Development of CP Structure in Old English
with Special Reference to The *Vercelli Homilies*

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〔**要旨**〕
古英語におけるCP構造の発達と『ヴェルチェリ説教集』

　古英語の特徴的語順であるV2語順には，ゲルマン諸語で一般的なV2と同じく，動詞がCPに位置するタイプとCP以下のTPに位置するタイプとの2種類がある。これらの2種類のV2の比率を初期古英語データとして『古英語版オロシウス』，後期古英語データとして『アルフリッチ諸聖人の生涯』について分析したところ，前者のタイプのV2が増加していることが明らかになった。

　さらに『ヴェルチェリ説教集』のV2を分析し，先の結果と比較・検討すると，『ヴェルチェリ説教集』は両者のちょうど中間的数値を示すことから，古英語V2語順の変化の時系列における変化の中間段階を反映する資料であるとみられる。

　『ヴェルチェリ説教集』では，特徴的語順としてV1語順が見られるが，話題転換のような談話的機能を持つことが指摘されている。これはCPが情報構造的な機能を持つことから説明できる。同様に，古英語のV2におけるCP構造の発達は第三要因とされる情報構造によって促進された変化であると論じる。

1　Introduction

　In Old English (OE), syntax verb-second (V2) word order prevailed over the other word orders. It is assumed that the change of word order from V2 to subject-verb-object (SVO) did not occur before Middle English.

　The V2 word order in OE can be classified into two types: one where verbs

are located in the complimentizer (CP), and another where verbs are located in TP below CP. The former is the standard type of CP in Germanic languages, in which full noun phrases (NPs) and pronouns are subject to subject-verb inversion. In the latter type of V2, only pronouns are generally subject to subject-verb inversion.

The verb position of TP type V2 has been assumed to be evidence of verb-third (V3) word order accompanying the non-operator XP as the first element, where pronouns are followed by verbs. V3 word order is also assumed to be related to the decline of V2 in Middle English because it contradicts V2 and is compatible with SVO. This may have diminished the use of V2 throughout the OE period.

In the long run, SVO word order, which is more compatible with TP type V2, prevailed over CP type V2. This paper will argue that CP type V2 changed predominantly against TP type V2 by comparing the ratio of both types of V2 word orders. The data is obtained by comparing the OE version of *Orosius*, the *Vercelli Book Homilies*, and Ælfrich's *Lives of Saints*.

The reason for this change is discussed from the viewpoint of language contact in Northern England at that time in the last part of this paper.

2   Primary Linguistic Data

Within the generative grammar framework, language change has been assumed to occur through language acquisition since the pioneering work on diachronic syntax by Lightfoot (1979). It has been assumed that primary linguistic data (PLD) plays a crucial role in language acquisition, which is set by the parameter values in the principle and parameter theory (henceforth, P&P theory).

In P&P theory, variations of language have been explained by setting the value of linguistic parameters, which endow the human with a linguistic faculty. However, if the parameters should cover all possibilities of language variations, this would contradict the innateness hypothesis because it indicates that the brains of new born babies come equipped with all linguistic parameters.

This contradiction can be resolved by reducing the number of parameters present in the initial state of the human brain. With the advent of the minimalist theory, the theory of language acquisition proposed by Chomsky (2005), cited by Biberauer and Roberts, is as follows:

(1)   There are three factors in language design
        a. The innate endowment: Universal Grammar (Factor 1)
        b. Experience: the primary linguistic data (Factor 2)
        c. Non-domain-specific cognitive optimisation principles (Factor 3)

                                        (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 135)

They argue the role of the third factor in language acquisition as:

First, following Chomsky's (2005) conception of the third factor in language design, these principles are not domain-specific; that is, they are not part of the language faculty but represent general cognitive principles which interact with the language faculty. In our terms, one aspect of this interaction is the role they play in guiding the construction of the feature inventory, and hence the parameter setting. Second, these principles did not play any explicit role in earlier accounts of parameter setting, although general notions of conservativity and economy could be seen, with hindsight, as principles of this kind.   (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 144)

The parameters which express the variations in language are specified by features through the third factor, which consists of general cognitive principles. Biberauer and Roberts proposed their idea of parameters which are compatible with minimalist theory as follows:

We will present a new view of the nature of parameters, one which represents a major departure from the 'classical' view, which is compatible with minimalist assumptions as well as being in certain respects more compatible with functionalist views on language acquisition and change.
This is the 'emergentist' theory of the parameters.

