oude mannetjes tegen.
Zegt de een tegen de ander ...
Goes Johnny to the market. Comes he two old men across. Says
the one to the other ...
John goes to the market. He comes across two old men. Says the
one to the other ...

In Icelandic, on the other hand, VI turns out to be "quite common in written narratives, including newspaper articles" (Thráinsson, 1986:172). An example is (9):

- (9) Koma eir nú a stórum helli ...
Come they now to a big cave
Then they get to a big cave

In the OE (and also early Middle English (eME)) example material a rich amount of VI declaratives are found. A representative sample of them are summarised in (10) (In (10) GEN-genitive).⁶

- (10) a. feng Alexander to M cedonia rice fter Philippuse his f der
(Or 122.31)
succeeded Alexander to the Macedonian kingdom after his
father Philippus
Alexander succeeded his father Philippus as king of Mace-
donia
- b. W s se hunger on s cyninges dagum on Egyptum e mon h t
was the hunger in the king's days in Egypt which one called
Amoses (Or 34.25)
There was hunger in Egypt, which in the days of the king one
called Amoses
- c. Healda a tunglu a ealdan sibbe e hi on gesceapne w ron
(ConcPhil 135)
held the stars the old peace that they in created were
The stars maintained the old peace in which they had been
created
- e. c se cyning to him Godr ritiga s ara monna (Chron 878)

⁶ It is assumed that *ne* is not a syntactic constituent. For more information we refer to Brockman (1990).

- came the king to him Godrum thirty (GEN) one the men
(GEN)
The king, Godrum, came to him, one of thirty of the men
- f. H fde se cyning his fierd on tu tonumen (Chron 894)
had the king his army in two divided
The king had divided his army in two
- g. H fde H sten r geworht t geweorc t Beamfleote
(Chron 894)
had H sten before built that fortification at Beamfleet
H sten had earlier built that fortification at Beamfleet
- h. w s H sten a r cumen mid his herge (Chron 894)
was H sten then there come with his army
They H sten had come there with his army
- i. N ron naw er ne on Fresisc gesc pene ne on Denisc
(Chron 896)
not-were [the ships] neither in Frisian [way] shaped nor in
Danish [way]
The ships were shaped neither in the Frisian way nor in the
Danish fashion
- j. N fde se here, Godes onces, Angelcyn ealles forswi e
gebrocod (Chron 896)
not-had the army, thank God, all the-English-race completely
destroyed
Thank God the army had not completely destroyed the entire
English race
- k. nolde beon gesewen unso sagul boda (1LivN 63.49)
not-wanted be seen untrue-speaking(?) messenger
The treacherous (?) messenger did not want to be seen
- l. ne sceal eow beon forloren an h r of eowrum heafde
(1HomT i.236)
not shall you be lost one hair of your head
Not a single hair on your head will be lost
- m. ne dear man gewanian on h enum eodum.. nig ara inga e S
(Wf 256.25)
not dare one diminish in heathen peoples ... any of the things
that S
They dare not curtail among heathen peoples any of the
things that S
- n. Durste nan man misdon wi o er on his time
(PbChron 263.9-10)

dared no man act unjustly towards another in his time
No man dared act unjustly towards another in his time

- o. nuste nan kempe wh he sculde sl n on (Brut 27487)
not-knew no soldier what he should strike on
No soldier knew what he should strike on

As the bulk of examples in OE (10a-m) and eME (10n-o) show, it was natural to start a declarative clause with the finite verb in these languages. In some of the above examples the possibility of V1 declaratives was in no way restricted to contexts of lively narrative. Although examples like (10d, e, h) serve as parts of an eye-witness report of some exciting event, sentences like (10a, b, j, m, n) and especially (10i) would be extremely odd in a lively narrative.

