

Clause structure in Old English: evidence from Negative Concord¹

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This paper deals with the clause structure of Old English. In the main body of the paper we adopt the ‘traditional’ analysis of the West Germanic languages in which it is proposed that VP is head-final. We will argue (contra Van Kemenade 1987, pace Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991, Pintzuk 1991, Tomaselli 1991) that the clause structure of Old English contains a head-initial functional projection whose head can be the landing site of verb movement in subordinate clauses. This claim is based on evidence related to the distribution and interpretation of negative elements in Old English and West Flemish. We will show that differences between these two languages with respect to Negative Concord phenomena can be accounted for straightforwardly in terms of an Old English clause structure which is different from the one traditionally proposed for the modern Germanic SOV/V₂ languages.

In the appendix to the paper we briefly turn to the recent alternative approaches to the phrase structure of SOV languages in terms of a universal base hypothesis where all projections are head-initial (see Kayne (1993), Zwart (1993), Roberts (1995) for a discussion of Old English).

1. INTRODUCTION: AIM AND PURPOSE

Old English (OE) clause structure has given rise to a lot of discussion in the generative literature and various proposals have been formulated to account for the distribution of finite and non-finite verbs. In the present paper we want to evaluate some of the proposals in the light of the distribution of negative markers. Specifically, we wish to show that Van Kemenade’s (1987) proposal to analyse apparent Verb Second (V₂) orders in subordinate clauses in terms of Verb Projection Raising (VPR) is problematic with respect to Negative Concord effects in OE, and that alternative analyses (Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991, Pintzuk 1991, Tomaselli 1991) which propose that at least in certain clause types the inflected V moves to the head of a head-initial functional projection potentially have a better chance of accounting for the data.

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The paper is organized as follows: in section 2 we present Van Kemenade's analysis of OE word order in terms of SOV with V2; in section 3 we discuss a number of analyses which postulate a head-initial functional projection. In section 4 we introduce the analysis for the distribution and interpretation of negation in West Flemish and its implications for apparent VPR patterns in OE. In section 5 we evaluate the head-initial AGRP analyses in the light of the negation data. Section 6 introduces some further data which suggest that not only auxiliaries but also main verbs move to the head of the head-initial AGRP in non-root contexts. Section 7 summarizes the paper. In the appendix we briefly consider the data in the light of the universal base hypothesis (Kayne 1993).

2. OLD ENGLISH WORD ORDER: SOV WITH V2

In 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 by now traditional analysis of the West Germanic languages such as Dutch and German in the Government and Binding framework she proposes that OE is an SOV language subject to the V2 constraint. This means that in subordinate clauses we find the finite V in sentence-final position and that in root clauses it ends up in the second position. Under standard GB-type analyses of the V2 phenomenon (but see Zwart 1991, 1993) the root order would be derived by moving the verb under C.² In *yes-no* questions a null *Wh* operator occupies [Spec,CP]; otherwise, the V2 effect is obtained by movement of a maximal projection into [Spec,CP]. In subordinate clauses C is occupied by a complementizer and the verb therefore remains in a clause-final position.

The examples in (1) illustrate subordinate clause order:

- (1) (a) *þæt ic þas boc of Ledenum gereorde to Engliscre spræce*
 that I this book from Latin language to English tongue
awende
 translate
 'that I translate this book from the Latin language to the English tongue'
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 16; AHTh, I, Pref, 6)³
- (b) *þeh þe he hie mid micle forlore þæs folces begeate*
 though that he them with great loss of people achieved
 'though he achieved them with great loss of people'
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 16; Oros, 72, 11)

[2] Van Kemenade also assumes that I coincides with C. Given the discussion below it seems to us that this proposal cannot be maintained.

[3] Examples from secondary sources are followed by the reference to the secondary and the primary source. Sentences with a reference to a primary source only are taken from Healey & Venezky (1980–1985).

- (c) gif hie him þæs rices **uþon**
 if they him the kingdom granted
 ‘if they would grant him the kingdom’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 16; Parker, 755)
- (d) þæt Darius hie mid gefeohte **secan wolde**
 that Darius them for battle visit wanted
 ‘that Darius wanted to seek them out in order to battle with them’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 19; Oros, 45, 31)

The examples in (2) illustrate main clause order: in (a) we have the subject in initial position; in (b) we find a PP in the initial position, and in (c) an object.

- (2) (a) Se swicola Herodes **cwæð** to ðam tungel-witegum.
 the treacherous Herod spoke to the star-wise men
 ‘The treacherous Herod spoke to the astrologers.’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 17; AHTh, I, 82, 15)
- (b) On þære tide **wæs** sum oðer witega on Iudea lande.
 On that time was some other prophet in Jews’ land
 ‘In these days there was another prophet in the land of Judah.’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 18; AHTh, I, 570)
- (c) Maran cyððe **habbað** englas to Gode þonne men
 more affinity have angels to God than men
 ‘Angels have more affinity to God than men.’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 17; AHTh, I, 10, 3)

Van Kemenade discusses a number of problems with the analysis proposed, one of which is that ‘there are, for instance, sentences that seem to indicate that there is also a V2 phenomenon in embedded clauses’ (1987: 20).⁴

- (3) (a) þæt he **mehte** his feorh generian
 that he might his life save
 ‘so that he might save his life’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 20; Oros, 48, 18)
- (b) þæt hie ne **mehton** þa gefarenan to eorþan bringan
 that they not could the dead to earth bring
 ‘so that they could not bury the dead’
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 20; Oros, 49, 23)

[4] In her discussion of clitics Van Kemenade also considers apparent V3 patterns in OE (Van Kemenade 1987: 129–131).

Van Kemenade proposes that the sentences in (3) be interpreted in terms of Verb Projection Raising (VPR), a pattern found in a number of Germanic dialects. The VPR construction is instantiated, for example, in West Flemish (WF), a dialect of Dutch (see Haegeman & Van Riemsdijk 1986, Haegeman 1992 for description).

- (4) (a) da Valère ziet da Marie dienen boek leest
 that Valère sees that Marie that book reads
 'that Valère sees that Marie reads that book'
 (b) da Valère Marie ziet dienen boek lezen
 that Valère Marie sees that book read
 'that Valère sees Marie read that book.'

(4a) shows a subordinate clause with a perception verb, *zien* 'see', taking a finite clause as its complement. The perception verb does not occur in final position as would be expected for an SOV language like WF. In the standard GB literature it is traditionally assumed that the finite complement has been extraposed. Similarly, non-finite complements of perception verbs can occur to the right of the perception verb. This is illustrated in (4b). The derivation proposed for the latter construction is that (4b) has the D-structure in (5a) and the rough S-structure in (5b) (we omit irrelevant details):

- (5) (a) da Valère [Marie dienen boek lezen] ziet
 that Valère Marie that book read sees
 (b) da Valère Marie t ziet [dienen boek lezen]

In (5b) the non-finite VP is extraposed and adjoined rightward to a maximal projection (probably AGRP). Van Kemenade suggests that the same analysis holds for the OE cases illustrated in (3).

3. A HEAD-INITIAL FUNCTIONAL PROJECTION

Other authors, though, use the OE data in (3) as evidence that in subordinate clauses the finite V was able to move leftward, to some functional head. We discuss some accounts here. The details of each analysis will not concern us. What we are interested in is the commonality between the proposals.

