

ON TWO TYPES OF SCRAMBLED WORD ORDER IN OLD ENGLISH

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This is a Minimalist account of Scrambling in two types of O(ld) E(nglish) constructions wherein the scrambled orders are described as involving leftward movement of both objects to the left periphery of VP, viz. V_{fin} -IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)- $V_{non-fin}$ and V_{fin} -DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)- $V_{non-fin}$. The approach adopted here assumes that Scrambling is an optional (= non-feature-triggered) displacement operation that moves internal Arguments (and Adjuncts) into left-phrasally-adjoined positions before Spell-Out and that this is semantically and pragmatically effective.

Key words: Scrambling, optional movement, internal junction, semantic/pragmatic effects OE

OE double object constructions involving trivalent verbs of the *give*-class characterized by the Theta grid <Agent, Benefactive/Recipient, Theme> commonly exhibit indirect object (Dat(ive)) – direct object (Acc(usative)) order of Arguments in surface (S)VO clauses in unmarked sentence structure but alternative object orders may be generated under certain conditions. Cf. Koopman's thorough analyses of OE data (1990 & 1994), which reveal reasonable evidence to suggest that the base order of such constituents in OE is Dat (indirect object) – Acc (direct object). Indeed, Koopman claims an underlying SOV word order for OE but his arguments are primarily related to binding facts and next to statistics, hence they could still bear relevance to this analysis, e.g. the property of the indirect object to bind into the direct object can be taken as theory-independent evidence.

Unmarked post-verbal object order is straightforwardly accounted for in terms of standard *Minimalist* assumptions (viz. the indirect object is generated in spec-VP and the direct object in compl-V' (Chomsky 1995)) and is herein mentioned in brief with respect to the referential types of the internal Arguments in the following examples:

V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)

- 1) OE Ðá sáede hé him sum bigspel. (LkSkt 12, 39)
 then said he to-them some parable
 ‘Then he told them a parable.’
- 2) OE Hé sealde þam geswenctum mannum reste. (VercHomIV 149-150)
 he gave to-the distressed men rest
 ‘He gave rest to the distressed men.’
- 3) OE Híe saldon hiera nefum Wichte éalond. (Erl 14, 33)
 they gave to-their nephews Wight island
 ‘They gave the island of Wight to their nephews.’
- 4) OE ... þæt he geann ærest gode his sawelscættas ... (WWulfDo 163, 1)
 ... that he gives first to-god his ecclesiastical dues ...
 ‘... that first of all he grants to God (to the church) his burial fee ...’
- But cf. the example in 5), which reveals an inverted **V_{fin}-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)** order:
- 5) OE Ðá aldormenn gesaldon ðec mé. (JnL 18, 35)
 those aldermen gave you to-me
 ‘The aldermen gave you to me.’

In 1) the pronominal indirect object *him* comes before the indefinite direct object *sum bigspel*, rendered by a quantifier phrase. 2) shows a definite indirect object *þam geswenctum mannum* (modification by a demonstrative pronoun) preceding an indefinite direct object *reste* (expressed by a bare nominal) and so counter-reflects 4) where an indefinite indirect object *gode* (rendered by a bare nominal) precedes a definite direct object *his sawelscættas* (modification by a possessive pronoun). In 3) both objects are definite and the indirect object *hiera nefum* is of the same referential type as *his sawelscættas* but the direct object *Wichte éalond* is specified by a proper name. In 5) both objects are rendered by pronouns, *ðec* and *mé* respectively, but the indirect object follows the direct object. No examples of the pattern **V_{fin}-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)** with pronominal objects have been attested in the corpus. A claim to this effect is made by Visser: “... when both the objects are pronouns it seems always to have been the rule to put the direct object before the indirect. Exceptions are not numerous.” (Visser 1963:623).

In examples 1) – 4) both the direct and the indirect object stay in situ and 5) is an example of *VP-internal Scrambling*, whereby the direct object *ðec* targets a left-adjoined position, extending VP ‘lower’.

