

## THE DIACHRONY OF DIRECTIONAL *OUT OF* IN ENGLISH

Marion Elenbaas  
Leiden University Centre for Linguistics

### 1 The issue

- Present-Day English (PDE); (2) is from Svenonius (2004:224).
  - (1) a. We *threw* the orc *out*. (predicate order)
  - b. We *threw out* the orc. (particle order)
  - (2) a. We *threw* the orc *out of* the window. (adjacent *out of*)
  - b. \*We *threw out* the orc *of* the window. (non-adjacent *out of*)
  - (3) a. She *pushed* the chair *away from* the desk.
  - b. She *pushed away* the chair *from* the desk.
- Earlier English
  - (4) And he *broȝt out* þe water *of* þe ston, ... (Middle English (ME), compare (2b))  
'And he brought the water out of the stone, ...' (CMEARLPS, 94.4102)
  - (5) ... and to-deled þat ryver in þre chanelles and stremes, so þat þe Danes myȝte nouȝt  
and PREF-divided that river in three channels and streams so that the Danes could not  
*brynge out* here schippes; ...  
bring out their ships  
'... and divided that river into three channels and streams, so that the Danes could not  
bring out their ships; ...' (CMPOLYCH, VI,393.2879)

- Aim: to explain the loss of the option of non-adjacent directional *out of*.

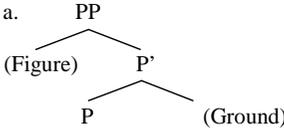
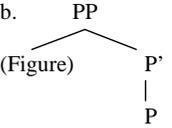
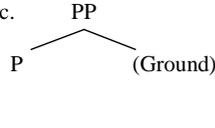
### 2 A closer look at *out of*

- OED Online (*out of*, prep.) lists two primary senses
  - (6) i. Of motion or direction. Opposed to *into*;  
The bag is then pulled *out of* the abdomen.  
(OED Online, *Globe & Mail (Toronto)* 24 Jan. 1994 a18/5)
  - ii. Of position. Opposed to *in*;  
Ye are coming to my house till yeer mother is *out of* the hospital.  
(OED Online, F. McCourt *Angela's Ashes* 1996 (1997) x. 277)
- The focus of this talk is on directional *out of*, (6i). Examples such as those in (7) are excluded (note that *out* is not a particle in these examples):
  - (7) a. He said it *out of* sheer spite. (from Huddleston & Pullum 2002:731)
  - b. She acted *out of* pity. (from Cappelle 2001:315)

- *Out of* is not a complex preposition (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:625; Cappelle 2001).
  - (8) a. They came out of the building.
  - b. \*They came out of.
  - c. They came out.
- *Out of* is often excluded from diachronic studies on particles and related issues due to uncertainty about its status (e.g. Pintzuk & Haerberli 2008:405,fn9; see also Elenbaas 2007; Los et al. 2012).

### 3 The syntax of directional PPs

- Layered structure for spatial and directional PPs (e.g. Koopman 1997; van Riemsdijk & Huijbregts 2001; Helmantel 2002; den Dikken 2003; Svenonius 2004; Gehrke 2008)
- (9) [PathP [PlaceP [DP ]]]
- Three subtypes of the category P (Svenonius 2002:3); examples in (11) from Svenonius (2004:433)

- (10) a.  b.  c. 
- (11) a. The helicopter flew [the firefighters]<sub>Figure</sub> up [the mountain]<sub>Ground</sub>.
- b. The helicopter flew [the firefighters]<sub>Figure</sub> up.
- c. The helicopter flew up [the mountain]<sub>Ground</sub>.

- Svenonius (1996): SC headed by the particle has a functional layer (FP), which is endowed with an EPP feature
  - (12) [FP [F EPP] [PP Figure [P particle] (Ground)]]
  - The EPP feature can be checked in two ways: either the Figure moves from SpecPP to SpecFP, or the particle (P) moves to F
  - (13) a. [FP Figure [F+EPP] [PP Figure [P particle] (Ground)]]
  - b. [FP [F+EPP particle] [PP Figure [P particle] (Ground)]]
  - Svenonius (2004): particle shift is unavailable when an *of* PP is present, because the particle and the *of* PP are part of the same extended P projection.
  - (14) [RP [R ] [P Figure [P ] [PP [P out] [PP [P of] NP]]]] (RP = FP in (12-13))
  - In (14), the particle *out* cannot move to R to check the EPP feature, because it has an overt Ground (the *of* PP), and therefore no nominal features.

