

On the Position of Subject Pronouns in Old English

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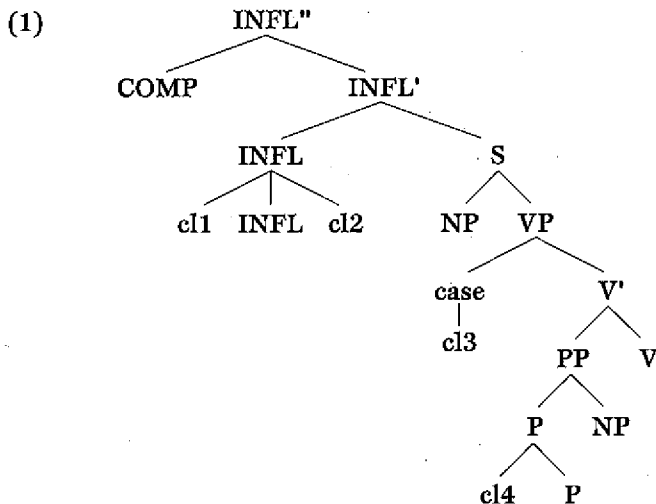
1. Introduction

It has been pointed out in the literature that the syntactic behavior of Old English pronouns differ from that of full NPs, and that sentences involving the former should be treated separately from sentences involving the latter. Van Kemenade (1987) is the first to present a systematic account for the peculiar behavior of Old English pronouns in terms of the notion of cliticization. Although her basic idea is widely accepted by scholars working on Old English syntax with the framework of generative grammar, specific details of their analysis are not necessarily the same. A notable opponent of van Kemenade's (1987) analysis is the one proposed in Pintzuk (1999). In this article, I focus on the behavior of subject personal pronouns in Old English and show that the data presented in the present study are in favor of van Kemenade (1987)'s analysis.

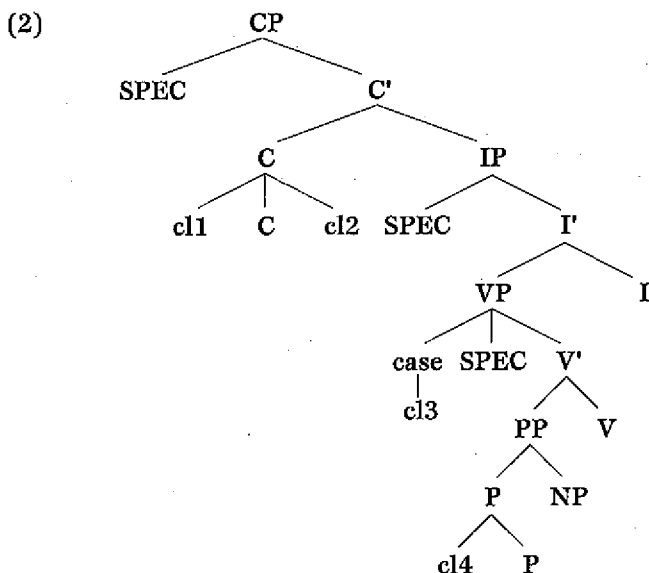
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2. Van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1999)

Van Kemenade (1987) proposes the following four positions for clitic pronouns to occupy.



This somewhat anomalous structure can be reinterpreted in the more standard barrier-type analysis (cf. Chomsky (1986)) as in (2).



The crucial position for the present analysis is 'cl2,' the right periphery of C. This position is exemplified by subject personal pronouns in main clauses V2 sentences with Subject-Verb-Inversion, as in (3).⁽¹⁾

- (3) a. Hwæt sægest *þu* yrþling? Hu begæst *þu* weorc þin?
 'what do you say, ploughman? How do you go about your work?'

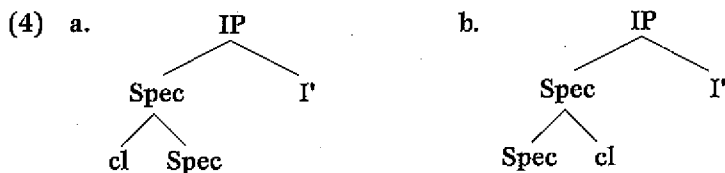
(AColl., 22/van Kemenade (1987: 138))

- b. þa wearð *he* to deofle awend
 then was he to devil changed
 'then he was changed to a devil'

(AHTh, I, 12/ibid.)