It may be concluded, therefore, that V1 had a wide domain of application in OE, and in eME as well. In this respect, Medieval English is distinct from its relatives in the group of Germanic languages. In contemporary and old Icelandic this phenomena appears to be restricted to narratives. It would be odd in a purely descriptive context. As Sigurdsson (1985:3) points out, these narrative inversion constructions, as they are commonly called, "are particularly typical of narrative texts such as modern memoirs of various sorts and Old Icelandic sagas". In Medieval English no such restriction appears to exist on the application of V1.

Whatever the domain of application of declarative V1, it will be cast in the tree representation in (4) as follows. It will be suggested in line with Thráinsson (1986) on Icelandic V1, that declarative V1 constructions are structurally identical to yes/no-questions (at least in root clauses) in that they involve movement of the finite verb to C. Whereas in a V2 declarative this movement operation will be countered by an additional transformation moving some constituent to the XP position in (4), no such additional movement operation takes place in a V1 declarative.

3. V3: The placement of adverbials in Medieval English

After the descriptive discussion of declarative V1, a construction type will be discussed here in which the finite verb surfaces in a position that is further to the right than the second position in the clause. Relevant to this respect is that even though OE and eME belong to the group of V2 languages, topicalisation of an adverbial phrase does not necessarily lead to inversion of the order of the subject and the finite verb. Put differently, adverbial topicalisation need not lead to V2. Indeed, there is often no homogeneity on this point within one and the same text. On the whole the V2, or inverted order Adverbial Phrase (Adv) – finite verb (Vfin) – Subject is in free variation with the alternative V3, or non-inverted order

AdvP – Subject – Vfin. Thus, within the Alfredian translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* Bacquet (1962:649) has traced the following minimal pairs.⁷

- (11) a. Bi am cu Salomonn se snotta: ... (CP 37.15-6)
to that said Salomon the wise: ...
to that said Salomon the wise: ...
- b. Be am Paulus se apostol cu : ... (CP 43.8-9)
to that Paul the apostle said: ...
to that Paul the apostle said: ...
- (12) a. Be m ilcan cu Moyses: ... (CP 201.3-4)
to the same said Moses: ...
to the same said Moses: ...
- b. Be m elum s g stes Petrus cu : ... (CP 85.17-8)
to the noble of the spirit Peter said: ...
to the noble of the spirit Peter said: ...
- (13) a. Be m cu Crist on hhis godspelle: ... (CP 45.8-9)
to that said Christ in his gospel: ...
to that said Christ in his gospel: ...
- b. Be m Crist cu on his gospelle: ... (CP 181.22-3)
to that Christ said in his gospel: ...
to that Christ said in his gospel: ...
- (14) a. Swa do a lytegan & a uncl nan mod (CP 241.14-5)
so do the little and impure hearts
so do the little and impure hearts
- b. Sua Heli se sacerd dyde (CP 123.3)
so Eli the holy/sacred did
so did Eli the sacred/holy

Similarly, the translator of *Orosius* freely varied the two possible word orders, even though, according to Bacquet's (1962:650) frequency counts, topicalisation of a simple adverb, as compared with an adverbial PP, seems to favour inversion of subject and finite verb in *Orosius*. Consider the following examples:

⁷ The sentences introduced by *her* "in this year" in the chronicle have the subject immediately following this adverb. The opposite order was not infrequent either. Shannon (1964:44) observes that "in these clauses, at least, it seems that there is no conditioning factor to account for the different patterns, but rather free variation, with only a difference in frequency".