- Disadvantages of Svenonius’s analysis:
  - it offers two ways of checking the EPP-feature;
  - it offers a questionable account of examples such as *He threw down the orc from the battlements*, in which the PP can be separated from the participle;
  - it is not clear how it can account for earlier English examples in which the *of* PP is separated from the participle, such as (4).

#### 4 Directional *out of* in earlier English

- Corpora and search tool used:
  - *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE), Taylor et al. (2003)
  - *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, second edition (PPCME2), Kroch & Taylor (2000)
  - *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME), Kroch et al. (2004)
  - *The Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English* (PPCMBE), Kroch et al. (2010)
  - CorpusSearch2, Randall et al. (2005)

#### 4.1 Old English

Table 1 Adjacent and non-adjacent *out of* in Old English

	Adjacent <i>out of</i>	Non-adjacent <i>out...of</i>	Total
O1 (pre-850)	0	0	0
O2 (850-950)	5 / 62.5	3 / 37.5	8 / 100
O3 (950-1050)	17 / 43.6	22 / 56.4	39 / 100
O4 (1050-1150)	2 / 66.7	1 / 33.3	3 / 100
Total	23 / 46.9	26 / 53.1	49 / 100

- (15) a. ... and *ateoð þæt atter ut of ðisum dryum*.  
and PREF-drew the poison out of these magicians  
'and drew the poison out of these sorcerers.'  
(cocathom2, ÆCHom\_II\_38: 283.129.6395)
- b. he *dræf þone ælþeodigan ut of his inne*, ...  
he drove the strangers out of his dwelling  
'he drove the strangers out of his house, ...' (cochdrul, ChrodR\_1:84.27.1121)
- (16) a. ... and þu locast þonne þæt þu of ðines broþor eagan þæt mot ut *ateo*.  
and you behold then that you from your brother's eye the mote out PREF-pull  
'and then you see that you pull out the mote from your brother's eye.'  
(coaelhom, ÆHom\_14:31.2024)
- b. þonne þu ut *alæst* min folc of *Egypta lande*, ðu offrast Gode uppan þisse hill  
when you out PREF-let my people from Egypt's land you offer to-God upon þisse hill  
this dune.  
'when you let out my people from Egypt's land, you offer to God on this hill.'  
(cootest, Exod:3.12.2363)

- c. Eft, læcedom se þæt yfel ut *tihð of þam milte* ...  
again medicine which sore out draws from the spleen  
'Again, medicine that draws the illness out of the spleen...'  
(colaece, Lch\_II\_[2]:44.1.1.3002)
- d. And seo hell þa Satan of *hys setlum ut adraf* ...  
and she hell then Satan from his abode out PREF-drove  
'And Hell drove Satan out of his dwellings...'  
(conicoda, Nic\_[A]:21.1.9.482)

- Stacking of directional expressions: prefix *a-*, originally denoting directional meaning 'out, away', reinforced by *ut* 'out', as in (17), or an *of* PP, as in (18), or both, as in (16d) for example.

