OV-VO variation in Early Germanic and the notion of 'basic word order'
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1. Introduction
- Traditional assumption: Early Germanic languages such as Old High German (OHG) or Old English (OE) more or less faithfully reflect the basic OV-character of earlier stages such as Proto-Germanic or Proto-Indoeuropean (cf. e.g. Behaghel 1932).

- Word order variation (OV-VO): postverbal placement of various constituents, including elements such as (light) DPs/NPs, adverbs and predicative nouns/adjectives that cannot undergo extraposition in the present-day OV languages (the OHG examples are taken from Axel 2007: 80f.):[1]

(1) *þæt man þam   halgan were þæt ilce hors eft   **bringan sceolde***
    that one the-DAT holy   man that same horse again bring   should
    'that one had to bring the holy man the same horse again.'
    (GDC, 78.15; Haeberli 1999: 356)

(2) a. *þæt he **wolde geswutelian** swa his digelnyse eow*   [adv.+DO+pronoun]
       that he would reveal   so   his secrets   you
       'that he wanted to reveal his secrets to you in such a way.'
       (ÆLS (Thomas) 166; Haeberli 1999: 360)

    b. *þæt martinus **come** þa   into þære byrig*   [adv.+PP]
       that Martin **came** then into the   town
       'that Martin then came into the town.'
       (ÆLS 31.490-491; Pintzuk 1993: 17)

(3) *bihuuiu man in Judases   chunnes   fleische Christes bidendi   uuas*
    why   one in Judah-GEN tribe-GEN flesh   Christ   expecting was
    'why one was expecting Christ in the flesh of the tribe of Judah.'
    (I, 575)

(4) a. *dhazs ir chihoric **uuari** [gote]*   [indirect object]
       that   he obedient was   god-DAT
       'that he was obedient to God'
       (I, 491)

    b. (si fuerit oculus tuus simplex)
       *oba thin ouga **uuirdit** [luttar]*   [predicative adjective]
       if   your eye   becomes light
       'if your eye is good'
       (T 153,22)

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[1] For OE and Middle English (ME) cf. e.g. Bean (1983), Mitchell (1985), Pintzuk (1996, 1999), Kroch and Taylor (2000), Fischer et al. (2000), Fuß and Trips (2002), Biberauer and Roberts (2005), and Taylor and Pintzuk (2012a, 2012b, 2015). For variation between OV and VO patterns in various historical stages of German cf. Maurer (1926), Behaghel (1932), Borter (1982), Lenerz (1984), Dittmer and Dittmer (1998), Robinson (1997), Prell (2003), Schlachter (2004, 2009, 2012), Hinterhölzl (2004, 2009, 2014), Axel (2007), Petrova (2009), Schallert (2010), Petrova and Hinterhölzl (2010), and Sapp (2011a, 2011b, 2014).

- These similarities have inspired the idea that OE and OHG (and perhaps Early Germanic more generally) share a similar syntax (Lenerz 1984, Kiparsky 1995, Fuß & Trips 2002, Hinterhölzl 2004, Weiß 2006, Haider 2010, Petrova 2012, among many others)

Three basic modes of analysis:
1. Basic OV + (optional) rightward movement (extraposition, verb raising, verp projection raising, cf. e.g. van Kemenade 1987 on OE, Lenerz 1984, Axel 2007 on OHG);
2. The Double Base Hypothesis (competing values for the head parameter of VP and IP (+ rightward movement), cf. e.g. Pintzuk 1999);[2]
3. Basic VO (Kayne 1994) + leftward movement for licensing purposes (case, information structure, cf. e.g. Roberts 1997, Biberauer and Roberts 2005 on OE, Hroarsdóttir 2000 on Old Icelandic, Hinterhölzl 2004, 2009, 2010, 2015, Petrova and Hinterhölzl 2010).

- The latter approach has reveived support from the observation that the alternation between OV and VO orders served pragmatic functions (given vs. new information, in particular; Schlachter 2009, 2012, Petrova 2009, Petrova and Hinterhölzl 2010 on OHG):

(5)   Comp ... **background/given information** ... V **focus/new information**

- According to (5), OE and OHG are 'discourse-configurational' languages where word order primarily serves to code information-structural distinctions.
- However, note that this approach largely dispenses with the (theoretical) notion of a 'base order', where the unmarked surface order corresponds to a base-generated structure (or a structure derived by a set of operations that apply obligatorily in each clause).

This paper:
- Based on a set of diagnostic tests for OV and VO (base) order, it is argued that there are significant differences between OE and OHG, which suggest that we should not strive for a uniform analysis of the two languages.
- OHG: OV seems to be the unmarked case, which is compatible with a larger set of linguistic/pragmatic contexts.
- Outline of a theoretical analysis that captures the basic OV character of OHG, but provides enough leeway to account for additional word order patterns (background assumption: Information-structure does not drive syntax; rather, syntactic optionality is exploited to code information-structural distinctions).

2. OV-VO diagnostics

2.1 Elements that resist extraposition
- As is well-known, the Germanic OV languages do not permit extraposition of prosodically light elements such as pronouns, (verbal) particles, and monosyllabic adverbs, compare the examples in (6)–(8).[3]

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[2] See Fuß and Trips (2002) for a modified approach to word order variation in OE based on the assumption that the head parameter is confined to lexical projections (i.e., VP) while functional projections are uniformly head-initial (cf. Weiß 2006, Schlachter 2009 on OHG).

[3] Further morphosyntactic properties that have been linked to head-final order in the VP include the possibility of scrambling/'free' word order (cf. e.g. Saito and Fukui 1998), the use of case affixes to mark grammatical functions, a strong preference for suffixing inflections (Bybee et. al. 1990, Julien 2002), the licensing of wh-in-situ strategies (cf. Kayne 1994, Julien 2002), and the possibility of final complementizers (cf. e.g. Bayer 1999).

(6)   a.   *dass der Student sie im   Kino   **küsste***
              that the student her in-the cinema kissed
              'that the student kissed her in the cinema'
     b.   **dass der Student im Kino **küsste** sie*

(7)   a.   *dass der Student sie dort/dann/oft **küsste***
              that student her there/then/often kissed
              'that the student kissed her there/then/often'
     b.   **dass der Student sie **küsste** dort/dann/oft*

(8)   a.   *dass der Student auf**steht***
              that the student up-stood
              'that the student stood up'
     b.   **dass der Student **steht** auf*

- In contrast, these elements may (or must) occur in postverbal position in the Germanic VO languages, as shown by the English translations of (6)–(8).
- Based on this observation, we can construct the following diagnostic tests for a basic VO order (in embedded non-V2 clauses):

(9)   a.   The order [finite (lexical) verb – object pronoun/light adverb] is compatible with a clause-medial INFL position or a VO base order.
     b.   The order [non-finite verb – obj. pronoun/light adverb] signals a VO base order.

