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WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH EMBEDDED CLAUSES: SYNTACTIC INSTANTIATION AND PRAGMATIC FACTORS[**]

In this paper we address the major word order patterns in Old English (OE) embedded clauses and examine to what extent it is possible to capture the motivation behind the variation observed in purely syntactic terms. As a representative of the syntacticocentric approach, we take the account by Biberauer and Roberts (2005) and critically evaluate it against the larger empirical background, while also pointing out certain theoretical challenges it faces. We then attempt to characterize the various information-structural inferences (focus, topicality, givenness, pragmatic presupposition) that arise for different word order patterns, and that must be taken into consideration in any successful analysis. We leave it open whether the IS/pragmatic effects we describe arise because notions like [+Focus] are represented in the syntax, or because languages exploit the contrasts that are independently generated by the syntax for discourse-pragmatic purposes.

Key words: Old English syntax, word order, embedded clauses, movement

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we address the issue of word order variation in Old English (OE) embedded clauses. Specifically, we critically evaluate previous syntacticocentric analyses of OE word order variation, in particular Biberauer & Roberts (2005), considered to be able to derive the major OE word orders in the most principled way. We argue that word order variation in OE embedded clauses cannot be fully understood in a syntactic vacuum and explore some pragmatic factors that any adequate analysis must consider.

    1.1. The empirical picture at a glance

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There are five possible orders of the Subject (S), Object (O), finite auxiliary/modal verb (generalized here as Aux) and non-finite lexical Verb (V) in OE embedded clauses (1)-(5). Each word order is labeled/named after the by now traditional analysis of the same or similar orders in (West) Germanic languages, including the one in (5), which is viewed as exceptional, being absent in other Germanic languages. Importantly, while there is substantial freedom of word order in OE embedded clauses, the order in (6) is unattested, which has led to the conclusion that it is disallowed. The challenge of any syntactic analysis of OE word order, then, is to capture its relative freedom, while still correctly ruling out the order in (6). As we will show, the most promising syntactic analysis of OE word order to date, proposed in Biberauer & Roberts (2005), overgenerates to allow (6).

(1) **S–O–V–Aux** (VERB FINAL, 'DEFAULT')

gif	we	ðone	heofenlican	eard	habban	**willað**
if	we	the	heavenly	earth	have	will

'if we are desirous to have the heavenly country'

(cocathom2,ÆCHom_II,_12.2:125.542.2752)

(2) **S–O–Aux–V** (VERB RAISING)

gif	ōu	**soð**	wylt	*gehyran*
if	you	truth	will	hear

'If you will hear the truth'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Alban]:57.4031)

(3) **S–Aux–O–V** (VERB PROJECTION RAISING)

gif	hi	nellað	**þone**	**sang**	gelæstan
if	they	not-will	the	song	perform

'if they will not perform the song'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Swithun]:237.4375)

(4) **S–Aux–V–O** (POSTVERBAL OBJECTS)

gif	þa	yflan	ne	**mihton**	ongytan	þa	oþre	*yflan…*
if	the	evil	not	might	understand	the	other	evil…

'if the evil cannot understand the other evil…'

(cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:34.310.28.4641)

(5) **S–V–Aux–O** (LEAKING)

Gi	ic	oferswiðan	ne	**mihte**	*hine*	*ær*	*cucene*
f							

if I   overcome   not   might   him   earlier alive
'If I might not overcome him formerly when living...'

(coaelive,ÆLS_[Vincent]:
232.7947)

(6) Unattested:***S–V–O–Aux**

1.2. Previous accounts of OE word order variation

Before we turn to Biberauer & Roberts (2005), let us briefly examine previous attempts to characterize word order variation in OE, and point out some of the challenges they have faced

In her seminal work on OE, van Kemenade (1987) proposes that the clause structure of OE is essentially like that of Dutch and German. Based on the traditional analysis of the West Germanic languages, she proposes that OE is a head-final, SOV language subject to the V2 constraint in main clauses. All head-complement orders attested in OE are derived by rightward movements: Verb Raising, Verb Projection Raising, and a type of extraposition of the object.

Pintzuk (1991, 1999), however, argues that OE exhibits word orders that cannot be derived from a uniform head-final structure. For instance, particles, whose 'default' position is left-adjacent to the verb, can also be found in the postverbal position. Being light elements, particles do not generally extrapose; hence, V–Prt orders cannot be derived from a head-final VP. Similarly, the presence of the verb–subject ('inverted') orders in embedded clauses poses a problem for the view that OE TP is uniformly head-final. Pintzuk (ibid.) then proposes that OE is a mixed head-initial and head-final language, both at the VP and the TP level. Pintzuk (ibid.) follows Kroch's (1989) influential proposal that some types of variation in historical data is the reflex of competition between two grammars.

