

SPLIT COORDINATED STRUCTURES IN LATE OLD ENGLISH*

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present an analysis of split coordinated structures in Late Old English.

The analysis will be carried out within the framework of transformational generative grammar as presented in Radford (1988). However, since the phenomenon of coordination has been rather neglected by the linguists writing within the Government and Binding Theory, certain solutions adopted here fall outside this theory.

The following components of grammar will be recognized (cf. Radford 1988: 456):

- (1) Base (with D-structures as its output)
- (2) Transformational Component (with S-structures as its output)
- (3) Deletion Component (with Surface Structures as its output)

The Old English data that will be used is taken mainly from *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (sermons XXV, XXVI, XXXII). Apart from this source, also examples from Mitchell (1985) (mostly from *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*) and Reszkiewicz (1966) will be made use of.

2. Definition of a split construction and division of splits into types

"Split constructions" are considered to be a common phenomenon in Old Eng-

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lish. However, there is no single definition of the term and there are different views on what should and what should not be regarded as a split construction.

Mitchell (1985: 612, §1464) limits the concept to split "groups joined by a conjunction".

Reszkiewicz (1966: 313-314) presents Mossé's definition of disjunction as well as that given by Quirk and Wrenn (1955). For Mossé, these are "cases when separation of two elements which logically belong together takes place for purposes of rhythm, meter, or poetic variation" (Reszkiewicz 1966: 314). Obviously, Reszkiewicz considers this definition to be too narrow. On the other hand, Quirk and Wrenn's definition is – in his opinion – too broad. They apply the term "disjunction" not only to cases when a sentence element is split into two, but also to cases when the "common order SVO" is disrupted.

What Reszkiewicz understands by a split is "any case when a sentence element, major or minor, is split into two and the two fragments are placed in different places" (Reszkiewicz 1966: 315). He also claims that the two fragments of a split are separated by "some other sentence element or elements" (Reszkiewicz 1966: 316-317). He gives examples of split attributes, however, which are not consistent with this definition, since the split parts are not separated by a sentence element (or elements): e.g., *Gif ænig man hæbbe modigne sunu and rancne* (Reszkiewicz 1966: 317).

The definition of a split construction adopted in this article is to some extent based on the one formulated by Reszkiewicz. Namely, as split constructions will be regarded all cases of phrasal constituents divided into parts in the surface structure, these parts being separated by any string of words (consisting of at least one item)¹ not belonging to this particular phrasal constituent.

Obviously, the "major" and "minor" sentence elements mentioned by Reszkiewicz are nothing else but phrasal constituents.

The above formulation of the definition will allow us to account in a principled way for why cases of an object being separated from its verb by elements not belonging to the VP cannot be regarded as instances of split constructions. Under the assumption that the rule of V-movement applies to all finite non-modal verbs in Old English, the verb is a constituent of I and not VP,² to which the object belongs.

Reszkiewicz (1966) makes several classifications of splits into types on the basis of different criteria. One such criterion is the mutual relation of the split parts to each other. As far as this relation is concerned, he divides splits into the following three types:

¹ This will prevent me from being inconsistent while dealing with many occurrences of split attributes and allow for the inclusion of cases in which the words separating the split parts do not even form a constituent.

² See Radford (1988: 403-410) for arguments supporting the claim that V-movement applies to all non-modal verbs in English. As a result of V-movement, the verb becomes a constituent of I at an intermediate level during the derivation.

1) one in which "the given sentence element is expressed by a discontinuous structure of modification" (Reszkiewicz 1966: 317)³

2) "one in which the given sentence element is expressed by a discontinuous structure of coordination" (Reszkiewicz 1966: 316)

3) one in which the split element is a pronominal prepositional phrase (Reszkiewicz 1966: 318)

This division of Old English split constructions will be followed here to a large extent. "Discontinuous structures of coordination" are the ones dealt with in this article.

3. Split coordinated structures

3.1. Movement or deletion?

Split coordinated structures include coordinated subjects, objects, and modifiers. Are these constructions best derived by movement or deletion? Or, perhaps, do both movement and deletion take place in the derivation?

If we look at the following coordinated modifiers:

- (1) *se arfæsta and se mildheorta God*
(ÆCHom ii. 126.4; Mitchell 1985: 77, §167)
- (2) *ægðer ge ðære ealdan æ ge ðære niwan*
(ÆCHom i. 1990.9; Mitchell 1985: 78, §170)
- (3) *eall ðios unstillige gesceaft and ðios hwearfiende*
(Bo 129.15; Mitchell (1985: 78, §170),

two of which (i.e., (2) and (3)) are examples of split constructions, we immediately see that we would have two different derivations for coordinated modifiers if we wanted to derive structures like (2) and (3) by means of movement, and structures like (1) directly by means of PS rules (of course, the same would apply to an analysis whereby non-split constructions were derived through deletion and splits through movement followed by deletion). Under the deletion analysis, modifiers like (1) and also those like (2) or (3) would be derived in a uniform way, which is certainly more economical.

What is even more important, in all three constructions there is a repetition of the determiner. It looks as if we needed a determiner not only to form an NP in Old English, but also a modifier AP. However, if there is no conjunction, the determiner is not repeated (cf. Mitchell 1985: 77, §§166-168).

The following structure looks like a MnE NP:

³ Reszkiewicz (1966: 318) includes split appositive structures in the type represented by "discontinuous structures of modification". However, if we assume that constituents in apposition cannot be subordinated, since they must have the same function with respect to the other constituents of the sentence, one of the appositives cannot be the modifier and the other one the head in a structure of modification (cf. Burton-Roberts 1975: 405-406).

- (4) *se goda Heofenlica Fæder*
(ÆCHom i. 252.34; Mitchell 1985: 77, §167)

The repetition of a determiner, then, seems to be connected with the presence of a coordinating conjunction. And this fact corroborates the deletion analysis of coordinated structures. Under this analysis there will be an antecedent occurrence of the noun "God" in the structure underlying (1), which is deleted in the course of the derivation. The presence of two nouns in D-structure is responsible for the appearance of two determiners. The fact that the determiner is not deleted under identity may be due to some kind of restriction preventing a determiner from getting deleted if on the surface there remain other parts of the NP, in this case an AP.⁴ The deletion analysis, then, will enable us to avoid a situation in which we would have two kinds of AP attributes, one with and one without a determiner at D-structure level.

Even if we assume that all coordinated modifiers are best derived by means of deletion, the question still remains whether they should be derived from underlying coordinated phrasal constituents or from underlying coordinated sentences. One might argue that structures like (1)-(3) can well be derived from underlying coordinated NPs and that there is no need to postulate coordination of sentences in the underlying structure. However, there are cases of split coordinated modifiers in which "some other elements intervene between the noun and the second adjective" (Mitchell, 1985: 78, §171). For example:

- (5) *Maran cyle ic geseah, and wyrсан.*
(ÆCHom ii. 354.21; Mitchell 1985: 78, §171)

It is rather unlikely that we would want to derive such a coordination pattern from a coordination of NPs. The elements intervening between the coordinated adjectives do not form a constituent and they could not be intraposed. Movement of one of the coordinated elements before the application of deletion would have to be postulated. However, if (5) is assumed to be derived from coordinated sentences, only deletion under identity has to apply in the course of deriving the split. This is certainly a far less complicated (and, therefore, more plausible) analysis. And if split coordinated attributes with the second adjective separated from the noun are best derived from S- coordination, we can either postulate underlying S- coordination for them and NP-coordination for all the other cases of coordinated attributes or else we can assume that all coordinated attributes will be derived from underlying sentences. If the latter solution is adopted, all coordinated modifiers in Old English will be derived from underlying coordinated sentences by means of deletion.

The existence of split coordinated subjects, e.g.,:

⁴ I do not think that the fact that the determiner is not deleted provides evidence that there is a trace of a deleted noun left at the deletion site. In case all parts constituting an NP are deleted, the determiner does not remain on the surface.