They explain the role of PLD in their theory of parameters as follows:

The central idea in the emergency view of parameters is that the parameters of UG are not prespecified in the innate endowment; in other words, they are not part of Factor 1. Instead, they emerge from the interaction of all three factors. The UG itself simply leaves certain options underspecified. These gaps must be filled for a grammar to exist, and they are filled in by the acquirer, interacting with PLD, and equipped with certain domain-general acquisition strategies. (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 135)

Biberauer and Roberts (2017) proposed Feature Economy (FE) and Input Generalisation (IG) as the principles for "interacting with PLD which are equipped with certain domain-general acquisition strategies" and defined them as follows:

[W]e see FE [(Feature Economy)] as an acquisition bias: learners will postulate features only when confronted with unambiguous evidence in the PLD for their presence. . . . FE is clearly a strategy which minimises computation, and may be an instance of general computational conservatism on the part of the learner. (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 145)

The other one is IG, which is defined as follows:

IG can be seen as a further type of optimisation strategy in acquisition in that it requires the learner to exploit the features triggered by the PLD to the maximum extent. (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 147)

FE and IG are thought to work together to acquire the target language. They explain how FE works with PLD as follows:

FE constrains the set of formal features acquired to the smallest set

compatible with PLD, but there is no selection from a predetermined list. Instead, PLD directly triggers both the nature and quantity of the acquired features.   (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 146)

They also explain how IG works with the PLD as follows:

Like to FE, IG is defeasible when using PLD. So, to pursue the example given, if having generalised the head-final feature to all lexical items, unambiguous evidence for a head-initial category is detected, then the PLD forces a retreat from the maximal generalisation that IG otherwise requires.
                                                  (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 147)

Thus, They assume how language acquisition is carried out through PLD, postulating for FE and IG as follows:

FE and IG interact in a way which gives rise to a particular view of the nature of the learning path. The initial hypothesis, which fully satisfies FE and IG, assumes the absence of formal features in the system. The PLD is, of course, guaranteed to disconfirm this maximally simple and general hypothesis by presenting the acquirer with unambiguous evidence of the existence of distinct syntactic categories, that is, formal features.
                                                  (Biberauer and Roberts 2017: 147)

3   Computational Simulation of Acquisition of Verb Second Word Order

Yang (2002) conducted a significant analysis of language change through acquisition with mathematical perspectives in computational simulations. He argues for a competing grammar model for the course of language change. He takes up the convergence of V2 grammar through five languages, the target of which is Dutch.
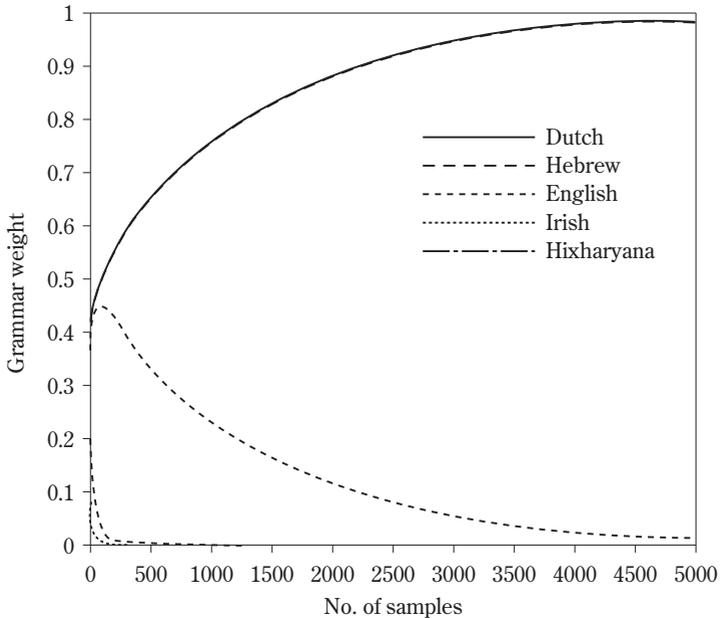
(2)   a. Dutch: SVO, XVSO, OVS

**Figure 1. The convergence to the V2 grammar in the absence
of unambiguous evidence**

(Yang 2002: 36, Figure 2.1.)