A strong reaction to the competing grammar scenario for OE is first given in Roberts (1994). Adopting Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis, Roberts offers an alternative account of the OE variation in terms multiple movements (both phrasal and head movement) out of the 'universal' and 'base' head-initial phrases (VP and TP). While successfully demonstrating that all seemingly head-final orders can be derived from a uniform head-initial base, what remains as a weak point in the analysis is the stipulation that in VO orders the object is 'exempt' from movement due to

focus.[1] The problem of directly linking the postverbal position with focus is recognized by Pintzuk (2002), who argues that Roberts (1994) cannot account for the fact that the rate of VO orders increases over time (as it is unlikely that the speakers would start using more focused objects). Equally problematic is the fact that postverbal pronominal objects and particles are possible only in Aux–V orders (Aux–V–Opro/Prt), and not in V–Aux (*V–Aux–Opro/Prt), which is a mystery if all postverbal material is uniformly allowed to remain low in the structure. Finally, Roberts' (1994) proposal that OV orders arise due to the case-checking reasons obviously faces the problem of optionality (why objects do not move in VO orders). Nunes (2002) responds to Pintzuk's (2002) criticism of the universal base hypothesis, provides a solution to the problem of postverbal pronominal objects, but cannot fully avoid the problem of optionality in deriving OV orders (vs. VO), as again addressed in Pintzuk (2005). All in all, Pintzuk (2002, 2005) provides arguments that the uniform head-initial base for OE requires far too many movements to account for substantial word order variation while at the same time not deriving unattested orders (specifically and famously, the order *S–Vn–O–Vf. Whatever mechanism is proposed for postverbal objects (VO) in general, or 'absence of triggers deriving OV', should be available for leftward moved constituents containing the non-finite verb, i.e. postverbal objects should be possible in Vn–O–Vf, contrary to fact. Pintzuk hence argues that the competing grammars model offers the most principled account of this impossible ordering. Even though OE has two grammars available, there exists a clear ban on 'mixing' the head-initial VP (V–O) with the head-final TP (V–Aux).

Biberauer and Roberts (henceforth B&R) (2005) finally offer an account that successfully addresses all the criticism of universal base hypothesis for OE. They offer a novel approach to deriving head-final orders and to language change in general. In section 2, we consider their analysis in detail and point out the empirical and theoretical issues it faces.

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

2. A CLOSER LOOK AT BIBERAUER & ROBERTS 2005

The motivation behind B&R's analysis of OE word order can be summarized as follows: (a) have a uniform trigger for movement (EPP on v and T); (b) do not derive *S-V-O-Aux (final over final constraint (FoFC), later fully elaborated in Biberauer et al. 2014); (c) do not have the OV/VO alternation always be related to interpretative differences (e.g. focus, as in Roberts 1994).

In a nutshell, the analysis relies on the following theoretical assumptions: All phrases are base-generated head-initial, following Kayne (1994). T° and v° are Probes; DP **or** vP/VP are potential goals because they contain a D-bearing element (in the case of vP, the larger phrase is pied-piped along with the D-goal), and both T° and v° have the option of attracting either DP or vP/VP. Furthermore, there is obligatory head movement of V° to v°, and, finally, T° must be filled. In monoclausal structures, the finite verb (modal) is base-generated in T°; modal verbs are restructuring and are base-generated in V°$_R$, which moves to T°, their complement is a defective TP, whose head (T°$_{def}$) attracts V°+v°.

This gives a seemingly very elegant analysis of complement-head orders, as now all OV orders arise due to VP or DP movement to (inner) Spec, vP, and all VP–Aux orders arise due to vP movement to Spec, TP. The derivational details for each major word order in OE are given in the following subsections.
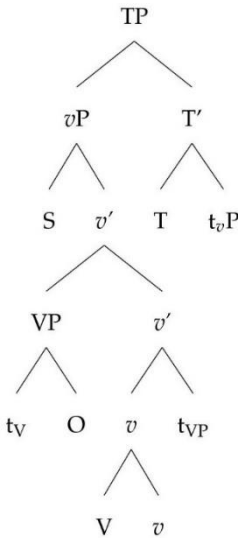
2.1. Verb Final (S–O–V–Aux)

The derivation of 'verb final' S–O–V–Aux orders is relatively straightforward: it involves V-to-v movement, followed by VP-movement to (inner) Spec, vP, and vP-movement to Spec, TP.[2] The finite verb is base generated in T. So, a clause like (7) will be derived as represented in (8).

(7)   Ða   se   Wisdom   þa   **þis**   **fitte**   **asungen**   **hæfde**   …
       when   the   Wisdom   then   this   poem   sung   had
       'When Wisdom had sung this poem …'
                          [Boethius 30.68.6; Fischer et al., 2000: 143, 25; B&R's ex. 12]

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[2]The option of 'bigger structure' movement is already present in Roberts 1997, where he assumes that the

complement of the finite verb – the extended VP containing the moved object in AgrO - moves across the finite verb

in S-O-V-Aux orders.