- (17) ... & manega deofolseocnyssa he ut *adraf*; ... (no *of* PP)  
and many demoniacal possessions he out PREF-drove  
'and he drove out many demoniacal possessions; ...'  
(cowsgosp, Mk\_[WSCp]:1.34.2248)
- (18) Hie þa Demetrias of *þam rice adrifon*. (no *ut* 'out')  
they then Demetrius from the kingdom PREF-drove  
'Then they drove Demetrius out of the kingdom.'  
(Orosius *Hist.* (BL Add.) iii. xi. 82)

#### 4.2 Middle English

Table 2 Adjacent and non-adjacent *out of* in Middle English

	Adjacent <i>out of</i>	Non-adjacent <i>out...of</i>	Total
M1 (1150-1250)	15 / 83.3	3 / 16.7	18 / 100
M2 (1250-1350)	15 / 78.9	4 / 21.1	19 / 100
M3 (1350-1420)	75 / 91.5	7 / 8.5	82 / 100
M4 (1420-1500)	57 / 100	0 / 0.0	57 / 100
Total	162 / 92.0	14 / 8.0	176 / 100

- (19) And therewith he *drew* the truncheon of the speare *oute of hys body*, ...  
and therewith he drew the fragment of the spear out of his body  
'And with that he drew the fragment of the spear out of his body,' (CMMALORY, 645.4135)
- (20) a. ... & *put out* his eyen of *his heuede*, ...  
and put out his eyes of his head  
'and put his eyes out of his head,' (CMBRUT3, 127.3843)
- b. ... forto *caste oute* Sarasynes of *þis lande*, ...  
for-to cast out Saracens of this country  
'to cast Saracens out of this country,' (CMBRUT3, 45.1353)
- Examples like the following are excluded (see (7b) and (8)):
- (21) a. ... a symple creature hath *translatid* the bible *out of Latyn* into English.  
a simple creature has translated the bible out of Latin into English  
'a simple creature has translated the bible from Latin into English.'  
(CMPURVEY, I,57.2278)

- b. ... so ded sir Galahad *deyver* all the maydyns *oute of the woofull castell*. so did Sir Galahad deliver all the maidens out of the woeful castle 'in the same way, Sir Galahad delivered all the maidens from the woeful castle.' (CMMALORY, 651.4322)

Table 3 Adjacent *out of* in Middle English, non-particle verb examples

Adjacent <i>out of</i> (non-particle verb)	
M1 (1150-1250)	0
M2 (1250-1350)	2
M3 (1350-1420)	21
M4 (1420-1500)	12
Total	35

- (22) a. And if I may fynde such a knyght that hath all thes vertues he may *draw oute* and if I may find such a knight who has all these virtues he may draw out this swerde *oute of the sheethe*.  
this sword out of the sheath  
'And if I may find such a knight who has all these virtues he may draw this sword out of the sheath.' (CMMALORY, 45.1498)
- b. And in wreche of his \$of puttyng he made hem *take up* Formosus be pope and in vengeance of his off putting he made them take up Formosus the pope *out of his grave*,  
out of his grave  
'And in vengeance for his reproving he made them exhume pope Formosus from his grave,' (CMPOLYCH, VI,409.2996)

- Correlation between decrease in non-adjacent directional *out of*-examples and increase in adjacent non-particle verb *out of*-examples (non-directional, change-of-state). The change-of-state *out of* is likely to have developed from adjacent directional *out of*.

#### 4.3 Modern English

Table 4 Adjacent and non-adjacent *out of* in Early and Late Modern English

	Adjacent <i>out of</i>	Non-adjacent <i>out...of</i>	Total
	N / %	N / %	N
E1 (1500-1569)	25 / 96.2	1 / 3.8	26 / 100
E2 (1570-1639)	26 / 100	0 / 0.0	26 / 100
E3 (1640-1710)	11 / 100	0 / 0.0	11 / 100
Total	62 / 98.4	1 / 1.6	63 / 100
1700-1769	21 / 100	0 / 0.0	21 / 100
1770-1839	17 / 100	0 / 0.0	17 / 100
1840-1914	21 / 100	0 / 0.0	21 / 100
Total	59 / 100	0 / 0.0	59 / 100

- (23) a. ... & *thrust* hym *out of the dorys* by vyolence.  
'and thrust him out of the doors violently.' (MERRYTAL-E1-P2, 60.15)
- b. He did carry some 100 barreles *out of the ship*,  
'He carried some 100 barrels of powder out of the ship,' (PEPYS-E3-P2, 8,328.185)