- (6) *Onð after ðam Hengest feng to rice onð Æsc his sunu.*
(Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel 455; Reszkiewicz 1966: 316),

constitutes a further argument for postulating deletion from underlying coordinated sentences rather than phrases. If split coordinated subjects are to be derived by means of deletion rather than movement (only such an approach would enable us to derive both split and "non-split" coordinated subjects in a uniform way), underlyingly there will have to be coordinated sentences and not phrases. And, in turn, if coordinated subjects – as well as some coordinated modifiers – have to be derived from underlying coordinated sentences, postulating such underlying structures for all instances of coordination in Old English (including objects consisting of coordinated NPs) will allow a uniform account of Old English coordination.

3.2. The deletion under identity rule

Van Oirsouw (1987: 110) derives "all coordinations at least in English, Dutch and German, ... by means of deletion under identity from coordinated sentences, with one clear exception: coordinated NPs which are the subject of symmetrical predicates". He claims that S- coordination and NP-coordination should be considered basic, because in all languages which allow coordination there is at least coordination of sentences and NPs (Van Oirsouw 1987: 109).

Further on, he states that "there is only one optional rule deleting under identity in coordinated structures" (Van Oirsouw 1987: 113).⁵ Van Oirsouw's unitary deletion approach will be adopted here. As has been mentioned, all surface coordinations in Old English will be derived from underlying coordinated sentences through deletion under identity.

A different approach to coordination is presented in Goodall (1987). Goodall (1987: 17) argues that "coordination is the result of a union of phrase markers". He claims that his approach is superior to either the deletion account of coordination or the "phrasal conjunction" analysis: "in exchange for admitting union of phrase markers as a possible syntactic configuration, a much improved empirical account of coordination follows" (Goodall 1987: 21).

However, Goodall's analysis would fail to account for Old English coordination facts. He postulates a linearization principle deriving surface coordinated structures from the union of phrase markers (Goodall, 1987: 22-23). A sentence like:

- (7) *John ran and Mary* (Goodall's example (32))

would have to be derived from the union of the phrase markers for the sentences:

- (8) *John ran*
Mary ran (Goodall's example (33))

Linearization could not derive (32) from (33), though, because "Mary" precedes

⁵ For arguments against a PS rule account of coordination see van Oirsouw (1987: 103-110), and for arguments supporting a unitary deletion approach see van Oirsouw (1987: 110-116).

“ran” in (33), and follows it in (32). Goodall (1987: 28) claims that “this is a desirable result [...] because almost all speakers judge (32) to be ungrammatical”. In Old English, however, split coordinated subjects are to be found even more frequently than cases in which all elements of the subject appear either before or after the predicate.⁶ And the linearization principle assumed by Goodall could not derive such patterns of coordination.

Apart from being inadequate for Old English data, Goodall’s analysis also presents some problems in accounting for such phenomena as Gapping in Modern English.⁷

3.3. Split coordinated modifiers

As has been mentioned, split coordinated structures include split coordinated subjects, objects, and modifiers. The modifiers can be further subdivided into split coordinated AP noun attributes and coordinated genitive modifiers.

3.3.1. Split AP attributes

According to Mitchell (1985: 76, §166), if a noun in Old English is modified by two adjectives, either both the adjectives precede or follow the noun or else one precedes and the other follows the noun. The noun can also be repeated with the second adjective. We have already seen examples of split coordinated AP attributes ((2), (3), and (5)) and also an instance of both adjectives preceding the noun they modify (example (1), repeated here as (9)):

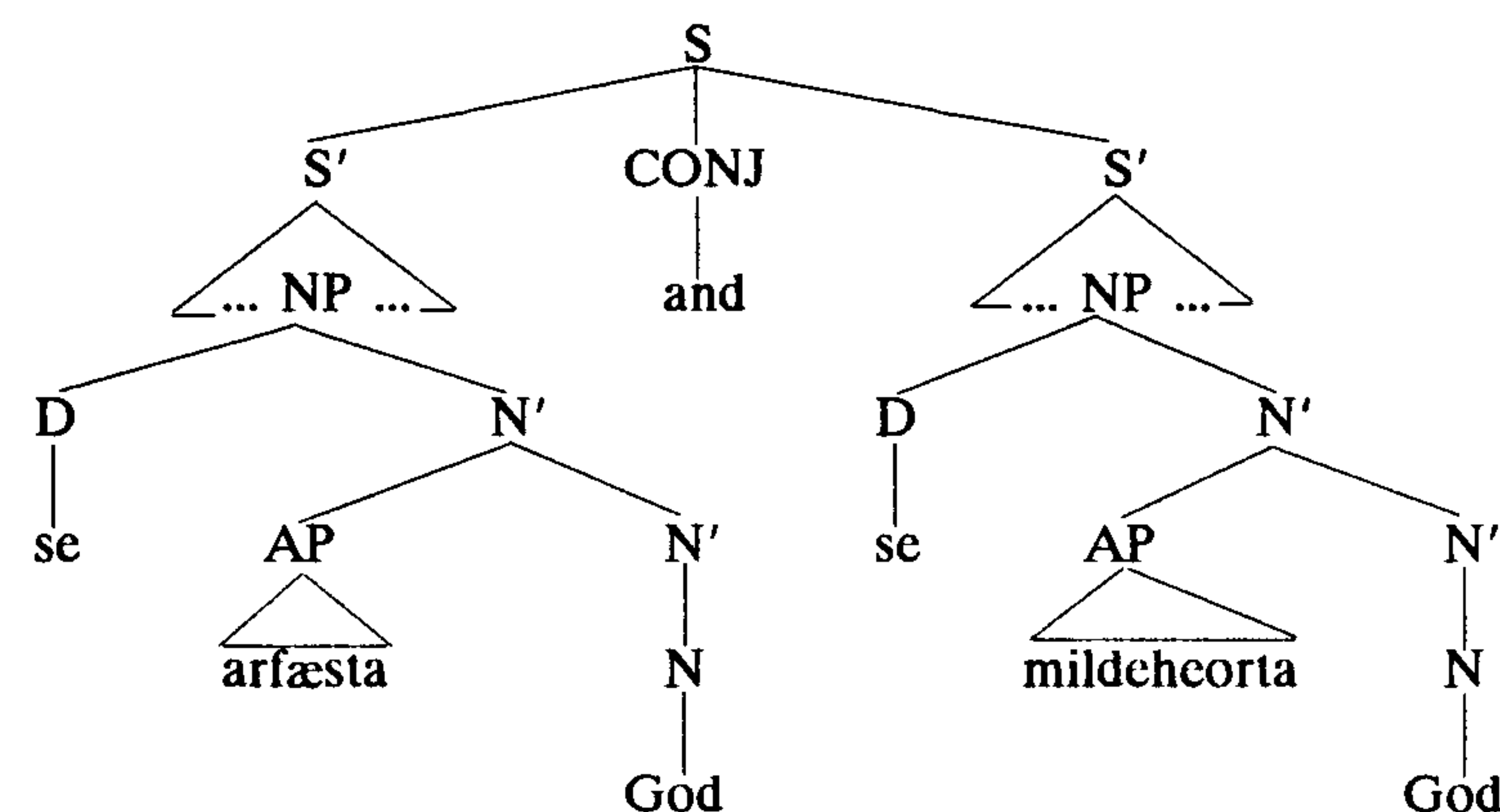
- (9) *se arfæsta and se mildheorta God*
(ÆCHom ii. 126.4; Mitchell 1985: 77, §167)

As has been stated, all coordinated structures in Old English will be derived by means of deletion under identity from underlying coordinated sentences. The structure underlying (9) will be the following, then:

⁶ This remark obviously concerns the texts I have examined.