(8)

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                 vP    T′
                /  \   / \
               S   v′ T  t_vP
                  /  \
                VP    v′
               /  \   / \
             t_V   O  v  t_VP
                      / \
                     V   v
```

2.2. Verb Raising (S–O–Vf–Vn)

Unlike the relatively simple derivation of 'verb final' orders, Verb Raising (VR) orders require additional hypotheses. First off, B&R argue that OE 'modal' verbs (or predecessors of modal verbs) such as *willan, scullan,* etc, select infinitival TP complements. In addition, they are 'restructuring', in that they require clause-union. Following Zwart (2001), they assume that such verbs select what Chomsky (2001) refers to as T_{DEF} i.e., defective (non-phi-complete) T, or T which is selected by V rather than C. Unlike Zwart (ibid.), however, B&R take that TP_{DEF} projects a specifier. So, in the derivation of Verb Raising orders, the head T_{DEF} will attract v (+V); vP will be used to satisfy D- and EPP features of T_{DEF}. First, the remnant vP (S-t_v-O) will move to Spec, TP_{DEF}, and ultimately end up in Spec, TP_{MATRIX}. This is possible since TP is not a phase, i.e. the edge material is available for further movements.

(9)	...	þe	æfre	on	gefeohte	his	handa	**wolde**	**afylan**
		who	ever	in	battle	his	hands	would	defile

'... whoever would defile his hands in battle'

[Ælfric's Lives of Saints 25.858; Pintzuk, 1999: 102, 62; B&R's ex. 13]

(10)

TP

vP   T′

S vP   T   VPR

VP vP   VR   TP

t_V O t_{v+V} t_{VP} t_vP   T′

V+v+T$_{[def]}$ t_vp
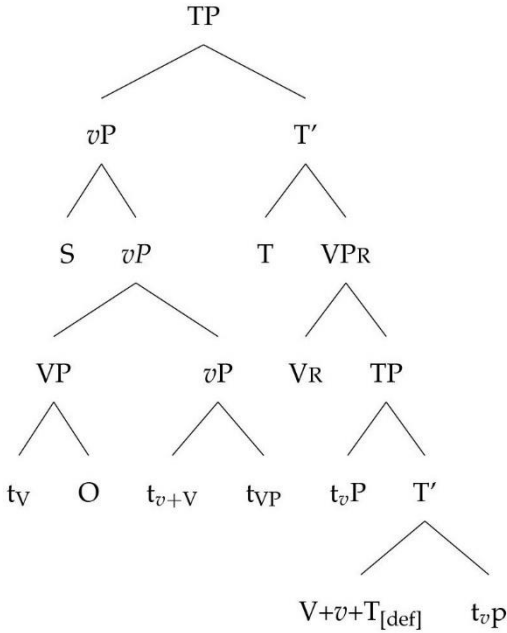
VR orders are also possible with auxiliaries (11), and it is left open how the object *ure gecynd* 'our nature' ends ups in the position preceding the finite auxiliary *hæfde* 'had ('stranding' the PP *on him sylfum* 'on himself' and the participle *genumen* 'taken') lower in the structure. The fact that auxiliaries pattern with modals in all major orders is glossed over in B&R. Restructuring ('bi-clausal') configuration is relevant only when the modal (and not the auxiliary) precedes the non-finite verb. No elaboration is given of how auxiliaries can take more structure as their complement.

(11)	for ðan ðe	se	metoda	Drihten.	ure	gecynd	**hæfde**.	on	him sylfum
	because	the	Creator	Lord	our	nature	had	on	himself

genumen
taken
'because the Lord Creator had taken our nature on himself'

(cocathom2, ÆCHom_II,_27:219.182.4855)

Some other issues related to Verb Raising orders can be noted. An obvious one is the positioning of object with ditransitives verbs. Namely, in ditransitives, the second object can be left behind: S–O1–Aux–**O2**–V (12). If [S O1] is in vP (which includes VP) in Spec,TP, it is unclear on B & R's analysis where O2 is stranded.

(12)	a.	…þæt	hi	**mine**	**þeawas**	magon	**him**	secgan,
		… that	they	my	way	may	him	tell

'…that they might tell him of my ways'

(coaelive,ÆLS[Agnes]:313.1932)

	b.	þæt	hi	eac	**þam**	**folce**	magon	wisdom	**gife**	gelæstan.
		that	they	also	to-the	people	may	wisdom'es	gift	accomplish

'that they also may provide the people with the gift of wisdom'

(cochdrul,ChrodR_1:62.24.863)