In (3), the operator elements, *hwæt* and *hu* in (3a), and *þa* in (3b), occupy the specifier of CP, the finite verbs occupy the C-position, and the personal pronominal subjects are cliticized to the C. In this analysis, clitics are zero-level elements and are attached to a zero-level category, C.

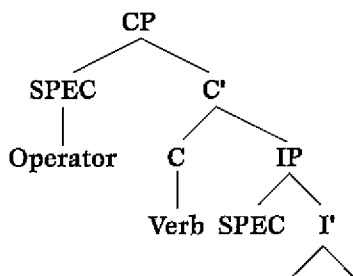
In contrast, Pintzuk (1999) argues that clitics in Old English are phrasal affix and they attach to the right or left periphery of the Specifier of IP as illustrated in (4).



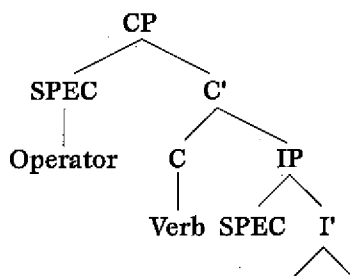
Differing from van Kemenade (1987), who assumes that finite verbs in main clauses uniformly occupy the C-position, Pintzuk (1999) argues that only finite verbs in clauses with operator elements such as *wh*-prases occupy the C-position. Finite verbs in other contexts are analyzed as occupying the I position. In clauses with no Subject-Verb-Inversion, subjects occupy the specifier of IP, and in clauses with Subject-Verb-Inversion, subjects occupy their base position, the specifier of VP, and the specifier of IP is occupied by the fronted topic elements. These differences between van Kemenade's (1987) and Pintzuk's (1999) analyses are illustrated in (5).

(5) a. Main Clauses with Operators

Van Kemenade (1987)

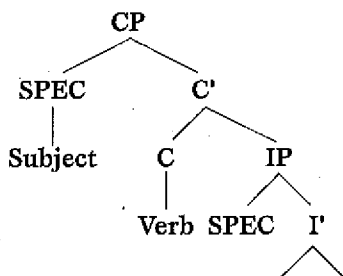


Pintzuk (1999)

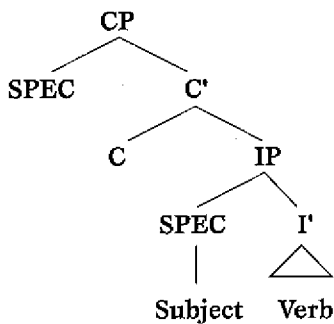


b. Main Clauses without Operators (without Inversion)

Van Kemenade (1987)

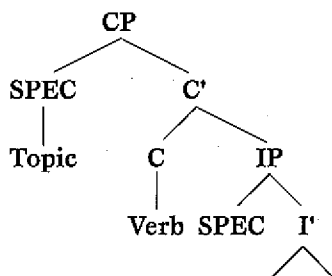


Pintzuk (1999)

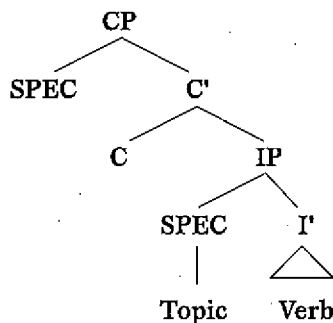


c. Main Clauses without Operators (with Inversion)

Van Kemenade (1987)



Pintzuk (1999)



As pointed out by Kato (1995), these two approaches make different predictions with respect to whether elements can intervene between the finite verb and the subject in main clauses with Subject-Verb-Inversion: In van Kemenade (1987)'s analysis, no elements are expected to intervene between the finite verb and the personal pronominal subject since the latter are attached to the former. In contrast, in Pintzuk's (1999) approach, intervention between the finite verb and the personal pronominal subject should be allowed because the latter is attached to the following specifier of IP, but not the preceding C.

(6) Operator-Vf-X-SUBpro...

- a. ungrammatical in van Kemenade's (1987) analysis
- b. grammatical in Pintzuk's (1999) analysis

These two approaches also make different predictions with respect to the behavior of personal pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses: Both in van Kemenade's (1987) and Pintzuk's analyses, complementizers occupy the C position. However, since subject personal pronouns attach to the C position in van Kemenade's analysis, no elements are predicted to intervene between the complementizer and the personal pronominal subjects. On the other hand, in Pintzuk's (1999) analysis, personal pronominal subjects attach to the specifier of IP, so that elements should be able to intervene between the complementizer and the personal pronominal subjects.