When any or both of the objects do not occur in their base-generated positions in surface structure one faces a bunch of alternative analyses. My suggestion lies with the framework claiming that modified object orders result from object movement or *Scrambling* (e.g. Roberts 1997a & 1997b and Haeberli 1999 & 2002 for OE; Wurff 1999 and Trips 2001 for OE and M(iddle) E(nglish); and Ross 1967; Saito 1989 & 2004; Grewendorf & Sternefeld 1990; Corver & Riemsdijk 1994; Holmberg & Platzack 1995;

Bobaljik & Jonas 1996; Thráinsson 1996 & 2001; Diesing 1997; Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998; Fukui & Saito 1998; Kitahara 2002; Haugan 2001; Hróarsdóttir 2001; Richards 2004; Wallenberg 2009 for other languages). This study, however, differs from the above mentioned accounts of OE *Scrambling*, as it lines with the optional movement approaches to *Scrambling* phenomena, viz. I take *Scrambling* to be an optional operation with its optionality resulting from its syntactic status, namely *internal adjunction* (after Wallenberg 2009).

Irrespective of some theory-internal differences, the current analysis is indebted to Roberts 1997a & 1997b, Haerberli 1999 & 2002 and Wurff 1999 for the fine-grained analyses of OE phrase structure and of *Scrambling* in Germanic and to Wallenberg 2009¹ for his endorsing analysis of *Scrambling* in cross-linguistic perspective. These constitute my primary sources and the following initial assumptions are partially or wholly derived from them:

i) OE is a configurational language: it has VO order within the VP underlyingly and axiomatically a base-generated SVO (=SHC) order and this basic word order correlates primarily with grammatical relations.

ii) In OE VP is the domain where the thematic properties of the clause are fixed, TP is the domain where the situation indicated by the verb is anchored with respect to time and CP is the domain where the discourse properties of the clause are specified.

iii) *Scrambling* can be defined in terms of internal *merge*. Specifically, *Scrambling* is an instantiation of internal *adjunction* and it obeys Wallenberg's *Conservation of C-Command*: "Adjunction cannot subtract a c-command relation holding between a head and a non-head." (2009:132). Technically speaking, *Conservation of C-Command* constrains leftward *Scrambling* from moving phrases across c-commanding functional heads.

As a starting point to the discussion, the application of *Scrambling* has to be relativized to the type of *scrambled* constituent/s and to the type of targeted site/s: in what follows *scrambled* orders are described as consequent upon leftward movement of both the direct and the indirect object out of their source positions into phrasally-adjoined positions in the left periphery of VP/vP, so deriving $V_{\text{fin}}\text{-IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)-}V_{\text{non-fin}}$ and V_{fin} -

¹ In Wallenberg 2009 *Distributed Morphology* is used as a means of formalization and the current study makes use of X' formal representations.

DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)- $V_{\text{non-fin}}$ constructions, based on *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (2003). The scrambleability of the internal Arguments in the above constructions is considered with respect to different referential types of objects.

The first pattern to be discussed here shows both objects moving into the Middlefield, i.e. V_{fin} - - $V_{\text{non-fin}}$, as they still align to the indirect – direct object order. Cf.:

V_{fin} -IO(Dat)-DO(Acc)- $V_{\text{non-fin}}$

- 6) OE Nyle se Waldend ængum ánum ealle gesyllan gæstes snyttru. (Cri 683)
 not-will that ruler to-any one all give of-spirit wisdom
 ‘That Ruler will not give to anyone alone all the wisdom of the spirit.’
- 7) OE Hé scolde heom ðone pallium gifan, (Chr 995)
 he should to-them the pallium give,
 ‘He should give them the pallium.’
- 8) OE Eást Engle hæfdon Ælfréde ápas geseald. (Chr 894)
 East Angles had to-Alfred oaths given
 ‘The East-Angles had given oaths to Alfred.’

But cf. the following V_{fin} -DO(Acc)-PrepO- $V_{\text{non-fin}}$ pattern:

- 9) OE ... ond gif mon þonne ne mihte hí tó rihte gecyrron ... (HomS 1445)
 ... and if one then not might them to law turn ...
 ‘... and if one might not then turn them to justice ...’

In 6) both objects are indefinite, rendered by quantifier phrases, but 6) is actually a borderline case, as the indirect object *ængum ánum* moves in whole but only the head of the QP direct object *ealle* undergoes movement with the complement *gæstes snyttru* remaining in its base position. One way to interpret the *scrambled* order in 6) is to assume that here the quantifying part of the direct object *ealle* is accented and focused.

In 7) the indirect object is pronominal *heom* and the direct object is definite, realized by the determiner phrase *ðone pallium*. 7) looks up to the canon, as it complies to the common Germanic tendency for pronominal objects to precede full NP (DP) objects. By being a discourse-anaphoric constituent, the pronominal indirect object *heom* is unstressed and unfocussed with the focus shifting onto the direct object *ðone pallium*.