    b. Hebrew: SVO, XVSO

    c. English: SVO, XSVO

    d. Irish: VSO, XVSO

    e. Hixkaryana: OVS, XOVS

He argues the result as follows:

The grammars in ([2]) are followed by some of the matrix sentences word orders they can generate/analyze. It was observed that none of the patterns in ([2]a) alone could distinguish Dutch from the other four human grammars, as each of them is compatible with certain V2 sentences. . . . [We] found that in declarative sentences, for which the V2 constraint is

relevant, 64.7% are SVO patterns, followed by XVSO patterns at 34%, and only OVS patterns at 1.3%. Most notably, Hebrew, and Semitic in general, grammar, which allows VSO and SVO alternations . . . is compatible with 98.7% of V2 sentences.   (Yang 2002: 35)

According to the results, Dutch V2 seems robust in competing with other word orders to be acquired though it shares some parts of the word order, as in (2) above. Yang illustrated the following results: (Figure 1)

According to previous literature, SVO grammar had not prevailed over V2 grammar before the fourteenth century in Middle English. It was natural that V2 would be predominant in OE.

4   The Language Contact between Old English and Old North

Kroch (2001) illustrates the examples of V2 for OE, one of which is from Southern England (3) and the other from Northern England (4), as follows:

(3)   &   of heom twam is eall manncynn cumen (Whom 6.52).
       And of them two   is all   mankind   come
(4)   Ælc yfel he mæg don
       each evil he can   do

He argues, following Kroch and Taylor (1997) and Kroch et al. (2000), for the competition between V2 in OE and Old North through the language contract in Midland and Northern England in Middle English, which originally started in the OE period in the tenth century, as follows:

[T]here were two dialects in Middle English, a northern dialect, in which, the tensed verb moved to COMP and a southern dialect, in which, the tensed verb moved only as far as INFL. The best evidence for this dialect difference is the word order in sentences with subject pronouns. As we

have mentioned, V2 in Old English exhibited a peculiarity not found in other Germanic languages: Topicalized sentences with full noun phrase subjects had XVS order, but those with pronoun subjects had XP-pro-V order . . . . This peculiarity continues into Middle English in the Midlands and the south, but there is good evidence that the northern dialect behaved differently. It had inversion with pronoun subjects as well as noun phrase subjects, just as in other Germanic languages. . . . Kroch et al. [(2000)] show that . . . it is most probable that the dialect difference between north and Midlands/south goes back to the tenth century and may reflect Scandinavian influence on northern Old English. As we have noted, by the fourteenth century, V2 property was clearly lost.　　　　　(Kroch 2001: 717)

Kroch points out that the critical difference between V2 in OE and those in other Germanic languages is V3. The significant role of V3 in the loss of V2 in Middle English was explored in Yang's (2002) variational learning model, which is reviewed in the following section.

5　V3 Word Order

Yang (2002) attributes the main cause of the loss of V2 in Middle English to language contact between the northern and southern dialects.

OE shows V2 word order when the subject is a determiner phrase (DP), as follows:

(5)　V2 with NP in OE subjects
　　a. þæt hus hæfdon　Romane to ðæm ænum tacne　geworht (Or 59.3)
　　　 that building had Romans with the one　feature constructed
　　b. þær wearþ se cyning Bagsecg ofslægen
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (Anglo-Saxon Chron., Parker, 871)
　　　 there was the king　Bagsecq slain

(6)　V3 with pronoun subjects in OE.

a. Ælc yfel he mæg don. (WHom, 4.62)

each evil he can   do.

b. scortlice ic hæbbe nu   gesæd ymb   þa þrie   dælas . . . (Or 9.18)

briefly   I   have   now spoken about the three parts

c. after his gebede he ahof þæt cild   up . . . (AEChom. 2.28)

after his prayer he lifted the child up

The genuine V3 pattern (Yang 2002: 139) has a certain class of temporal adverbs and adjuncts, where the subject (pronominal or phrasal) precedes the finite verb as follows:

(7)   V3 with XP topics in OE.

a. Her   Oswald se eadiga   arcebisceop forlet   bis lif

in-this-year Oswald the blessed archbishop forsook this life

(ASC, Laud, 992)

b. On bisum geare Willelm cyng geaf   Raulfe eorle Willelmes

dohtor   Osbearnes sunu

This year,   William King gave [to] Ralph earl   William's

daughter Osborn's   son.