(7) Complementizer-X-SUBpro...

- a. ungrammatical in van Kemenade's (1987) analysis
- b. grammatical in Pintzuk's (1999) analysis

In the following section, I will examine which of the two analyses make the correct predictions.

2. Analysis

Using the data from the *Old English Concordance* (Healey and Venezky (1980)), Kato (1995) examines the distribution of the interjection *la* 'lo, oh,' and finds that, while *la* can intervene between the finite verb and the inverted full noun subject, it cannot intervene between the finite verb and the inverted personal pronominal subject. The relevant figures from Kato (1995) are given in (8).

(8)	Interrogative Clauses	V1 Imperative/Optatives	Verb1 Declaratives
Vf-SUBpro- <i>la</i>	28	3	0
Vf- <i>la</i> -SUBpro	0	0	0
Vf-SUBf- <i>la</i>	2	2	2
Vf- <i>la</i> -SUB	9	1	0

From these figures, Kato (1995: 36) concludes that “it can be safely claimed...that subject pronouns are encliticized to the fronted Vf in interrogative/verb-first constructions.”

Kato's (1995) conclusion is a statement concerning possible intervening elements between the finite verb and the inverted personal pronominal subjects, whereas his data is restricted to a single element, the interjection *la*. It is obvious that, for his conclusion to be supported, the data should be extended to include all the potential intervening elements and it should be shown that, while various elements may intervene between the finite verb and the inverted full NP subjects, no elements can intervene between the finite verb and the personal pronominal subjects. To examine the validity of Kato's (1995) conclusion, I have exhaustively analyzed examples with Subject-Verb-Inversion in main clauses in the first series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (Thorpe's edition). I have also analyzed all the subordinate clauses in the same text, since, as shown in the preceding section, the two approaches of van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1999) make different predictions. The result of the investigation of main clauses is given in (9).

- (9) Intervening Elements between the Finite Verb and the Subject in Main Clauses

a. Ordinary Main Clauses with Inversion

MC V SUBf	1008
MC V X SUBf	113
MC V SUBp	337
MC V X SUBp	0

b. Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative V SUBf	55
Interrogative V X SUBf	2
Interrogative V SUBp	71
Interrogative V X SUBp	0

c. Imperative/Optative Clauses

Imperative/Optative V SUBf	56
Imperative/Optative V X SUBf	8
Imperative/Optative V SUBp	78
Imperative/Optative V X SUBp	0

'SUBf' and 'SUBp' are, respectively, full NP subject and personal pronominal subject. Some of the examples with intervening elements are given in (10)-(12).⁽²⁾

(10) MC with V X SUBf

- a. Be þisum cwæð *eac* se Hælend on oðre stowe to his
of these said also Jesus in another place to his
leorning-cnihtum, "Gif ðes middangeard eow hatað, wite
disciples if this world you hate know
ge þæt he me hatode ær eow; and gif hi min
you that he me hated before you and if they me
ehton, þonne ehtað hi *eac* eower."
persecuted then persecuted they also you

'Of these said Jesus also in another place to his disciples,
 "If this world hate you, know ye that it hated me before
 you; and if they persecuted me, then will they also perse-
 cute you."
 (ÆCHom I, 554-556. 35-3)

- b. For gehealdsumnysse soðre eadmodnysse beoð *forwel oft*
 for prevention (of) truehumility are often
 Godes gecorenan geswencte, swa swa Paulus se apostol
 God's chosen afflicted as Paul the apostle
 be him sylfum cwæð, "Me is gescald sticels mines
 of him self said me is given goad (of) my
 lichaman, and se sceocca me gearplæt, þæt seo micelnys
 body and the devil me buffeteth that the greatness
 Godes onwrigenyssa
 (of) God's revelations
 me ne onhebbe;
 me not exalt

'For prevention of true humility are God's chosen very
 often afflicted, as Paul the apostle said of himself, "To me
 is given a goad of my body, and the devil buffeteth me, that
 the greatness of God's revelations may not exalt me;'

(ÆCHom I, 474.10-14)

- c. Nu wæs *ðeah-hwæðere* þæt halige mæden MARIA,
 now was nevertheless the holy maiden MARY
 Cristes moder, Godes beboda gemyndig, and eode
 Christ's mother God's commands mindful and went
 on ðysum dæge to God's house with gift and brought
 on this day to Godes huse mid lace, and gebrohte