Furthermore, a look at 10) shows that the sequence indirect – direct object is repeatedly used in this small passage in both post-verbal and pre-verbal position. No doubt, in both post- and pre-verbal position the order IO-DO is most common. Thus, in twenty out of the thirty-nine wills from the collection of *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Whitelock 1930) post-verbal indirect – direct object order is prevalent by large numbers: my figures show 87.89% vs only 12.11% for the inverted direct – indirect object order. Constructions with two pre-verbal objects are not very numerous in this

collection but again pre-verbal indirect – direct object orders occur with very high frequency, i.e. 93.18% over 6.82% for the inverted orders. Cf.:

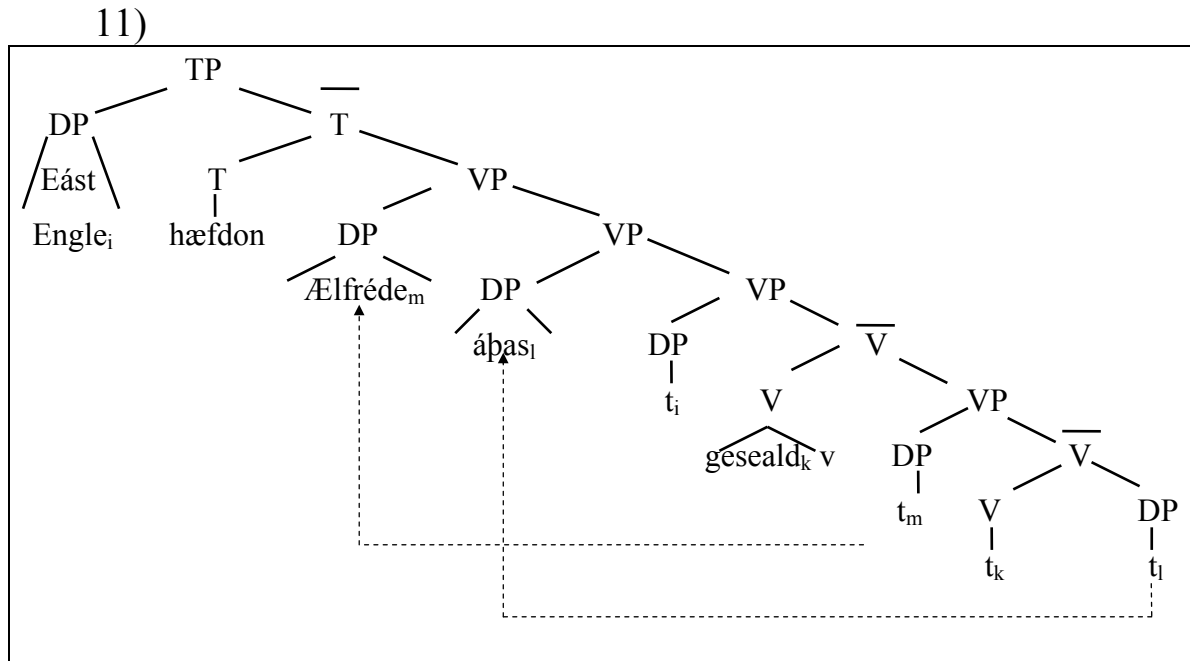
- 10) OE Wið ðan ðe he scolde gifan heom ðone arce ...
 with the proviso he should give to-them the arch(-pallium) ...
 ‘On condition that he should give them the arch-pallium ...’
 Forðí ðæt he scolde heom ðone pallium gifan ...
 for that he should to-them the pallium give ...
 ‘For that he should give them the pallium ...’
 Hé scolde heom ðone pallium gifan, (Chr 992-995)
 he should to-them the pallium give,
 ‘He should give them the pallium,’

The worth of the example in 9), viz a pronominal direct object *hí* preceding a prepositional object *tó rihte*, is to show that OE *Scrambling* can affect prepositional phrases. Notably, post-verbal prepositional ditransitive constructions or V-DP-PP orders are herein assumed to have essentially the same base structure as ditransitive constructions involving two nominal objects, except that the former direct object position is filled by a small clause predicate (PP). In 9) the prepositional phrase *tó rihte* moves out of compl-VP ‘lower’ to adjoin to the left of the VP *mon gecyrron + v hí*, crossing the direct object *hí* in spec-VP ‘lower’ and the subject *mon* in spec-VP ‘higher’ and then the direct object *hí* leaves its base position, crossing the subject and moving past the PP *tó rihte* to adjoin over it.