3.1 Tomaselli (1991) and the head-initial IP

In order to account for the fact that in OE the general V2 constraint can be violated when a pronominal element occupies the second position Tomaselli

(1991) proposes that the OE IP is head-initial. Apparent Verb Third (V3) structures are illustrated in (6).⁵

- (6)(a) Fela spella him **sædon** þa Beormas
 many stories him told the Permians
 'The Permians told him many stories.'
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 130; Oros, 14, 27)
- (b) æfter his gebede he **ahof** þæt cild up
 after his prayer he lifted the child up
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 110; AHTh, II, 28)
- (c) ðas þing we **habbað** be him gewritene
 these things we have about him written
 'We have written these things about him.'
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 110; PC 1087, 143)
- (d) forðon we **sceolan** mid ealle mod & mægene to
 therefore we shall with all mind & power to
 Gode gecyrran
 God turn
 'Therefore we shall turn to God with all our mind and power.'
 (Van Kemenade 1987: 110; Blick 97)

Like Van Kemenade (1987), Tomaselli argues that this phenomenon could be explained if we assume that pronominal elements are syntactic clitics in OE. She suggests that a pronoun can cliticize to the left of I and that in (6) the finite V has moved through I on its way to C, picking up the clitic. Hence, in main clauses the clitic can occur between the element in [Spec,CP] and the verb occupying C. Given that rightward-cliticization to a sentence-final head is unattested cross-linguistically, Tomaselli suggests that OE has a head-initial IP. In the examples where the finite V appears sentence-finally, as in the subordinate clauses in (1) above, Tomaselli has to assume that V does not move to I. Presumably she would then advocate a lowering analysis to get the inflection onto the V.

For the present discussion Tomaselli's proposal is important because it allows an analysis of the sentences in (3) above which differs from that proposed by Van Kemenade. In Tomaselli's approach, a sentence such as

[5] However, Haerberli (1991) shows that V3 is not restricted to sentences with pronominals in second position:

- (i) (a) Her Cyneheard ofslog Cynewulf cyning
 'In this year Cyneheard slew Cynewulf king' (Bean 1983: 62; ASC, A 784.1)
- (b) buton tuegen hleaperas Ælfred cyning sende
 but two messengers Alfred king sent
 mid gewritum
 with letters (Bean 1983: 81; ASC, A 889.1)

See Haerberli (1991: 31 ff.) for an analysis of such examples.

(3a), which seems to provide evidence for VPR in OE, can also be analysed in terms of leftward V movement.

However, note that, as it stands, the analysis cannot account for all such examples. Van Kemenade (1987: 21) mentions the following:

- (7) (a) þæt he þæs gewinnes **mehte** mare gefremman
 that he the victory could better achieve
 ‘that he could gain victory more easily’

(Van Kemenade 1987: 21; Oros, 47, 14)

- (b) þæt mon ælcne ceap **mehte** be twiefealdan bet
 that people each commodity could by twofold better
 geceapian
 buy
 ‘that people could buy every commodity twice as cheap’

(Van Kemenade 1987: 21; Oros, 130, 23)

In both (7a) and (7b) the VPR analysis seems to account better for the data. Under an account in terms of a head-initial IP there is only one position available to the left of the functional head which is occupied by the auxiliary *mehte*, while in the above examples two constituents separate C from the inflected V.

Two options come to mind to deal with such data. We might indeed say that the finite verb in (7a) and (7b) has moved to an initial I-head. Furthermore we could assume that pronouns like *he* or *mon* do not only cliticize to I but also to C (cliticization to C is also found in WF for instance, see Haegeman (1992)). (7c) illustrates cliticization of an object clitic to C:

- (7) (c) þæt hi nan man ne mæg na hwær gefindan
 that them no man not may nowhere find
 ‘that no one can find them anywhere’

(LS34 (Seven Sleepers) 1.287)

As for the occurrence of the full NP between the pronoun and the finite verb in (7a) and (7b), two possible analyses could be given. First one could argue that, as proposed by Pintzuk (1991), [Spec,IP] is a topic position in OE and that therefore non-subjects can generally occupy [Spec,IP]. This analysis predicts that OE has a productive process of embedded V2 with non-subjects occupying the first position. However, it is not entirely clear that this prediction is correct (see Van Kemenade 1992, Haerberli 1992). Alternatively, we could say that OE has a phenomenon similar to Stylistic Fronting (see Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991: 11) and the references given there) where the fronting of some element is related to the occurrence of a subject gap (i.e. in (7) the gap left by cliticization to C). The fronted constituent would then presumably occupy an IP-adjoined position.

A different possibility would be to adopt a VPR analysis for the examples under (7) and following recent proposals in the literature (Haegeman 1992, den Besten & Webelhuth 1987) we would then assume (i) that the finite V is

in the final position, (ii) that the VP is extraposed⁶ and (iii) that prior to extraposition a VP constituent is scrambled into the main clause domain. Roughly the representation will be as in (8):

- (8) (a) *þæt he* [*þæs gewinnes*_i] *t_v mehte* [*v_{VP} t_i mare gefremman*]
 (b) *þæt mon* [*ælcne ceap*_i] *t_v mehte* [*v_{VP} t_i be twiefealdan bet geceapian*]

Further evidence for VPR in OE is provided by the following example:

- (9) *ðæt se reccere ða ðeawas & ða unðeawas cunne wel toscadan*
 that the teacher the virtues & the vices can well distinguish
 'that the teacher can distinguish virtues and vices well'
 (Haeberli 1992: 42; CP, 20. 149.16)

Since the elements preceding the finite verb are non-pronominal, (9) cannot be accounted for in terms of cliticization to C. A VPR analysis therefore seems to be necessary. Note, however, that examples like (9) which are incompatible with the V-to-initial-I-movement analysis are extremely rare. We will return to the issues discussed here in section 5.3.

3.2 Reduplication of AGR

Two variants of the head-initial functional projection analysis will be discussed here: the analysis by Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) (3.2) and that by Pintzuk (1991) (3.3).

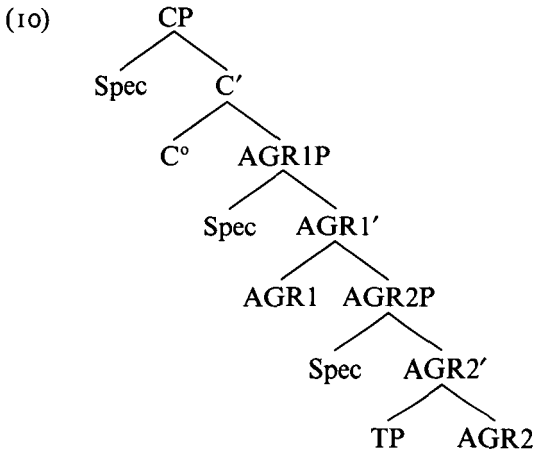
Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) base their argument on the same data as Tomaselli, but they try to account for the data in terms of a more general analysis of X-second phenomena in various languages. Looking at the position of clitics in German, Old High German, OE and the medieval Romance languages (that is at phenomena related to what has traditionally been called the WACKERNAGEL POSITION and the TOBLER/MUSSAFIA-LAW) and at embedded V2 in Icelandic, Yiddish and Old French, Cardinaletti & Roberts argue that besides the functional projections proposed by Pollock (1989) there is another functional projection in the languages mentioned before. Elaborating seminal work by Rizzi (1987) they propose that this projection is called AGR_{IP}. In their system the phonologically empty AGR₁ head is basically related to Nominative Case assignment whereas AGR₂

