

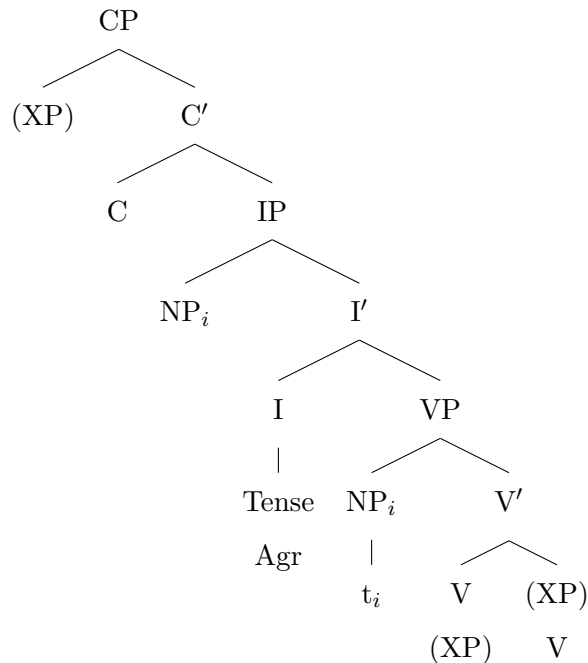
The loss of OV word order in English

Ling 556: Historical Syntax

Spring 2012

1 The situation in Old English

(1)



(2) ... XP_1 ... I^0 ... XP_2 ... V^0 ... XP_3 ...

- (3) a. Halie alde ancras **hit** maȝe don summes weis (CMANCRIW,II.58.565)
holy old anchoresses it may do some ways
'Holy old anchoresses may do it in a certain way'
- b. Sara þu hauest **me** ouercumen (CMANCRIW,II.173.2409)
Sarah thou hast me overcome
'Sarah, thou has overcome me'
- c. oðet he habbe izgetted **ou** al þet ȝe wulleð (CMANCRIW,I.68.229)
until he has granted you all that you desire
'until he has granted you all that you desire'

1.1 Structural VO word order begins in Old English (Pintzuk 1997).

- (4) he wold adræfan ut anne æþeling (ChronB(T) 82.18-19)
 he would drive out a prince

Clause type	Frequency after main verb
INFL-final	0/90 = 0.0%
INFL-initial	15/275 = 5.5%

Table 1: Frequency of post-verbal particles by clause type in Old English.

Clause structure and type	N	Frequency postverbal
I-initial main clause	68	.22
I-initial subordinate clause	32	.09
I-final main clause	38	.40
I-final subordinate clause	72	.25
Total	210	.24

Table 2: Frequency of postverbal DPs in *Beowulf* by clause type.

Clause structure and type	N	Frequency postverbal
I-initial main clause	245	.43
I-initial subordinate clause	230	.23
I-final main clause	40	.08
I-final subordinate clause	140	.12
Total	655	.27

Table 3: Frequency of postverbal DPs in later Old English by clause type.

2 Calculating the frequency of OV Word Order in Middle English

2.1 Diagnostic environments for VO phrase structure

- (5) a. Halie alde ancris **hit** maȝe don summes weis (CMANCRIW,II.58.565)
holy old anchoresses it may do some ways
- b. Sara þu hauest **me** ouercumen (CMANCRIW,II.173.2409)
Sarah thou hast me overcome
- c. oðet he habbe iȝetted **ou** al þet ȝe wulleð (CMANCRIW,I.68.229)
until he has granted you all that you desire

		Pre-I	Post-I	Post-V	% Post-V
West Midlands					
Ancrene Riwe	main	10	7	36	68
	subordinate	23	15	36	49
	total	33	22	72	57
Katherine Group	main	13	10	49	68
	subordinate	29	17	32	41
	total	42	27	81	54
Total WM	main	23	17	85	68
	subordinate	52	32	68	45
	total	75	49	153	55
Lambeth Homilies (L)	main	6	3	0	00
	subordinate	6	1	1	13
	total	12	4	1	06
Lambeth Homilies (E)	main	28	15	3	07
	subordinate	20	13	4	11
	total	48	28	7	08
Southeast Midlands					
Trinity Homilies	main	13	12	8	24
	subordinate	29	14	8	16
	total	42	26	16	19
Vices and Virtues	main	31	11	1	02
	subordinate	59	19	5	06
	total	90	30	6	05
Total SEM	main	44	23	9	12
	subordinate	88	33	13	09
	total	132	56	22	10

Table 2.3.1: Position of pronouns in eME clauses with an auxiliary verb.