- (15) a. Scortlice h bbe we nu ges d ...
 shortly have we now said ...
 shortly we have now said ...
- b. Scortlice ic h bbe nu ges d ...
 shortly I have now said ...
 shortly I have now said ...
- (16) a. Nu wille we fon to hire nor d le
 now want we seize its northern part
 now we want to seize its northern part
- b. Nu ic wille eac for gesecgan S
 now I want also forth say S
 now I also want forth say S
- (17) a. fter m foron Romane on Africe mid feower hunde scipe &
 ritigum
 after that went Romans to Africa with four hundred ships and
 thirty (i.e., 430 ships)
 after that the Romans went to Africa with 430 ships
- b. Ra e s Exantipus for eft to his agnum rice
 soon afterwards Exantipus went again to his own kingdom
 soon afterwards Exantipus went to his own kingdom again
- (18) a. fter m gefeaht Pompeius se consul wi eal a folc
 after that fought Pompeius the consul against all the people
 after that Pompeius the consul fought against all the people
- b. Ra e s Iulius gefeaht wi Somnritum & wi Lucanum
 soon afterwards Julius fought against Som, and against Luc
 soon afterwards Julius fought against Som, and against Luc

Throughout the Old English period the choice of order of subject and finite after a sentence-initial adverbial was free. This situation does not appear to have changed much through the years. Gardner (1971:41) observes that the incidence of the inverted pattern following the adverbial topic does not decrease strongly in the transition from Early West Saxon to Late West Saxon. Shores (1971), in his survey of syntactic patterns in the Peterborough Chronicle (eME), lists numerous examples of the inverted pattern following a sentence-initial adverbial alongside instances of topicalisations that have not resulted in inversion of the order of subject and finite verb. Shore's (1964:108) general conclusion is therefore that "inversion is strongly operative and took place generally when adverbial tegme-

mes occurred in the initial position of the clause".⁸

What is to be established is how these sentence types can be described in the *Barriers* framework. For the a-examples this is unproblematical. These examples are the result from moving the finite verb to C and the adverbial phrase to XP in (5).

The b-examples are more complex. These examples seem to be similar to Modern English sentences with an adverbial in initial position, or in fact to most Modern English topicalisation constructions.⁹ The examples in (19) bear out this parallel.

- (19) a. Probably John went to the movies with his girlfriend
- b. With his girlfriend John probably went to the movies
- c. Be on time he never could
- d. A decent pair of trousers Charles simply never wore

The topicalisation constructions in (15b)-(18b) are also similar, on the surface, to Icelandic constructions involving the adverb *kannski* (perhaps), and also such 'adverbs' as *maski* (perhaps), *bara* (simply just) and *tli* (supposedly). The following examples from Sigurdsson(1985:29) and Thráinsson (1986:187-8) illustrate this.

⁸ It was not only adverbials that could be topicalised without inversion of subject and finite verb being the result. There are also incidental instances of clauses being introduced by a topicalised major constituent of the sentence with the subject immediately following this phrase. The example in (i b) forms a minimal pair with the example in (ii) in which the inverted pattern is found.

- (i) a. call he scolde hem bet can (PbChron 262.15-6)
 all he should them hand over
 All he should hand over to them
- b. God wimman sc e s (PbChron 268.1)
 good woman she was
 She was a good woman
- (ii) Ful hcuig r waes hit (PbChron 255.3)
 very heavy year was it
 It was a very heavy year

⁹ The phrase "most modern English topicalisation constructions" is used in order to distinguish the examples in (19) from those in (i). In (i) subject-auxiliary (aux) inversion is obligatory. In (ii) inversion even effects non-auxiliary verbs. Examples like these will be disregarded here.

- (i) a. Never did I see anything so appalling
- b. On no account are you to reveal to anyone that I dislike John
- (ii) a. Behind the door stood John
- b. Into the garden rushed John

- (20) a. Kannski (a) ég komi á morgun
 perhaps (that) I come (subj.) tomorrow
 Perhaps I will come tomorrow
- b. Máski (a) ég komi
 perhaps (that) I come (subj.)
 Perhaps I will come
- c. Bara (a) Jón komi!
 only (that) John comes (subj.)
 Only John comes
- d. tli Jón komi ekki
 suppose (dly) John comes (subj.) not
 Suppose John comes

For the contemporary English topicalisation constructions in (19) it is assumed that the sentence-initial constituents are adjoined to IP, rather than moved to SpecCP.¹⁰ The absence of auxiliary movement to C in (19) then follows, given that these examples, just like the bulk of Modern English declarative clauses, are analysed in terms of IP only. For Icelandic this cannot be the case. Icelandic is a V2 language that implies that any headclause will be analysed as a CP. Adjunction of the sentence-initial adverb to IP in (20) will hence leave unexplained why verb movement to C (and topicalisation of the subject) is impossible.