[6] Arguably the moved constituent is not exactly VP but rather a functional projection dominating VP or in Grimshaw's (1991) terms, an extended projection of VP. This has been argued for among others by Van den Wyngaerd (1989) and Haegeman (1995). Evidence that more than a VP is moved can be derived from negation data:

- (i) *da Valère durft tegen niemand nieks nie zegen*
 that Valère dares against no one nothing not say
 'that Valère dares not to tell anything to anyone'

Haegeman (1991b, 1995) argues that the moved projection which undergoes 'VPR' must contain NegP. Based on the distribution of clitics in West Flemish she in fact proposes that the constituent is AGR_{SP}.

contains the agreement affixes. For OE, Cardinaletti & Roberts propose that , AGR1P whose head is a clitic position is head-initial and AGR2P is head-final as illustrated in (10):



Although Cardinaletti & Roberts do not discuss this option, one might propose that AGR1 can be the landing site for V movement. Hence, as in Tomaselli's system, the apparent VPR patterns in (3) could be related to V movement to the left. As for V-final clauses (see example 1), one would have to assume that the verb can remain under AGR2, that is that V movement to AGR1 is optional.

3.3 *The double base hypothesis*

Basing her argument on the distribution of particles, pronouns and adverbs Pintzuk (1991, 1993) also concludes (independently of Tomaselli and Cardinaletti & Roberts) that OE should be analysed in terms of a head-initial functional projection. In order to account for the occurrence of V2 and V-final orders she uses what she calls the double base hypothesis (see Santorini 1989), assuming that there is variation in the underlying position of I. Thus, she argues that in some cases IP is head-initial whereas in others it is head-final. The empirical consequences of this analysis are basically identical to those of the proposals presented in section 3.1 and 3.2. For example, all these analyses allow us to reduce most instances of VPR to instances where the finite verb moves to initial I (or AGR1). However, in Pintzuk's analysis, when the verb occurs in final position, it occupies the head position of a head-final IP, whereas in Tomaselli's analysis the sentence-final V is under V, and in Cardinaletti & Roberts' analysis the sentence-final V is under AGR2.

The difference between the analyses proposed in this section have an important theoretical dimension, though. According to Tomaselli's (1991) analysis and to the modified version of her proposal elaborated by

Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991), the different word order patterns in OE would be accounted for in terms of optional verb movement, a process which has been proposed for infinitivals in Modern English and French by Pollock (1989) (see also Chomsky 1991). Pintzuk, on the other hand, assumes that, as proposed by Kroch (1989), in the course of a gradual syntactic change a child can acquire two sets of well-formedness principles for certain grammatical subsystems (COMPETING grammars, for example, with respect to the X'-structure).⁷ In such an approach verb movement is obligatory: in one system V moves to the final I, in the alternative system it moves to the initial I. This approach can thus dispense with optional movement, in line with Economy driven approaches (Chomsky 1991, 1992).⁸

There does not seem to be any clear empirical evidence in the OE data which would allow us to choose between the different analyses presented in this section. We therefore leave this problem open here. The crucial point for our discussion is that all the authors mentioned in this section suggest that there is a head-initial functional projection in the clause structure of OE. This assumption distinguishes their analyses from the proposal made by Van Kemenade (1987; see section 2 above), who analyses OE like the modern Germanic SOV/V₂ languages, Dutch and German.

4. VPR AND NEGATION

We shall not dwell here on the arguments drawn from clitic placement or V₃ order in root clauses in OE to try to evaluate the hypotheses cited above concerning the clause structure, but we wish to consider a number of instances of OE sentences which would be problematic if only the VPR account were available to account for apparent V₂ in embedded clauses. This section is based on Haegeman (1991a,b) for the account of negation and on Haerberli (1991) for the analysis of OE negation.

4.1 *Negation in Old English and West Flemish*

In OE, sentential negation is generally expressed by *ne* preceding the verb as shown in (11):

[7] That language learners are indeed able to acquire and use two separate grammatical systems is suggested by the existence of bilingual speakers.

[8] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, it might be plausible to analyse the cases of optional movement discussed by Pollock (1989) in terms of competing grammars, too. Thus, the difference discussed here might not be whether OE has optional movement or competing grammars but rather whether the competing grammars differ with respect to V movement (Tomaselli, Cardinaletti & Roberts) or with respect to the X'-structure (Pintzuk).

- (11) (a) *ne forleosað hi eac ðone willan*
 not lose they also the determination
 ‘they do not also lose their determination’
 (Haeberli 1991: 54; Bo, 111.5)
- (b) *Ic ne toweorpe ða burg*
 I not destroy the city
 ‘I will not destroy the city.’ (Haeberli 1991: 54; CP, 399.31)
- (c) *þonne neart ðu þeah ungesælig*
 then not-are you nevertheless unhappy
 ‘then you are nevertheless not unhappy.’
 (Haeberli 1991: 54; Bo, 20.14)

We will assume that OE *ne* is like French *ne*, Italian *non* and West Flemish *en* and heads a maximal projection, NegP⁹ (see Haeberli (1991) for arguments). *Ne* can be accompanied by other negative constituents, which enter into a Negative Concord relation. Negative Concord (NC) is the phenomenon whereby two or more negative constituents in a clause do not cancel each other out but together express a single negation.

- (12) (a) *ne mæg nan mon soðre secgan*
 not can no man more truly speak
 ‘Nobody can speak more truly.’ (Haeberli 1991: 58; Bo, 94.8)
- (b) *Ic wyrce þa tacnu þe næfre nan man ne geseah ær*
 I do the miracles that never no man not saw before
 on nanum lande
 in no land.
 ‘I will do miracles that no man has ever seen before in any land.’
 (Haeberli 1991: 58; Exod, 34.10)

As can be seen from the gloss the negative constituents *ne* and *nan mon* in (12a) and *ne*, *næfre*, *nan man* and *on nanum lande* do not cancel each other out but jointly with the negative head *ne* they express a single negation.

Both the bipartite negation and the NC interpretation of multiple negative elements in a clause are also found in WF as illustrated in (13):

- (13) *dan-ze gisteren niemand niels nie gezeid en-een*
 that-they yesterday no one nothing not said en-have
 ‘that they did not tell anyone anything yesterday’

[9] The position of NegP obviously depends on what kind of other functional projections we postulate. Haeberli (1991), using a modified version of Cardinaletti & Roberts’ proposal, suggests that NegP is immediately dominated by AGR₂P. However, this point is not crucial for our argument.

The negative head in this language is *en*. Haegeman (1991a,b; 1995) proposes an analysis for WF negation. The following elements are relevant for the discussion of OE:

- i. Sentential negation is expressed by NegP, whose head Neg may be overtly realized as *en*.
- ii. The distribution of negative heads and negative constituents is subject to the Neg Criterion, a well-formedness condition on LF representations which imposes a spec-head relation between a negative head and a negative operator (see Rizzi 1991):

(14) *The Neg Criterion*

- (a) An $X^0[+NEG]$ must be in a spec-head configuration with an operator $[+NEG]$.
- (b) An operator $[+NEG]$ must be in a spec-head configuration with an $X^0[+NEG]$.