(ASC, Laud 1075)

These examples are classified in Ringe and Taylor (2014: 400) as non-operator-fronting V2, the finite verb which occupies a position in TP. This is a unique V2 pattern in OE, in contrast to Scandinavian type V2, which is a general Germanic language.

The language contact between OE and Old North, which was carried to Britain by the Vikings, is stipulated to have begun before the Middle English period, as Kroch et al. (2000: 368−369) argued:

If, as we have argued, the difference in V2 syntax between Benet and our southern texts is due to contact with the Old Norse in the North, the language of the North must have acquired its properties much earlier than 1400. Indeed, we would expect such a contact effect to date to the 10th century or the late 9th

century, the time of mixing of the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon populations. Unfortunately, there are no Old English texts from Northumbria, the area of contact at the appropriate time, except for two glosses in the Latin Vulgate Bible.[1]

Owing to the limitations of the material, we do not have any direct evidence of language contact between OE and the Old North. We have to rely on evidence in Middle English to evaluate language contact in OE from the late ninth to the tenth century. They indicate that the pattern of nominal subjects in the early southern manuscripts of Middle English exhibits the same basic patterning of the V2 constraint as found in OE, which can also be seen in seven prose texts from Midland in Middle English as follows:[2] (Table 1)

Kroch et al. found a similarity between Early Middle English and OE in their investigation of the distribution of nominal subjects as follows:

Preposed complements generally trigger inversion of the subject and verb with full NP subjects and almost never do so with pronoun subjects. The temporal adverbs 'þa' and 'then' trigger inversion with both NP and pronoun subjects, though not as regularly with pronoun subjects as in Old English, an indication that these adverbs are losing their special status. (Table 2)

(Kroch et al. 2000: 370)

Kroch et al. (2000) show the V2 pattern of the northern dialect in Middle English as follows:

First, pronoun subjects, instead of failing to invert in most environments, invert nearly as frequently as full NP subjects. Second, there is no tendency for preposed adverbs and PPs to adjoin to CP without triggering inversion. These differences show that the V2 pattern of the northern dialect differs sharply from that of the southern dialect and gives us an indication of how it does. (Kroch et al. 2000: 372)

Table 1. V2 in seven early Midlands texts

Preposed expression	NP subjects			Pronoun subjects		
	Number inverted	Number uninverted	% inverted	Number inverted	Number uninverted	% inverted
NP complements	50	4	93	4	84	05
PP complements	12	4	75	0	11	00
Adj. complements	20	1	95	7	14	33
þa/then	37	2	95	26	10	72
now	12	1	92	8	22	27
PP adjuncts	56	19	75	2	99	02
adverbs	79	59	57	1	181	01

Table 2. V2 in the Northern Prose Rule of Saint Benet

Preposed expression	NP subjects			Pronoun subjects		
	Number inverted	Number uninverted	% inverted	Number inverted	Number uninverted	% inverted
NP complements	7	0	100	58	3	95
PP complements	18	0	100	10	0	100
Adj. complements	1	0	100	4	2	67
then (no in text)	15	0	100	28	1	97
now	no data			2	0	100
PP adjuncts	42	5	89	73	7	91
adverbs	25	1	96	51	5	91

They analysed the cause of the change in the Northern dialect from the Southern dialect as follows:

> An obvious candidate is the difference between verb movements to I^0 and C^0. If the language of Benet was CP-V2, then, like German or modern mainland Scandinavian, it should exhibit inversion nearly categorically when preposed adverbial and prepositional phrase adjuncts were attached at the CP level, where they regularly fail to trigger inversion in Old English or southern Middle English.

Although Kroch et al. (2000) did not illustrate the syntactic structures of the two types of V2, following Kroch and Taylor (1997), Lightfoot (1997), and Roberts (1996), the Southern dialect type V2 was illustrated by Gelderen (2004: 52, (61)) as follows: (Figure 2)

According to Gelderen's (2004) split CP analysis, the Northern dialect did not postulate for the expanded CP, such as ForceP and TopP, and the verb always occupies the CP, which is consistent with V2 order.[3]

Kroch et al. (2000) also pointed out that subject pronouns changed from clitic to full nominal in Middle English as observed from the distributions of subject pronouns and full nouns, which are cited here. Their findings support the syntactic structure of V3 word order in OE illustrated above, which shows that the position of V in the Southern type V2 is TP (FinP, IP).