- (6) þat non godes word **upp** ne mai springen (CMVICES1,69.778)
 that no god's word up NEG may spring

Dialect	Post-INFL	Post-VERB	% Post-VERB
West Midlands	2	12	86
Lambeth Homilies	0	2	100
Southeast Midlands	3	1	25

Table 2.3.2: Position of particles in eME clauses with an auxiliary verb.

- (7) a. hel mi blodi saule of al þe blodi sunnen þet ha is **wið** iwundet þurh mine
 heal my bloody soul of all the bloody sins that she is with wounded through my
 fif wittes; (CMANCRIW,I.62.202)
 five senses
- (8) a. Who_i did you give the books to t_i yesterday?
 b. *Who_i did you give the books yesterday to t_i?

	Pre-INFL	Post-INFL	Post-VERB	% Post-VERB
West Midlands				
Ancrene Riwe	0	9	9	50
Katherine Group	0	11	10	48
Total WM	0	20	19	49
Lambeth Homilies (L)	0	3	0	00
Lambeth Homilies (E)	0	3	1	25
Southeast Midlands				
Trinity Homilies	(2)	10	1	08
Vices and Virtues	(5)	1	0	00
Total SEM	(7)	11	1	05

Table 2.3.3: Stranded prepositions in eME subordinate clauses with an auxiliary.

2.2 Scrambling and VO word order

- (9) a. þæt heo ne schal **þene stude** neauer mare changin bute for nede
that she NEG shall the abode never more change but for need
ane ... (CMANCRIW,I.46.52)
alone
- b. þach god ne cunne **him** neauer þonc of his sonde. (CMANCRIW,II.102.1233)
though God NEG can him never thank of his sending
- (10) a. & **æghwæþer oþerne** oftroedlice utdræfde (ChronA, 80.887.10)
and every-one other frequently out-drove
- b. he sæde Bedan þæt se cyning Ecfrið **him** oft behete mycel on lande and on
he said Bede that the king Ecfrið him often promised much on land and on
feo (Æ LS B1.3.21)
property
- (11) a. Hot der yingl dos gevizn dem tatn un hot **im** gezogt ... (Olsvanger 1947)
has the boy that shown the father and has him said
- b. Farvos host du **mikh** damols geshmishn?
why have you me then hit
- c. Mit dem posik hot **zikh** undzer rov gemakht a shem.
with the verse has REFL our rabbi made a name
- (12) a. Un er ken **di mayse** beser dertseyln.
and he can the story better tell
- b. Men zol **dem yidn** araynlozn tsun im.
one should the Jew in-let to him

	NP-V-pro	V-pro-NP
West Midlands		
Ancrene Riwe	5	9
Katherine Group	3	13
Total WM	8	22
Lambeth Homilies (E)	0	1
Southeast Midlands		
Trinity Homilies	0	4
Vices and Virtues	0	2
Total SEM	0	6
All texts	8	29

Table 2.3.4: Position of the remaining object in eME double-object clauses with a postverbal pronoun object.

- (13) a. & he **hit** wule ȝelde þe as his treowe feire. (CMANCRIW,II.91.1090)
and he it will yield thee as his true company
- b. For alle þeo þe habbeð **ani good** idon me (CMANCRIW,I.64.212)
for all those that have any good done me
- (14) Vnderstondeð get an <þing> þat ich **giu** wile warnie **fore**. (CMTRINIT,57.774)
understand yet one thing that I you will warn of

2.3 OV word order in Early Middle English

- (15) a. ear he hefde his ranceun fülleliche ipaiȝet. (CMANCRIW,II.101.1218)
before he had his ransom fully paid
- b. for þat hie nedden here synnes er bet. (CMTRINIT,69.950)
for that they NEG-had their sins before atoned-for
- c. ðanne hie willeð here ibede to godde bidden, (CMVICES1,143.1773)
when they will their prayer to God pray
‘when they will pray their prayer to God’
- (16) a. þeos ne schulen neuer **song** singen in heouene. (CMHALI,142.222)
these NEG shall never song sing in heaven