⁷ Goodall (1987: 80-85) claims that his linking rule (216) can account for all the facts connected with Gapping, the constituency of Gapping remnants being one of them. A sentence like “*Simon quickly dropped the gold and Jack suddenly the diamonds” (Goodall’s example (210)) is ruled out because the Gapping remnants are not constituents. Under such an assumption, though, we would have to rule out sentences like “Simon dropped the gold quickly and Jack the diamonds suddenly”. Van Oirsouw, on the other hand, is able to account for the difference between the two sentences. Namely, Gapping and other deletion rules are all subject to the peripherality constraint, according to which the deletion target must be peripheral to its immediately dominating node (Van Oirsouw 1987: 114-115). This fact, obviously, makes more valid his claim that all these rules are actually examples of one rule of deletion under identity.

(10)



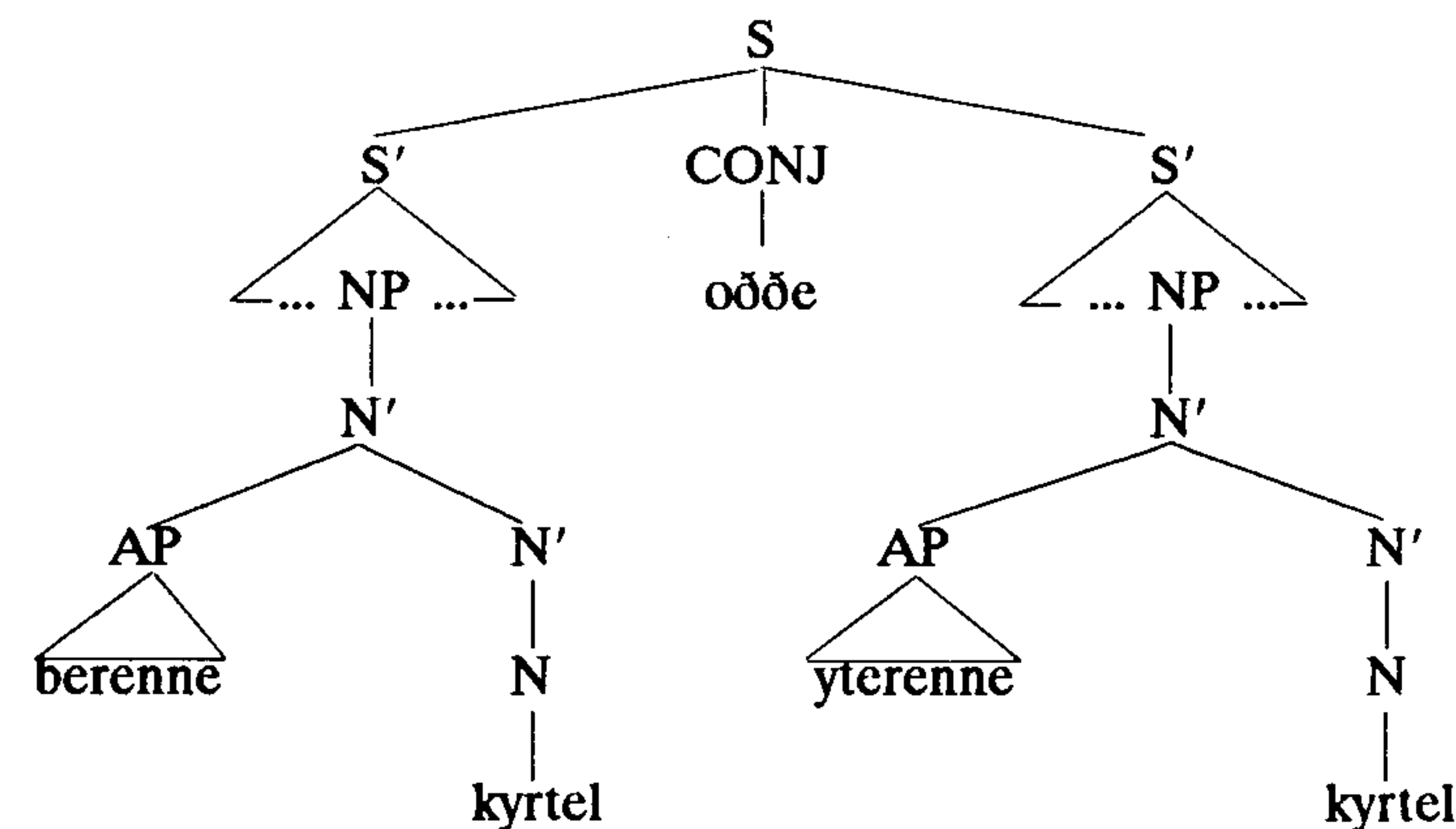
In the course of deriving (9) from (10), the antecedent occurrence of the noun “God” is deleted under identity. Since the internal structure of the conjoined sentences, with the exception of the two NPs, is quite irrelevant for the analysis and would only make the P-marker more complicated, it has been completely disregarded here.

Obviously, split coordinated attributes, like

- (11) *berenne kyrtel oððe yterenne*
(King Alfred’s Orosius 18.21; Mitchell 1985: 78, §170)

will also be derived by means of deletion under identity from underlying coordinated sentences:

(12)



(11) is derived from (12) by deleting under identity the subsequent occurrence of the noun “kyrtel”. Here, the internal structure of the conjoined sentences has been disregarded again.

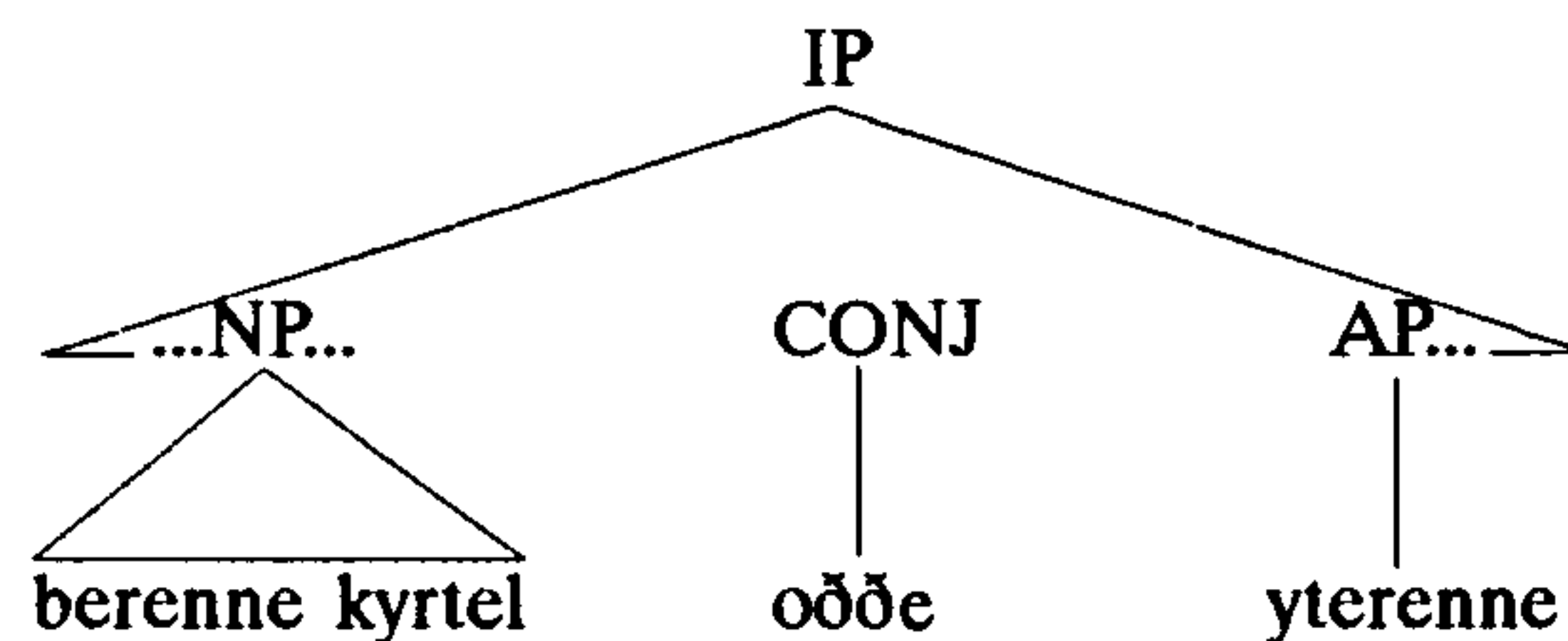
Van Oirsouw (1987: 117) claims that “coordinate deletion provides no EVIDENCE about the structure of a coordinated sentence before or after deletion...”. He does make an assumption, however, that there are no empty categories left after deletion has applied. According to him “there are no objections to postulating empty categories at a deletion site, but such a hypothesis provides a complication of the grammar” (Van Oirsouw 1987: 222). Van Oirsouw admits that his assumption may turn out to be false, but even then the rules and constraints proposed in his book would not be affected.

