Rosae 2009: Syntactic Change
Lecture 2. Case study: loss of V2 in English

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Verb-final vs. verb-medial order in OE

(1)  a. MAIN: Se manfulla gast þa martine gehyrsumode.
    the evil spirit then Martin obeyed
    (AELS 31.1050)

b. SUBORD: ðeah hit ær upahæfen wære (CP 34.6)
    although it before up-raised was

(2)  a. MAIN: þa sundor-halgan eodun þa ut sopllice.
    the Pharisees went then out certainly
    (WSCp, Matt. 12.14)

b. SUBORD: þæt he ahof upp þa earcan (GC(C) 42.6)
    that he lifted up the chest
Word order with topicalization: noun phrase subjects

(3) a. & of heom twam is eall manncynn cumen (WHom 6.52)
     and of them two is all mankind come

b. þæt hus hæfdon Romane to ðæm anum tacne
     that building had Romans with the one feature
     geworht (Or 59.3)
     constructed

c. þær wearþ se cyning Bagsecg ofslægen
     there was the king Bagsecg slain
     (Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Parker, 871)
Word order with topicalization:
pronoun subjects as (semi-)clitics

(4)  

a. Ælc yfel he mæg don (WHom, 4.62)  
each evil he can do

b. scortlice ic hæbbe nu gesæd ymb þa þrie dælas...  
briefly I have now spoken about the three parts  
(Or 9.18)

c. æfter his gebede he ahof þæt cild up... (AEChom. 2.28)  
after his prayer he lifted the child up
More evidence for pronouns as clitics

(5)  a. þin a gen geleafa þe hæfþ gehæledne (BlHom 15)
    thine own faith thee has healed

   b. & seofon ærendracan he him hæfde to asend
      and seven messengers he him had to sent
      (ASC, Parker, 905)
V-to-C in Old English

(6) a. QUESTION: hwi sceole we oþres mannes niman? 
   why should we another man’s take 
   (AELS 24.188)

b. ḞA: þa ge-mette he sceadn (AELS 31.151) 
   then met he robbers

c. V1 NEGATIVE: ne mihton hi nænigne fultum æt him 
   not could they not-any help from him 
   begitan (Bede 48.9–10) 
   get

d. V1 NARRATIVE: hæfdon hi hiora onfangen ær Hæsten 
   had they them received before Haesten 
   to Beamfleote come (ASC, Parker, 894) 
   to Benfleet came
The negative reinforcer *na* and the position of subjects (Kemenade 1999)

(7) a. þonne *ne* *miht ðu na* þæm mot ut ateon
then not could you not the speck out draw

(ÆHom 14.153)

b. *ne bið na* *se leorningcniht* furðor þonne his lareow
not is not the apprentice further than his master

(ÆHom 14.134)

(8) *ne het he us na* leornian heofonas to wyrcenne (ÆLS 127)
not ordered he us not learn heavens to make
Adverbs and the position of subjects
(Haeberli 2000)

(9)  a. Wahrscheinlich wird Hans später dieselbe Uhr kaufen
    probably will Hans later the same watch buy

  b. Wahrscheinlich wird er später dieselbe Uhr kaufen
    probably will he later the same watch buy

(10) a. Wahrscheinlich wird später Hans dieselbe Uhr kaufen
    probably will later Hans the same watch buy

  b. * Wahrscheinlich wird später er dieselbe Uhr kaufen
    probably will later he the same watch buy
Adjuncts and subjects in Old English

(11) a. ac mycel geþolode ðurh his mildheortnesse Crist for but much suffered through his loving-kindness Christ for our need (Wulf 3,227.34)
b. in ða tid wæs in Mercna mægðe Wulfhere cyning in that time was in Mercians’ country Wulfhere king (Bede 3,260.22)
Subordinate clause V2 in Old English (Kemenade 1997)

(13)  a. þæt eallum folce sy gedemed beforan ðe
    that all people(dat. sg.) be(sg.) judged before thee
    (Paris Ps. 9.18)

    b. þonne ælce dæge beoð manega acennede
    when each day are(pl.) many(nom. pl.) given birth
    þurh hys mihte on woruld (AEHP.VI.120)
    through his power on world
Table 1: V2 in seven early Midlands Middle English texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposed element</th>
<th>NP subjects</th>
<th>Pronoun subjects</th>
</tr>
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<td>Number uninv.</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>now</em></td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Any other adverb</td>
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## Table 3: V2 in the Northern Prose Rule of Saint Benet

<table>
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Scandinavian V2

(14)

```
CP
  \- TOPIC
  \- C'
    \- C
      \- tns-vb_i
      \- clitics/na
        \- IP
          \- subject_j
            \- I'
              \- VP
                \- ?t_i
                \- t_j
                \- V'
                \- V_i
                ...```

Rosae: lecture 1
(15) þe barnis þat ere yunge þat vnderstandis noht what the children that are young that understand not what paine fallis til cursing (Benet 23.101) punishment falls to cursing

(16) rennes fast do wilis ye haue liht þat þe mirkenes o ded run fast while ye have light so-that the murkiness of death our-take þe noht. (Benet 2.6) overtake thee not
Table 5: V2 in the Northern ms. (Thornton) of the Mirror of St. Edmund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposed element</th>
<th>NP subjects</th>
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<th></th>
<th>Pronoun subjects</th>
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Table 6: V2 in the southern ms. (Vernon) of the Mirror of St. Edmund

<table>
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<td>5</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decline of V2 in sentences with topicalized objects (Johnson & Whitton 2002)
Three-way competition model of V2 decline in sentences with topicalized objects
The rise and fall of auxiliary *do* in affirmative declarative sentences

![Graph showing the rise and fall of auxiliary *do* in affirmative declarative sentences from 1400 to 1650. The graph shows a significant increase in the use of *do* in affirmative questions and a decrease in affirmative declaratives over time.]
Three-way competition again

![Graph showing three curves labeled s=1.1, s=1.25, and s=1.2 representing a three-way competition scenario. The x-axis represents time or quantity, and the y-axis represents the proportion or intensity of each competitor. The curves intersect and overlap, indicating the dynamics of the competition over time.]