

V3 in true V2 contexts in Old English

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Although Old English (OE) has regular occurrences of V2 surface word order, its V2 syntax is substantially different from what is found in modern Germanic languages (cf. e.g. Ringe and Taylor 2014: 399-405 and the references cited there). In clauses with pronominal subjects in particular but also in clauses with full DP subjects, fronting of a constituent frequently leads to the absence of subject-verb inversion, and hence to V3 order. However, there are certain contexts, in which OE has a relatively rigid V2 syntax. When *wh*-elements or adverbs like *þa* and *þonne* ('then') are fronted, they generally give rise to subject-verb inversion and thus to V2 order regardless of the nature of the subject. Nevertheless, exceptions to V2 can also be found in this context. The most frequent one involves correlative constructions in which fronted *þa/þonne* is preceded by a related subordinate clause as shown in (1):

- (1) a. oððe [gif hwylc eow wiðstondeð], *þonne* **gefultumiað** we eow
or if anyone you opposes then help we you
'or if anyone opposes you, then we will help you.'
(cobede,Bede_1:1.28.14.208)
- b. [þa ða þæt mæden þas word gehyrde], *þa* **wearð** heo astyred:
When the girl those words heard then became she anxious
'When the girl heard those words, she became anxious.'
(cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_13:282.49.2390)
- c. & [þonne hie restað], *þonne* **restað** hie buton bedde & bolstre,
and when they rest, then rest they without bed and pillow
'and when they rest, they rest without a bed and a pillow.'
(coalex,Alex:39.6.505)

In this paper, we will examine the nature of such cases of V3 by providing a quantitative analysis of their occurrence and by comparing their properties with those found with (a) clauses in which the 'if'/when'-clause is not followed by *þa/þonne*, (b) clauses in which fronted *þa/þonne* is preceded by a constituent other than an 'if'/when' clause, and (c) clauses in which other types of subordinate clauses are in initial position. On the basis of this evidence, we will then explore the way clauses of the type of shown in (1) can be integrated into the structural analysis of OE.

Reference

Ringe, D. and A. Taylor. 2014. *The Development of Old English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.