B&R are made aware of the problematic cases by a reviewer, and they give the following explanation: In all the cases where the second object is 'stranded' lower in the clause, V_R is a control predicate. Consequently, the external argument of embedded vP is PRO (13). This stipulation leaves room for the possibility of Spec of the (control) matrix vP attracting the first *overt* D-bearing element, which would be the direct object, instead of the (PRO) subject.

(13)   v [vP V_R [TP [vP **PRO**SUBJ [vP **O tV O**]] V+v tvP]]]

Assuming that the argument structure of the matrix predicate changes due to the number of internal arguments of the embedded verb is quite unorthodox and requires further evidence (see, for example, Perlmutter 1970). As the unmarked order of OE objects in ditransitives is ACC-DAT (Koopman 1990), the explanation could work when O1 is ACC (direct object). But when O1 is DAT, as in (12b), it is not clear how the dative object could get closer to matrix v.

Stranded quantifiers also pose a challenge. To account for data like (14) on B&R's analysis, we could say that the embedded vP is in Spec, TPMATRIX, but the object quantifier is in the lower, Spec, TPDEF. However, the badness of Modern English *[Reading the books]VP the child has (all) been* shows that the issue of

stranding a quantifier when it is embedded (deeply) inside a larger phrase is not a trivial issue.

(14) þonne [seo sunne *hi* hæfð [TP_DEF[t_vP **ealle** underurnen]]], ðonne bið...

when the sun them has all underrun then is
'when the sun underruns them all/all of them, then is [one year gone/over]'

(cotempo,ÆTemp:4.16.133)

We also need to address the question of adverb placement. In VR orders, S and O can be separated by adverbs. If we assume with B&R that VR involves vP in Spec,TP, the adverbials in (15) would have to be merged higher than the object in the vP, and lower than the subject, i.e., between two specifiers inside vP [_vP S – Adv/PP – O]. But the problem is that the same type of adverbs can be found in lower positions in the clause, immediately before the finite verb (16a-b) or before the lexical non-finite verb (16c).

(15) a. in þæm se cyning **gelomlice** his gebedo meahte gesecan...
in which the king often his prayer might seek

'in which the king could often seek his prayer...

(cobede,Bede_3:17.230.3.2354)

b. ðæt he **eft** ðæt good ðære mildheortnesse ne ðyrfe
that he afterwards the good of-the generosity not have-to

gesciendan mid gidsunge & mid reaflace
disgrace with greed and with extortion
'so that he may not afterwards have to disgrace the virtue of generosity with greed and extortion'

(cocura,CP:45.341.9.2292)

(16) a. þæt hi **ofer ealle** oþre þingc *ænne* *God* **æfre** woldan
that they over all other things one God ever would

lufian & wurðian
love and worship

'that they would, above all other things, ever love and worship one God'

(colaw1cn,LawICn:1.4)

b.	hu	hi	*heora*	*æwe*	**rihtlicost**	sculon	healdan
	how	they	their	law	most-rightly	should	observe

'how they should observe their law most correctly'

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

c.	ðæt	he	*þæt*	*saar*	mihte	**geþyldiglice**	**mid**	**smolte**	**mode**	aberan
	that	he	the	pain	might	patiently	with	calm	heart	bear

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

(cobede,Bede_4:32.378.28.3789)