- c. A Body of Spaniards and Italians were landed in Ireland, to *drive* the English *out of that Kingdom*; ...  
'A body of Spaniards and Italians arrived in Ireland, to drive the English out of that kingdom; ...' (KIMBER-1742, 267.C1.213)
- d. The Lecturer here *poured* the carbonic acid *out of the glass in which it was being generated* into the vessel suspended on the balance, ...  
'The lecturer here poured the carbonic acid out of the glass in which it was being generated into the vessel suspended on the balance, ...' (FARADAY-1859, 17.166)

- (24) ... and plucked *oute* the same *of a lytle pursse*. (HARMAN-E1-P2, 54.327)

Table 5 Adjacent *out of* in Early and Late Modern English, non-particle verb examples

Adjacent <i>out of</i> (non-particle verb)	
E1 (1500-1569)	20
E2 (1570-1639)	30
E3 (1640-1710)	15
Total	65
1700-1769	22
1770-1839	17
1840-1914	22
Total	61

- (25) a. and with his right hande *powreth out* water *out of his potte*,  
'and with his right hand he pours out water out of his pot,' (BLUNDEV-E2-P2, 161R\_misnumbered\_as\_158R.373)
- b. when the Bee endeavours to *thrust out* the top of the sting *out of the sheath* again,  
'when the bee endeavours to thrust out the top of the sting out of the sheath again,' (HOOKE-E3-P2, 164.153)
- c. The boys did swear against one of them, that he had made it his part to *pull out* the plug *out of the engine* while it was a-playing;  
'The boys did swear against one of them, that he had made it his part to pull out the plug out of the engine while it was running;' (PEPYS-E3-P2, 8,320.5)

#### 5 Analysis

Table 6 Stages in the development of the expression of directional *out of*

Stage	Period	Pattern	
I	OE	<i>a-V (of PP)</i>	(or other directional PP)
II	IOE	<i>ut a-V (of PP)</i>	<i>ut of / out of</i> is separable
III	ME	<i>ut V / V out (of PP)</i>	<i>ut of / out of</i> is separable
IV	ModE / PDE	<i>V out (of PP)</i>	<i>out of</i> is inseparable
V	PDE	<i>V outta</i>	<i>of</i> is phonetically reduced; informal
VI	PDE	<i>V out (NP)</i>	<i>of</i> is lacking; mostly AmE and informal

- (26) I Hie þa Demetrias *of þæm rice adrifon*. (Orosius *Hist.* (BL Add.) iii. xi. 82)
- II and þu locast þonne þæt þu *of ðines broþor eagan* þæt mot *ut ateo*.  
(coaelhom, ÆHom\_14:31.2024)
- III ... forto *caste oute* Sarasynes *of þis lande*, ... (CMBRUT3, 45.1353)
- IV ... which the maidens perceiuing, *pulled* the gag *out of his mouth*.

(DELONEY-E2-P2, 51.296)

- V You take the fun *outta* everything, sweetie.  
(COCA, *On Rickety Thistlewaite*, Michael F Flynn, January/February 2010)
- VI ... the fun thing about American politics is that we often *throw* conventional wisdom *out the window*.  
(COCA, ABC\_ThisWeek, 5 June 2011)

- Grammaticalisation of the preposition *of*.

(27) “[*o*]*f* is the most highly grammaticised of all prepositions”  
Huddleston & Pullum (2002:658)

(28) OED Online, *of* prep.:  
The primary sense was ‘away’, ‘away from’, a sense now obsolete, [...]. All the existing uses of *of* are derivative; many so remote as to retain no trace of the original sense, and so weakened as to be in themselves the expression of relatively indefinable syntactic relationships.

- Directional meaning of the preposition *of* attested in OE, recall (18) for example:

(18) Hie þa Demetrias *of þam rice adrifon*.  
they then Demetrius from the kingdom PREF-drove  
‘Then they drove Demetrius out of the kingdom.’ (Orosius *Hist.* (BL Add.) iii. xi. 82)

(29) a. OE/ME: [PathP out] [PP of NP]  
b. ModE/PDE: [PathP out [PP of NP]]

(30) *Reanalysis*  
[PathP [Path out]] [PathP [Path of] NP] > [PathP [Path out] [PP [P of] NP]]

- Before the reanalysis, the particle *out* is able to move independently of the *of* PP, and is either adjacent or non-adjacent to the *of* PP in the surface string.