þæt cild þe heo acende, Hælend Crist, gelacod
 the child that she given-birth-to Jesus Christ presented
 to þam Godes temple, swa swa hit on Godes æ geset wæs.
 to the God's temple as it in God's law set was
 'Now was, nevertheless, the holy maiden MARY, Christ's
 mother, mindful of God's house with a gift, and brought
 the child that she had given birth to, Jesus Christ, to be
 presented to God's temple, as it was set in God's law'

(ÆCHom I, 134. 22-26)

- d. Ða andwyrde Philippus, þeah her wæron gebohte
 then answered Philip though here were bought
 twa hund pening-wurð hlafes, ne mihte
 two hundred pennyworth (of) bread not could
furðon hyra ælc anne bitan of ðam gelæccan.
 yet their each one morsel of them get
 'Then Philip answered, Though two hundred penyworth of
 bread were bought, yet could not every one of them get a
 morsel'

(ÆCHom 182. 8-11)

(11) Interrogative with V X SUBf

- a. þas Godes ðegnas, þe beoð on swa micelre geðincðe on
 These God's servants who are in so great honor in
 gesihðe þæs Ælmihtigan þæt hi sind godas getealde,
 sight (of) the Almighty that they are gods accounted
 hwider gescyt ðonne heora endebyrðnysse, buton
 whither are-assigned then their order unless
 to ðam werode ðe sind hlafordscipas gecwedene?
 to the host which are lordships called

forðan ðe him oðre englas underðeodde beoð.

for (to) them other angels subordinate are

'These servants of God, who are in so great honour in the sight of the Almighty that they are accounted gods, to what order are they assigned, unless to the host which is called lordship? for to them other angels are subordinate.

(ÆCHom I, 346. 3-7)

- b. Gif ða twelf mægða ana beoð gedemedede æt ðam
if the twelve tribes only will-be judged at the
micclum dome, hwæt deð þonne seo ðreotteoðe mægð,
great doom what do then the thirteenth tribe
Leui?

Levi

'If the twelve tribes only will be judged at the great doom,
what then will the thirteenth tribe, Levi, do?

(ÆCHom I, 396. 2-4)

(12) Imperative/Optative

- a. Do *eac* swa se cristena man; beo him unsceaðþig, and
do also as the christian man be him innocent and
bilewite, and lufige annysse, and broðorraedene betwux
gentle and love unity and fellowship among
cristenum mannum; þonne geoffriað he gastlice
christian men then offers he spiritually
Gode þa culfran-briddas.

(to) God the young pigeons

'Let the christian man also do so; let him be innocent, and
gentle, and love unity and fellowship among christian men;

then offers he to God spiritually the young pigeons.'

(ÆCHom I, 142. 9-12)

- b. *cume forði gehwa cristenra manna to his scrifte,*
 come therefore every (of) christian men to his confessor
 and his diglan gyltas geandette, and be his lareowes
 and his secret sins confess and by his instructor's
tæcunge gebete; and tihte ælc oðerne to gode
 teaching amend and stimulate everyone another to good
mid godre gebysnunge, þæt eal folc cweðe be us,
 by good examples that all people may-say of us
swa swa be ðam blindan gecweden wæs, ðaða his eagan
 as of the blind man said was when his eyes
wæron onlihte; þæt is, Eall folc þe þæt wundor
 were enlightened that is all people who that miracle
geseah, herede God, seðe leofað and rixað a
 saw praised God who liveth and reigneth ever
butan ende.
 without end

'let, therefore, every christian man come to his confessor,
 and confess his secret sins, and amend by the teaching of
 his instructor; and let everyone stimulate another to good
 by good example, that all people may say of us, as was said
 of the blind man when his eyes were enlightened; that is,
 All people who saw that miracle praised God, who liveth
 and reigneth ever without end.'