Scrambling of the PP *tó rihte* moves one maximal projection across one filled object position and one filled subject position to adjoin it to another maximal projection. *Scrambling* of the PP *tó rihte* counts as a piece of evidence contra obligatory-feature-checking accounts on the assumption that PPs are caseless. Moreover, the two filled positions mentioned above are A-positions and implicitly Theta positions and potential case-positions and apparently they do not set any barriers to the non-feature driven *Scrambling* of *tó rihte*.

Moving back to 8), the indirect object here is definite, rendered by the proper name *Ælfréde* and the direct object is indefinite, realized by the bare nominal *ápas*. 8) does not breach the rule for definite objects to precede indefinite ones, but still it shows an indefinite object *scrambling* out of its VP-internal position and does not line with the cross-Germanic tendency for indefinite nominal objects to remain inside of VP.

Let us now turn to the schematic representations of 8), which under an AgrSP analysis will be derived as follows:



In 11) the direct object *áþas* moves out of compl-VP ‘lower’, crossing the subject *Eást Engle* in spec-VP ‘higher’ to adjoin to its left and then the indirect object *Ælfréde* moves out of spec-VP ‘lower’, in its turn crossing the subject and moving past the direct object *áþas* to adjoin over it.

In 11) the main verb *geseald* does not move out of the VP and both *áþas* and *Ælfréde* move to adjoin to the left of *geseald + v*, so crossing the functional head *little v*. The *scrambling* movement of *áþas* and *Ælfréde*, hence, becomes illicit in terms of Wallenberg 2009’s *Conservation of C-Command Constraint*. This ties with the question of what counts as c-commanding functional heads. Thus, according to Chomsky 2001 *Move* is solely triggered by the EPP features on the functional heads C, T and *v*. Haegeman, on the other hand, draws a distinction between lexical and functional categories, based on their ability for Theta-role assignment and contends that functional categories are unable to assign Theta-roles (2006). *Little v* then seems to be defective in this respect, as it assigns the Theta-role to the subject and what is more *little v* allows of leftward movement of the object/s crossing it, cf. tree diagrams 11) and 15).

In terms of inherent and structural case marking this analysis assumes that Acc objects differ from Dat objects in the way they receive/check their case in OE (following Kiparsky 1997 and Pintzuk 1999²). Under the assumption that in OE *Recipient* objects are assigned

² Kiparsky (1997) and Pintzuk (1999) hold that the case marking of objects in OE can be either structural = Acc or inherent = Dat/Gen. However, scholarly opinions vary regarding the possibility of inherent case/s in OE. In a nutshell OE must have had

dative case inherently, the Dat on *Ælfréde* is easy to account for: as the indirect object *Ælfréde* merges in spec-VP ‘lower’, the verb *geseald* assigns *Ælfréde* the Theta-role *Recipient* and it also checks its dative case in situ.

As it merges in compl-VP ‘lower’, the direct object *ápas* is assigned accusative case by the Verb node and it is also assigned the Theta-role *Theme* by *geseald*. The structural Acc on *ápas* cannot be checked in the same domain, wherein *ápas* gets a Theta-role and *ápas* will have to move in order to have its accusative case-feature checked. Such a scenario fits in perfectly with approaches, whereby *Scrambling* movement is motivated by the need for internal Arguments to have their case checked in spec-AgrOP (Roberts 1997a & 1997b; Haeberli 1999 & 2002; Wurff 1999).

I argue for a non-feature triggered account of OE *Scrambling* and suggest that the direct object *ápas* carries structural accusative case and *little v* carries an Acc case-feature, and that the *v-head* can check the structural Acc on *ápas* with the internal Argument remaining in its complement position, which falls within the checking domain of *little v* (mainly after Chomsky 2000). Now, I further assume that *ápas* carries a formal case feature with the value +Acc or that *ápas* is base-generated along with an abstract accusative marker in Chomsky 1993’s terminology. Evidence suggests that the structural Acc occurs on every direct object in OE, although accusative case marking in OE is partly overt and partly covert. E.g. the opposition Nom. Masc. : Acc. Masc. lacks overt morphological realization in both Sing. *áp* : *áp* and Pl. *ápas* : *ápas*, however, this opposition is realized overtly as *se cyning* : *þone cyning* in the Sing. definite usage, but it is neutralized in the definite Pl. with *þā cyningas* attested in the Nom.-Acc. Pl. Masc.