The Neg Criterion must be satisfied as early as S-structure in WF. A trace of a negative operator does not suffice to satisfy the Neg Criterion.

- iii. *Nie* is base-generated in [Spec, NegP].
- iv. Negative constituents scramble obligatorily in order to satisfy the Neg Criterion.
- v. Negative concord results from the stacking of negative operators at the level of NegP. The stacked negative operators undergo absorption at LF. The absorption which generates the NC readings is like that which generates multiple Wh interpretations.
- vi. Absorption trades on the Neg Criterion in the sense that only negative constituents which have the spec-head relation with the negative head can undergo absorption. Hence, a negative constituent in a VP internal position or an extraposed negative constituent cannot undergo absorption.

We only discuss the WF data that are relevant to the analysis of OE. First the negative head *en* in WF cannot be licensed by a negative constituent in a VP subject to VPR:

- (15) (a) * dan-ze da geld en-willen an niemand geven
 that-they the money en-want to no one give

This follows from the account since *niemand* in the raised VP does not occupy a specifier position in the NegP and therefore cannot satisfy the Neg Criterion at S-structure.

A second element in the analysis of WF is that NC cannot be established between a negative constituent within a VP subject to VPR and one outside.

- (15) (b) dan-ze **niemand nie** willen **niets** zeggen
 that-they no one not want nothing say
 ‘that they do not want to say nothing to anyone’
 (Double Negation)
 ‘*that they do not want to say anything to anyone’ (NC)

In (15b) the negative constituents outside the VP *niemand* and *nie* enter into a NC relation, but the negative constituent *niets* in the raised VP does not. Hence the DN effect.

The account proposed for the distribution and interpretation of negative constituents in WF predicts that there will be no NC reading: at S-structure only *niemand* and *nie* are in the relevant configuration to be submitted to the Neg factorization that generates NC readings.

4.2 Negative Concord in Old English

Now consider the following examples:

- (16) (a) ðæt hi mon ne mæg mid nanre ðreaunge geðreatian
 that them one not can with no threatening threaten.
 ‘that one cannot threaten them in any way’
 (Haerberli 1991: 125; CP, 37.263.3)
- (b) for ðam ðe þa Iudeiscan noldon næfre brucan nanes
 because the Jews not-wanted never use no
 þinges mid þam hæpenum
 thing with the heathens
 ‘because the Jews never wanted to use anything with the
 heathens’ (Mitchell 1989: 663, § 1604; AEHom 5.124)
- (c) & þæt him nan man ne þearf to feormfultume na
 and that him no man not need for help in food no
 þingc syllan butan he sylf wylle
 thing give unless he himself is willing
 ‘and that no person has to give him help in food unless he is
 willing himself.’ (Haerberli 1991: 125; Law II, Cn, 69.1)
- (d) þæt heora nan ne mehte nanes wæpnes gewaldan
 that of them none not was able no weapon wield
 ‘that no one of them was able to wield a weapon’
 (Mitchell 1989: 660, § 1596; Or. 194.18)

Before we enter into the discussion of the VPR issue, note first of all that extraposed constituents such as *nanes þinges* in (16b) enter into an NC relation, while extraposed negative constituents in WF do not enter into NC relations:

- (17) dat er **niemand** geklaapt eet **over niets**
 that there no one talked has about nothing
 ‘that no one talked about nothing’ (DN)

We cannot deal with this issue in all its details, but we provide a rough outline of the analysis. The fact (see Haerberli 1991 for more data) that OE extraposed constituents enter into NC readings is not problematic if we make a number of assumptions. First, note that while the Neg Criterion applies in full at S-structure in WF, where it gives rise to movement of the negative operators, this is not the case universally. In the French examples in (18) the negative constituents do not attain a spec-head relation with the negative head *ne* (or with its trace) at S-structure:

- (18) (a) Jean (*n'*) a jamais parlé avec **personne**.
 Jean (*ne*) has never talked with no one
 'Jean never talked with anyone.'
 (b) Je (**ne**) demande que tu invites **personne**
 I (*ne*) ask that you invite no one
 'I don't ask you to invite anyone.'

If we assume that the Neg Criterion holds universally then we must assume that *personne* in the above examples can attain the required spec-head relation with the negative head, *ne*, or its base position (Neg) at LF, that is, by LF movement. That this is plausible is suggested by the well-known subject/object asymmetries between (18c) and (18b):

- (18) (c) *Je **ne** demande que **personne** soit invité.
 I *ne* ask that no one be invited

If, as suggested in our account, *personne* has to move out of the embedded finite clause in (18) and move up to the domain of the matrix NegP, then we can interpret the ungrammaticality of (18c) in terms of the ECP, that is, as a *that*-trace effect.¹⁰

In order to account for the fact that extraposed constituents enter into a NC reading in OE we assume that they too can undergo LF movement to attain the appropriate configuration and hence we conclude in more general

[10] Haegeman (1995) in fact reconsiders the proposal that the level of application of the Neg Criterion is subject to parametric variation. Adopting a representational approach based on Brody (1993), it is proposed that the Neg Criterion universally applies at S-structure. In languages without apparent Neg movement, the Neg Criterion is satisfied by a non-overt expletive negative operator in [Spec,NegP] which enters a chain with the contentive negative operator. (ia) would have the partial representation in (ib):

- (i) (a) Jean *n'*a vu **personne**
 Jean *ne* has seen no one
 (b) Jean *n*_i'a [_{NegP} OP_i t_i vu **personne**]_i

On the other hand, when a language has overt Neg movement, the contentive operator itself satisfies the Neg Criterion. We cannot go into this alternative approach here. The reader is referred to Haegeman (1995) for discussion and for empirical arguments.

A similar approach is proposed for the variation between languages with overt *wh*-movement and those without.

terms that the Neg Criterion applies as late as LF.¹¹ One piece of evidence supporting this view is provided by *wh*-raising data from WF. First observe that in WF *wh*-constituents can be extraposed in sentences with multiple *wh*-constituents.

- (19) K vroegen wien dat er goa spelen tegen wien.
 I asked who that there goes play against whom
 'I asked who will play against whom.'

The details of the analysis need not concern us here. We assume, following Rizzi (1991), that *wh*-constituents are subject to the *wh*-Criterion, a well-formedness condition on LF which requires that a *wh*-operator be in a spec-head configuration with a *wh*-head. In (19), omitting important but irrelevant details, the relevant *wh*-head is the embedded C, the head of an interrogative clause selected by the matrix V (*vroagen* 'ask'). In order to maintain the *wh*-criterion in full, we say that *tegen wien* will attain the spec-head configuration with the relevant *wh*-head by LF raising. Subsequent to the LF raising of the *wh*-element *tegen wien* we shall assume that *wh*-absorption operates on the *wh*-elements which have the relevant spec-head configuration with the *wh*-head, that is, *wien* 'who' and *tegen wien* 'against whom' (but see fn. 10 for a reinterpretation of these data).

Let us return to the distribution of verbs and negative elements in the OE subordinate clauses given in (16) above. (20) provides the relevant examples and the analysis which would be required if we followed Van Kemenade (1987) in assuming that the finite verb always occurs in final position in subordinate clauses.