It is therefore argued that in (20) *kannski* etc. are to be generated under C (a suggestion that is originally due to Platzack, 1986). Therefore this position will no longer be available for the verb to move to.¹¹

Platzack's (1986:201) suggestion, taken over by Sigurdsson (1985) and Thráins-son (1986) for Icelandic, is supported by the fact that *kanske* (perhaps) in Swedish, and the Icelandic adverbs used in (20), can appear "in the positions which are normally reserved for the finite verb" in the main clause. It should be noted that it is a very limited lexical class of adverbs that can occur in these positions in Scandinavian, and that these are all single words. Entire adverbial PPs never appear in sentence-initial position in (20), which follows at once given

¹⁰ Holmberg (1988) claims that the sentence-initial phrase in (19) do find themselves in SpecCP. Holmberg (1988) is forced to assume this, given that he wants to rule out adjunct to IP. Holmberg's (1988) suggestion that the constituents in (19) are in SpecCP seems problematic. This in view of the fact that no subject-aux inversion or *do*-support obtains in these examples. However, in negative topicalisation constructions the topicalised constituents have been moved to SpecCP (cf. fn. 9).

¹¹ There is a difference between Swedish and Icelandic with respect to 'perhaps' type adverbials. We refer to Platzack (1986:201) for further information.

Platzack's analysis. C is a *head*, not a maximal projection. This suggests that what one is dealing with in the Icelandic examples in (20) is of an entirely different nature from what one can see in the b-examples in (15)-(18). These examples have no lexical or heaviness restrictions on the possible sentence-initial adverbials. In Medieval English the possibility of adverbials to be adjoined to CP is not restricted to one per clause. The example in (21) demonstrates that it was also possible in OE to adjoin two adverbials in front of the subject NP in SpecCP. All this casts doubt upon an analysis of the b-examples above à la Platzack (1986).

- (21) 7 as binnan fif wintre Mellitus for ferde (Chron 616.10)
 and afterwards within five winters Mellitus died
 and afterwards in five years Mellitus died

In view of the existence of such sentences as (21) they will be referred to as V3(+).

An approach to (15)-(18) in terms of adjunction to IP, as in Modern English, might be more successful. However, OE and eME have a head-final IP. An analysis of the above examples in terms of adjunction to IP (and non-application of V-to-C movement) would hence generate clauses in which the finite verb comes *last*, as in such (extremely rare) examples as (22).

- (22) a. Her Wulfred rcebis pallium onfeng (Chron 804)
 in this year Wulfred archbishop pallium received
 In this year archbishop Wulfred received the pallium
 b. 7 y wintre Eadmund cyning him wi feaht (Chron 870.2)
 and in winter Eadmund king him against fought
 and in the winter king Edmund fought against him

The word order reflected by the two exceptional examples in (22) is not the one that one wishes to derive. It is questionable, moreover, whether one should generate the examples in (22), and, for that matter, all other instances of V-final declarative root clauses in OE, by leaving the finite verb in I and not moving it to C.

Nonetheless, the b-examples in (15)-(18) *can* in theory be derived if it is assumed that in these examples the sentence-initial adverbials are adjoined to IP, and that V-fronting to C fails to apply. This is so because Medieval English had a wide variety of movement rules, which together give the impression as though word order in OE and eME is entirely free. Two of these movement rules that are relevant here are Verb Projection Raising (VPR) (cf. Broekman, 1991) and the rule of Extraposition. This latter rule, applied to the adverb *eft* and the PP *to his agnum rice* in (17b) and to the long PP in (18b), will yield the word order of these examples without the verb moving to C. Extraposition of S together with VPR, raising the VPs *nu ges d* and *eac for gesecgan*, respectively, will result in the word order of the examples in (15b) and (16b).