Since the rule of coordinate deletion offers no evidence about the structure of the sentence after the application of the rule, and since the problem is not relevant to the analysis presented here anyway, the question of whether or not there are empty categories left at the deletion site will be disregarded.

Coming back to the derivation of structure (11), there will have to be some restructuring of the tree after the application of deletion. I am going to follow Burton-Roberts (1975) and adopt his modified version of Ross’s rule of S-pruning.⁸ According to Burton-Roberts, the non-branching S-node which this rule deletes, does not have to be embedded.⁹ Ross (1967: 24-67) also mentions in his chapter on tree pruning that there are some arguments for postulating a rule of NP-pruning besides a rule of S-pruning. This rule will actually be used in deriving split coordinated modifiers.

After the application of coordinate deletion, S-pruning and NP-pruning, the surface structure derived from (12) will be the following:¹⁰

(13)



The conjunction and the AP have been attached to IP. Although there is no direct evidence for it here, in the case of structures like (5), where there is intervening material, the conjunction and the second coordinated element have to be placed under either IP or to I' (since IP is a maximal projection they have been attached to IP rather than to I').

⁸ Obviously, although the original name of the rule has been kept, S-pruning actually means S'-pruning here (that is, the removal of S'-node and also IP-node and COMP).

⁹ For arguments supporting the claim that the S node need not be embedded see Burton-Roberts (1975: 408-409). Here, of course, it is IP that should be the non-branching node (cf. fn. 3 above).

¹⁰ Structure (13) may be considered inaccurate if we assume that the conjunction and the following conjunct form a constituent (see, for example, Ross 1977: 90-91). The question of whether they do form a single constituent or not is disregarded here as it does not directly concern the main subject of this study.

In the course of deriving (9) from its underlying structure, rightperipheral material (the N' "God") was deleted backwards. However, when (11) was being derived the rightperipheral material (the N' "kyrtel") was deleted forwards. This is, obviously, contrary to Ross's Directionality Constraint, according to which elements on left branches delete forwards and elements on right branches delete backwards (cf. Van Oirsouw (1987: 116)). As far as the derivation of split coordinated subjects is concerned, the Directionality Constraint is not obeyed, either (cf. examples (21)-(25)). We might conclude, then, that the rule of coordinate deletion in Old English does not comply with the Directionality Constraint. And this allows for the varied word order patterns, namely both split and non-split coordinate constructions.

3.3.2. Split genitive modifiers

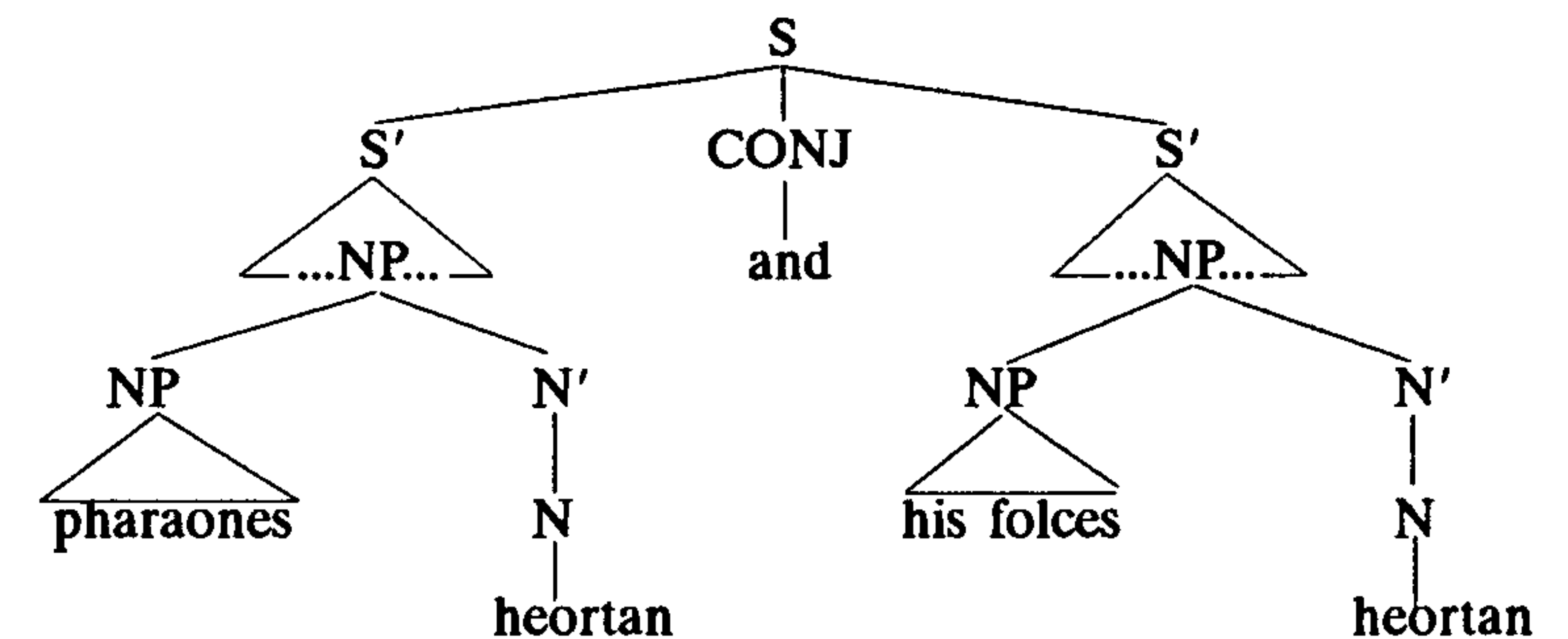
Similarly to coordinated AP attributes, genitive modifiers can be found in preposition (14), postposition (15), or one can precede and the other one follow the noun they modify (16), (17) (cf. Mitchell 1985: 558, §1328):

- (14) *Godes and mædenes Bearn*
(ÆCHom i. 356.11; Mitchell 1985: 558, §1328)
- (15) *se soða dema lybbendra and deadra*
(ÆCHom i. 48.31; Mitchell 1985: 558, §1328)
- (16) *Swa hwæt swa him becom of ðæs cyninges gifum oððe ricra manna*
(ÆLS, XXVI. 57-58)
- (17) *and ic ahyrde Pharaones heortan and his folces*
(Exodus xiv, 17; Reszkiewicz 1966: 317).

All these structures will be derived from underlying coordinated sentences by means of deletion under identity. (16) and (17) contain split constructions.