Finally, let us address the most serious problem for B&R analysis. Namely, it has the potential of generating the unattested word order *S–V–O–Aux via TP_{DEF} to Spec, TP_{MATRIX} movement. In B&R's own words: "there is nothing which prevents a Goal G from being properly contained inside a category which is moved in order to satisfy the Probe's EPP-feature" (Biberauer and Roberts 2005: 7). In fact, this is required for them to explain why the entire VP is sometimes moved when the Goal is the Object, and the entire vP when the Goal is the Subject. Of course, in simple cases, the only possible bigger structure for a probe on v to attract will be VP, and the probe on T will only be able to attract vP. However, in 'bi-clausal' structures/restructuring contexts, the picture gets more complicated, as there is no principled way to exclude the possibility for T_{MATRIX} to attract the entire embedded TP. After all, the subject is properly contained in the embedded TP (in its spec), just like it is originally properly contained in the vP (from where it is attracted in VPR, see below).

(17)
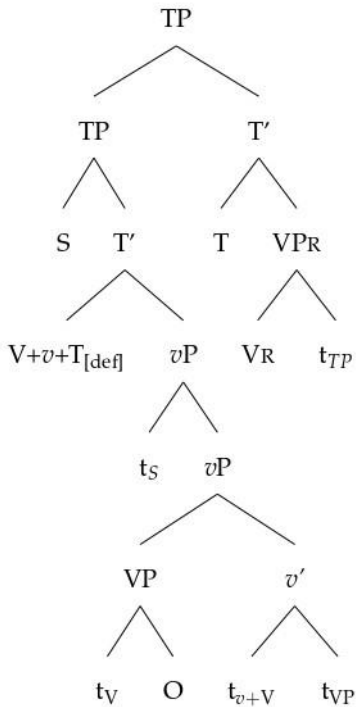
2.3. Verb Projection Raising (S–Vf–O–Vn)

Verb Projection Raising (VPR) orders are similar to VR, only now we have DP (subject) movement to matrix Spec, TP (out of the vP in Spec, TP$_{DEF}$). (18) thus derives as (19).

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

'that they could preach God's faith so boldly'
[The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church I 232; van Kemenade, 1987: 179, 7b;
B&R's ex 19]

(19)

TP
S   T′
T   VP$_R$
V$_R$ TP
vP   T′
t$_S$ vP   V+v+T$_{[def]}$ t$_v$p
VP vP
t$_V$ O   t$_{v+V}$ t$_{VP}$
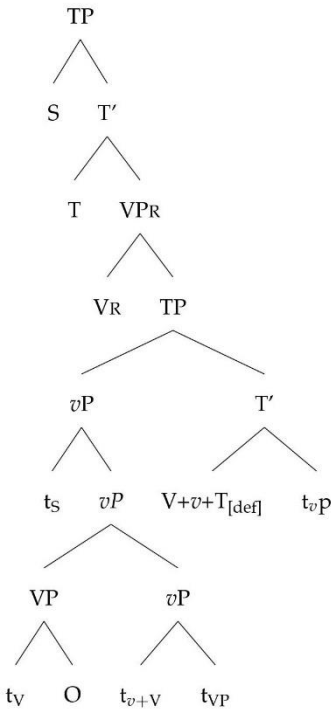
No interpretational differences between the higher preverbal object in VR and the lower preverbal object in VPR are necessarily expected. Still, some differences can be noted.

Milićev (2016) argues that the object in S-O-Aux-V is more topical than in S-Aux-O-V.[3] 'High' objects behave like secondary (aboutness) topics. VR orders seem to be subject to restrictions on 'referential heaviness' of the arguments, as there are very few cases where both the subject and the object are nominal and referential, and this is understood as a restriction on multiple (aboutness) topics. It is of course perfectly legitimate to allow syntactic features to be exploited by IS/pragmatics. But if opting for DP (subject) movement to Spec, TP$_{MATRIX}$ instead of $_{vP}$[S-t$_V$-O] yields

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[3] The intuition that VR and VPR object have different interpretational inferences is present in Roberts 1997. The lower preverbal object position (adjacent to V) is the result of case-checking in AgrOP, whereas 'high' preverbal postion (before the auxiliary/modal) is the postition for scrambled objects (presumbably due to some IS feature). Roberts assumes that the target position for scrambled object is Spec,TP, the subject occuyping a higher functional projection AgrSP.

interpretational differences, something needs to be said about why arguments showing up in the highest position in the clause (Spec, TP$_{MATRIX}$) become 'more topical'.
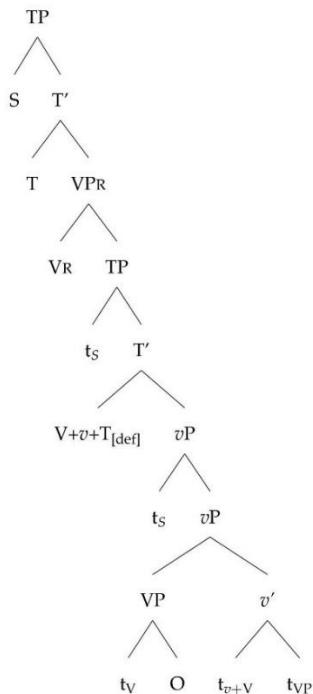
2.4. Postverbal objects (S–Vf–Vn–O)

The derivation of the postverbal objects in S-Aux-V-O orders proceeds as VPR, only DP movement applies throughout (for both Spec, TP$_{DEF}$ and Spec, TP$_{MATRIX}$).

(20)   …   þæt   he   **mot**   **ehtan**   **godra**   **manna**
              that   he   might   persecute   good   men
         '… that he might persecute good men'
                    [Wulfstan's Homilies 130.37 – 38; Pintzuk, 2002: 282, 13b; B&R's ex. 21]

(21)