There are in principle two explanations for the absence of V-fronting: either the examples in question are analysed in terms of a bare IP only, so that there is no C node to which the finite verb can move, or these sentence *are* CPs but V-movement to their heads is somehow impossible. The former suggestion is unavailable, given that, as is generally assumed in the (Government and Binding) GB literature (cf. Bennis & Hoekstra, 1987:86ff.), T is generated in C in an OV V2 language like Medieval English. Since any finite headclause contains T, it must be a projection of C. The alternative option does not seem to be appealing either. There is no obvious way in which V-fronting could be prevented in the b-examples above. It is altogether unclear why C should suddenly fail to qualify as a suitable landing site for the finite verb. And even if V-fronting could somehow be prevented, it would still have to be explained why the subject NP apparently may not move to SpecCP, thus becoming sentence-initial. There does not seem to be a plausible explanation for that either.

(23) a. Witodlice f sten wyrce se halga lariow ymb a burg s nodes
(CP 163.5-6)
truly a fortification builds the holy teacher around the fortress
of the heart
Truly, the holy teacher builds a fortification around the
fortress of the heart

b. Witodlice isum leofan leorningcnihte befste se h land his
modor (1, *St. John*, 17-8)
truly his beloved disciple (DAT) entrusted the saviour his
mother
In truth, to this beloved disciple the saviour entrusted his
mother

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with the subject, is in C. SpecCP (XP in (4)) is occupied by the topicalised NP (*fsten* [fortification] in (23a) and *isum leofan leorningsnihte* [this beloved disciple (DAT)] in (23b)). Thus, there remains one position for the sentence-initial adverb in these examples: it must have been adjoined to CP.

On the basis of such sentences as (22) it cannot be but concluded that adverbial adjunction to CP was possible in OE. Given this conclusion, it seems reasonable to assume that the b-examples in (15)-(18) also involve adjunction of the sentence-initial adverbial to CP (rather than to IP, as in contemporary English). The subject finds itself in SpecCP, and the finite verb in C. In sum, then, these C3(+) sentences are the result adjunction of an adverbial outside of an ordinary V2 construction.

So far the discussion of V3(+) was restricted to constructions in which the constituent immediately preceding the finite verb is arguably located in SpecCP. In these sentences, then, the second constituent preceding the verb must be adjoined above SpecCP. This type of V3(+) construction does not turn out to be the only one found in the OE and eME literature, however. Consider the examples in (24).

- (24) a. *Gregorius asona eode to am papan s apostolican setles*
(1Hom 89.23)
Gregory then at once went to the pope of the apostolic throne
Gregory then went at once to the pope of the apostolic throne
- b. *7 Seaxburg an gear ricsode his cuen fter him*
(Chron 672.1)
and Seaxeburg one year reigned his queen after him
and Seaxeburg his queen reigned one year after him
- c. *Earnulf a wunode on m londe be eastan Rin*
(Chron 887.10)
Earnulf then lived in the land to the east of the Rhine
Earnulf then lived in the land east of the Rhine
- d. *to am swi e awedde se foresaeda cwealm* (1Hom 93.6)
to that strongly turned (?) the aforementioned death
The aforementioned death strongly turned to that

In the first three examples of (24) the most reasonable assumption to make is that the sentence-initial constituent (i.e. the subject NP in (24a-c)) is not adjoined to CP. Instead it must find itself in SpecCP. For (24d) this also seems to be the most appropriate assumption. It is more likely that *to am* is the topic than *swipe* (strongly), which is a strictly modifying degree or manner adverbial.