The D-structure underlying (17) is the following:

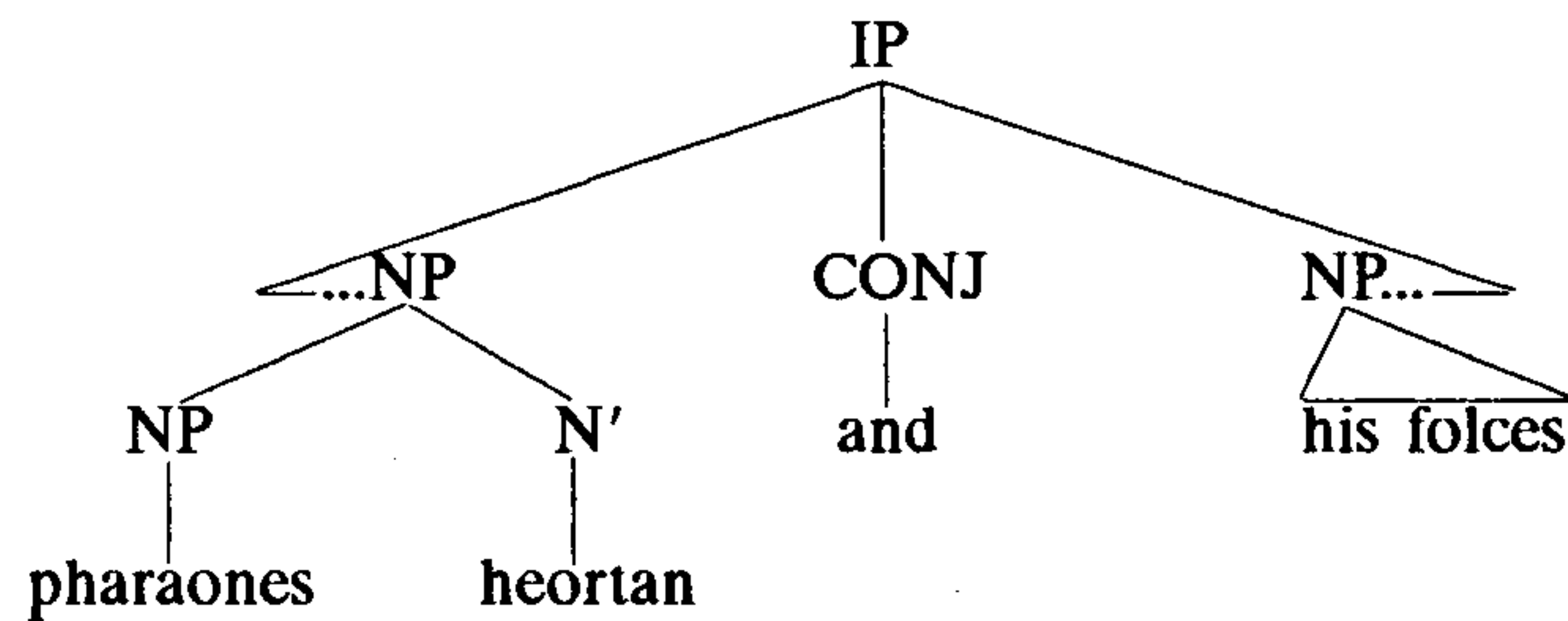
(18)



Again, the internal structure of the coordinated sentences has been disregarded.

In the course of the derivation the subsequent occurrence of the noun "heortan" will be deleted, then S- and NP-pruning will apply and we will get the following surface structure:

(19)



According to Mitchell (1985: 559, §1329), it is often the case that the noun is repeated “when the second genitive requires the plural form of it”.

For example:

- (20) *ofer hire heafod and ofer ealra ðæra mædena heafdu*
(ÆCHom ii. 478.6; Mitchell 1985: 559, §1329)

This repetition of the noun will not be surprising if we assume that in Old English differences in morphology (with the exception of verbal agreement) nearly always block deletion. The situation in Old English in this respect would be the same, then, as in Modern English. Van Oirsouw (1987: 219-220) claims that “the level of analysis at which we establish identity is the surface morphological level, with the proviso that verbal number agreement is ignored for German, Dutch and English”.

3.4. Split coordinated subjects

As has been mentioned, subjects consisting of coordinated noun phrases can be split (cf. example (6), repeated here as (25)). However, there are other possible combinations. All elements of the subject can be grouped before or after the predicate:

- (21) *Ic and Ionathas min gingra broðor farað to...*
(ÆLS, XXV. 401-402)
- (22) *ðas ðrowunge awriton ðære ðeode preostas and ða ylcan diaconas ðe hit eal gesawon.*
(ÆCHom i. 598.30; Mitchell 1985: 613, §1467)

More frequently, though, these elements are separated from each other (cf. fn. 7):

- (23) *and Machabeus se cena clypode to gode and his geferan eac swa fultumes biddende*
(ÆLS, XXV. 486-487)
- (24) *se wæs ða git hæðen and eall Westseaxna land*
(ÆLS, XXVI. 122)
- (25) *Ond æfter ðam Hengest feng to rice ond Æsc his sunu.*
(Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel 455; Reszkiewicz 1966: 316)

All instances of split coordinated subjects will be derived by means of deletion under identity from underlying coordinated sentences.

When we compare, for example, the structure of (21) with the structure of (25) (both of them derived from coordinated sentences through deletion under identity), we can see once again that the rule of deletion in Old English is not subject to Ross’s Directionality Constraint. In the course of deriving (21), right-peripheral material is deleted backwards but in the course of deriving (25), right-peripheral material is deleted forwards.

It has been mentioned that in Old English, like in Modern English, the verbal number agreement is ignored when establishing identity for the purpose of coordinate deletion. And indeed, when we consider sentences (21) and (23), it becomes visible that the difference in number agreement between verbs is not an obstacle to coordinate deletion.

Another interesting thing about sentence (21) is the fact that the verb is in the plural even though both of the coordinated NPs are singular. It is not always the case in Old English, however, that coordinated singular NPs are followed by a verb in the plural:¹¹

- (26) *Hierusalem and eall Iudea-land wunode on sibbe.*
(ÆLS, XXV. 747-748)

In the Old English data that I have examined, however, I have found no cases of split coordinated subjects consisting of two singular NPs with the plural form of the verb (cf. examples (24) and (25) above). The verb always seems to agree in number with the first part of the split subject (cf. Mitchell, 1985: 15, §§30-31):

- (27) *And se cyning wundrode and ða ðe mid him wæron ðæs cnihtes anrædnysse.*
(ÆLS, XXV. 140-141)
- (28) *He fleah ða to westene and fela manna mid him mid anrædum mode.*
(ÆLS, XXV. 231-232)
- (29) *ða six gebroðra hi sylfe ða tihton and seo modor samod.*
(ÆLS, XXV. 120-121)