- (20) (a) ðæt hi mon t_i ne mæg [_{VP₁} mid nanre ðreaunge geðreatian]
 (b) for ðamðe ða Iudeiscan t_i noldon [_{VP₁} næfre brucan nanes þinges]
 (c) þæt him nan man t_i ne þearf [_{VP₁} to feormfultume na þingc syllan]
 (d) þæt heora nan t_i ne mehte [_{VP₁} nanes wæpnes gewældan]

Given that the examples in (20) are subordinate clauses we assume that the negated V has not moved to C but that it occurs somewhere within the AGRP domain. If AGRP is head-final, this would lead to the conclusion that the bracketed VPs¹² have been raised to the right of the finite V by VPR. A

[11] Haegeman (1995) proposes that languages which have scrambling will have Neg movement, that is, the Neg Criterion is satisfied by a contentive operator in a specifier head relation with the negative head, rather than by a non overt expletive operator (see fn. 10), or, to put it differently, it is proposed that where leftward movement is available in the syntax, the Neg Criterion is satisfied at S-structure. Since OE clearly also has leftward movement we would expect that the Neg Criterion also applies at S-structure. However, we do not have a full account of OE scrambling and its interaction with the movement of the finite V to the head of the head medial functional projection (AGRIP). Perhaps the type of scrambling found in OE must be distinguished in some way from that in WF. We leave this for future research.

[12] Or the functional projection dominating them as discussed in fn. 6.

first apparent problem for the VPR analysis of the OE data is that the negative element *ne*, which we assume to be a negative clitic, that is the head of NegP like WF *en*, can attach to the finite V and that in (20a) and (20b) the licensing negative constituent appears in the raised VP. Note however that, as we have seen in (11), *ne* differs from WF *en* in that it can occur on its own and express sentential negation (see Mitchell 1989: 661 ff. for examples). Haerberli (1991) proposes that when *ne* occurs without any other negative elements the Neg Criterion can be met by virtue of the presence of a null operator in [Spec, NegP]. This assumption would be independently needed for examples such as Italian (21):

- (21) Non ti lasciero.
 not you I-will-leave
 'I won't leave you.'

Independent motivation for postulating a negative operator in (21) comes from inner island effects in the following:

- (22) (a) Perché hai detto che l'ha fatto?
 why have-you said that it-she-has done
 'Why did you say that she did it?'
 (b) Perché non hai detto che l'ha fatto?
 why not you-have said that it-she-has done
 'Why did you not say that she has done it?'

As is the case in English the adjunct *perché* in (22a) can modify both the higher clause and the lower one, questioning the cause of saying or of doing; in (22b) only main clause scope is maintained. Under the account developed in Rizzi (1990) the intervening specifier of NegP in (22b) will block the extraction of *perché* from the lower clause. Thus (22a) and (22b) would not be problematic with respect to the licensing of the negative head.

But this analysis raises another problem. Even if we were to assume that the null Neg operator licenses *ne* in (20a) and (20b) then we must still account for the fact that in these examples there is a second negative constituent available, *nanre ðreaunge* in (20a) and *næfre* in (20b), which would have to enter into an NC reading with *ne* or maybe more precisely with the zero operator. But as we have seen before, in WF an NC relation between a negative element within a VP subject to VPR and one outside is not possible. The same problem also arises with the examples in (20c) and (20d) repeated here under (23):

- (23) (a) & þæt him nan man t_i ne þearf [_{VP_i} to feormfultume na þingc
 syllan]
 (b) þæt heora nan t_i ne mehte [_{VP_i} nanes wæpnes gewaldan]

In these examples the Neg Criterion can presumably be met without problems by overt negative constituents. Let us assume that *nan man* (23a)

and *nan* (23b) can attain the relevant spec-head configuration. But again, in contrast to the WF facts, an NC reading is possible between these constituents and the negative constituents occurring within the string which has undergone VPR.

In the light of the WF data, the fact that an NC reading is possible in the examples in (20) is clearly problematic. One might wonder whether this problem could be solved if we assumed that, as suggested above, WF and OE differ with respect to the level of representation at which the necessary configuration for an NC reading is created. We might argue that the negative constituents attain the spec-head relation with a negative head at S-structure in WF and at LF in OE. Negative constituents within VPs subject to VPR might then be argued to move to NegP at LF. However, this account is also problematic: VPR creates scope islands in WF.¹³ Note, significantly, that in WF *wh*-raising though possible from an extraposition site (see example (19)), is not possible from within a raised VP:

- (24) (a) **Wien** zou ter **wa** willen kuopen?
 who would there what want buy
 (i) 'Who would like to buy what?'
 (ii) 'Who would like to buy something?'
 (b) **Wien** zou ter willen **wa** kuopen?
 (i) '*Who would like to buy what?'
 (ii) 'Who would like to buy something?'

Given that we would like to use the analogy with *wh*-absorption of WF extraposed *wh*-constituents to account for the NC readings between extraposed and non-extraposed constituents, the contrast with *wh*-constituents in raised VPs is problematic.

In (24a) the *wh*-constituent *wien* sits in [Spec,CP] and *wa* sits somewhere sentence internally. As can be seen from the glosses *wh*-raising, resulting in the characteristic paired question reading is possible, as well as the alternative reading where *wa* has the reading of an indefinite pronoun. In (24b) the interpretation of *wa* is only that of the indefinite pronoun and the *wh*-raising interpretation is out.

In Haegeman (1992) it is proposed that *wh*-raising is excluded from VPs subject to VPR because these VPs are not L-marked. They occupy a derived, A' position. A similar restriction is argued for by Baker (1988). If we maintain this restriction, which seems to be empirically justified for WF, then we conclude that the LF raising of negative constituents out of a VP subject to VPR is not possible and that hence the NC reading should equally be excluded.¹⁴

[13] For evidence see Haegeman & Van Riemsdijk (1986).

[14] In the Appendix we turn to an alternative analysis of the so-called VPR phenomena. One option which is alluded to there and which is currently being developed (Haegeman, in

5. THE HEAD-INITIAL FUNCTIONAL PROJECTION AND THE NEG CRITERION

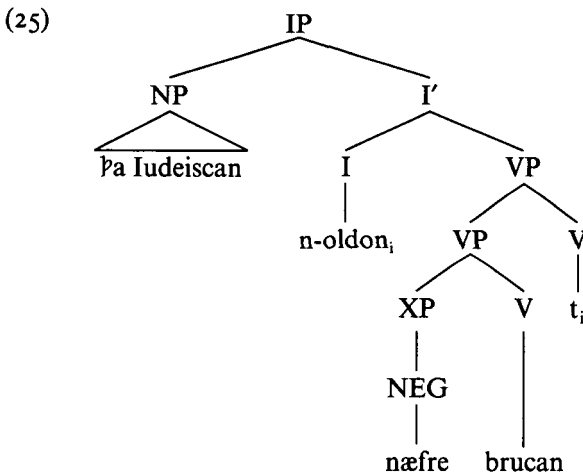
5.1 Summary of the preceding discussion

Summing up the discussion so far, we have seen that the VPR account for OE raises one important problem with respect to the distribution of negative elements: NC readings are possible between a negative element within the raised VP and one outside it.