Summing it up, in 11) *ápas* bears a covert Acc case marker, the *v-head* bears an Acc case-feature, and the *v-head* checks the Acc feature of *ápas* without need for *ápas* to leave its base position, given it lies within the checking domain of *little v*. Both objects being case-checked in situ, *Ælfréde* and *ápas* could well have stayed in their underlying positions but for information-structural considerations, i.e. consequent upon movement, *Ælfréde* and *ápas* receive a marked interpretation. Cf. Diesing’s proposal that the VP-internal position of pre-verbal objects (V_{fin} - - $V_{\text{non-fin}}$ in the current framework) induces a special contrastive interpretation for both indefinite and definite objects in Yiddish (1997).

some kind of inherent case and Gelderen even argues that the accusative, dative and genitive are inherent in OE (2000).

Scrambling of both objects to positions in the left periphery of VP typically preserves but still it may reverse the base-generated order of Arguments (and Adjuncts). Cf.:

V_{fin}-DO(Acc)-IO(Dat)-V_{non-fin}:

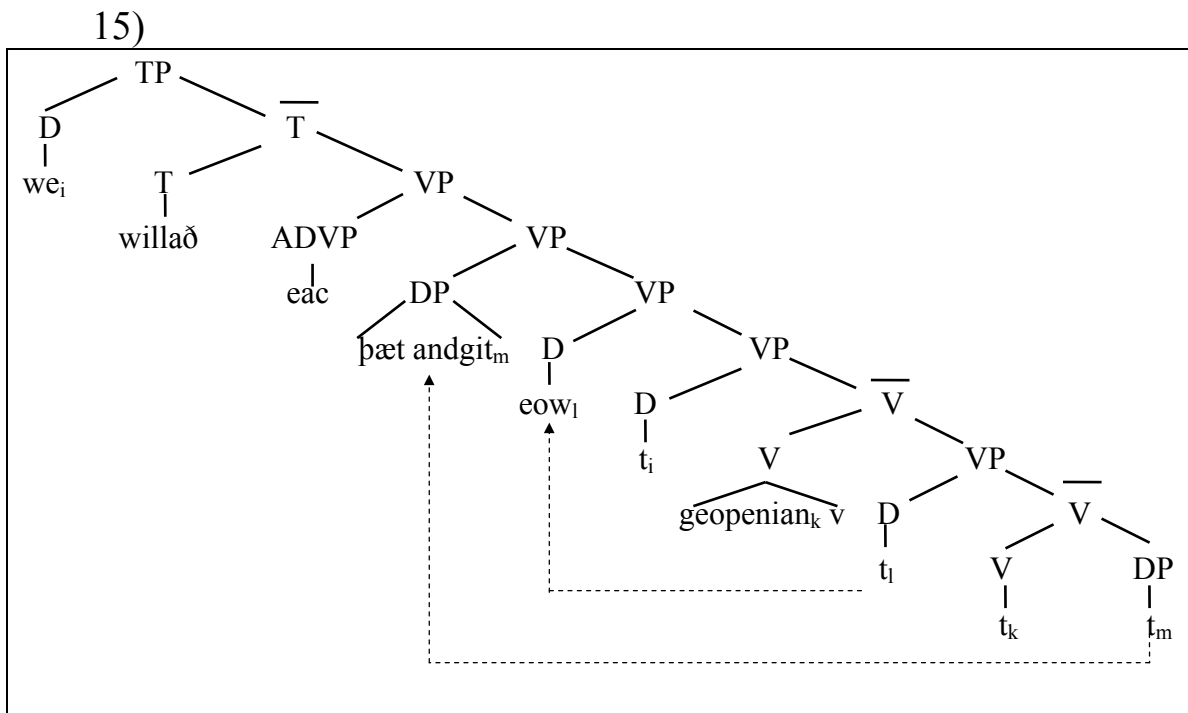
- 12) OESum underfēhþ eorðlice æhta and
 some receives earthly possessions and
 se sceal ðæs pundes spendunge Gode ágifan of his æhtum. (GiftM 48)
 that shall of-the pound spending to-God give of his possessions.
 ‘One receives earthly possessions and that one must give to God
 (to the church) the spending of the pound out of his possessions.’
- 13) OE(We habbað nu ðas race anfealdlice gereht;
 we have now this narrative simply told;
 we willað eac þæt andgit eow geopenian,
 we want also that meaning to-you open,)
 and ða dygelnyse eow ne bedyrnan, (HmlTh 214, 18-19)
 and that secret to-you not conceal,
 ‘Now we have this story told in simple words; we also want to reveal
 the meaning to you and not to hide the secret meaning from you,’
 Cf. **V_{fin}-PrepO-DO(Acc)-V_{non-fin}** order in the following example:
- 14) OEÐa he þa ne mihte mid þæm hi oferswiðan, þa het he ... (MartAp 642)
 when he then not might with these her overpower, then ordered he
 ‘When he could not overpower her with these, then he ordered ...’