- <u>Verbal particles</u>: The Germanic OV languages exhibit only preverbal particles, while in the VO languages, verbal particles generally follow the lexical verb.[4]
- However, note that the possibility of particle-shift in VO-languages such as English (Bolinger 1971, Haider 1993, Svenonius 1996, Dehé 2002) complicates the picture:

(10) a.   *Peter tore off the cap.*
     b.   *Peter tore the cap off.*

- The shifted order (10b) can also be derived by assuming a head-final VP + movement of the finite verb to a clause-medial INFL-position:

These potential diagnostics will not be discussed here, either because they do not apply to Early Germanic (e.g., final complementizers), or because they can also occur with VO order and are therefore only of limited use as diagnostics for an OV base (scrambling, wh-in-situ, inflectional suffixes, case marking). Another potential diagnostic test that we will not discuss in detail concerns the position and linear ordering of event-related adverbs (Haider 1993, 2000, Hinterhölzl 2001, 2002). In VO languages such as English, (event-related) adverbs of time, place and manner typically follow the verb in a specific sequence, cf. (ia). In contrast, OV languages like German exhibit the reverse ordering in preverbal position:

(i)   a.   VO: V – Manner – Place – Time
     b.   OV: Time – Place – Manner – V
(ii)   a.   *that Peter worked* [*carefully*] [*in the office*] [*yesterday*]
     b.   *dass Peter* [*gestern*] [*im Büro*]   [*sorgfältig*] *gearbeitet hat*
            that Peter yesterday in-the office carefully   worked   has

[4]   However, note that English exhibits a residue of quite a number of verbs such as *offset, overcome, outrank, undergo,* etc. which exhibit a preverbal particle-like element that cannot be separated from the verbal part.

(11)   ... [$_{IP}$ *Peter tore*$_i$ [$_{VP}$ [*the cap*] *off* t$_i$]]

- However, since (rightward) particle shift is available only in VO languages (Haider 1993, 1997), shifted orders as in (7b) do not present a problem for the use of particle placement as a diagnostic test for basic word order (as long as particles generally follow the verb):[5]

(12)	a.	The order [non-finite verb – verbal particle] is indicative of basic VO order.
	b.	The order [verbal particle – non-finite verb] is indicative of basic OV order.
	c.	The order [non-finite verb – object – verbal particle] is compatible with both an OV and a VO analysis.
	d.	The availability of particle shift is indicative of basic VO order.

2.1.1 Old English

- Examples like those in (13) ((13a), in particular) have been used as evidence suggesting that a 'pure' VO-syntax, that is, a combination of a head-initial IP and a head-initial VP, was a structural option in OE (Pintzuk 1996, 1999):[6]

(13)   a.   *... he wolde* **adræfan** [*ut*] *anne æþeling*   [V-particle]
                  he would drive   out a   prince
            '... he would drive out a prince.'
            (ChronB (T) 82.18–19 (755); Pintzuk 1999: 116)

        b.   *... swa þæt hy* **asettan** [*him*] *upp on ænne sið*   [V-pronoun]
                    so   that they set   them up in one   journey
            '... so that they transported themselves inland in one journey'
            (ChronA 132.19 (1001); Pintzuk 1993: 17)

        c.   *þæt martinus* **come** [*þa*] *into þære byrig*   [V-adverb]
            that Martin   came then into the   town
            'that Martin then came into the town'
            (ÆLS 31.490–491; Pintzuk 1993: 17)

- According to Pintzuk (1999), OE examples which resemble particle-shift result from an OV base + verb movement to a clause-medial INFL-node (i.e., the position of the particle is taken to reflect the base position of the verb):[7]

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[5]   In many OV-varieties, we can observe that verbal particles can shift to the left of a higher (finite) verb in the verbal complex (sometimes called 'cluster creepers', Evers 2003), compare the following examples from Dutch (Neeleman and Weerman 1993: 435):
(i)   a.   *dat Jan het meisje wil* **op***bellen*
            that Jan the girl   want on-ring
            'that Jan wants to call the girl'
      b.   *dat Jan het meisje op wil bellen*
Similar phenomena can be observed in historical stages of German (cf. Behaghel 1932: 116–117) and present-day dialects (cf. Schallert and Schwalm 2015). Since this type of reordering within the verbal complex seems to be confined to (the Germanic) OV languages, it might be used as another diagnostic for a head-final VP.

[6]   Pintzuk's conclusion that pronouns, short adverbs and verbal particles do not undergo extraposition in OE is based on the observation that these elements do not show up in postverbal position in unambiguous OV orders (e.g. orders of the type XP-V-Aux), cf. Pintzuk (1996, 1999) for details.

[7]   Note, however, that the Germanic VO-languages do not exhibit a uniform behavior with regard to particle shift. In contrast to English, Swedish requires strict adjacency of verb and particle (cf. e.g. Haider 1997), while in Danish, the shifted order seems to be the only acceptable option (Herslund 1984):
(i)   a.   *att   han kastade bort mattan*
            that he   threw   out carpet-the

(14) *þæt* [IP *he **wearp**ᵢ* [VP [*þæt sweord*] ***onweg*** tᵢ]]
      so-that   he threw   that sword   away
      'so that the threw away the sword'
      (Bede 38.20; Pintzuk 1999: 57)

2.1.2 Old High German

- At first sight, it appears that examples with postverbal pronominal elements can also be found in early OHG texts:

(15) a.   (et scies quia dominus exercituum misit me ad te*)*
          *dhazs uuerodheoda druhtin **sendida** [mih] zi dir*
          that   the-armies' Lord   sent   me to you
          '... that the Lord of Hosts sent me to you'
          (I, 236)
    b.   (ut subiciam ante faciem eius gentes)
          *dhazs ih fora   sinemu anthlutte **hneige** [imu] dheodun*
          that   I before his   face   subdue him nations
          '... that I might subdue nations before Him'
          (I, 152)

- Note, however, that in (15), the postverbal position of the pronoun mimics the ordering found in the Latin source and thus does not constitute clear evidence in favor of the existence of a VO base order option in OHG.[8]
- Still, there are few cases where postverbal placement of a pronominal element (in most cases a reflexive pronoun) cannot be attributed to properties of the source text (cf. e.g. Dittmer and Dittmer 1998, Schallert 2010, among others):

(16)   (& qui se humiliat exaltabitur)
       *inti therthar   **giotmotigot** [sih] uuirdit arhában*
       and who-there humbles   REFL will-be   lifted up
       'and he who humbles hinself will be exalted'
       (T 403,19; Dittmer and Dittmer 1998: 148)

(17) a.   (si duo ex uobis consenserint super terram de omni re)
          *oba zuuene fon íu   **gizuftigont** [sih] obar erdu fon iogilicheru rachu*
          if   two   of   you.PL.DAT agree   REFL on   earth of all   things
          'if two of you on earth agree about anything'
          (T 331,1–3; Dittmer and Dittmer 1998: 161)

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    b.   **att han kastade mattan bort*
        'that he threw out the carpet'
  (ii) a.   **Boris skrev under kontrakten.*
         Boris wrote under contract-DET
    b.   *Boris skrev kontrakten under.*
        'Boris signed the contract.'