The alternative accounts of the OE phrase structure discussed above might however enable us to account for the negation data rather straightforwardly. In Tomaselli's and Pintzuk's framework, where it is argued that the finite V moves to the I head of a head-initial IP, we would not have to claim that the structures are derived by moving a constituent containing the non-finite V. Rather the moved element would be the negated V, that is *ne + V*.

5.2 An alternative account: V to AGR movement

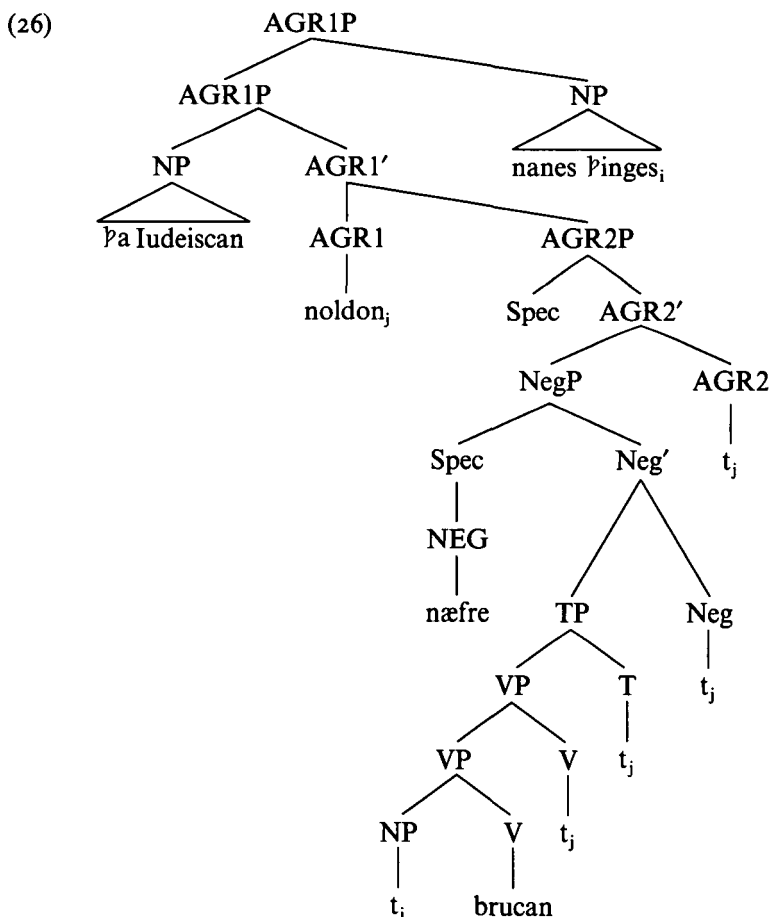
Adopting Tomaselli's and Pintzuk's idea and leaving aside the split INFL analysis with the NegP hypothesis for the moment, (16b) has the structure in (25):



In this account, *næfre* will not be contained within an island: it occupies a position within VP, which itself is not moved.

preparation) is that the constituents which are apparently affected by VPR are not uniformly of the same category. If this is true, it might be that in some languages the constituent affected by VPR is not a scope domain.

We might also reinterpret the analysis of (16b) in terms of the reduplication of AGRP analysis of Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991). However, we shall assume, unlike Cardinaletti & Roberts, that V movement to AGR1 is allowed in OE subordinate clauses (see Haerberli 1991):



If we adopt an analysis in terms of multiple AGRPs, with a higher head-initial AGRP dominating a lower head-final one we can account for the distribution of negative constituents and for NC effects in OE in a more promising way than if we maintain the VPR analysis. However, in order to do so, we need to assume that the finite V can move to the higher AGR head both in root clauses and in subordinate clauses. In (26) we assume that *næfre* occupies [Spec,NegP]; in this position it would satisfy the Neg Criterion¹⁵ and can enter into an NC relation with other negative constituents. An

alternative would be to say that *næfre* occupies a lower position at S-structure (for example within the lower VP) and that it raises at LF to satisfy the Neg Criterion and make a NC reading possible. It is not crucial here to choose between these two options. The main point is that in terms of a head-initial IP/AGRIP analysis the lower VP does not have to be moved and that therefore movement out of it is not problematic.

In the examples discussed so far we have only evidence for movement of the inflected auxiliary. The question needs to be addressed whether indeed only auxiliaries can move to AGR I. We return to this question in section 6.

5.3 Remaining problems

We have pointed out that some examples do suggest that OE has VPR. We repeat example (9) here for the reader's convenience as (27):

- (27) *ðæt se reccere ða ðeawas & ða unðeawas cunne wel toscadan*
 that the teacher the virtues & the vices can well distinguish
 (CP 20.149.16)

Given that the finite V *cunne* is preceded by two constituents, a full NP subject and a full NP object, it cannot occupy head-initial I or Agr I. Note that the analysis of negation presented in the previous sections makes an interesting prediction. We should not find any examples which have the structure of (27) and which contain a negated auxiliary and a negative constituent between the auxiliary and the main verb. Our data which are based on all the sentences with two or more negative elements in the prose texts listed in the *Microfiche concordance to Old English* (Healey & Venezky 1980–1985) suggest that this analysis is on the right track. One type of example which looks problematic at first sight is illustrated in (28).

- (28) *þæt wæs ða ða he Iudeas nolde nan wuht læran hwæt*
 that was when he the Jews not-wanted nothing/not advise what
hi don scolden
 they to do should
 'That was when he didn't want to advise the Jews what to do.'
 (CP 58.443.3)

However, as we have seen in section 3.1 (example (7)), such a construction can be analysed in terms of V movement to initial I/Agr I if we assume that pronouns can cliticize to C. Under this view, the inflected verb could have moved to the functional head I, *nan wuht* would be in the matrix clause and, crucially for our discussion, would not be within a raised VP. Future research

[15] The WF data suggest that the specifier head relation can be attained between a negative operator and the negative head itself or its trace.

will show whether our analysis can be maintained. In the corpus we found six examples of this type.

The only two examples which seem to be genuinely problematic are the following:

(29)(a) *se ylca broðer wæs eac forðfered, se*
 the same brother was also departed who
 [þonne] [hwæþre] [in ðære nihte] [betweoh þam
 then however in that night between the
 oþrum broðrum] næs na geciged
 other brothers not-was not called
 ‘The same brother also died who however was not called with the
 other brothers that night.’ (GD 1(C) 8.53.29)

(b) *þæt [þas word þe on þis ærendgewrite*
 that these words which in this letter
awritene syndon][on fruman] næron of nanes
 written are at first not-were of no
mannes handa gehiwode.
 person’s hand formed
 ‘that these words which are written in this letter first were not
 written by a human being’

(Hom U 53.142)

In (29a) the subject of the clause is the relative pronoun *se* and it is followed by two adverbs and two PPs which precede the finite V.¹⁶ In (29b) the finite V is preceded by the subject NP and a PP. Note that in both examples the finite V is followed by a participle. It is conceivable that we are not dealing with VPR here but with extraposition of the participles, but these examples await further study.

6. FURTHER SPECULATION ON THE HEAD-INITIAL IP/AGRP HYPOTHESIS

Tomaselli (1991) suggests that only auxiliaries (optionally) move to the head I of IP, in her analysis head-initial, in non-root contexts. In the double AGRP account this means that only auxiliaries end up under AGR1.