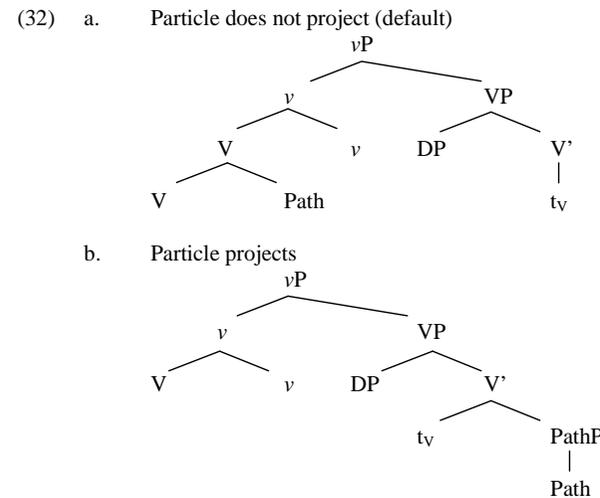
(31)

$\begin{array}{c} V \text{ NP } out_{prt} \text{ of PP} \\ V \text{ out}_{prt} \text{ NP of PP} \end{array}$	$\rightarrow$	$\begin{array}{c} V \text{ NP } out_{prt} \text{ of PP} \\ *V \text{ out}_{prt} \text{ NP of PP} \end{array}$
OE		ModE
ME		PDE

- The historical development of directional *out of* proposed here involves semantic change (bleaching of the directional meaning of the preposition *of*), which leads to a structural reanalysis, which in turn leads to the phonological reduction of the preposition *of*. This development fits with both Campbell’s (2001) view, in which grammaticalisation is the epiphenomenal result of these changes, and Hopper & Traugott’s (1993/2003) view, in which grammaticalisation always involves reanalysis.

- The change in syntactic ordering results from a combination of the structural reanalysis and the specific morphosyntactic properties of particles, not from the reanalysis per se.

- Particles as optionally projecting elements (e.g. Neeleman 2002; Toivonen 2003; Elenbaas 2007; Los et al. 2012): particles project a phrase only when forced to do so for syntactic reasons (modification) or information-structural reasons (focus)
  - When particles do not project a phrase, they obligatorily merge with the verb to form a complex verb and move along with the verb to *v*, as illustrated in (32a)
  - When particles do project a phrase, they are syntactically independent and do not merge with the verb, as illustrated in (32b)



(33) a. OE and ME (before the reanalysis)  
[Path(P) out] [PP of ]  
b. ModE and PDE (after the reanalysis)  
[PathP out [PP of ]]

- The analysis proposed in this section
  - is descriptively and explanatorily adequate;
  - does not rely on optional movement/checking operations as in Svenonius’s (1996, 2004) analysis;
  - explains why other directional expressions consisting of a particle and a PP do allow non-adjacency, as in *She pushed away the chair from the desk*.

## 6 Conclusions

- In OE and ME, the directional particle *out* shows regular particle behaviour when followed by an *of* PP: it shows up in the predicate order as well as the particle order.
- From EModE onwards, the directional particle *out* no longer shows up in the particle order when it is followed by an *of* PP.
- Loss of the particle order option for directional *out of* (in which *out* and *of* are non-adjacent) is the result of a reanalysis under the influence of the grammaticalising preposition *of*.

- An analysis of particles as optionally projecting elements straightforwardly handles the facts.
- The analysis not only sheds light on the development of directional *out of* (reanalysis) and the status of *out of* (Prt+PP), it also explains why other Prt+PP combinations (with a preposition other than *of*, such as *away from*) have not lost the particle order option and can still be non-adjacent (see (3)).

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Email: [m.b.elenbaas@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:m.b.elenbaas@hum.leidenuniv.nl)