

## Evidence for Two Kinds of OV Word Order

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We are investigating the shift from  $X > V$  to  $V > X$  word order in four languages for which we and other colleagues have created parsed historical corpora using the annotation scheme of the Penn Historical Corpora series – English, French, Icelandic and Yiddish (Kroch and Taylor 2000, Martineau et al. 2009, Wallenberg et al. 2011, Santorini 2008). In this work, we have discovered a statistical pattern with implications both for the grammars of the four languages and for their diachronic evolution. Our data come from the constituent order inside the V(erb)P(hrase), where we find that the shift from  $X > V$  to  $V > X$  order goes through at least two grammatically distinct stages. In these stages, described for convenience in the framework of Kaynian antisymmetric syntax,  $X > V$  surface word order arises from two different mechanisms of leftward movement: first, via the scrambling of a nominal or prepositional XP argument/adjunct across an in situ VP and, second, via remnant scrambling of the VP with the verb itself stranded in “little v.” Since, under the first option, more than one XP may scramble and since, under the second, XPs can be stranded after the verb via a sequence of local movements preceding the remnant VP scrambling, the same range of possible surface orders is produced by both mechanisms. Nevertheless, quantitative evidence has allowed us to detect signatures of their individual frequencies in texts and to follow their separate loss over time.

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