- b. þat ne haue noht **here sinnes** forleten. (CMTRINIT,67.934)
 who NEG have not their sins forsake
- c. and makede him fleme þere he hadde er **louerd** iben. (CMTRINIT,61.822)
 and made him outcast where he had before lord ben
- (17) Ðv qð ha keiser nauest nawt **þis strif** rihtwisliche
 thou said she emperor NEG-have not this strife rightly
 idealet (CMKATHE,30.184)
 settled

2.4 A constraint on the scrambling of noun phrases

- (18) a. Jón hefur fáar bækur lesið. (van der Wurff 1999)
 John has few books read
- b. he haþ on vs mercy, for he may al þynge do (Barlam 2740)
 he has on us mercy for he may all things do

	NP-V-pro		V-pro-NP	
	quant. NP	non-quant. NP	quant. NP	non-quant. NP
West Midlands				
Ancrene Riwle	2	1	2	7
Katherine Group	2	0	4	8
Total WM	4	1	6	15
Lambeth H. (E)	0	0	1	0
Southeast Midlands				
Trinity Homilies	0	0	1	3
Vices and Virtues	0	0	1	1
Total SEM	0	0	2	4
All texts	4	1	9	19

Table 2.3.5: Position of quantified and non-quantified NP objects in eME clauses with a postverbal pronoun object.

- (19) <Me schal> leoue sustren þeose storien tellen eft ou.
 One shall, dear sisters, these stories tell later (to) you
 (CMANCRIW,II.122.1552)

		Post-INFL	Post-VERB	% Post-INFL
West Midlands				
Ancrene Riwe	main	18	75	19
	subordinate	25	80	24
	total	43	155	22
Katherine Group	main	15	51	23
	subordinate	25	49	34
	total	40	100	29
Total WM	main	33	126	21
	subordinate	50	129	28
	total	83	255	25
Lambeth Homilies (L)	main	2	14	13
	subordinate	19	7	73
	total	21	21	50
Lambeth Homilies (E)	main	9	42	18
	subordinate	20	63	24
	total	29	105	22
Southeast Midlands				
Trinity Homilies	main	18	49	27
	subordinate	45	36	56
	total	63	85	43
Vices and Virtues	main	11	45	20
	subordinate	37	54	41
	total	48	99	33
Total SEM	main	29	94	24
	subordinate	82	90	48
	total	111	184	38
All texts	total	244	565	30

Table 2.3.6: The distribution of non-quantified noun phrases in eME clauses with an auxiliary.

		Post-I	Post-V	% Post-I QNP	% Post-I non-QNP
West Midlands					
Ancrone Riwle	main	2	10	17	19
	subordinate	6	12	33	24
	total	8	22	27	22
Katherine Group	main	5	8	38	23
	subordinate	4	6	40	34
	total	9	14	39	29
Total WM	main	10	27	28	21
	subordinate	18	26	36	28
	total	28	53	32	25
Lambeth Homilies (L)	main	0	1	0	13
	subordinate	1	1	50	73
	total	1	2	33	50
Lambeth Homilies (E)	main	3	8	25	18
	subordinate	7	7	50	24
	total	10	15	40	22
Southeast Midlands					
Trinity Homilies	main	4	10	29	27
	subordinate	10	5	67	56
	total	14	15	48	43
Vices and Virtues	main	9	10	47	20
	subordinate	9	7	56	41
	total	18	17	51	33
Total SEM	main	13	20	39	24
	subordinate	19	12	61	48
	total	32	32	50	38
All texts	total	60	85	41	30

Table 2.3.7: The distribution of quantified noun phrases in eME clauses with an auxiliary.

	Post-INFL		Post-VERB		% Post-INFL	
	QNP	non-QNP	QNP	non-QNP	QNP	non-QNP
Main	28	13	289	1694	9	1
Subordinate	42	34	305	2367	12	1
Total	70	47	594	4061	11	1

Table 2.3.8: The distribution of quantified and non-quantified noun phrases in clauses with an auxiliary verb in late Middle English.

2.5 Pronoun scrambling

	Pre-INFL	Post-INFL	Post-VERB	% Post-VERB
Main	2	10	868	99
Subordinate	10	33	1208	97
Total	12	43	2076	97

Table 2.3.9: The distribution of pronouns in clauses with an auxiliary verb in IME.