(ÆCHom I, 164. 26-32)

- c. Wite *eac* gehwa, þæt ælc man hæfð þreo ðing
 know also everyone that every man has three thing
 on him sylfum untodæledlice and togædere wyrcende,
 in himself indivisible and together working
 swa swa God cwæð, þaþa he ærest mann gesceop.
 as God said when he first man created
 'Let everyone also know that every man has three things in
 himself indivisible and working together, as God said when
 he first created man.' (ÆCHom I. 288. 11-13)
- d. Wite *ðeah-hwæðere* gehwa, þæt nan man butan
 know however every-one that no man without
 earfoðnyssum ne becymð to ðære ecan reste, þaða
 tribulations not comes to the eternal rest when
 Crist sylf nolde his agen rice butan micelre
 Christ self not-would his own kingdom without great
 earfoðnysse astigan:
 tribulations ascend
 'Let everyone, however, know, that no man comes to the
 eternal rest without tribulations, when Christ himself
 would not ascend to his own kingdom without great tribu-
 lations.' (ÆCHom I, 476. 11-13)

As the data in (9) show, the intervention of elements between the finite verb and the personal pronominal subject is systematically avoided, and therefore, we can conclude that van Kemenade's (1987) approach, which assumes that personal pronouns in inverted structures are attached to the right of C, is the correct one.

The result of the investigation of subordinate clauses is given in

(13).

(13) Intervening Elements between the Complementizer and the Subject

SC SUBf V	1184
SC X SUBf V	83
SC SUBp V	2411
SC X SUBp V	9

Seemingly, the data given in (13) support Pintzuk's (1999) analysis, and not van Kemenade's (1987) because they show that elements can intervene between the complementizer and the personal pronominal subjects as well as between the complementizer and the full NP subject. Closer examinations of the relevant data reveal that it is not the case. (14) gives some examples of full NP subjects involving intervening elements, and (15) gives all the examples of personal pronominal subjects with intervening elements.

- (14) a. Gif *þonne* hwylc wif to ðam unspedig wære þæt heo
 if then any woman so needy were that she
 ða ðing begytan ne mihte, þonne sceolde heo
 those things get not could then should she
 bringan twegen culfran-briddas, oððe twa turtlan.
 bring two young-pigeons or two turtle-doves
 'But if any woman were so needy that she could not get
 those things, then she should bring two young pigeons, or
 two turtle-doves.' (ÆCHom I, 140. 2-5)

- b. Swa swa on ðam timan be ðæs caseres gebanne
 as at that time by (of) the emperor's proclamation
 gehwilce ænlipige on heora burgum be him sylfum cendon,
 each singly in their cities by him self declared
 swa eac nu us cyðað lareowas Cristes
 so also now us make-know teachers Christ's
 gebann, þæt we us gegadrian to his halgum
 proclamation that we us gather to his holy
 gelaðunge, and on ðære ures geleafan gafol mid
 congregation and in that (of) our faith tribute with
 estfullum mode him agifan, þæt ure naman beon awritene
 devout mind him pay that our names be written
 on lifes bec mid his gecorenum.
 in (of) life book with his chosen
 'As at that time, according to the emperor's proclamation,
 each one singly, in their cities, declared concerning
 himself, so also now do our teachers make known to us
 Christ's proclamation, that we gather us to his holy cocn-
 gregation, and therein, with devout mind, pay to him the
 tribute of our faith, that our names may be written in the
 book of life with his chosen. (ÆCHom I, 34. 3-8)

- c. He wolde ðeah þæs wælhreowan
 he would nevertheless (of) the cruel-tyrant's
 syrewunge mid fleame forbugan, na forði þæt he deað
 machination by flight avoid not because he death
 forfluge, seðe sylf-willes to ðrowuienne middangearde
 fled who of-self-will to suffering world

genealæhte; ac hit wære to hradlic, gif he ða
 visited but it was too early if he then
 on cild-cradole acweald wurde, swilce *ðonne* his to-cyme
 in child-cradle killed were as then his advent
 mancynne bediglod wære;
 (from) mankind hidden were

'Nevertheless, he would avoid the machination of the cruel
 tyrant by flight, not because he fled from death, who of his
 own will visited the world for the purpose of suffering; but
 it would have been too early, if he had been slain in the
 child's cradle, for his advent would then, as it were, be hid-
 den from mankind;' (ÆCHom I, 82. 25-30)

- d. Ne sceole we beon ormode, ðeah ðe *on ðyssere*
 not should we be hopeless though in this
andweardan gelaðunge fela syndon yfele and feawa gode;
 present church many are evil and few good
 forðan ðe Noes arc on ypum ðæs micclan flodes hæfde
 for Noah's ark on waves (of) the great flood had
 getacnunge byssere gelaðunge, and he wæs on
 symbol (of) this church and he was in
 nyðeweardan wid, and on ufeweardan nearo.
 lower-part wide and in upper-part narrow
 'We should not be hopeless, though in this present church
 many are evil and few good; for Noah's ark on the waves of
 the great flood was a type of this church, and it was in the
 lower part wide and in the upper narrow.'