6 The Change of V2 in Old English

Ringe and Taylor (2014: 399–402) classify V2 word order constructions in OE into two types, according to the first element as follows:

6.1 Operator-fronting V2

Operator stands for *whæt* (what), negation *ne* (not), *þa* (then), and so on

ForceP
└ Force′
  ├ Force
  └ TopP
    └ Top′
      ├ Top
      └ FinP
        └ Fin′
          ├ Fin
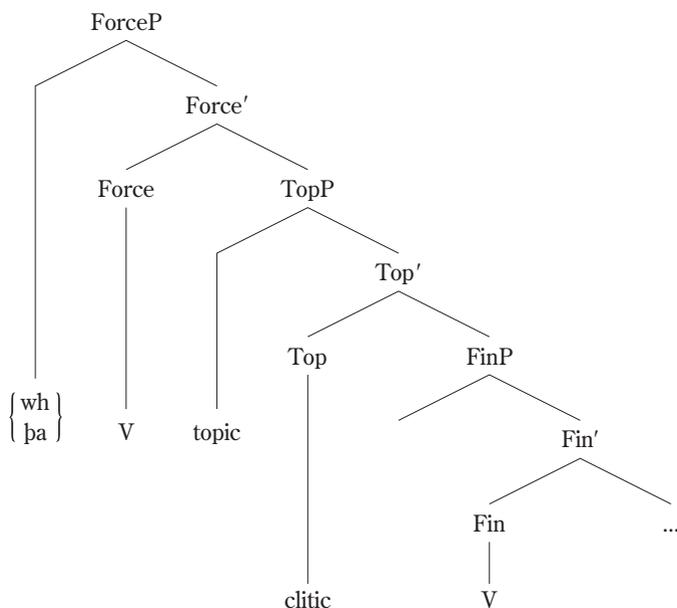   └ ...

{ wh / þa }   V   topic   clitic   V

Figure 2. V2 Constructions in Old English

here. We will take the examples in *LS*, as follows:

(7) a. Nu het he þe dælan þine digean gold-hordas (LS: XXXII−52)
　　　'Now he commandeth thee to divide thy secret treasure.' (SII: 317)
　　b. Þa sende se cyning sona þam þearfum þone sylfrenan disc . . .

(LS: XXVI−94)

　　　'Then the king immediately sent to the poor the silver dish, . . . '

(SII: 131)

　　c. Þa cwæþ eadmund cyning swa he full of brave as he was.

(LS: XXXII−73)

　　　'Then said Edmund the king, full of brave as he was' (SII: 319)

The operator elements occupy the site of Spec-CP, and the verbs remerge or

move to the head of the CP, as indicated in Figure 2.

6.2 Non-operator-fronting V2

We take the examples of non-operator fronting V2 as follows:

(8) a Ðas fif andgitu gewisseð seo sawul to hire wyllan

                                  (coaelive, +ALS_[Christmas]:202.161)

      These five senses direct the   soul   to her   will

      'the soul directs these five senses according to her will'

      b æfter his gebede he ahof þæt cild up

                                    (cocathom2, +ACHom_II,_2:14.70.320)

      after   his prayer he lifted the child up

      'after his prayer he lifted the child up'

                                 (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 401, (9)a,b)

The verbs in non-operator-fronting V2 are seen to occupy the position in TP and not raised to the head of CP in recent literature (Haeberli 2005, Walkden 2012, Ringe and Taylor 2014, a.o.).

The V3 word order in OE should also be related to this structure, where both the higher and lower subject positions are supposed to be located in the TP according to split-TP analysis.[4]

6.3 The Change of V2 in Old English

The two types of V2 competed with each other over the historical course of OE. The investigation of this issue has been pursued in Middle English studies by Kroch et al. (2000) and Kroch (2001). While the data available for this issue is quite limited, there is certainty that language contact must have occurred in Northern England.

This study can help resolve the problem of language contact in OE by investigating early and Old English data. This study proposes that the *Vercelli Homilies* be considered suitable data for verifying the hypothesis of language

change in OE.

We introduce the data of CP-type V2 and TP-type below. The following sentences are of CP-type V2.