[8] Dittmer and Dittmer (1998: 172) count 72 cases where postverbal placement of object pronouns mimics the Latin word order in embedded clauses of the OHG *Tatian* translation.

b.   (ut diligatis Inuicem)
    thaz ir   ***minnot*** [*iuuuih*]   *untar zuuisgen*
    that you.PL.NOM love   you.PL.ACC under each other
    'that you love each other'
    (T 579,30; Dittmer and Dittmer 1998: 161)

- In (16), the postposed reflexive pronoun *sih* corresponds to a preverbal element in the Latin source; in (17), the Latin text does not contain elements corresponding to the pronouns occurring in postverbal position in the OHG translation.

- However, postverbal placement of pronominal elements is very rare in OHG, and it seems to be confined to the earliest translations.[9]

- In general, there seems to be a strong tendency for pronouns to occupy a position at the beginning of the middle field, very similar to Modern German (cf. Petrova 2009, Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2010, Schlachter 2012). The conclusion (Schallert 2010, Haider 2010, 2014) that examples similar to (16) and (17) suggest that OHG was characterized by a mixed OV/VO grammar (similar to OE) does not seem to be warranted.[10]

- Verbal particles: As pointed out by Axel (2007: 109), "in contrast to Old English, in OHG there are hardly any cases with post-verbal particles attested in subordinate clauses with particle verbs".

- Light adverbs such as *thô, dhar,* or *nû*: A relevant search conducted in the *Isidor* and *Tatian* (using the Titus and Kali online corpora, http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de, http://www.kali.uni-hannover.de) did not produce a single example where light adverbs follow a non-finite verb, or a finite verb in an embedded clause.[11]

- Conclusion/placement of light elements: Significant differences between OE and OHG.[12]

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[9] Dittmer and Dittmer (1998: 172) mention only 3 cases lacking a Latin model where an object pronoun occupies a postverbal position in an embedded clause in the OHG *Tatian* translation; in contrast, they list 260 embedded clauses where an object pronoun is inserted in or transferred to a preverbal position; see also Petrova (2009).

[10] Schlachter (2012: 78f.) shows that postverbal placement of object pronouns is very rare in the OHG *Isidor* and confined to Biblical portions of the text, which suggests that the possibility of relevant orders can be attributed to the special syntactic properties of Biblical quotations ("Zitatsyntax").

[11] In Notker's OHG translations, we can find at least some examples that exhibit postverbal placement of particles characteristic of VO languages, compare the following minimal pair (Schallert 2010: 381):
(i) a.   *taz er beiz imo selbemo **aba** dia zungûn*
           that he bit him self   off the tongue
           'that he bit off his tongue'
           (NB 91,3)
      b.   *ter imo selbemo dia zungûn **aba** / beiz*
           who him self   the tongue off   bit
           the one who bit off his tongue'
           (NB 16,12)
However, note that rare examples where an object (or other material) intervenes between the finite verb and a verbal particle might also be analysed as resulting from leftward movement of the finite verb (plus extraposition of the direct object in cases like (ia).

[12] Based on the same line of reasoning, Sapp (2014) concludes from the virtual absence of light elements (both short adverbs and pronouns) in post-verbal position that the MHG and ENHG VP was systematically head-final and that there is therefore no evidence for a parametric change from VO (or, mixed VO/OV) to OV after the OHG period (i.e., since about 1150).

2.2 Order in the verbal complex

- <u>Germanic</u>: In VO-languages, Aux precedes non-finite V without exception; only in OV-languages Aux may follow non-finite V.[13]

- However, alternative serializations of selecting and selected verb are possible in most OV languages.[14]

- In the generative tradition, these are analyzed in terms of rightward movement of non-finite verbs/verbal projections (verb raising (VR) and verb projection raising (VPR), cf. Evers 1975 and much subsequent work):

(18) a.   dass er [$_{VP}$ de Muetter es Buech t$_i$ wett   schänke$_i$]
            that he   the mother a book   wants to-give
      b.   dass er [$_{VP1}$ t$_{VP2}$ wett [$_{VP2}$ de Muetter es Buech schänke$_i$]
            that he   wants   the mother a book to-give
            (Zurich German, Salzmann 2011: 454)

- Across Germanic, reordering in the verbal complex is confined to the class of OV-languages (Haider 1993, Vikner 2001; however see Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000 and Hinterhölzl 2006 for analyses that derive verbal complexes in Germanic from a VO base).

- Thus, alternative serialization patterns in the verbal complex do not compromise the use of the latter as a diagnostic for basic word order, at least as long as we also find corresponding 'unraised' orders with the finite verb in final position, which can be taken to represent the head-final source of the VR variant.

- <u>VPR orders as a diagnostic for a head-initial IP</u>: In the present-day varieties that allow VPR, it is subject to a restriction that bans certain prosodically light elements (weak pronouns, in particular) from occurring inside the verbal complex:[15]

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[13] Further support for the assumption that a final placement of finite auxiliaries signals an OV base comes from both diachronic and typological facts suggesting that a VO base requires a clause-medial position for finite auxiliaries (i.e., a clause-medial INFL/T-node): First, it has been observed that the order VO-Aux (i.e., a combination of a head-initial VP embedded under a head-final IP/TP) is cross-linguistically very rare, if not completely absent (the so-called Final-over-Final-Constraint (FOFC), cf. e.g. Biberauer, Holmberg and Roberts 2014). This observation is linked to a generalization concerning possible pathways of word order change, namely the claim that the development of a clause-medial INFL/T-position is a necessary precondition for a change from basic OV to basic VO order (cf. Kiparsky 1996, Pintzuk 1999; see Biberauer, Newton and Sheehan 2009 for an attempt to derive this generalization from the Final-over-Final-Constraint FOFC). Thus, it seems that a head-final VP is compatible with both a final and a medial position for auxiliaries, while a head-initital VP requires the auxiliary to occur in clause-medial position (i.e., to the left of the non-finite verb).

[14] For German, cf. e.g. Maurer (1926), Behaghel (1932), Bech (1955), Ebert (1981), Robinson (1997), Schmid and Vogel (2004), Schmid (2005), Axel (2007), Kolmer (2011), and Sapp (2011a,b). The application of VR/VPR is dependent on a number of factors, including tense, type of selecting verb, and number of elements in the verbal complex. For example, in varieties like Zurich German, the auxiliary follows the participle in the perfect tense, while finite modals (in the present tense) precede the dependent infinitive (Lötscher 1978: 3f.):
(i) a.   *wil mer em   Hans es velo   geschänkt* **händ**
            since we the-DAT Hans the bicycle given   have
            'since we gave Hans the bicycle as a present'
     b.   *wil mer em   Hans es velo   **wänd** schänke*   [VR]
            since we the-DAT Hans   the bicycle want give
            'since we want to give Hans the bicycle as a present'

[15] However, it has been pointed out that even in Standard German other relatively light elements such as pronominal adverbs (e.g. *darauf* 'there-on') may occur in VPR orders, cf. e.g. Kefer and Lejeune (1974) for relevant examples.

(19) a. *dass er __ will* [VP *em   Peter es Gschänk gää*]   [VPR]
          that he   wants   the-DAT Peter the present   give
          'that he wants to give Peter the present'

    b. **dass er __ will* [VP *em es   Gschänk gää*]
          that he   wants   him the present   give
          'that he wants to give him the present'
          (Zurich German, Cécile Meier, p.c.)