```
              TP
             /  \
            S    T'
                /  \
               T   VPR
                   /  \
                 VR    TP
                      /  \
                    ts    T'
                         /  \
              V+v+T[def]    vP
                           /  \
                         ts    vP
                              /  \
                            VP    v'
                           / \   /  \
                         tV  O tv+v  tVP
```

Note that this order should be unmarked, no interpretational differences expected if there is a simple choice between DP or roll-up movement to Spec's. Any type of IS-related interpretation is now available for both preverbal and postverbal objects. This is a desirable outcome, given the heavy criticism of the correlation between postverbal position and focus.

2.5. Leaking (S-Vn-Vf-O)

While the role of focus is removed from 'regular' postverbal objects, in Leaking orders it receives serious concern. In B&R, Leaking is treated similarly to 'Verb Final'- vP fronting to Spec,TP, except now vP has an optional EPP feature, associated with interpretation, specifically 'defocusing'. Hence, objects will *not* move if they are 'focused'. However, vP still moves to Spec, TP_{MATRIX}, but VP does not because it has already undergone spell-out. Note that this part of the analysis involves non-constituent movement, a very undesirable result. It is an unorthodox view that once a phase is spelled out, it cannot move as part of a bigger constituent. On this view, it would be impossible to derive sentences like "*Which cup that Mary told John that Helen bought did she lose?*".

The derivation of a leaking construction (22) is given in (23).

(22)		...	þæt	ænig	mon	**atellan**	**mæge**	**ealne**	**þone**	**demm**[4]
			that	any	man	relate	can	all	the	misery

'... that any man can relate all the misery'

[Orosius 52.6 – 7; Pintzuk, 2002: 283, 16b; B&R ex. 24]

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[4] This particular example may not be the best representative of a leaking construction, given that the object relative clause immediately following the object *þone demm* 'the misery' is omitted here. DP objects modified by relative clauses be simply clause-final due to heaviness-related extraposition.

(23)
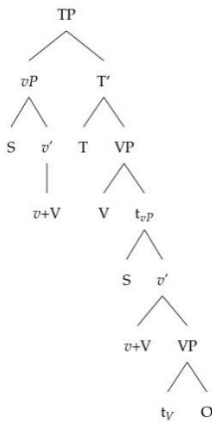
Attributing IS factors only to postverbal objects in Leaking, which form a relatively small set compared to 'regular' postverbal objects (S–Aux–V–O), B&R avoid overgeneralizing the role of focus in the position of the object. Leaking is an exceptional configuration in Germanic languages (it exists only in OE and Old Icelandic; cf. Biberauer et al., 2014), and it is in a way expected that it will be associated with 'exceptional' features, such as focus marking.

On the other hand, if only one word order pattern is associated with an optional interpretation related EPP feature, the conclusion must be that all other word orders are information-structurally unmarked. It has been shown that this is not the case. In the following section we give some of the major findings regarding the role of IS factors on the word order variation in OE.

3. INFORMATION-STRUCTURAL/PRAGMATIC FACTORS

In this section, we will present findings from more recent studies of IS/pragmatic factors associated with some of the word order alternations in OE. Indicating how they are problematic for B&R-type of analysis, we want to emphasize the need for a suitable mechanism of handling their role in any syntactic account of the linearizations in OE.

3.1. Preverbal and postverbal objects – interpretation

On B&R's account only 'leaked' postverbal objects would be associated with a unique IS interpretation (focus). However, this is not what we find in the data. In a detailed study on the role of IS on OV/VO variation, Struik and van Kemenade 2020

show that all (referential) preverbal objects are +Given, while VO orders can have both +Given and +New/novel referents.

An optional 'defocusing' EPP feature on v can account for the givenness of preverbal objects (preverbal = defocused/+Given). However, not all VO orders are interpreted uniquely (as -Given objects). And again, the same question of optionality arises – why do only certain +Given object move?

Struik and van Kemenade (2022) address the optionality in the positioning of +Given objects and propose that it is the structural ambiguity of OE DPs that underlies the OV/VO variation for +Given referential objects. The first step in their argument is that information status is indirectly encoded in the syntax, given that there exists a rather clear relation between IS and the morphosyntactic expression of an argument. As in OE the weak demonstrative has not yet acquired the status of a determiner, syntax takes part of the job, and objects front. The existence of VO orders alongside OV is due to the nature of the weak demonstrative pronoun, which is in the process of shifting from a demonstrative/deictic element to the definite article/determiner. This change is reflected in its varying syntactic positions inside the DP: Spec, DP or D-head. The DP-internal position of the OE demonstrative affects the referentiality feature present in this 'big DP' structure. Without going into the exact details, the presence of the weak demonstrative in Spec, DP entails an additional layer of preferentiality, which then makes object fronting obligatory. In VO orders, referential objects are DPs with the weak demonstrative in the D-head, and no movement is necessary. Their analysis correctly captures the change from OE NP/DP to the PDE DP, but the question is whether OE is where this process starts, or whether the variation between OV and VO is indeed motivated by referentiality feature checking in varying DP structures.