(ÆCHom I, 536. 6-10)

- (15) a. Be bysum tæhte se apostol Paulus, "þa ðe
 Concerning this taught the apostle Paul those who
 wif habbað, beon hi swilce hi nan nabbon;"
 wives have be they as-though they none not-had
 forðan *ealle hyra unlustas* hi sceolon gebetan
 for all their evil-lusts they should atone
 sylfwylles on byssum life,
 voluntarily in this life
 oððe unþances æfter ðyssum life;
 'Concerning this the apostle Paul taught, "Let those who
 have wives be as though they had none." For they shall
 atone for all their evil lusts voluntarily in this life, or invol-
 untarily after this life;' (ÆCHom I, 148. 25-28)
- b. þaða he ferde, þa gehyrde he þæs blindan clypunge;
 when he passed then heard he (of) the blind's cry
 and þapa he stod, þa forgeaf he him gesihðe; forðan
 and when he stood then gave he him sight because
 þurh ða menniscnysse he besargað ures modes
 through the human-nature he bewails (of) our mind's
 blindnysse, and ðurh ða godcundnysse he forgifð us
 blindness and through the divine-nature he gives us
 leoht, and ure blindnysse onliht.
 light and our blindness enlightens
 'When he was passing he heard the blind man's cry; and
 when he stood he gave him sight; because through his
 human nature he bewails the blindness of our minds,
 and through his divine nature he gives us light, and en-
 lightens our blindness;' (ÆCHom I, 158. 6-10)

- c. Ne getimode þam apostole Thome unforsceawodlice,
 Not happened (to) the apostle Thomas unprovidentially
 þæt he ungeleafful wæs Cristes æristes, ac
 that he unbelieving was (of) Christ's resurrection but
 hit getimode þurh Godes forsceawunge; forðan
 it happened through God's providence for
ðurh his grapunge we sind geleaffulle.
 through his touching we are believing
 'It happened to the apostle Thomas not unprovidentially,
 that he was unbelieving of Christ's resurrection, but it hap-
 pened by the providence of God; for through his touching
 we are believing' (ÆCHom I, 234. 19-22)

- d. For nahte he tealde ænig ðing to biddenne buton
 for naught he accounted any thing to pray but
 gesihðe; *forðan ðeah* se blinda sum ðing hæbbe, he
 sight because though the blind some thing have he
 ne mæg butan leohte geseon þæt he hæfð.
 not may without light see that-which he has
 'For naught he accounted it to pray for anything but sight;
 because, though the blind may have something, he cannot
 without light see that which he has.'
 (ÆCHom I, 158. 21-24)

- e. Ure Alysend Crist næs geferod mid cræte ne
 our Redeemer Christ not-was conveyed with chariot nor
ðurh engla fultum; forðan *se ðe calle ðing*
 by angels' help for he who all things

geworhte, he wæs geferod mid his agenre mihte ofer ealle
wrought he was borne by his own might over all
gesceafta.

creatures

‘Our Redeemer Christ was not conveyed in a chariot nor by
angels’ help; for he who wrought all things was borne by
his own might over all creatures.’

(ÆCHom I, 308. 12-15)

- f. þa ðe God lufiað, hi sind gemanode þæt hi
Those who God loves they are exhorted that they
gladion on middangeardes geendunge, forðan þonne he
be-glad in world’s ending for when it
gewit, ðe hi ne lufodon, ðonne witodlice
passes-away which they not loved then certainly
hi gemetað þone ðe hi lufodon.
they find that which they loved
‘Those whom God loves are exhorted to be glad for the end-
ing of the world, for when that passes away, which they
loved not, then certainly they will find that which they
loved.’

(ÆCHom I, 612. 16-18)

- g. Se eadiga martyr ða wæs biddende his Drihten,
the blessed martyr then was praying (to) his Lord
and cwæð, “Hælend Crist, God of Gode, gemiltsa
and said Savior Christ God of God have-mercy
þinum ðeowan, forðan ðe ic gewreged ðe ne wiðsoc,
(on) your servant for I accused you not denied

befrinen ic ðe geandette.”

questioned I you acknowledged

“The blessed martyr then was praying to his Lord, and said,
“Saviour Christ, God of God, have mercy on thy servant,
for, accused, I denied thee not; questioned, I acknowledged
thee.”