The examples in (24a-c) (which, once again, bear a superficial resemblance to contemporary English sentence like *John probably will go to the movies today*,

but which – also in light of (24d) – cannot be structurally identical to this Modern English sentence) are reminiscent of similar (rare) examples of V3 in Icelandic. As Thráinsson (1986:174-6) has pointed out, a limited set of adverbs can intervene between the subject and the finite verb in modern Icelandic, thus creating V3 sentences. Relevant examples are given in (25).¹²

- (25) a. Eg *bara* veit ekkert um a
I just know nothing about it
I just don't know anything about it
- b. Hann *einfaldlega* kann ekkert
he simply knows nothing
He simply knows nothing

There are specific (but as yet mostly unclear) restrictions on the possibility of positioning an adverb in this position. By far not all Icelandic adverb(ial)s allow to be placed there. In these respects, then, Icelandic appears to differ from Medieval English, where it seems that there are no strict conditions on the types of adverb(ial)s being placed between SpecCP and C. Manner adverbs like *swi e* (strongly), sentential adverbs like *a* (then), *sona* (at once) and even bare-NP adverbs like *an gear* (one year), which in Icelandic appear not to be suitable candidates for this position, all readily allow being positioned between SpecCP and C in OE, even, as (24a) indicates, in combination with each other.¹³

If in all the examples in (24) and (25) the SpecCP position is occupied by the sentence-initial constituent, it should be established where the adverbials in between XP and the finite verb in C should be inserted. The answer does not appear to be complex. The adverbials must be adjoined to the projection of C between C and SpecCP, hence to C.

¹² In (25a) the adverb that intervenes between the subject and the finite verb, *bara* (just, simply), is identical to one of the members of the limited set of Icelandic adverbs that can occur in sentence-initial position. What is to be established is whether these two *baras* are the same. *Bara* in (20c) is generated in C. Following the above, *bara* in (25a) is also a C element. If this claim is true it is to be established why the subject sometimes does not (20c) and sometimes does move to the specifier position of the CP headed by the C adverb.

We believe that *bara* in (25a) cannot be a C filler for two reasons. Firstly, the position *bara* occupies in (25a) is not the only one it can take in this sentence. *Bara* may also be inserted in third position or in sentence final position. Secondly, other adverbs that can occur in the position of *bara* in (25a) (e.g. *einfaldlega* (simply) in (25b) or *loksins* (finally)) do not belong to the class of adverbs that Sigurdsson (1985) has listed as C-adverbs. Therefore we conclude that there are two *bara* adverbs in Icelandic, just as there are two *kannski* (perhaps) adverbs. One is a C-adverb, the other an adjunct.

¹³ Unfortunately we have not been able to establish whether Old Icelandic had more freedom in this respect than contemporary Icelandic, perhaps even as much as OE.

Summing up the findings in this section on Medieval English V3(+) it is concluded that there are two types of V3(+) constructions in OE (and, presumably, in eME as well, although the relevant data from this period are lacking). The common denominator is the fact that both involve a CP. In the one type, illustrated by the b-examples in (15)-(18), one finds an adverbial (or adverbials) adjoined to CP, in the other type, found in (24), the adverbial(s) must be adjoined to C.

This section will be closed by comparing Medieval English with contemporary English with respect to the positioning of adverbials.

Earlier in this section it was pointed out that the surface similarity between OE/eME and Modern English with respect to both types of V3(+) sentences should not be mirrored by a structural similarity. In contemporary English V3 sentences are derived by adjoining an adverbial somewhere to the projection of I (to IP or I) rather than to the projection of C, as in Medieval English.