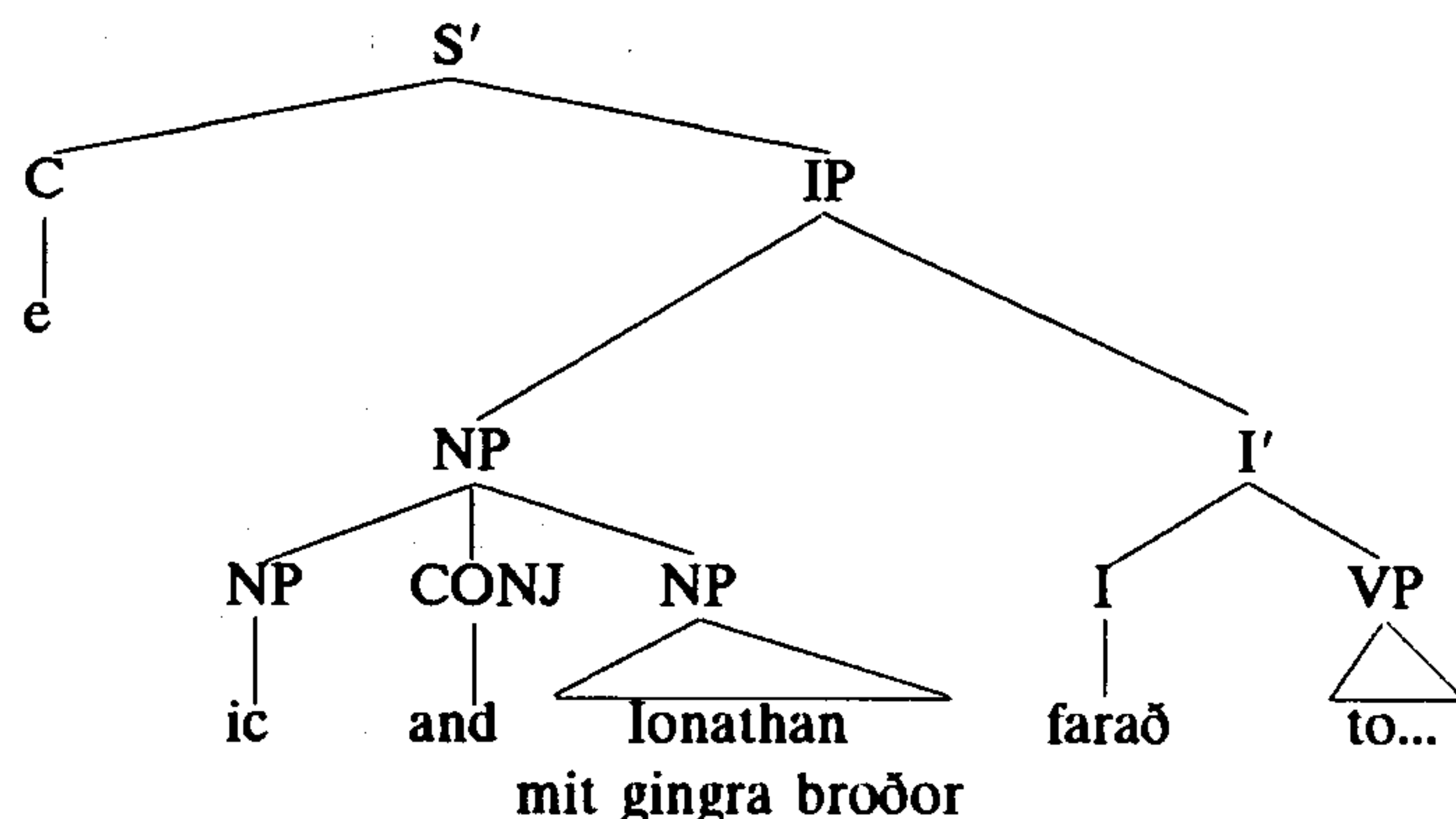
In (27) and (28), the verb is singular even though the second part of the split subject is in the plural (cf. also example(24)).

It seems that the NP node dominating the coordinated singular NPs is responsible for the plural form of the verb in sentences like (21) (cf. (30) below). This NP node would usually require the plural form of the verb (cf. fn. 11). Obviously, in the case of split coordinated subjects there will be no NP-node dominating the two elements of the subject. Not surprisingly, then, the verb form cannot be plural if both of the coordinated NPs are singular.

The structure derived from the coordinated sentences underlying (21) will be the following:

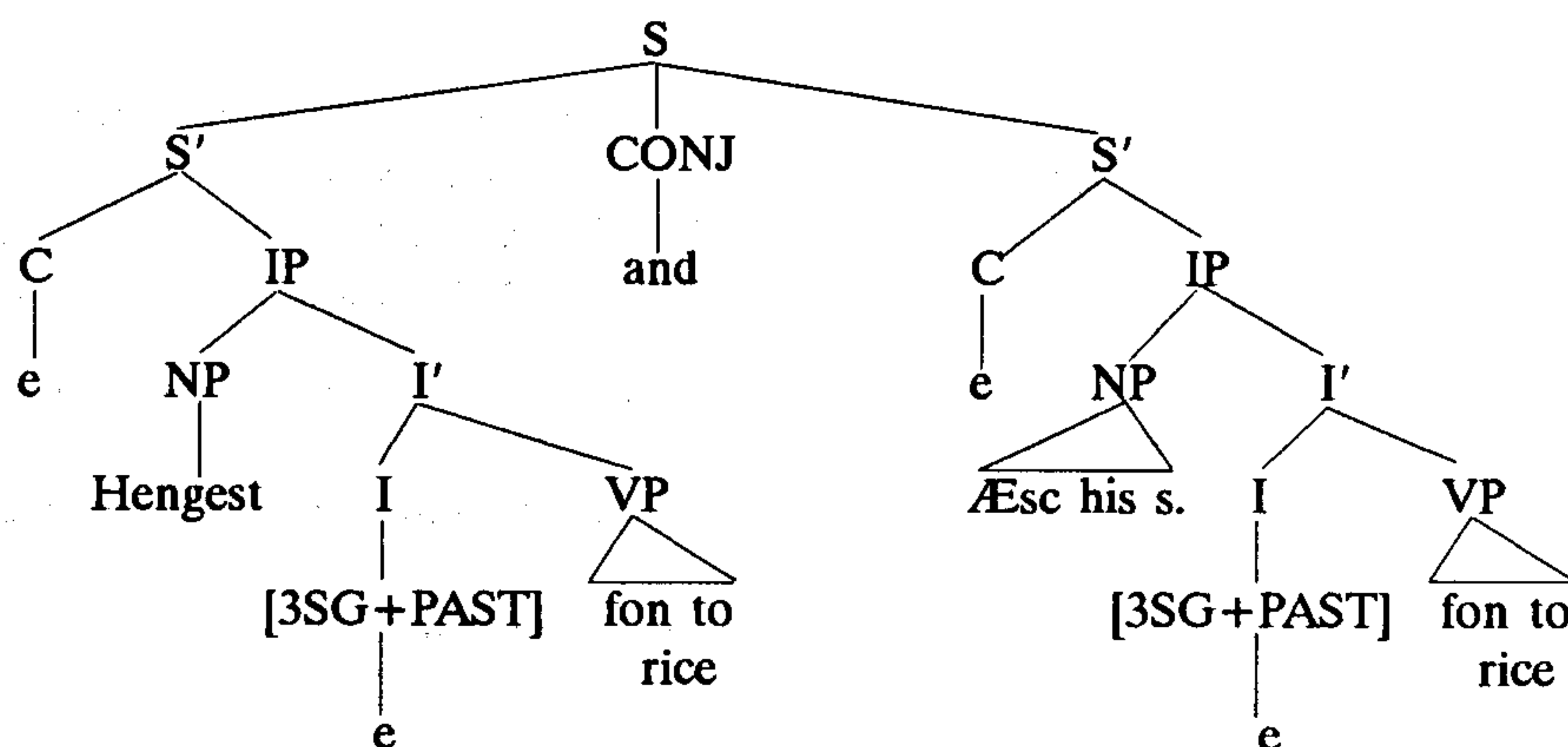
¹¹ See Mitchell (1985: 14-15, §§29-30) for cases when coordinated singular subject NPs may be followed by a singular verb.