(9)　a. Þonne aswæmað hie þær sonagodra dæda 7 weorca, . . .

(Scragg_1.201/98)

'Then they will be ashamed there at once of good deeds and works.'

(Nicholson 1991: 42)

　　b. Þonne clypað hie sum sawl to hire lichoman swiðe unrotre stefne . . .

(Scragg_4.202/98)

'Then will cry out a certain soul to her body with a very sad and timid and lamenting voice . . . '

(Nicholson 1991: 98)

The first element in each of the above examples is the temporal adverb, which is one of the operators of the first element in the CP type V2.

The following sentences are TP-type V2.

(10)　a. þurh þa oferhygde of heofonum gehþreas þæt wundorlice engla gesceaft.

(Scragg_3.23/74)

'Through pride, that wonderful creation of angels fell from the heavens'

(Nicholson 1991: 31)

　　b. Her segð þis halige godspel be þære . . .

(Scragg_5.1/111)

'This holy gospel tells here about . . . '

(Nicholson 1991: 47)

The first element in each of the above examples is the PP, which is a common element and does not belong to the class of operators.

We will show the results of our analysis comparing it with the other two texts in OE, which are indicated in Table 3.[5]

Table 3. The Change of V2 Constructions in OE

VF	CP Type V2			TP Type V2			S1/S1+S2(%)
	Pres.	Past	SUM 1	Pres	Past	SUM 2	
OROSIUS	8	159	167	2	90	92	66.5
VERCHOM	35	58	93	5	8	13	87.7
ÆLS	2	545	547	8	39	47	92.1

The OE version of *Orosius* was translated by the Ælfredian circle in the late ninth century, while Ælfrich's *Lives of Saints* was written in the early eleventh century. While the date of the Vercelli Homilies is unknown, it can be estimated via the portion of CP type V2 and TP Type, which places it somewhere between *Orosius* and *ÆLS*.

The data in Table 3 show how the change of V2 in OE progressed, which was stipulated to have been catalysed by the language contact between OE and Old Norse in Northern England. These data should supplement the lack of direct data reported by Kroch et al..

6.4 Verb-first Order in the Vercelli Homilies

It is well known that the verb-first word order, which declined in late OE literature, is often observed in the Vercelli Homilies. As Ogawa (2000: 245) demonstrated, this did not directly correspond to the original Latin order, as follows:

(11) a. . . . ærest to Annan. <u>Wæs</u> se Anna sweor þæs Caifan þe ðy gere wæs bisceop. Wæs þæs Caifas þe ær æt þære geþeahtunge mid Iudeum wæs

(VercHom 1.6)

L [Io 18 : 13−4] : . . . ad Annam primum, <u>erat</u> enim socer Caiaphae qui . . . , erat autem Caiaphas qui . . . .

b. <u>Cumaþ</u> Romaæne 7 genimaþ ure land 7 ure þeode

(VercHom 1.12)

L [Io 11 : 48]: et <u>uenient</u> Romani et tollent nostrum et locum et gentem

c. 7 þa gita <u>wæs</u> his tunuce onsundran untodæled <u>Wæs</u> sio tunuce syllice geworht : næs nænig seam on, ac wæs eall on anum awefen

(VercHom 1.216)

L [Io 19 : 23]: . . . erat autem tunica inconsutilis desuper contexta per totum.

We can assume that V1 in OE was not influenced by the original Latin text because the verb (underlined) in each example in (11) shows no direct correspondence to the original Latin word order.

According to Ogawa (2000), the characteristics of V1 in the *Vercelli Homilies* can be seen in the beginning of a new episode in narrative style.[6] We will compatibly synthesise this idea with the syntactic one within the framework of minimalist theory.

7   Feature Economy as the Cause of the Change

We will explain the decline of V1 during OE using minimalist theory by adopting the idea of a FE. V1 can be analysed as a FinP projection, as proposed by Gelderen (2004). The verb remerges by the Formal feature [+Fin] of the head of FinP, and the first element in V2 remerges by the EPP-feature of the head of Fin. The probe-goal relationship generally works as follows:

(12)   . . . X_{PROBE} . . . [$_{YP}$ . . . Z_{GOAL} . . .] . . .