Upon close scrutiny this distinction between Medieval and Modern English appears to be a black-and-white opposition, in the sense that in OE and eME adverbial adjunction to the I-projection does not appear to be of much use. In Modern English adverbial adjunction to the projection of C turns out not to be employed. For clarification consider first of all OE and eME. In these V2 languages adjoining an adverbial to IP would only be distinguishable from adverbial adjunction to VP (which appears to be an option that is universally employed by all Germanic languages) in constructions in which the subject NP remains *in situ* in SpecIP. The only construction types in which it would make a difference to adjoin an adverb to IP are VI headclauses (i.e. VI declaratives as well as yes/no-questions), matrix V2/V3(+) clauses in which a non-subject is topicalised, and all finite subclauses. In such constructions adverbial adjunction to IP would result in a word order in which the adverbial stands right in between the C filler (lexical complementiser or finite verb) and the subject NP. There are languages in which word orders like these are attested. In Swedish, as demonstrated by Platzack (1986), the following sentences are acceptable.¹⁴

- (26) a. Har *verkligen* Kalle gjort det här?
has really Kalle done this
Has Kalle really done this?
- b. Jag tror att *verkligen* Kalle har gjort det här
I believe that really Kalle has done this
I believe that Kalle has really done this

¹⁴ Platzack (1986) analyses these examples in terms of cliticisation of the adverbial to C. Here adverbial adjunction to IP will be used.

In the extensive body of OE and eME sentences investigated, however, no examples of this type were found. We claim therefore that in OE and eME adverbials were never adjoined to IP.¹⁵

As to the other option, i.e. adjunction to I, we can be very brief. Adverbial adjunction to (the left of) I in an I-final language like OE and eME will never be distinguishable from adjoining an adverbial to VP. Empirical evidence for or against this option will hence be unavailable, but one may nevertheless assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that adjunction to I was not employed in OE and eME.

With the rise of Modern English, therefore, the I projection was 'discovered' as an adverbial adjunction position. The discovery of IP as an adverbial adjunction site seems to have coincided with the obsolescence of CP as a projection to which adverbials could be adjoined. Notice in particular that adverbial adjunction to C must be prohibited in contemporary English, given the ungrammaticality of examples like those in (27).¹⁶

- (27) a. *What probably/possibly ... did John do?
 b. *Never probably/possibly ... have I ever seen such a mess

As regards adverbial adjunction to CP, the maximal prejection of C, this does not appear to be entirely impossible in present-day English: examples like (28) are grammatical English sentences.

- (28) Honestly/In all honesty. To be quite honest, what could she do?

¹⁵ To some extent, contemporary Icelandic allows an adverbial to intervene between C and IP. We refer to Holmberg (1986:131) for examples.

¹⁶ A vast majority of Germanic languages rules out adverbial adjunction to C'. The examples in (i) are all ungrammatical (example i(c) from Holmberg, 1988:129).

Dutch

- (i) a. *dit boek waarschijnlijk heeft Jan niet gelezen
 this book probably has John not read
 b. *dieses Buch wahrscheinlich hat Hans nicht gelesen
 this book probably has John not read
 c. *Dom där böckerna möjligen vill Mats köpa
 those books possibly wants Mats buy

However, the grammaticality of similar constructions in Icelandic and Medieval English shows that the impossibility of adverbial adjunction to C' in Dutch, German and Swedish cannot be taken as a feature of Universal Grammar. Therefore, contrary to what Holmberg (1988) claims, adverbial adjunction should not be subject to Chomsky's (1986:6) generalisation on adjunction structures in (ii).

- (ii) Adjunction is possible only to a maximal projection (hence, X'') that is a non-argument.

However, the adverbials (or free adjuncts) found in this position are characteristically separated from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation. The sentence-initial adverbials in (28) should hence be considered parentheticals which can be inserted in positions in which ordinary adverbials may not occur. It is doubtful, then, whether one should treat parentheticals in the same way as adverbials. It might be suggested that one should not. This entails that the examples in (28) do not provide evidence against the contention that contemporary English does not feature an adverbial adjunction position to CP.