(30)



As for the derivation of split coordinated subjects, let us take sentence (25) as an example. The structure underlying it will be the following:

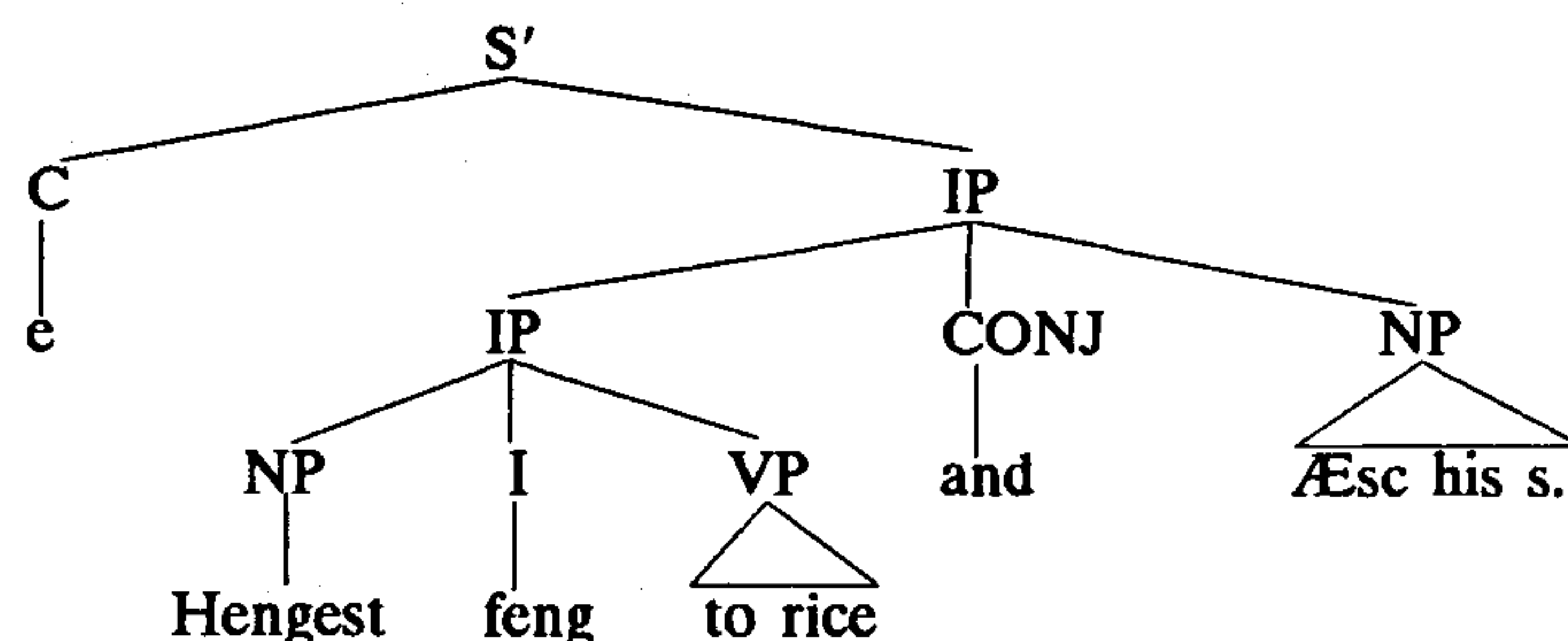
(31)



In the course of the derivation there will be V-movement of "fon" into the empty I position and then deletion under identity of the subsequent occurrence of identical rightmost material (again, contrary to the Directionality Constraint).

And this is the derived structure that we obtain from (31) after S-pruning:

(32)



The split part of the subject has been attached to the IP node. In this particular example there is no evidence, of course, that this is really the case. Attachment to VP might as well be postulated here. However, it seems more probable that the conjunction and the NP are actually attached to IP. Although I have not encountered examples in which there is a sentential adverbial intervening between the verb phrase and the second part of the subject, it is quite probable that such examples can be found, and in such a case the conjunction and the NP could not be attached to VP.

3.5. Split coordinated objects

There are also three arrangements possible with objects consisting of coordinated NPs; all elements of an object can pre-cede or follow the verb, or else they can be separated:

(33) *swa ðæt we ure undeawas and ealle leahtras and ðone deofol oferwinnan*
(ÆCHom i. 218.13; Mitchell 1985: 614, §1468)

(34) *and genam ðæt heafod and his swiðran hand*
(ÆLS XXVI. 167)

(35) *and fela gold-hordas forð mid him gelæhte and ða halgan maðm-fatu and ðæt mære weofod*
(ÆLS XXV. 11-12)

The coordinated objects can be separated by an infinitive or by some other part of the VP, not necessarily by the main verb:

(36) *ða het se hæðena cynincg his heafod ofaslean and his swiðran earm*
(ÆLS XXVI. 162-163)

(37) *Nu ic reppe Pharao mid anum wite and Egypta land*
(Exodus xi, 1; Reszkiewicz 1966: 317)

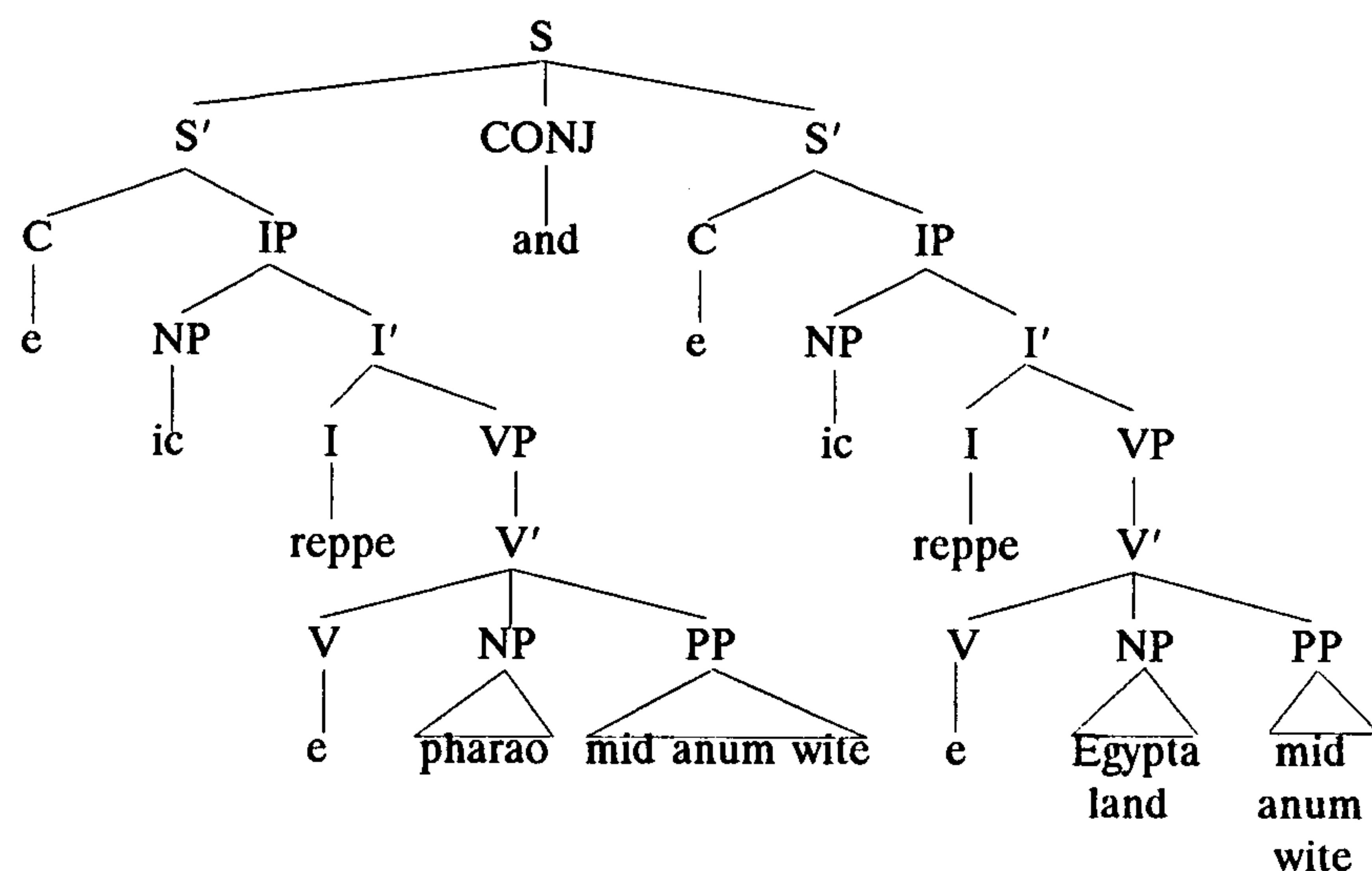
The underlying structure assumed for all instances of coordinated objects here is, of course, sentence coordination, from which the surface representation is derived by means of deletion under identity.