So far our account seemed to support this restriction. However, this is deceptive. Recall that we are concentrating on what seem to be instances of

[16] It is interesting to note though that in the Hatton manuscript (29a) is rendered as follows:
 (i) *wæs eac forðfered se ylca broðor, se [swa þeah] næs na geciged on þære nihte betweoh
 þa oðre broðru, ... (GD1 (H) 21.53.28)*

Observe that in this example the finite V is preceded by only one constituent which means that it could be analysed similarly to (28).

VPR in OE. Now VPR is triggered by a certain class of V which corresponds roughly to the class identified as auxiliaries. The data-base needs to be expanded in order to determine whether the movement of the inflected V to AGR₁/I in non-root contexts is restricted to auxiliaries.

Though this is not the place for a detailed discussion we would like to refer to two arguments from the recent literature which show that lexical verbs can move to initial AGR₁/I in non-root contexts, too. Pintzuk (1991) argues that there are two types of evidence for this: (a) the distribution of particles and (b) the distribution of pronouns and one-syllable adverbs.

Consider first the distribution of particles.

- (30) (a) for-þan þe þes middan-geard flihð aweg swyðe
 because this world flies away quickly
 ‘because this world flies away quickly.’
 (Pintzuk 1991: 91; AELS 28.153)
- (b) þæt he wearp þæt sweord onweg
 that he threw that sword away
 ‘so that he threw away the sword.’
 (Pintzuk 1991: 91; Bede 38.20)
- (c) gif Crist scute ða adun
 if Christ casts then down
 ‘if Christ then casts himself down’
 (Pintzuk 1991: 92; AECHom i. 170. 21–22)

In the subordinate clauses in (30) the participles occur to the right of the verb (either immediately to the right (30a), or separated from the verb by another constituent (30b,c)). In terms of a head-initial functional projection the examples in (30) can be analysed straightforwardly in terms of V movement to the left. In a V-final analysis (as proposed by Van Kemenade), the orders in (30) would have to be derived by a rule of particle movement. But, as Pintzuk (1991: 89ff.) shows, such a rule has two major drawbacks.

First, Pintzuk observes that all the post-verbal positions available for particles in matrix clauses are also available for particles in subordinate clauses. The minimal assumption would be then that in both types of clauses one kind of process is used to derive post-verbal particles (i.e. V movement to the left), rather than two different types of processes, as proposed by Van Kemenade (that is V movement to the left in matrix clauses and particle movement in subordinate clauses). Secondly, Pintzuk shows that particles occur quite frequently to the right of the main verb in subordinate clauses with at most one heavy constituent before an inflected main verb (that is in sentences which could be analysed in terms of V movement to the left) but almost never in clauses with auxiliaries and in unambiguously V-final clauses with inflected main verbs (that is structures with more than one heavy

constituent before the inflected main verb). If one assumes that in the former type of clauses the verb indeed moves to the left and that furthermore particles (possibly, as suggested by Pintzuk, due to some heaviness constraint on extraposition) cannot be extraposed, this contrast between clause types can be accounted for. However, an analysis in terms of particle movement could not explain this contrast. Given these two observations it seems that the distribution of particles can be accounted for in the most straightforward way if we assume that main verbs can move to the head of a head-initial functional projection in non-root contexts.

The second argument mentioned in the previous paragraph is also used by Pintzuk (1991: 94 ff.) in her discussion of the distribution of pronouns and one-syllable adverbs. She shows that, as particles, pronouns and one-syllable adverbs can appear after the main verb in subordinate clauses with at most one heavy constituent before the inflected main verb but not after the main verb in unambiguously V-final clauses and in clauses with auxiliaries. Again this contrast between clause types can be accounted for quite straightforwardly in terms of a head-initial functional projection (that is by relating it to verb movement to the left in one clause type and to restrictions on extraposition for pronouns and one-syllable adverbs in the other clause type), whereas it would remain unexplained in a purely head-final analysis of OE.

Thus, Pintzuk's analysis not only supports the claim made in this paper that the clause structure of OE has a head-initial functional projection, but it also shows that the head of this projection can be the landing site for both auxiliary and main verbs in non-root contexts. The reader is referred to her work for discussion.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have evaluated the different proposals for OE clause structure, focusing essentially on the question whether the VPR account can be maintained for non-root V2 phenomena. On the basis of the distribution and interpretation of negative constituents in OE, and using the account of negation proposed for WF in Haegeman (1991a) we have shown that in fact this account is less adequate than the accounts which posit a head-initial functional category for OE.

APPENDIX

Some notes on the Universal Base Hypothesis

A1. INTRODUCTION

Our paper is written along the lines of the traditional analysis of Germanic languages (see Koster (1975) and Haegeman (1991c) for further references). There the assumption was that languages which show surface SOV order in subordinate clauses have a base structure where the object is base generated to the left of the head of the VP. Following this view, we have elaborated a proposal in which VP complements are base generated to the left of the higher V. VPR consists in moving the subordinate VP (or an extended projection, see Haegeman (1995) and the discussion of example (5) in the text).

A2. VPR AND SCOPE ISLANDS

The cluster created by VPR gives rise to scope islands. The account proposed in Haegeman (1992) was that since VPR adjoins the extended V-projection, the moved projection is no longer L-marked and hence extraction is disallowed. Typically, and relevantly for the present discussion, negative constituents within the VP cluster cannot enter into NC with negative elements outside it (see text examples (15)). However, an alternative analysis for the scope facts is developed in Haegeman (1995).

Haegeman (1995) proposes that sentential negation is generally expressed by the functional projection NegP. Pursuing this line we conclude that the extended projection which is affected by VPR contains NegP. The double negation reading of (15b) in the text would then be related to the fact that the cluster created by VPR contains NegP. This analysis implies that scope of negation can be read off S-structure representations. If the scope of adverbials and quantifiers can also be read off S-structures, then one can reinterpret the idea that projections subject to VPR are 'frozen' for movement. Rather, the reason why the negative constituent contained in a VPR cluster takes narrow scope is that the cluster contains a NegP.

Since Old English patterns which look at first sight similar to the WF VPR patterns do not give rise to scope effects, specifically, since they allow NC between material inside the cluster and material outside, we propose in the paper that what seems to be VPR in Old English is not the product of the rightward movement of VP but rather is the product of the leftward movement of the verb, which targets a functional head on the left.

Based on the analysis of scope effects in WF in Haegeman (1995) an alternative approach suggests itself, though, to account for the absence of scope effects in OE. We might assume that VPR does not uniformly affect the same category but that in OE, the projection affected by VPR does not

contain NegP. If this were true, and coupled with the observation that negative constituents in OE do not undergo movement (see fn. 10) then the lack of scope effects associated with VPR patterns would be accounted for: clusters created by VPR in OE do not contain NegP, hence are not a domain for the expression of sentential negation.

A3. THE UNIVERSAL BASE HYPOTHESIS

In the paper we account for the contrast between the interpretation of negation in VPR patterns in OE and those in WF in terms of the position of the relevant VP: it is in its base position in OE, and it is in a derived position in WF. Word order effects similar to VPR in OE are due to the movement of the finite V, which does not interfere in the interpretation of negative constituents (as shown by Haegeman & Van Riemsdijk 1986).