The problem of postverbal objects goes beyond the optionality of defocusing. As first argued in Milićev (2016), then elaborated in Milićev (2022), VO orders are associated with three interpretations: (i) contrastive focus on the object, (ii) contrastive focus on the lexical verb, and (iii) 'defocused' verb+object (with contrastive focus on other elements: subject, auxiliary/modal or adjunct). Having three possible interpretations of VO orders might suggest that IS factors are indeed random in them. This is something that can be accommodated in B&R. According to B&R, in the pattern S–Aux–V–O , the object could be +Given in [$_{vP}$ t$_v$ O] sitting in Spec, vP, or –Given inside the unmoved [$_{vP}$ t$_v$ O]. However, as shown in Milićev 2022, what is strikingly absent in VO orders (at least in embedded clauses) is the presence of new information focus on the object. Even when new referents are introduced in this order, it is only via contrastive focus (in the sense of Zimmermann

2008).[5] It is thus clear that in OE IS marking goes beyond tracking/checking one particular IS feature of a discourse referent. Two generalizations arise: (a) there is a clear restriction on new information focus with objects referents, and (b) not moving an object signals that contrastive focus is present. Milićev (2022) proposes that this can be best understood in terms of predicate focus marking. All leftward movements are indeed associated with defocusing, as the verb/predicate itself needs to be IS marked for information focus. Only the presence of contrastive focus in the proposition can override this IS/pragmatically neutral configuration. The challenge is then how to handle the role contrastive focus in OE linearizations.[6]

3.2. Two vP external subject positions

It has long been noted that pronominal and nominal subjects in OE main clauses do not occupy the same position. The asymmetry was first noted with respect to the position of the finite verb with sentence initial topics: while DP subjects show the verb-second (V2) effect (XP_{TOPIC}–V_{FINITE}–DPsubject), pronominal subjects regularly exhibit V3 (XP_{TOPIC}–PronounSubject–V_{FINITE}). The existence of two distinct subject positions (Spec, AgrP/FP and Spec, TP) have been further confirmed based on the relative ordering with the negative adverb *na* 'not' and the so-called high adverbs *þa/þonne* 'then' (Haeberli 1999; van Kemenade, 1999, 2000).

(19) matrix clauses: [CP C [FP **PRONSUBJ** [*þa/þonne* or *NEG.adv* [TP **DPSUBJ** T ...]]]

(Haeberli 1999, van Kemenade 1999, 2000)

Van Bergen (2000) demonstrates that embedded clauses too have available two high positions for the subject based on their relative ordering with the high adverbs *þa/þonne* 'then'. Pronominal subjects again almost categorically occupy the higher subject position, but unlike in matrix clauses, nominal subjects can be found in both. While pronouns have long been noted to have exceptional syntax (starting with van Kemenade's (1987) account of pronouns as clitics to by now standard view that they are weak pronouns, occupying 'special' positions), the higher and the lower DP subject position should be of concern for any syntactic account of the word order patterns in OE.

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[5] Leaking orders generally match the interpretation of Aux–VO orders, only with a restriction on introducing novel referents via contrastive focus.

[6] The role of contrastive focus is actually even more complex as contrastively focused objects are possible in OV-Aux orders, where they are presumably both +Cf and +Given. This strongly suggests that OE IS/discourse pragmatic marking goes far beyond encoding specific features of individual elements.

Van Kemenade and Milićev (2005/2012)[7] argue that the role of the high adverb is that of a discourse particle, and that the distribution of subjects between FP (which they label 'SigmaP') and TP is not in terms of the categorial status of the subjects, but is related to discourse structuring. Even though the exact IS nature of SigmaP has largely remained unspecified, this study represents the first account of syntactic variation in OE in IS/discourse-pragmatic terms.

(20) embedded clauses [$_{CP}$ [$_{SigmaP}$ **SUBJECT$_1$** [*þa/þonne* [$_{TP}$ **SUBJECT$_2$** [$_{...}$ [$_{vP}$ ...]]]]]]

(van Kemenade & Milićev, 2005/2012)

B&R's analysis leaves no room for having two derived subject positions.

3.3. Scrambling of DP objects

The relative positioning of objects and adverbs indicates that in OE DP objects can scramble (move independently for some interpretation-related reasons). This will be illustrated in VPR orders, where an object can both follow and precede the same type of adverb, yielding the orders (a)   S–Aux–Adv–O–V (20a & 21a) and (b) S–Aux–O–Adv–V (20b & 21b).

(20)	a.	þæt	hio	scoldan	**þær**	*Godes*	*word*	bodian	&	læran
		that	they	should	there	God's	word	preach	and	teach

'that they should preach and teach God's word there'

(cobede,Bede_5:10.414.7.4156)

	b.	þæt	ic	wolde	*onsægdnisse*	**þær**	onsecgan,
		that	I	would	sacrifice	there	offer

'that I would offer sacrifice there'

(coalex,Alex:36.13.459)

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[7] Due to the discrepancy between the time of submission (2005) and publication of the paper (2012), it is often overlooked in references as the original source of the discourse particle status of the adverbs *þa/þonne* 'then' and of the proposal that IS and pragmatics play a significant role in the OE word order variation.

(21) a. þæt man sceolde ofer eall Angelcyn *scypu* **fæstlice** wyrcan

        that one should over all England ships quickly make

        '[Here the king ordered] that people should quickly build ships all over

        England'

                                          (cochronC,ChronC_[Rositzke]:1008.1.1424)

  b- þæt he wolde **fæstlice** *þam* *deofolgildum* wiðsacan ond Cristes

     that he would quickly the idolatry reject and Christ's

    geleafan onfon

    faith receive

    'that he would quickly reject idolatry and receive Christ's faith'

                                    (cobede,Bede_2:10.136.20.1322)

As there is little reason to assume that the locational and manner adverbs are in different postions (20a, 21a) and (20b, 21b), it is the additional movement of the DP object that leads to the variation. But independent object movement is not possible in B&R's model.

3.4. Summary