The very deep structures from which sentences containing split coordinated objects are derived will not be presented here, only the structures immediately preceding the application of coordinate deletion. The reason is that I do not want to make any assumptions as far as the underlying order of Old English is concerned. It is too complicated an issue and also it lies well outside the scope of this paper. Although Mitchell (1972: 193-194) argues that Old English is an SVO language, his arguments are not entirely convincing. Since in OE, like in MnE (which is an SVO language), the rule of Gapping operates, deleting the verb forwards, Mitchell concludes that in OE the verb is also situated on the left branch (this is in accordance with the Directionality Constraint, which says that Gapping applies forward if the identical elements are on the left branches) and so is an SVO language. For the derivation of split objects, then, he proposes a rule of object preposing which would apply after coordinate deletion. As has already been mentioned, how-

ever, the rule of coordinate deletion operating in OE does not obey the Directionality Constraint. There seems to be no reason, then, for it obeying the Constraint in the case of coordinated objects only. Besides, the rule of coordinate deletion should actually follow the application of all movement rules and what Mitchell suggests is that it precedes an object preposing rule in the case of deriving split objects.

Although Mitchell's arguments are not completely satisfactory, this does not at all mean that I assume that Old English cannot be an SVO language. The underlying word order of S, V and O in Old English is simply irrelevant to my analysis.¹² Therefore, the D-structure of sentence (37), the derivation of which I would like to present, will be omitted here. The structure immediately before the application of coordinate deletion is the following:

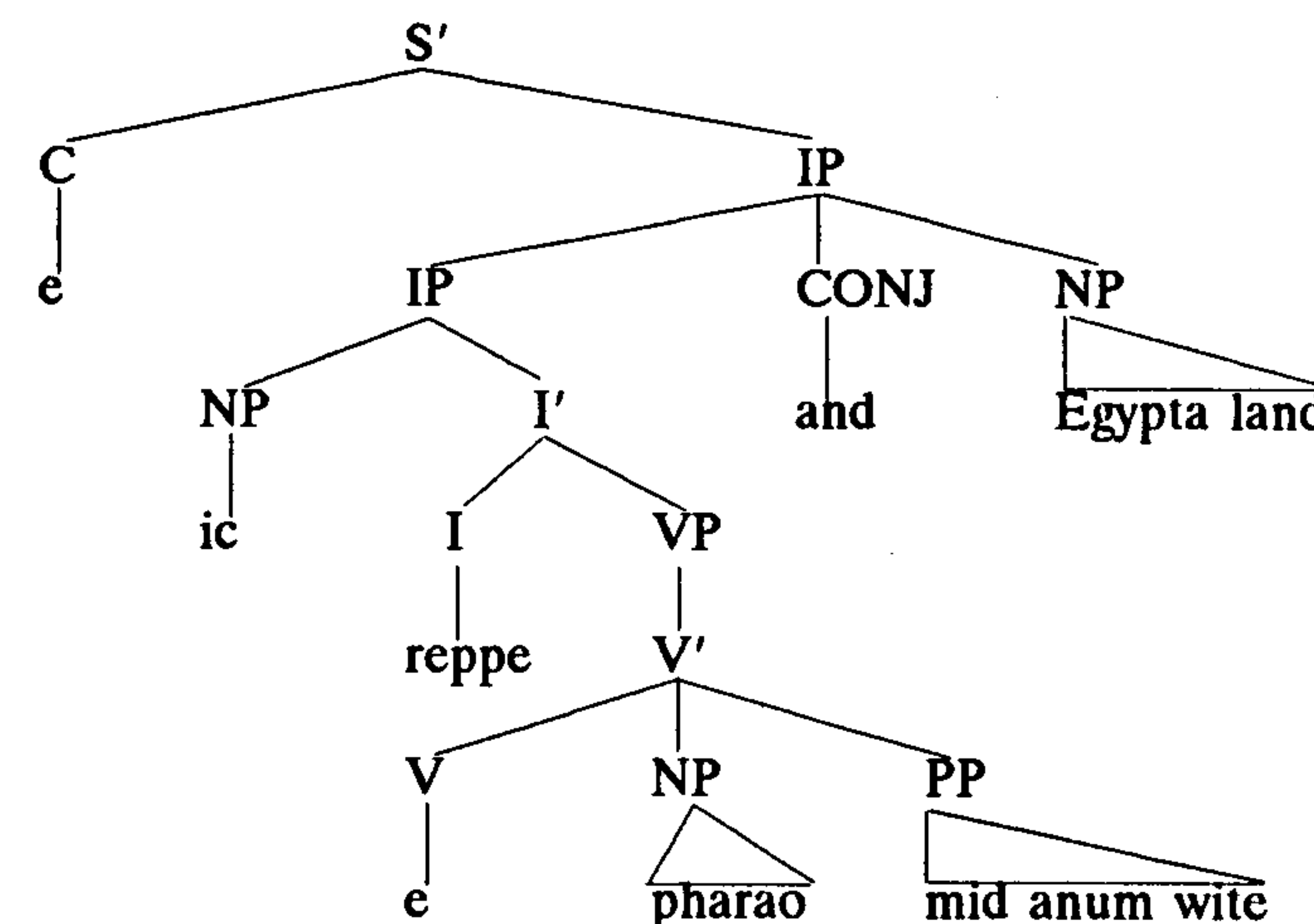
(38)



After coordinate deletion has applied to (38) to remove the subsequent occurrence of identical material and after S-pruning has applied to delete the non-branching S-nodes, we obtain the following surface structure:

¹² If the underlying order is SVO, a rule of object preposing will indeed be needed, but it will have to apply before deletion (so, again, the Directionality Constraint will not be obeyed).

(39)



The conjunction and the other part of the split subject have been placed under IP. In this particular example they might have been attached to VP. However, in the case of sentences like (33) adjunction to VP would cause the violation of the "no crossing branches" constraint (this is, of course, if V-movement for all verbs is assumed). Therefore, in order to achieve uniformity as far as deriving split objects is concerned, attachment to IP is also assumed here. The generalization achieved is even greater, because also in the case of split coordinated subjects and modifiers, attachment to IP has been assumed.

4. Conclusion

As has been shown, Old English split coordinated structures as well as all other coordination patterns are best derived by means of deletion under identity from underlying coordinated sentences.¹³ Such an analysis makes it possible for a uniform account of all surface coordination in Old English to be presented.

Due to the fact that in Old English, unlike in Modern English, the rule of deletion does not obey the Directionality Constraint, there are more word order patterns possible; both split and "non-split" coordinated structures.

As in Modern English, though, differences in morphology (except for verbal agreement) are a blocking factor for deletion under identity (cf. example (20)).

It has been mentioned (cf. fn. 3) that split appositive structures cannot be regarded as instances of "discontinuous structures of modification". Old English nominal apposition is in many ways similar to Old English coordination.¹⁴ Just as there are coordinated subjects, objects, and genitive modifiers, there are subjects,

¹³ Mitchell (1990: 180) mentions an article dealing with the same topic; Sasao's "Deletion Analysis of Old English Split Constructions" (published in 1981 in *Descriptive and Applied Linguistics*, 15: 187-198). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the article itself.

¹⁴ See also Quirk et al. (1985: 1301-1302) on the similarities between coordination and apposition.

objects, and modifiers consisting of appositional NPs. And as in the case of coordination, these subjects, objects, and modifiers can be split. If all appositive structures are assumed to be derived by means of deletion under identity from underlying sentences conjoined by an appositive marker (cf. Burton-Roberts 1975: 410), then not only might a uniform account of apposition in Old English be presented, but an even greater generality can be captured; all coordination and apposition patterns in Old English will be derived from underlying sentences conjoined by coordinate conjunctions or appositive markers.

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