- Accordingly, Pintzuk (1999) analyses OE cases of apparent VPR that involve pronominal objects in terms of a head-final VP in combination with leftward movement of the finite verb to a clause-medial INFL/T head:

(20) *þæt* [IP *he wolde*$_i$ [VP *hine læran* t_i]]
      that she would him teach
      'that she would teach him'
      (ÆLS 25.173; Pintzuk 1999: 73)

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(21) a. V−V$_{fin}$ is indicative of basic OV.
    b. V$_{fin}$−V is found in both OV and VO languages. However, only OV languages exhibit an alternation between V−V$_{fin}$ and V$_{fin}$−V (i.e., VR).
    c. VPR is indicative of basic OV (but possibly a first step towards VO, cf. Kiparsky 1996, Pintzuk 1999, Kaufmann 2007, Biberauer, Newton and Sheehan 2009).
    d. VPR patterns that involve object pronouns suggest the presence of a clause-medial INFL/T head (cf. Pintzuk 1999).

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2.1.2 Old English

- <u>VR</u>: Alternation between V-Aux and Aux-V orders in the verbal complex seems to suggest a basic OV character (cf. Haeberli and Pintzuk 2012):

(22) a. *þæt þu   feohtan mæge*   (coaelive,+ALS_[Edmund]: 67.7003)
          that you fight   can
          'that you can fight'
    b. *þæt heo mæge spræcan*   (coaelive,+ALS_[Sebastian]: 94.1268)
          that she can   speak
          'that she can speak'
    c. *þæt ic mihte God forbeodan*   (coaelive,+ALS_[Peter's_Chair]: 186.2398)
          that I   could God forbid
          'that I could forbid God'
          (Haeberli and Pintzuk 2012: 220)

- However, patterns like (22) suggest that a combination of a head-initial IP with a head-final VP was already an option in OE (Pintzuk 1999).

- Under the hypothesis that the order V-Aux signals a basic OV character, material that follows the finite verb must be assumed to have undergone extraposition from an underlyingly preverbal position (cf. e.g. Pintzuk 1999 on OE, Axel 2007 on OHG, Sapp 2014 on MHG and ENHG; but see e.g. Biberauer and Roberts 2005, Hinterhölzl 2009 for alternative analyses of relevant orders):

(23) *þæt he **friðian** **wolde** [þa leasan wudewan]*
　　　that he make-peace-with would　the false　widow
　　　'that he would make peace with the false widow'
　　　(coaelive,+ALS_[Eugenia]:209.315)
　　　(Taylor & Pintzuk 2015: 319)

2.2.2 Old High German

- Examples like (24) which display a verbal complex with the finite verb in absolutely final position are often taken to manifest the predominant OV-character of early OHG:

(24) *...bihuuiu man in Judases　chunnes　fleische Christes bidendi　uuas*
　　　 why　　one　in Judah-GEN tribe-GEN flesh　　Christ　expecting was
　　　'... why one was expecting Christ in the flesh of the tribe of Judah.'
　　　(I, 575)

- Robinson (1997) and Schlachter (2012) show that VR patterns are frequently found in the *Isidor* translation (often against the order in the Latin source; see also Petrova 2009 on the OHG *Tatian* translation).[16]

(25) a.　(quod enim homo factus est)
　　　　　*dhazs ir man **uuardh uuordan** [...]*
　　　　　that　he man was　　become
　　　　　'that he became a man'
　　　　　(I, 393; Robinson 1997:67)

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[16] Further ordering possibilities can be observed in clusters consisting of two non-finite verbs and a finite auxiliary. According to Robinson (1997: 69), in three-verb clusters the subordinate non-finite verb must always precede the matrix non-finite verb, while the auxiliary can occupy any position in the verbal complex (the latter is marked by boldface in the following examples), see also Bolli (1975), Näf (1979), and Sapp (2011b) (cf. e.g. Schmid and Vogel 2004, Schmid 2005 for the situation in present-day varieties of German):

(i)　*V3–V2–V1*
　　fona huueliihhemu ædhile　christ [chiboran uuerdhan **scoldi**]
　　from whilch　　　nobility Christ born　　be　　　should
　　'from which noble lineage Christ was to be born'
　　(*Isidor*, 606; Robinson 1997: 89)

(ii)　*V1–V3–V2*
　　dher dhar [**scoldii** chiboran uuerdan]
　　who there should　born　　be
　　'who was supposed to be born there'
　　(*Isidor*, 421; Robinson 1997: 96)

(iii)　*V3–V1–V2*
　　dhazs ir in sines edhiles　fleische [quhoman **scolda** uuerdan]
　　that　he in his　nobility's flesh　　come　　should be
　　'that He would come in the flesh of his noble line'
　　(*Isidor*, 559; Robinson 1997: 72)

b. (Probauimus dominum nostrum iesum christum secundum carnem iam natum fuisse)
Chiuuisso chioffanodum uuir nu hear [*dhazs unser druhtin*
certainly prove we now here that our Lord
nerrendeo christ after dheru fleiscliihhun chiburdi iu **uuardh chiboran**]
the-saviour Christ after the fleshly birth already was born
'Certainly, we proved here now that our Lord, the saviour Jesus Christ was born through fleshly birth.'
(I 5,9)

- VPR patterns, where a non-verbal constituent intervenes between the elements of the verbal complex, are also attested in (early) OHG:[17]

(26) (Dum enim audis deum unctum, intellege christum.)
dhazs dhar **ist** [*Christ*] *chizeichnit*
that there is Christ described
'that Christ is described there'
(I, 146; Robinson 1997: 73)

- In addition to nominal arguments, the position between the two verbal elements can be occupied by (relatively light) elements such as quantifiers, demonstratives and adverbs:

(27) ([...] quando a patre per illum cuncta creata esse noscuntur)
dhazs fona dhemu almahtigin fater dhurah inan **ist** [*al*] **uuordan**,
that from the-DAT almighty father through him is all become
dhazs chiscaffanes ist
that created is
'that everything that was created came to be from the Almighty Father through him'
(I, 99; Robinson 1997: 65)

(28) (Numquid de illo salomone creditur prophetatum? minime)
Neo nist zi chilaubanne dhazs fona dhemu salomone **sii** [*dhiz*] **chiforabodot**
never NEG-is to believe that of the Salomon is this prophesied
'It can never be believed that this was prophesied by Salomon.'
(I, 638; Axel 2007: 120)

(29) (sanctus sanctorum dominus iesus christus olim uenisse cognoscitur)
dhazs dher allero heilegono heilego druhtin nerrendeo christ
that the most of-the-Holy holy Lord saviour Christ
iu **ist** [*langhe*] **quhoman**
already is long come
'that the holiest of the holy, Christ the Lord has already come'
(I, 454)

---

[17] According to Robinson (1997), the presence of a non-verbal element inside the verbal complex always implies verb raising, that is, the order V-XP-Aux is not attested in the OHG *Isidor* (similar restrictions for VPR can be observed in the modern Germanic languages; see also fn. **Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.**, and Sapp 2011b). Note that this is reminiscent of the absence of the order V-O-Aux (i.e., the FOFC).