Here, X agrees with Z, and where X has an EPP-feature, UG allows cross-

linguistic variation as to whether Z_{GOAL} moves to X or whether the larger category YP containing Z_{GOAL} moves to X.

<div align="right">(Biberauer and Roberts 2008: 83, (5))</div>

They also proposed that "OE *v*'s optional EPP-feature triggered defocusing movement wherever it was present" (89. fn.11). Extending this idea to the Edge Feature in Spec-CP, we can assume that the remerge of the first element in CP-type V2 will be triggered by it. In the case of TP-type V2, this idea should hold primacy, as they state '[a]ssuming leftward movement in Germanic to be a "defocusing" operation . . . One involving an obligatory EPP-feature, and the other involving an optional EPP-feature which triggers defocusing'.

The author proposes that the decline of V1 in OE was caused by the loss of optional EPP-features, which was driven by the idea of a FE. This explains why only obligatory EPP-features should be preferred to situations in which both obligatory and optional EPP-features exist. When V1 was lost, only TP-type V2 cells survived. However, TP-type V2 became unstable without V1, which was a counterexample of CP-type V2 in PLD.

Biberauer and Roberts (2008) discuss the relationship between the idea of a FE and PLD as follows:

We described the emergency view of the parameters adopted above. In line with this view, we see the acquisition of formal features, which constitutes the setting of parameters, as a process of 'filling in the gaps' in the underspecified UG. The PLD provides evidence of formal features . . . and FE simply amounts to the claim that features must be unambiguously expressed by the PLD or they will not be postulated. Therefore, the FE is defeasible by PLD. That is, the second factor (PLD) can outrank the third (FE).

When the loss of V1 causes ambiguity between TP-type and CP-type V2 in the PLD for OE language acquisition, the decline of TP-type V2 was accelerated due to the lack of unambiguous evidence. It should be assumed that PLD primarily affected the decline of TP-type V2 during OE by stimulating a competition with CP-type V2.[7]

8　Conclusion

　　This study showed that the CP structure in OE developed through grammaticalization. OE has two types of V2 word order, namely, CP and TP. The former became predominant, assuming the development of the CP structure in OE. V2 constructions in the *Vercelli Homilies* reflect the halfway stage of change during OE. V1, which is assumed to be derived from the optional EPP-feature in TP, was lost when the optional EPP-feature was lost via the FE. The decline of TP-type V2 was caused by the change of PLD, which was affected by the loss of V1 and driven by the language contact with the Old North in Northern England.

Notes

(1) The effect of translation on Old English from Latin text will not be taken here.

(2) The seven Midlands texts of the early to mid-thirteenth century are the Trinity Homilies, the Lambeth Homilies, Sawles Warde, Hali Meidad, Vices and Virtues, St. Katherine, and the Ancrene Riwle.

(3) Gelderen (2004: 51–52) adopted the clause structure where ForceP and TopP are located above FinP (TP), which is very close to the split CP analysis in the cartography theory by Rizzi (1997, 2001). However, her analysis is only compatible with cartography analysis. She explains her analysis, as " . . . having the V in Fin with topics and the clitics as a head in TOP, but only in the southern OE main clause: . . . there is no evidence for such an expanded main clause CP in northern dialects . . . . In the northern glosses, the verb is always in second position even with topics."

(4) The higher subjects had been analysed as clitics because most of them have been pronouns since van Kemenade 1987.

(5) I analysed the data of YCOE with Tree Bank Search (distributed by S. Tsukamoto (Nihon University)) and Excel. This investigation is limited to "ADVP-TMP" for CP

Type V2, "PP" for TP Type V2 respectively (non-exhaustive).

(6) [The examples in the *Vercelli Homilies*] occur in sentences which open either an individual homily or a new train of thought in one. This contextual force . . . seems to underlie much of the rest of the usage in the *Vercelli Homilies*.
(Ogawa 2000: 238−239)

(7) V1 in OE can also be analysed to be in C_0 (Kiparsky 1995). The author presented such an analysis at the 37th JSMES Congress (4/Dec/2021). The problem whether embedded topicalisation was possible or not has been discussed by van Kemenade (1997) and Salvesen and Walkden (2017). They suggest that TP-type V2 was partly possible in OE. As this paper discussed V2 structures in main clauses in OE, their arguments are only partially relevant, given that they do not deny the existence of the TP-type V2 structure in main clauses in OE nor support it.

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