The analysis presupposes that WF is underlyingly an SOV language and that functional heads are sentence-final. Furthermore the analysis suggests OE is an SOV language which is on its way to having SVO pattern with functional heads emerging to the left. However, it has recently been argued in the literature (see Kayne 1993, Zwart 1993) that there is no variation in the head-complement order, and that what are superficial SOV languages such as Dutch and German are underlyingly head-initial languages. The order where the complement precedes the verb is derived by leftward movement of the complement to a specifier position. The details of the analysis need not concern us here.

In this view, argued for instance by Den Dikken (1994) for WF and by Roberts (1995) for OE, the analysis offered above for the contrast between OE and WF cannot be maintained, since based on Den Dikken (1994) the base structure of (ia) will not be (ib) but something like (ic), where the non-finite TP is also in its base position (see Haegeman 1995, chapter 1 for discussion, though).

- (i) (a) da Valère wilt dienen boek kuopen
that Valère wants that book buy
- (b) da Valère t_i wilt [_{AGRsP} dienen boek kuopen],
- (c) da Valère wilt [_{TP} dienen boek kuopen]

Den Dikken proposes that VPR patterns are instantiated when a matrix verb takes a TP complement. Pursuing the idea that scope can be read off S-structure representations (as also proposed in Haegeman (1995), see section 2 above), the scope effects which are associated with so-called VPR patterns would be due to the fact that the embedded complement in WF (ic) has enough structure to contain the locus of sentential negation: NegP.

Pursuing this approach we can propose that, contrary to what is implied by Den Dikken (1994), VPR patterns should not be uniformly interpreted as TP complements (see section 2 above). One might say that such complements are truncated structures (for the notion of TRUNCATION see Haegeman,

forthcoming; Rizzi, forthcoming) which may have more or less functional structure. In WF we could assume that VPR patterns exhibit maximally big structures, extending to TP (see further arguments for this in Haegeman (1995)), while we might say that in OE the structure is less than NegP.

Since the truncated non-finite complement to the right of the verb in OE lacks NegP, the negative constituents inside it cannot satisfy the Neg Criterion within the non-finite complement and will enter into NC with negative constituents outside the domain. Recall that we have shown in the paper (section 4.2) that in OE negative constituents are not forced to undergo S-structure movement to satisfy the Neg Criterion (see also fn. 10). Our proposal that what appear to be VPR complements need not be uniformly identified with one specific functional projection, but may be clausal complements truncated at various levels, coupled with the idea that the Neg Criterion applies at LF in OE, would allow us to account for the contrast between Negative Concord in OE VPR patterns and Negative Concord in the WF counterparts, a question which is not addressed in den Dikken (1994) and which is left unanswered in Roberts (1995: 22).¹⁷

A4. THE POSITION OF THE INFLECTED V IN OE EMBEDDED CLAUSES

A problem which remains with the proposal developed in the previous section, though, is that in OE sentences which have been interpreted in terms of VPR, the finite verb is usually preceded by one constituent only. In WF any number of constituents may precede the finite verb in the VPR patterns:

- (ii) *da Valère Marie gisteren wildige dienen boek geven*
 that Valère Marie yesterday wanted that book gave

Sentences where more than one constituent precedes the inflected V in OE are relatively rare (see discussion of (27)–(29) in the text) and can often be reinterpreted in terms of cliticization of one constituent and XP movement of the other. If OE VPR effects are in fact cases in which the verb remains in a final position and takes a truncated non-finite complement, it is not obvious what prevents more than one constituent from preceding the finite V.

In order to accommodate the embedded V2 effects, also pointed out by Pintzuk (1993), we might maintain our proposal developed in the text that the inflected V can move to I in OE and combine it with the SVO approach where the VPR pattern in fact reflects the base order (see *iiia*). Instances where the inflected verb in the embedded clause is preceded by more than two constituents would arise when the inflected V does not move to the head of

[17] Roberts (1995: fn. 11) hints at a similar idea, though he fails to apply it to the Negative Concord data.

the highest functional projection. This could mean either that the finite V remains VP-internal (as in (iiib)) or that it moves to a functional projection which is lower than AGRs (as in (iiic)), which means that both [Spec,AGRsP] and the specifier of this lower functional projection, the nature of which we return to presently, would be available for scrambling.

- (iii) (a) C NP V_{fin}_i XP [_{VP} t_i [_{FP} YP V]]
 (b) C NP XP [_{VP} V_{fin} [_{FP} YP V]]
 (c) C NP XP V_{fin}_i [_{VP} t_i [_{FP} YP V]]

The analysis in (iiic) is suggested by Roberts (1995). Let us illustrate it on the basis of the text-examples (28) and (29a), repeated here as (iva) and (ivb) respectively:

- (iv) (a) þæt wæs ða ða he Iudeas nolde nan wuht læran
 that was when he the Jews not-wanted nothing/not advise
 hwæt hi don scolden
 what they do should

‘That was when he didn’t want to advise the Jews what to do.’

(CP 58.443.3)

- (b) se ylca broðer wæs eac forðfered, se
 the same brother was also departed who
 [þonne] [hwæþre] [in ðære nihte] [betweoh þam
 then however in that night between the
 oþrum broðrum] næs na geciged
 other brothers not-was not called

‘the same brother also died who however was not called with the other brothers that night’

(GD 1(C) 8.53.29)

As pointed out by Roberts (1995: 23) the finite V in (iva) precedes *nan wuht* ‘not/nothing’. To quote Roberts:

If the second element of negation – *nan wuht* – is in a position comparable to NE *not* or French *pas*, then the inflected V is not in VP. However, if there is a scrambled position to its left the verb cannot be in the position that inflected verbs occupy in French (AGRs). But the negative-polarity evidence shows that the verb is not final with a raised VP following it. I conclude that it must be in a medial I-position (medial in the sense of being lower than AGRs but nevertheless VP-external). The natural candidates are T and AGRo... AGRo is only a candidate to the extent that it is above NegP – see Roberts (forthcoming).

That AGRoP dominates NegP in OE is plausible in view of the fact that the same seems to be holding in other West Germanic languages, such as Dutch, German and WF. This point is argued for extensively in Haegeman (1995) on the basis of evidence from sentential negation and in Haegeman

(forthcoming) on the basis of acquisition data. For reasons of space we cannot go into this discussion here and we refer the reader to the references.

The analysis of (iva) also applies to (ivb), where again the fact that the finite verb precedes *na* 'not' confirms the assumption that the verb is not VP-internal.

It is clear that the analysis above is only sketchy and at the moment it gives rise to redundancies in the system. For one thing, based on the discussion above, patterns where the embedded finite verb is preceded by one single constituent can be derived in a number of ways, which is not desirable of course:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| (v) | (a) | C NP | Vfin _i | [_{AGRoP} | [_{VP} t _i | [_{FP} | YP V]]] |
| | (b) | C NP | | [_{AGRoP} | [_{VP} Vfin | [_{FP} | YP V]]] |
| | (c) | C NP | | [_{AGRoP} Vfin _i | [_{VP} t _i | [_{FP} | YP V]]] |

We will return to this problem and to further implications of the Universal Base Hypothesis for VPR in WF and in OE in future work (Haerberli & Haegeman 1994; Haegeman, in preparation).

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