(ÆCHom I, 426.1-4)

- h. Dionisius þa wearð his hæsum gehyrsum, and mid
Dionysius then was(to) his commands obedient and with
geferum ferde to Franclande, cristendom bodigende
companions went to Frankland christianity preaching
mid micclum wundrum to ðan swiðe þæt þa reðan
with great miracles so much that the fierce
hæðenan, swa hraðe swa hi hine gesawon, oððe hi
heathen as soon as they him saw or they
feallende his fet gesohton, him and Gode
falling his feet sought him and God
gehyrsumigende, oððe gif heora hwylc ðwyrode, þonne
obeying or if their any was-hostile then
wearð se mid swa micelre fyrhte fornumen, þæt he
was he with such great fear seized that he
ðærrihte his andweardnysse forfleah.
straightways (from) his presence fled
‘Dionysius was then obedient to his commands, and with
his companions went to Frankland, preaching christianity
with great miracles so effectually, that the fierce heathen,
as soon as they saw him, either falling sought his feet,
obeying him and God, or if any one of them was hostile, he
was seized with such great fear, that he straightways fled

from his presence?

(ÆCHom I, 560. 5-12)

- i. Mid þam ðe hi andwyrdon, "Amen," þa wearð eall seo when they answered Amen then was all the untrume menigu gehæled: and ðær com ða fleogende sick multitude healed and there came then flying Godes engel scinende swa swa sunne, and fleah geond ða God's angel shining as sun and flew over the feower hwemmas þæs temples, and agrof mid his four corners (of) the temple and graved with his fingre rode-tacn on ðam fyðerscytum stanum, and finger cross-sign on the four-cornered stones and cwæð, "Se God ðe me sende cwæð, þæt swa swa said The God who me sends said that as *ðas untruman synd gehælede fram eallum coðum*, these sick are healed from all diseases swa he geclænsode þis templ fram þæs deofles so he cleansed this temple from (of) the devil's fulnyssum, ðone ðe se apostol het to westene foulness whom the apostle commanded to waste gewitan.

retire

'While they were answering "Amen," all the sick multitude was healed: and there came then flying God's angel shining as the sun, and flew over the four corners of the temple, and graved with his finger the sign of the cross on the four-cornered stones, and said, "The God who sendeth me said, That so as these sick are healed from all diseases, so hath he cleansed this temple from the devil's foulness, whom

the apostle hath commanded to retire to the waste?

(ÆCHom I, 466. 10-18)

What is crucially important here is that all the examples in (15) are cases where their status as subordinate clauses is controversial. A group of subordinators in Old English are identical in form with corresponding adverbs, and it is sometimes difficult to make main/subordinate distinction (cf. Bammetersberger (1992: 62)). *Forðan* 'for' in (15a)-(15f) is an example of such ambiguous cases, and it can be claimed that the clauses introduced by *forðan* in (15a)-(15f) are actually main clauses. (15i) involves a complement clause of a bridge verb, which can be regarded as embedded main clauses, as argued in Hulk and van Kemenade (1995), van Kemenade (1997), and Ohkado (2000). (15g) and (15h), respectively, involve a *forðan* *ðe* clause and a *ðæt* clause expressing result. Both of these clauses can be embedded main clauses, as argued in Ohkado (2000). There are no subordinate clause examples with intervening elements between finite verbs and personal pronominal subjects, which are introduced by genuine subordinators.

On the other hand, in the case of clauses with full NP subjects, there are examples introduced by genuine subordinators, as shown in (14).

From these considerations, we can conclude that elements can intervene between the finite verb and the full NP subject, but not between the finite verb and the personal pronominal subject, as predicted by van Kemenade's (1987) analysis of clitic pronouns.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the separability of two types of subjects in Old English in two contexts: main clauses with Subject-Verb-Inversion, and subordinate clauses. It has been shown that while elements can intervene between the full NP subject and the preceding finite verb or complementizer, the personal pronominal subject should always be adjacent to the preceding finite verb or complementizer. These facts indicate that the clitic analysis proposed in van Kemenade (1987), and not the analysis of Pintzuk (1999), is on the right track.

Notes

- (1) The reference system here is that of van Kemenade (1987).
- (2) As for the reference system of the Old English examples, the page and line numbers of Thorpe's (1844) edition are given. Translations here are also basically those given in Thorpe (1844)).

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