In this section we have presented evidence for the role of IS/pragmatic factors in the word order variations in the embedded clauses in OE. The IS notions of givenness and contrastive focus have been recognized as instrumental in the preverbal or postverbal position of the DP object. We also give evidence that both the DP subject and the DP object can undergo independent, non-pied piped movement across adverbs in a fixed position.

To these concerns, we briefly add the problem of the special pronominal syntax, reflected in the fact that weak pronouns generally do not occupy the same positions as nominal phrases. If the positions of weak pronouns are fixed, various questions arise as to how we account for the positions of other elements relative to them, especially for the rare but possible order non-finite verb-weak object pronoun

(cf. Milićev 2022). If we adopt B&R analysis, we face the problem of explaining what prevents movement of the pronoun to the preverbal position, as it would 'normally' do.

4. CONCLUSION

The syntactic account offered in B&R 2005 gives us an elaborate mechanism of deriving word order patterns in OE via the optionality in the size of the element moved for EPP checking on v or T, the optional presence of the EPP feature on v, and its 'interpretative associations'. Still, many aspects of the word order patterns remain mysterious. The interaction of 'major sentence elements' (S, O, Aux, V) with adverbials and pronouns is clearly left open for speculation. Once we also factor in the role of IS and discourse/pragmatics in the OE linearizations, even more questions arise. What emerges from the OE dataset is that the positional variation of clausal elements is more complex, and goes beyond what has been established in the syntactic literature as major word order patterns. The influence of IS/pragmatic factors, ignored or even denied in earlier accounts, has been shown to be real, albeit requiring a system of IS-marking which does not directly correlate a specific position with a specific interpretation.

Certain distributional facts seem to clearly indicate that more movement options have to be available, both in terms of elements undergoing movement and landing sites. Specifically, DP objects (and possibly participles and infinitives) should be allowed to move independently, and the inventory of functional projections must include one above TP. But postulating far too many movements always leads to the option of deriving the one sequence that is impossible in OE: V–XP–Aux. If the constraint is truly syntactic, its source should perhaps be sought in the 'true' nature of non-finite verbs (participles and infinitives) and the requirement that they be adjacent to certain heads.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that by pointing out the role of IS/discourse-pragmatic factors we do not advance the view that they should be directly encoded in the syntax. For us, it is perfectly plausible that languages can exploit the contrasts that are independently generated by the syntax for discourse-pragmatic purposes. However, if interpretation is responsible for certain word order patterns (akin to variations in 'free word order' languages), their instantiations should not be characterized in purely syntactic terms.

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RED REČI U ZAVISNIM KLAUZAMA U STAROENGLESKOM: SINTAKSIČKA REALIZACIJA I INFORMACIJSKO-STRUKTURNI I PRAGMATIČKI FAKTORI

Rezime

U ovom radu bavimo se pitanjem sintaksičke derivacije osnovnih redosleda reči unutar zavisnih klauza u stroengleskom. Dajemo pregled najuticajnijih sintaksičkih analiza varijacije u redosledu ličnih glagolskih oblika (pomoćnih glagola i modala), neličnih (infinitva i participa) i argumenata (subjekta i objekta). Posebna pažnja pridaje se analizi Biberauer i Roberts 2005, budući da ona uspeva da reši mnoge probleme uočene u ranijim analizama. Uz pregled osnovnih postulata i postavki ove sintaksičke analize, ukazujemo i na probleme koji se javljaju iz šire empirijske perspektive. Pored određenih nejasnoća koje ne deluju rešive unutar predloženog modela analize, kao najveći problem može se izdvojiti činjica da je na osnovu mehanizma provere sintaksičkih obeležja (koja dovode do pomeranja struktura DP ili vP) moguće izvesti redosled koji ne postoji u staroengleskom. Na kraju, iznosimo uvide iz novijih studija o uticaju informacijsko-strukturnih (IS) i diskursno-pragmatičkih faktora na varijaciju reda reči. Naime, pokazano je da je redosled u kojem se objekat pomera ispred glagola uslovljen IS obeležjem 'datost u diskursnom modelu' (eng. +Given) referenta objekatske nominalne fraze. S druge strane, prisutnost kontrastivnog fokusa na bilo kom elementu unutar propozicije dovodi do toga da se objekat ne pomeri. S obzirom da ne postoji direktna korelacija između određene sintaksičke pozicije i interpretacije, teško je pronaći motivaciju za hipotezu da su IS obeležja direktno kordirana u sintaksi. No, isto tako je jasno da ono što se smatra osnovnih redosledima u staroengleskom nisu podjednako 'nemarkirani'. U sintaksičkom modelu Biberauer i Roberts (2005) opcionalnost u veličini strukture koja se pomera da bi se proverila obeležje EPP ostavlja prostor da se konkretan izbor strukture DP ili vP poveže sa interpretacijom. Međutim, izvesno je da inventar fraza koje se mogu samostalno pomerati mora biti širi, kao i broj pozicija u strukturi u kojima se oni mogu naći. Izvor nemogućnosti derivacije redosleda nelični glagol-objekat-lični glagol ne leži nužno u nedostupnosti određenih tipa pomeranja (npr. nemogućnost samostalnog pomeranja participa ili infinitiva) i odgovor na problem ovog ograničenja (u literaturi poznatog kao *final-over-final constraint*) treba tražiti negde drugde. Pitanje tačnog mehanizma intefejsa sintakse i IS/pragmatike ostaje otvoreno. Bitno je, međutim, ne korelirati određene varijacije u redu reči direktno sa varijacijom u sintakičkim potencijalima jezika.

Ključne reči: staroengleski, zavisne klauze, varijacija u redu reči, sintaksička derivacija, uticaj informacijsko-struktrunih faktora.

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