Summing up, we have seen a change in the development of English with respect to the positioning of adverbials in the clause. In Medieval English adverbials could be adjoined to C and CP. Adjunction to the projection of I appears not to have been employed. In present-day English, on the other hand, adverbials can no longer be adjoined to the C projection, adjunction to I and IP apparently having come in its place. It is tempting to see this change as part of the overall changes from OV to VO and from V2 to non-V2 that took place in the history of English. Speculating, this possibly happened as a corollary of a change in the base-position of T. If it is assumed that (in English at least, but preferentially universally) only a projection of C or I that dominates T counts as a possible adjunction site, and if we bear in mind that in an OV V2 language (like OE or eME) T is base-generated in C while in Modern English resides under I, the change from CP to IP as regards adjunction could be made sense of.

To speculate somewhat further on this theme, it might be suggested that the sensitivity of the possibility of adjunction to IP or CP to whether or not T is generated in the head position of these projections is a corollary of the fact that the presence of T under I or C provides the projections of these functional categories with features. Thus the speculative proposals presented here are in the spirit of the suggestions made by Holmberg (1988:fn. 3). Holmberg (1988) appears to make the question as to whether or not adjunction to a projection is possible dependent on the presence of categorial or content features. Holmberg (1988) claims that adjunction to IP and CP is excluded, while adjunction to VP is allowed. This claim is made because the former are projections of *functional*, semantically empty heads. That adjunction to IP and CP is not an option of Universal Grammar is not acceptable in view of what was said here. However, it is acceptable that semantic content – or, more precisely, the presence versus absence of categorial features – is a significant factor determining whether a given projection is suitable as an adjunction site. This idea, in conjunction with the view that T carries categorial features (at least [+V]) while I and C, by themselves, do not, may explain the changes with respect to adverbial adjunction that the English language has gone through. While in Medieval English T was generated in C so that the C projection was a possible adjunction site while IP was not, this

situation was reversed when, with the demise of V2, T came to be base-generated under I.¹⁷

4. Conclusion

In the discussion of Medieval English root clauses it was suggested that VI constructions are identical to *yes/no* questions which involve movement of the finitive verb to C. In the case of a V2 declaration the same movement operation as in the case of VI applies with an additional movement operation: moving a constituent to the XP position in (4).

Furthermore it was discussed that the position of adverbials in the clause changed throughout the history of English. In Medieval English adverbials were adjoined to C' and CP. In modern English adverbials are adjoined to I' and IP. The change of the adjunction position for adverbials in English was attributed by speculation as a corollary of a change in the base-generated position of T. This implies that adjunction to a projection depends on the presence of categorial or content features. In Medieval English T was generated in C. Therefore adjunction to this projection was possible. In modern English with the demise of V2, T came to be base-generated under I. This gave way for adjunction to this projection.

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¹⁷ It would be wrong to interpret this line of thought in such a way that T is the only factor determining whether IP or CP qualifies as a possible adjunction site. This is so since in Dutch and German T is in C. Nonetheless, CP and C' are not available for adjunction. The same holds for Swedish, which according to Holmberg and Platzack (1988) has T in C but does not allow adjunction to its projection.

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Abbreviations

1Hom(T)	– Ifric's <i>Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church</i> ed. (Thorpe)
1livN = ISL	– Ifric's <i>Lives of Saints</i> (ed. Skeat)
1 St. John	– Ifric's <i>St. John</i> (from LSL)
Alfred's Laws	– the Laws of King Alfred
Bede	– Bede's <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (ed. Miller)
Brut	– Layamon's <i>Brut</i>
Chron	– <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> (ed. Plummer & Earle)
ConsPhil	– Beothius' <i>De Consolatione Philosophiae</i>
CP	– <i>Cura Pastoralis</i> (ed. Sweet)
Ohthere & Wulfstan (also O&W)	– <i>The Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan</i>
Or	– Alfred's <i>Orosius</i> (ed. Bateley)
Orm	– <i>Ormulum</i>
PbChron	– <i>The Peterborough Chronicle</i>
Wf	– Wulfstan's <i>Homilies</i>

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