In 12) the definite direct object *ðæs pundes spendunge* precedes the indirect object *Gode* and since the latter is capitalized it can be considered definite. But 12) is a borderline case, for here only a part of the direct object (pre-modified by a Genitive DP) *ðæs pundes spendunge* is *scrambled* along with the indirect object *Gode*, while the rest of the direct object *of his æhtum* remains in its base position. The bare nominal indirect object *Gode* ends up in a position lower than that of the heavier direct object *ðæs pundes spendunge* in a type of object order that is considered less optimal. Cf. Büring’s generalization that the unmarked order (indirect – direct object) is more optimal than the inverted order in cases when both objects are of equal information status (2001). Although unoptimal, the inverted order is far from unacceptable and it can be interpreted as contrastively or stylistically marked.

In 14), the prepositional object *mid þæm* precedes the light pronominal direct object *hi*. If prepositional ditransitive constructions in OE have characteristic base structure of the type V-DP-PP the pattern in 14) breaches the *Conservation of Base Word Order Constraint*, i.e. the prepositional object *mid þæm* moves to adjoin to the left of the direct object *hi*, as both objects *scramble* into the Middlefield.

In much the same vein, in 13) the full NP direct object *þæt andgit* ends up in a position higher than that of the light pronominal indirect object *eow*. Discussing the stress factor in inverted object constructions Koopman analyzes the same example in view of the preceding context (the clauses bracketed in 13) above) and contends that the object pronoun *eow* is highly unlikely to bear any type of stress, contrastive stress included, as Ælfric has been telling a story to the audience, whom he addresses as *eow*, on explaining what the story means (1994:114). Koopman proceeds to the conclusion that we cannot interpret all the object pronouns or even a large number of them in this pattern (i.e. direct – indirect object order) as stressed (1994:115). But if we provide a still broader context (the clause underlined in 13)) it can be seen that the inverted order construction *þæt andgit eow* is paralleled by another construction of the same type *ða dygelnyse eow* to highlight the point that a parable has been narrated, whose secret meaning will be disclosed to the audience present. It is a fact that anaphoric pronominal objects are typically unstressed and unfocused and this makes them suitable candidates for *Scrambling*, but still my tentative suggestion is that contrastive focus can be assumed for *eow* in 13) with *þæt andgit* / *ða dygelnyse* being less focused.

Let us now consider the schematic representations of ‘*we willað eac þæt andgit eow geopenian*’:



In 15) the indirect object *eow* moves out of spec-VP ‘lower’ and the direct object *þæt andgit* moves out of compl-VP ‘lower’, both crossing the subject *we* in spec-VP ‘higher’. That both objects target positions below TP as their landing sites is borne out by the fact that in surface order they follow *eac*, an adverb which is taken to mark the left periphery of VP.

In 15) *Scrambling* of both indirect and direct object is non-feature triggered with *eow* and *þæt andgit* having their non-interpretable features checked at an earlier stage of the derivation. The indirect object *eow* is base-generated in spec-VP ‘lower’ with its inherent dative case being checked by the verb *geopenian* in situ at the time of Theta-discharge, the Theta-role assigned is *Recipient*. As the direct object *þæt andgit* is merged in compl-VP ‘lower’, it is assigned the Theta-role *Theme* by the verb *geopenian*. Along the lines of the proposed analysis of structural Acc case checking, *þæt andgit* is base-generated together with a covert Acc case marker, and the *v-head* checks the Acc feature of *þæt andgit* in situ, given compl-VP ‘lower’ lies within the checking domain of *v*.

Conclusions:

- i) OE *Scrambling* affects XPs, indefinite object DPs and caseless PPs included.
- ii) The source position is case-marked in the case of DP Arguments.
- iii) The target position is non-case marked with both DP Arguments and PPs (Adjuncts).
- iv) Case-checking of DPs does not require for checker and checked to be adjacent, provided the DP lies within the checking domain of the relevant head.
- v) OE *Scrambling* may take place in clauses with non-finite main verbs and auxiliaries.
- vi) OE *Scrambling* involves crossing of at least one non-empty Argument base position.
- vii) OE *Scrambling* may reverse the base generated order of internal Arguments (and Adjuncts).

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