- Demonstratives, quantifiers, and adverbs can also occur inside the verbal complex in varieties like Zurich German (Cécile Meier, p.c.).

- Crucially, however, there does not seem to be any cases of VPR with object pronouns in OHG, unlike OE (cf. e.g. Schlachter 2012 on the OHG *Isidor*). Thus, despite the fact that the relevant elements in (27)–(29) are relatively light, the above examples do not support the assumption of a clause-medial INFL/T-position in OHG.[18]

2.3 Basic order = unmarked order?

- In traditional typological studies, the basic word order of a language is often identified with the 'dominant', that is, most frequent serialization pattern in a given corpus of utterances (cf. e.g. Greenberg 1963; see Dryer 2007 for critical discussion).

- <u>Problem</u>: In the early Germanic languages, the inspection of surface orders does not produce clear results:

	V-final	V-medial	Total
dhazs-clauses	28 (48.3%)	30 (51.7%)	58
other types of embedded clauses	82 (71.3%)	33 (28.7%)	115
aggregate results	100 (57.8%)	73 (42.2%)	173

Table 1: Verb placement in embedded clauses of the OHG *Isidor* (Schlachter 2012: 71f.)[19]

	V-final	V-medial	Total
clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction	190 (52.2%)	174 (47.8%)	364
relative clauses	129 (65.8%)	67 (34.2%)	196
aggregate results	319 (57%)	241 (43%)	560

Table 2: Verb placement in embedded clauses of the OHG *Tatian* (Petrova 2009: 253)[20]

- It appears that both OV and VO is robustly attested in embeddedd clauses; moreover, word order choice seems to be influenced by factors such as clause type and date of composition (as is well-known, late OE texts show a greater deal of V-/INFL-medial orders, cf. Pintzuk 1999, while the reverse seems to hold for late OHG texts, cf. e.g. Borter 1982 on Notker).

- It is fairly clear that the inspection of surface orders alone is not sufficient to calculate the relative share of structural options and/or the 'unmarked' order of constituents.

- More meaningful results can be obtained if the above-mentioned diagnostic tests are applied to the data.

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[18] But see Schlachter (2012: 85ff.) for a different conclusion.

[19] The numbers given in Schlachter (2012) include cases where the word order of the OHG translation is identical to the Latin source. In contrast to other studies such as e.g. Petrova (2009), the examples labeled as 'V-medial' by Schlachter include only cases where a non-verbal element follows the finite verb or the verbal complex (i.e., Aux-V complexes in absolute clause-final position are counted as instances of V-final order). Furthermore, in addition to the differences between *dhazs*-clauses and other embedded clauses, the syntax of Biblical portions of the text (i.e., quotations) differs from argumentative parts of the treatise (see also Robinson 1997): (i) *dhazs*-clauses occurring in Biblical quotations exhibit a larger share of V-XP orders (8/10 vs. 22/48); (ii) in other clause types, V-XP order is less frequent in quotations than in other embedded clauses (3/23 vs. 30/92).

[20] Note that Petrova (2009) counts cases where a single non-finite verb follows a finite verb (i.e., Aux-V in absolute final position) as instances of V-medial order, which increases the share of V-medial orders in Table 2.

- We have to distinguish between:
    i.   orders that can be analyzed in terms of a 'pure' OV grammar;
    ii. structurally ambiguous orders; for example, Aux-V orders are in principle compatible with (i) an analysis in terms of a 'pure' OV grammar (+VR), (ii) an analysis in terms of a clause-medial position for the finite verb and a head-final VP, and (iii) an analysis in terms of a pure 'VO' grammar;
    iii. orders that can be analyzed in terms of a 'pure' VO grammar.
- Pintzuk (1999) on OE: Based on a similar set of diagnostics as mentioned above, Pintzuk gives the following numbers for INFL-medial/INFL-final order in embedded clauses:

	INFL-final	INFL-medial	Total
[+wh] clauses	236 (70.9%)	97 (29.1%)	333
sentential complements	107 (37.4%)	179 (62.6%)	286
all other subordinate clauses	292 (50.5%)	286 (49.5%)	578

Table 3: Verb placement in embedded clauses of OE (Pintzuk 1999: 228)[21]

- Weiß and Petrova (to appear): OV seems to qualify as the unmarked order in OHG (database: 247 *that*-clauses from so-called 'minor' OHG documents, Köbler 1986).[22]

1. C...XP...V_{fin}/V Aux (finite verb in absolute final position)	149 (60.3%)
2. C...XP...V_{fin}/V Aux XP (extraposition)	34 (13.4%)
3. C...Aux V (VR)	22 (8.9%)
4. C...Aux XP V (VPR)	10 (4.1%)
5. C O S V_{fin} (ambiguous: V-medial/V-final + scrambling)	8 (3.2%)
6. C S V_{fin} O (extraposition?)	18 (7.3%)
7. C V_{fin} XP	3 (1.2%)
8. C Aux V XP	3 (1.2%)

Table 4: Verb placement in *that*-clauses (Weiß & Petrova, to appear)

- Observations:
    i.   absolute V-final order in over 60% of all cases
    ii. other orders that can be (more or less) readily analyzed in terms of a basic OV grammar (+rightward (extraposition, VR, VPR) or scrambling): c. 30%[23]
    iii. orders that suggest a V/INFL-medial position are pretty rare (around 10%).

- Note in particular the contrast between OE and OHG w.r.t. the frequency of INFL-medial orders/structures.

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[21] Pintzuk's (1999) database includes only examples with complex verb forms that involve one or more non-finite verbs. Due to the absence of VO-Aux orders, "INFL-final" implies a consistent OV structure (for both IP and VP), while a medial position of INFL is compatible with both a head-initial and a head-final VP structure.

[22] Cf. Sapp (2014) for related conclusions concerning MHG and ENHG.

[23] But note that case 2. comprises all kinds of extraposed material (including e.g. nominal elements, which cannot undergo extraposition in present-day German).

2.3.1 OV-VO variation and information structure in OHG: OV as the unmarked case?

- Definition of 'unmarked order' in information-structural terms:

(30) The word order option that is compatible with the largest set of different linguistic/information-structural contexts (cf. e.g. Lenerz 1977).

- In what follows, I will argue that against the background of (30), OV qualifies as the unmarked (and thus arguably basic) word order option in OHG.

