

Table of contents

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.60.toc>

Pages v–x of

From OV to VO in Early Middle English

Carola Trips

[*Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 60]

2002. xiv, 359 pp.

© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

For further information, please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website at benjamins.com/rights

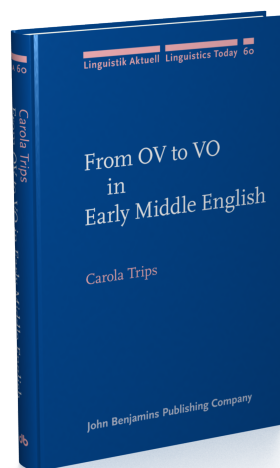


Table of contents

Language abbreviations xi

Acknowledgments xiii

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 2

The dialects of Middle English

- 2.1 Introduction 7
- 2.2 From Old English to Middle English 8
 - 2.2.1 Scandinavian influence 10
- 2.3 The dialects of Middle English 14
 - 2.3.1 The Northern dialect 18
 - 2.3.2 The East Midlands dialect 19
 - 2.3.3 The West Midlands dialect 21
 - 2.3.4 The Kentish dialect 22
 - 2.3.5 The Southern dialect 23
- 2.4 The Penn-Helsinki-Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2 (PPCME2) 24
 - 2.4.1 General information about the corpus 24
 - 2.4.2 The annotation scheme of the PPCME2 25
 - 2.4.2.1 Part-of-Speech tags 25
 - 2.4.2.2 Parsing 26
 - 2.4.3 How to search the corpus 27

CHAPTER 3

Syntactic change

- 3.1 Introduction 37
- 3.2 Mechanisms of syntactic change 38
 - 3.2.1 Internal mechanisms 39

3.2.1.1	Reanalysis	39
3.2.1.2	Extension	43
3.2.2	External mechanisms	44
3.2.2.1	Language contact	45
3.3	Syntactic change and first-language acquisition	46
3.3.1	A computational model of learnability (Clark & Roberts 1993)	47
3.3.2	Cue-based language acquisition (Lightfoot 1979, 1991, 1999)	55
3.4	Syntactic change and language contact	63
3.5	The spread of syntactic change	68
3.6	Conclusion	72

CHAPTER 4

Word order change in Early Middle English

4.1	Introduction	75
4.2	Word order in Old English	76
4.2.1	Old English data	76
4.3	The analyses of OV word order in Old English	79
4.3.1	Roberts (1997): Old English as a head-initial language	80
4.3.2	Pintzuk (1991): Synchronic variation between OV and VO word order	88
4.3.2.1	The position of I°	89
4.3.2.2	The underlying position of V°	95
4.4	The analyses of the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English	97
4.4.1	Roberts (1997): Strong AgrO° was lost	97
4.4.2	Pintzuk (1991): How the Double Base Hypothesis accounts for the change from OV to VO in Early Middle English	101
4.5	OV and VO order in Early Middle English	104
4.5.1	Variation between texts from the West Midlands and Southeast Midlands with respect to OV/VO order	105
4.5.2	OV/VO variation in the Ormulum	110
4.6	A note on Infl-final/Infl-medial competition in the Ormulum	115
4.7	Conclusion	117

CHAPTER 5

Object movement**PART I: Object shift 121**

5.1 Introduction 122

5.2 The differences between object shift and scrambling 125

5.3 Theories of object shift 126

5.3.1 Object shift is A-movement (Vikner 1989, 1990, 1994, 1997) 126

5.3.1.1 Object shift does not license parasitic gaps 126

5.3.1.2 Case assignment 127

5.3.1.3 Object Shift is compatible with the VP-internal subject hypothesis 129

5.3.1.4 Object Shift requires the main verb to move 129

5.3.1.5 Object Shift of pronouns versus Object Shift of DPs in Icelandic 131

5.3.1.6 Object shift in double-object constructions 137

5.3.2 Object shift is a PF-operation (Holmberg 1999) 142

5.4 Object shift in the Ormulum 152

PART II: Scrambling 163

5.5 Introduction 163

5.6 The properties of scrambling revisited 166

5.7 Theories of scrambling 174

5.7.1 The movement approach: Scrambling as chain formation in the domain of the head of a projection (Haider & Rosengren 1998) 176

5.7.1.1 Leftward movement of pronominal objects 186

5.8 Scrambling in Old English and Middle English 188

5.8.1 Scrambling in Old English 188

5.8.1.1 The distribution of full object DPs 189

5.8.1.2 The distribution of pronominal objects 191

5.8.2 Scrambling in Early Middle English 197

5.8.2.1 The distribution of full object DPs 198

5.8.2.2 The distribution of pronominal objects 207

5.8.3 Scrambling and fronting of pronominal objects in the Ormulum 210

5.9 Conclusion 218

CHAPTER 6

V2 and cliticisation of subject pronouns

- 6.1 Introduction 223
- 6.2 The V2 phenomenon in the Germanic languages 225
- 6.3 The V2 phenomenon in Old English 230
 - 6.3.1 The data 230
 - 6.3.2 The analyses of the Old English V2 pattern 236
 - 6.3.2.1 AgrP-Recursion (Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991) 236
 - 6.3.2.2 V2 takes place in the C-system (Roberts, 1996) 239
 - 6.3.2.3 A revision of Pintzuk's analysis (Kroch & Taylor 1997) 241
- 6.4 The V2 phenomenon in Early Middle English: Two V2 grammars in competition 246
 - 6.4.1 The V2 syntax of Middle English dialects 247
 - 6.4.1.1 The southern dialects 247
 - 6.4.1.2 The northern dialects 251
- 6.5 V2 and cliticisation in the Ormulum 262
- 6.6 Conclusion 270

CHAPTER 7

Stylistic fronting

- 7.1 Introduction 275
- 7.2 Properties of stylistic fronting 279
 - 7.2.1 The subject gap condition 279
 - 7.2.2 The categories undergoing stylistic fronting 281
 - 7.2.3 Maling's accessibility hierarchy 282
 - 7.2.4 Stylistic fronting is clause-bound 283
 - 7.2.5 The effects of stylistic fronting 283
 - 7.2.6 The complementary distribution of stylistic fronting and the expletive *það* in main clauses 284
- 7.3 Theories of stylistic fronting 285
 - 7.3.1 Movement to a specifier position or head-adjunction to I°? (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990; Jónsson 1991) 285
 - 7.3.2 Stylistic fronting checks the P-feature in I° (Holmberg 1997, 2000) 295
- 7.4 Stylistic fronting in Middle English texts 305
 - 7.4.1 Stylistic fronting in the Ormulum 306

7.4.2	The theory: Stylistic fronting as a prosodic phenomenon due to metrical reasons	314
7.4.2.1	The metre of the Ormulum	315
7.4.2.1.1	The basic pattern	315
7.4.2.1.2	The right edge	316
7.4.2.1.3	The left edge	317
7.4.2.1.4	The fifth foot	320
7.4.2.1.5	The fourth foot	320
7.4.2.2	The relation between stylistic fronting and metre in the Ormulum	322
7.5	Conclusion	328
CHAPTER 8		
	Summary and conclusions	331
	Appendices	335
	References	339
	Index	351