- <u>Recall</u>: According to recent findings (building on earlier work by e.g. Otto Behaghel), word order in the middle field/right periphery of Early Germanic is governed by (i) phonological weight and (ii) information-structural status of constituents (cf. e.g. Hinterhölzl 2009, Petrova 2009, Schlachter 2012 on OHG, Pintzuk and Taylor 2006, Taylor and Pintzuk 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2015 on OE and EME):[24]

(31) a.   light and/or discourse-given material (preferably) occupies a preverbal position

  b.   heavy and/or discourse-new material (preferably) occupies a postverbal position

- Petrova (2009) and Hinterhölzl (2009) argue for a more refined model of OHG:

(32) Comp **background** ... **contrastive focus** V_{fin} **new information focus**

- <u>Observations suggesting that there is a contrast between preverbal and postverbal position</u>:
  i.   Anaphoric material (DPs, pronouns) that occupies a postverbal position in the Latin source is often shifted to preverbal position in the OHG translation; "the reverse transposition does not occur" (Petrova 2009: 265)
  ii.   There are cases where the preverbal position hosts discourse-new material (≠constrastive focus). A search conducted in the IS-annotated OHG corpus provided by the SFB 632 at the Humboldt University has produced a number of examples where the new information focus (or parts of it) is placed in preverbal/prefinite position (20 relevant examples, focusing on *dhaz*-clauses and relative clauses):

(33) a.   (quod uisionem uidiss& In templo)
        *thaz   er <u>gisiht</u> **gisah** in templo*
        that he vision saw   in temple
        'that he saw a vision in the temple'
        (T 27, 25 Alpha Lc 1)
  b.   (a terra reducere pussilum)
        *thaz   her íz <u>fon   erdu</u> / **arleitti**   ein luzzil*
        that he it from land push/move a little
        'that he push it [the boat] from the land/shore a little bit'
        (T 55, 10-11 Beta Lc 5)
  c.   ut uel / fimbriam uestimenti eius tangerent)
        *thaz   sie thoh / <u>tradon sines giuuates</u> **ruortin***
        'that they PRT   fringe of-his garment touch
        'that they only touch the fringe of his garment'
        (T 120, 23-24 Beta Mt 14)

---

[24] Pintzuk and Taylor (2006) (and in subsequent work) argue that weight and information-structure are independent factors in OE. See Petrova (2009, 2012) and in particular Hinterhölzl (2015) for discussion.

    d.   (matheum nomine)
*ther <u>matheus</u> **uuas giheizan***
who Matthew was named
'who was named Matthew'
(T 56, 15 Beta Lc 5)

- Similar examples can be found in the OHG *Isidor* (cf. Schlachter 2012: 99f.).

- Other early OHG texts such as the *Muspili* already show an even more consistent OV syntax; material representing new information focus regularly occurs in preverbal position:

(34) a.   *daz der man haret ze gote enti imo **hilfa** niquimit*
daz der man haret ze gote enti imo hilfa niquimit
that the man hopes to God and him help not-comes
'that the man hopes for god and help is not coming to him'
(*Muspili*, Cod. Monac. lat. 14098, p. 120a, v27)

        b.   *daz Elias in demo uuige aruuartit uuerde so daz Eliases pluot **in erda** kitriufit*
that E.   in the   battle wounded will-be so that E.'s   blood in earth drips
'that Elias will be wounded in that battle so that Eliases's blood drips down to the soil'
(*Muspili*, Cod. Monac. lat. 14098, p. 120a, v49 & Cod. Monac. lat. 14098, pp. 121a, v50)

    iii.   The position directly to the left of the (finite) verb may also be occupied by material representing given information; of course, this is regularly the case when there's only single argument present (passives or intransitives), but there are also examples involving more material:

(35) a.   (ut circumcider&ur pue)
*thaz <u>thaz kind</u> **bisnitan**   uuvrdi*
that the child cicumsized was
'that the child was cicumsized'
(T 37, 7 Alpha Lc 2)

        b.   (dominum deum tuum adorabis)
*thaz thû <u>truhtin got thinan</u> **b&os***
that you Lord God your worship
'that you worship the Lord your God'
(T 50, 24 Alpha Mt 4)

- Conclusions:
  i.   In the earliest OHG records, V-XP order is linked to new information focus, while XP-V order is in principle compatible with both discourse-new and discourse-given material (given material typically precedes contrastive foci if both are present);
  ii.   Thus, XP-V order qualifies as the (information-structurally) unmarked order, while V-XP order is a marked option (note that this is also in line with the other findings reached so far). [25,26]

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[25] Recently, Sapp (2014) has used quantitative evidence to argue convincingly that extraposition in MHG and ENHG does not differ qualitatively from the corresponding construction in Modern German, thereby challenging the view that basic SVO order was an option in MHG (*pace* Prell 2003 and Haider 2010). Based on an investigation of over 2.300 embedded clauses selected from the Bochumer Mittelhochdeutsch Korpus and the

2.4 The significance of translations: Deviations from the source text

- Background assumption: Systematic deviations from the source text reveal core properties of the target language (for OHG cf. Fleischer 2006).

- Example: Dittmer and Dittmer (1998) on the OHG *Tatian* translation (more recent work on OHG that also highlights the significance of translations include Axel 2007, Fleischer, Hinterhölzl and Solf 2008, Schlachter 2009, 2012, Petrova 2009, Petrova and Solf 2009, Petrova et al. 2009).

- Dittmer and Dittmer (1998: 138ff.) on word order in embedded clauses: Strong tendency to move material that appears post-verbally in the Latin source into preverbal position in the OHG translation: Dittmer and Dittmer (p. 172) find 375 relevant cases in embedded clauses, cf. e.g. the examples in (36)–(37):

(36) *DP Object*
    (qui **hab&** [sponsam] sponsus est)
    ther   [*brut*] **hab&** *ther*   *ist brutigomo*
    the-one bride has   the-one is bridegroom
    'He who has the bride is the bridegroom'
    (T 129,11)

(37) *PP*
    (qui **est** [ex deo] uerba dei audit)
    ther   [*fon gote*] **ist** *ther*   *horit gotes*   *uuort*
    the-one from God is the-one hears God-GEN word
    'Whoever belongs to God hears God's word.'
    (T 449,1)

- In contrast, D&D mention only 12 instances where a constituent appears postverbally against the Latin original (plus 4 cases where an object that lacks a corresponding Latin form is inserted in postverbal position).

- As expected, there is a strong tendency to avoid postverbal placement of object pronouns in embedded clauses (211 cases where a postverbal Latin object pronoun is rendered by a preverbal object pronoun in the Tatian; in addition, there are 49 instances where an object pronoun that lacks a Latin model is inserted into the middle field). These include examples where additional material remains in postverbal position:

Bonn ENHG corpus, Sapp (2014: 154) concludes that Modern German extraposition "aside from decreased frequency, is largely similar to the medieval construction", affecting the same set of elements (apart from clausal constituents, mostly PPs and heavy or focused NPs are placed in the post-field).

[26] However, note that these findings do not necessarily force us to assume that OV represents the base-generated order from which marked alternatives are derived via additional operations such as extrapositon/rightward movement. The empirical facts seem to be equally compatible with an analysis where 'basic' OV orders result from a set of operations that apply in the unmarked case (e.g. raising a vP containing the object to SpecTP, cf. Biberauer and Roberts 2005 on OE), while VO orders require some additional machinery linked to the realization of information-structural distinctions (e.g., moving the object to a focus position prior to vP raising, or lack of vP raising/pied-piping, cf. e.g. Biberauer and Roberts 2005, Hinterhölzl 2009, 2015, Petrova and Hinterhölzl 2010).

(38) a.   (quem ego **mittam** [uobis] a patre)
            *then   ih [íu]   **senti** fon themo   fater*
            who-ACC I you.PL.DAT send from the-DAT father
            'whom I shall send to you from the Father'
            (T 583,5)

      b.   (sicut **praecepit** [ei] angelus domini)
            *só [imo] **gibôt**   thruhtines engil*
            as him commanded Lord-GEN angel
            'as the angel of the Lord commanded him'
            (T 85,2)

- Table 5 gives an overview of the differences and similarities between the *Tatian* and its Latin source observed by Dittmer and Dittmer (1998) for embedded clauses (compare their table on page 172):

	preverbal position (≠ Latin)		preverbal positon (= Latin)	postverbal position (≠ Latin)		postverbal position (= Latin)
	newly inserted	moved		newly inserted	moved	
subj. pron.	931	24	112	–	–	–
subj. NP	2	66	250	–	2	91
obj. pron.	49	211	109	2	1	72
obj. NP	6	26	165	2	4	223
adverb	11	12	88	–	1	20
P+pron.	–	27	53	–	–	73
P+XP	–	9	138	–	4	184
Total	999	375	915	4	12	663

Table 5: Position of major constituents in embedded clauses of the *Tatian*: OHG vs. Latin (Dittmer and Dittmer 1998: 172)

- Differences between the word order of the OHG translation and its Latin source typically lead to OV patterns very similar to the present-day Germanic OV languages. The insertion of material that lacks corresponding Latin forms by and large follows the same pattern.

- This conclusion is corroborated by cases where light elements that occupy a position in the verbal complex in the Latin original are transferred to a position to the left of the verbal complex in the OHG translation:

(39)   (quia **possum** [hoc] **facere** uobis)
       *thaz ih íu   [thaz] **tuon mugi***
       that I you.PL.DAT that do   can
       (T 209,13)

- Example (39) features a number of differences between Latin and OHG, all comforming to a basic OV order: In addition to *thaz* moving from an interverbal to a preverbal position, the dative pronoun *iu* has been transferred from postverbal to preverbal position, and a subject pronoun has been inserted. Moreover, note that the order of elements in the verbal complex has undergone a change from V1-V2 to V2-V1.

- Still there are cases (all in all 16 in D&D's database) where a VO order found in the OHG translation cannot be attributed to Latin influence.

- While examples such as (40) might be amenable to an analysis in terms of PP extraposition (on a par with Modern German), postverbal placement of (light) DPs/NPs as in (41) seems to present a problem.[27]

(40) *PP*
    a.   (qui [in caelis] **es)**
        *thu thar **bist*** [*in himile*]
        you there are in heaven
        'who is in heaven'
        (T 151,4)
    b.   (ut ihesum [dolo] **tenerent)**
        *thaz sie then   heilant **fiengin*** [*mit feihan*]
        that they the-ACC saviour caught with guile
        'that they caught the Saviour by trickery'
        (T 413,32)

(41) *DP Object*
    a.   (qui [demonia] **habebant)**
        *thie   thar **hab&un*** [*diuual*]
        who.PL there have-PL devil
        'those who were possessed by the devil'
        (T 133,1)
    b.   (qui [deum] non **timebat)**
        *ther **niforhta***   [*got*]
        who NEG-fears God
        'who did not fear God'
        (T 413,32)

2.5 Interim summary

- Much of the evidence available points toward the conclusion that OHG was basically an SOV language (or, at least clearly more 'OVish' than e.g. OE).[28]

- There remains a (small) set of data that seems to suggest that OHG cannot be analyzed on a par with the Modern Germanic OV languages (examples involving postverbal placement of light DPs/NPs and predicative nouns/adjectives, in particular).

- It is unclear whether the attested VO patterns represent merely the residue of an earlier historical stage with a genuine mixed OV-VO character (cf. e.g. Schallert 2010) or should be attributed to the workings of productive syntactic operations that could be put to use to achieve certain communicative/pragmatic effects, but have decreased considerably in subsequent stages of German (cf. Lenerz 1984, Hinterhölzl 2004, and more recently Sapp 2014).

---

[27] It is perhaps true that we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that VO patterns that correspond to the word order of the Latin source (cf. e.g. the rightmost column in Table 5) represented a native option in OHG. But since it is always possible that the translation simply mimics properties of the Latin source in these cases, most researchers agree that relevant 1-to-1 correspondences should not be used to draw firm conclusions about the grammar of OHG.
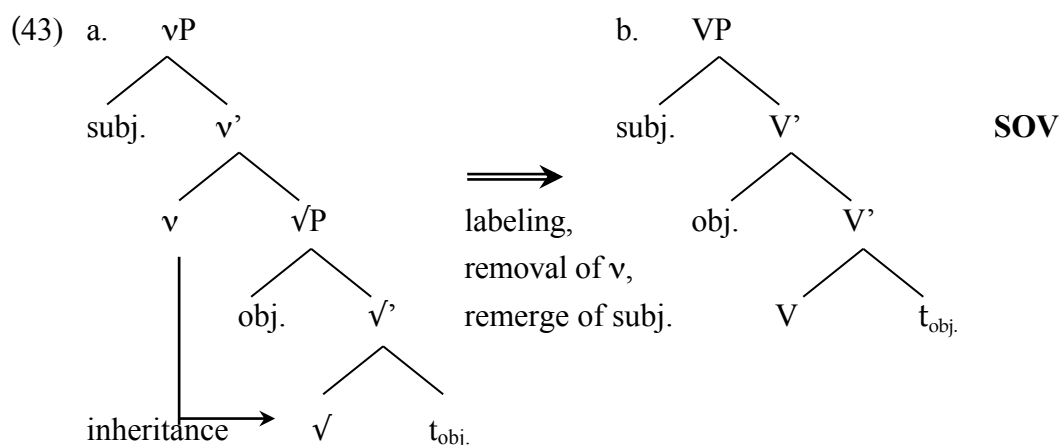
[28] Note that this also seems to be the most parismonius approach if a broader diachronic/typological perspective is adopted (otherwise one would have to assume a change from OV to mixed OV/VO and back to OV in the history of German).
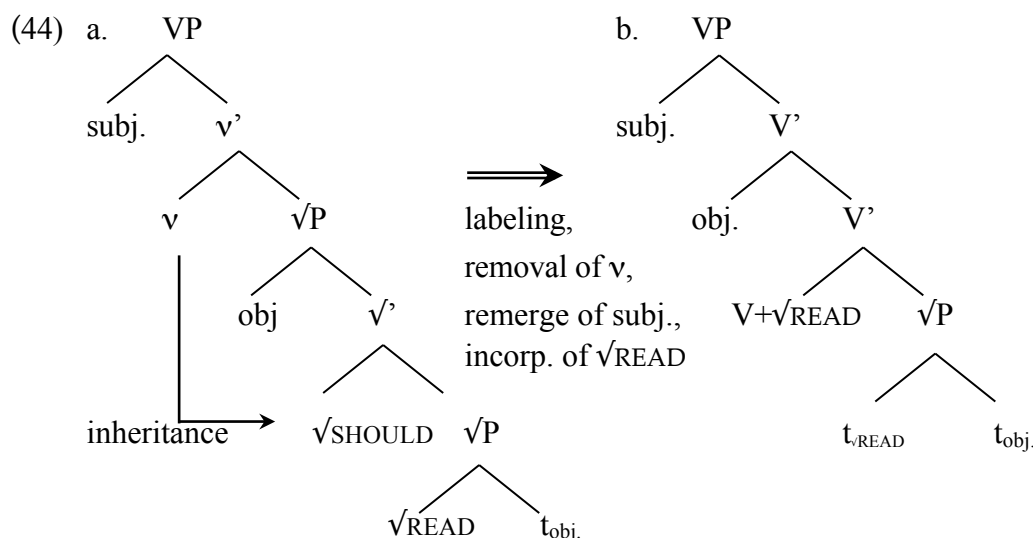
3. Toward an analysis

- An adequate analysis should capture the basic OV character of OHG, but should also provide enough leeway to account for the differences between OHG and present-day German, in particular concerning 'extraposition' of DPs/NPs and predicative elements.

- Moreover, the analysis should capture the intuition that surface VO orders are 'marked' orders in the sense that they are linked to special information-structural and/or prosodic properties of material appearing postverbally (new information focus, phonological weight).

- Chomsky (2013, 2014): V (more precisely, a category-neutral root √) inherits formal features from the (category-defining) phase head v (case, agreement, EPP), similar to the T-C relationship.

- Case position of the (direct) object: Spec-V

- In VO languages such as English, V/√ moves to v (for categorisation/labeling purposes), to the left of the case position of the object:

(42)

```
        vP
       /  \
   subj.   v'
          /  \
      v +√    √P
             /  \
          obj.   v'
                /  \
               √    t_obj.
```

SVO
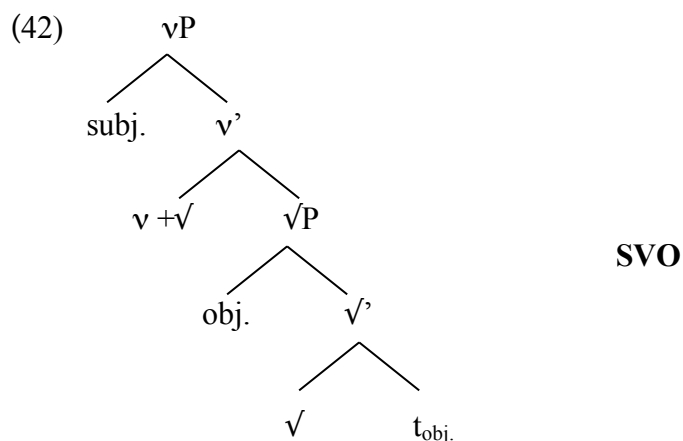
- <u>OV – basic idea (Haider 2000, Fuß 2008)</u>: Only VO-languages require movement of V/√ to v; in OV-languages, V/√ stays in-situ (the 'root raising parameter').

- <u>Technical implementation</u>: V/√ is labeled/categorized via Agree/Inheritance: After v's feature is inherited by V/√, v is invisible and gets removed/deleted; V/√ assumes phase head status, cf. Chomsky 2014; moreover, after removal of v, the external argument is remerged as the outer Spec-V/√ (cf. Müller 2016 on structure removal and remerge):

(43) a.

```
        vP
       /  \
   subj.   v'
          /  \
         v    √P
         |   /  \
         | obj.  v'
         |      /  \
   inheritance √   t_obj.
```

b.

```
        VP
       /  \
   subj.   V'
          /  \
       obj.   V'
             /  \
            V    t_obj.
```

SOV

labeling,
removal of v,
remerge of subj.

- 'Extraposition' of CPs: Under the assumption that only nominal elements move to Spec-V for case, clausal complements may remain in-situ and may be linearized in postverbal position (cf. e.g. Haider 1995).
- VR/VPR:
  - ❖ Option 1: Base-generation of verb clusters (roots), which are labeled via feature inheritance from a single v-head (cf. e.g. Haider 2003, Salzmann 2011 for related ideas).
  - ❖ Option 2: Verb clustering is the result of incorporation of a lower root into a higher verbal element, which facilitates labeling/categorization of the lower element:[29]

(44) a.

```
        VP
       /  \
    subj.   v'
           /  \
          v    √P
          |   /  \
          |  obj  √'
          |        \
inheritance →  √SHOULD √P
                      /  \
                  √READ  t_obj.
```

⟹ labeling, removal of v, remerge of subj., incorp. of √READ

b.

```
        VP
       /  \
    subj.   V'
           /  \
         obj.  V'
              /  \
        V+√READ   √P
                 /  \
            t_√READ  t_obj.
```

- Basic OV-VO variation:
  - ❖ Option 1: Grammar competition between a grammar with √-to-v movement and a grammar without √-to-v movement (or, rather between a positive and negative setting of the root raising parameter) ⟹ OE
  - ❖ Option 2: Dependent on whether v hosts additional (criterial) features that are not handed down to √, we get alternation between surface VO and OV patterns, due to lexical choice of v (or, v's feature content). For example, if v contains a criterial discourse-semantic feature such as 'contrastive focus', it cannot undergo deletion ⟹ variation ⟹ OHG (possibly also an option in OE)
  - ❖ Option 3: In-situ spell-out of stressed/heavy objects (cf. Hinterhölzl 2015).
- Additional word order options (and complications) result from the combination of verbal shells in periphrastic/analytic tenses: Aux-OV, O-Aux-V etc. (but *VO-Aux).

---

[29] A related idea is put forward in Keine and Bhatt (2016) who analyze verb cluster formation as a repair strategy (via verb incorporation) that takes place in case two lexical verbs are part of the same Spell-out domain.

4. Concluding summary

- Review of diagnostic tests for basic word order and their application to OE and OHG.

- OHG differs from OE in that it is closer to the present-day Germanic OV-languages (general predominance of preverbal object placement, preverbal verbal particles/derivational affixes, V-Aux order in the verbal complex (which might be subject to VR and VPR), and a strong tendency to avoid postverbal placement of light elements that resist extraposition such as pronouns, or light adverbs).

- The significant differences between OHG and OE suggest that we should not aim at a uniform analysis of the two languages.

- The conclusion that OV is the unmarked/basic word order option in OHG is supported by:

  i.   quantitative evidence involving deviations from the Latin source text in the *Tatian* translation

  ii. the observation that postverbal position is linked to specific information-structural and prosodic properties, whereas preverbal position is compatible with a larger array of functions.

- Still, OHG differs from present-day German in that it exhibits a larger array of surface VO orders (with nominal and predicative elements, in particular).

- It seems to be fair to conclude that OHG had already moved away from a genuine 'mixed' OV/VO grammar towards a more consistent OV character, with VO orders representing the residue of the former stage.

- Outline of an analysis that captures these facts in terms of a form of Grammar Competition, where an older grammatical system is gradually replaced by an innovative parametric option.

- In contrast to the Double Base Hypothesis, I have assumed that the different word orders are not base-generated, but correspond to structural options derived by competing settings of movement parameters that are part of single grammar (and which might be linked to discourse-semantic distinctions).

- Under this perspective, VO orders no longer existent in present-day German can be analysed as minority patterns generated by a grammar/parametric option that eventually gave way to a consistent OV grammar. The latter change was possibly driven by the fact that OV orders could serve a number of distinct functions (marking topichood, contrastive focus, etc.), which at some point blurred the original discourse-semantic function of OV order.

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