

Vorfeld-expletives in the history of German

Göttingen, 23.11.2018

Eric Fuß (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

eric.fuss@rub.de

1. Introduction

- Germanic languages: correlation between a rigid V2 syntax and the existence of expletives, which occupy the so-called *Vorfeld* (VF) (some specifier in the left clausal periphery, e.g. in existential and presentative sentences, cf. Haiman 1974, Lenerz 1985, Breivik 1989, Abraham 1993, Vikner 1995):

- (1) a. **Es** ritten drei Reiter durch das Tor hinaus. (German)
 EXPL rode three riders through the gate out
- b. **Það** voru blöð, blek og pennar á borðinu. (Icelandic)
 EXPL were paper ink and pens on table
- c. **Det** er løver i Afrika. (Norwegian)
 EXPL are lions in Africa
- d. **Er** is hier veel sneeuw. (Dutch)
 EXPL is here much snow

- (2) *Generalization: VF-expletives and V2 in Germanic*
 rigid V2 syntax ↔ VF-expletives

- **Earliest stages of German (early OHG):**

- (i) No VF-expletives;
 (ii) V1 order in existential/presentative clauses;
 (iii) Frequent V2 patterns, but deviations from V2 possible (cf. Behaghel 1932, Lenerz 1984, Tomaselli 1995, Schrodtt 2004, Axel 2007, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009):

- (3) **uuarun** thô *hirta* In thero lantskeffi uuahante [...]
 were then/there shepherds in that country abiding

Lt. *Et pastores erant In regione eadem. uigilantes [...]*
 'And there were shepherds abiding in the fields [...]'
 (Tatian, 85,29; Lk, 2,8)

- (4) [Dhea uuehhun] [aur] [in heilegim quhidim] **arfullant** sibun iaar.
 the weeks however in sacred language fulfil seven years
 Lt. *Ebdomada namque in sacris eloquiis septem annis terminatur.*
 'The weeks, however, take seven years in sacred language.'
 (*Isidor*, 457; *Robinson* 1997: 26)

- **Problem:** Chronological gap between the development of (i) a rigid V2 syntax and (ii) VF-expletives in the history of German:

- (i) Early MHG (~12th cent.): Generalized V2 is firmly established (cf. e.g. *Lenerz* 1984, *Axel* 2007).
- (ii) Late MHG (~13th/14th cent.): Development of *Vorfeld-es* (cf. *Brugmann* 1917, *Behaghel* 1923, *Lenerz* 1985, *Abraham* 1993, *Paul* 1998, *Axel* 2009).

- **Claims:**

- (i) Correlation between V2 and Vorfeld-expletives can be maintained: The rise of a rigid V2 syntax was accompanied by the development of VF-expletives *do/da* (<<< deictic temporal/locative adverbs *tho/do* 'then' and *thar/da* 'there'); see also *Donhauser & Petrova* (2009); cf. *Light* (2010, 2015) on *da* as a subject expletive in ENHG;
- (ii) The expletive *do/da* was later replaced by the new expletive *es*; expletive use of *do/da* is still found in German dialects (e.g., Bavarian, cf. *Mayerthaler & Mayerthaler* 1990, *Weiß* 1998):

- (5) **Do/*Es** is gsunga und gtantz worn. (impersonal passives)
 EXPL is sung and danced been
 'There was singing and dancing.'
- (6) **Dâ** seind ane Beratungsstelln. (existential constructions)
 There are INDEF counseling centers
 (*Mayerthaler & Mayerthaler* 1990: 406)

2. *Da*+V2 in the history of German: An overview

- **Properties of presentative clauses in the history of German:** Lk. 2,8 (Christmas story, first sentence of the episode "The shepherds and the angels") in different stages of German:

- (7) **uuarun thô** hirta In thero lantskeffi uuahante [...] **Early OHG:**
 were then/there shepherds in that country abiding **V1 (+tho)**
 Lt. *Et pastores erant In regione eadem. uigilantes [...]*
 'And there were shepherds abiding in the fields[...]'
 (*Tatian*, 85,29; Lk, 2,8)

- (8) Tho wárun thar in lán̄te hirta háltente [...] OHG/MHG/NHG: *tho*+V2
(O., Ev. I. 12,1)
- (9) es waren Hirten in der selbigen gegend auff dem felde MHG/NHG: *es*+V2
(Luther 1545 (letzte Hand))

(10) *Historical development of presentatives in German:*
V1 >>> *tho* + V2 >>> *es* + V2

3. *tho* in Old High German

3.1 Old High German I: Tatian (c. 830)

OHG/Tatian (around 830, 67 cases of V1+*tho* vs. 115 cases of *tho*+V2, Donhauser & Petrova 2009)

- (11) **uuarun** thô *hirta* In thero lantskeffi uuahante [...]
were then/there shepherds in that country abiding

Lt. *Et pastores erant In regione eadem. uigilantes [...]*
'And there were shepherds abiding in the fields[...]'
(*Tatian*, 85,29; Lk, 2,8)

- (12) **tho** uuas man In hierusalem

Lt. *homo erat in hierusalem*
'There was a man in Jerusalem...'
(*Tatian* 37,23; Lk, 2,25)

- Pragmatic functions linked to these placement options (Donhauser & Petrova 2009):¹
 - **V_{fin}+tho**: new foregrounded actions/events/situations along the main story line of a narrative;
 - **tho+V_{fin}**: *tho* functions as a temporal anaphor that relates the temporal setting of its clause to another temporal interval given in the discourse context:²
- *tho*+V2 is particularly frequent with *verba dicendi* in dialogic sequences where it marks a change of speaker/turn taking (*Tatian*: 97 of 115 instances according to Donhauser & Petrova 2009: 19).

¹ See also Betten (1987), Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2005, 2009), Petrova (2006), and Petrova & Solf (2008).

² The cognate words Gothic *þanuh*, Old English *þa* and Old Saxon *tho* fulfill similar discourse functions (cf. Petrova & Solf 2008, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009, Fuß 2008, Trips & Fuß 2009).

(13) Thô gihortun inan thie iungiron sprechantan inti folgetun themo heilante. Thô hiiuanta sih ther heilant inti gisah sie imo folgente, quad in: uuaz suochet ir? Sie quadun imo: rabbi (thaz ist arrekit meistar) uuâr artos? Thô quad her in: quemet inti gisehet. (*Tatian* 16.2)

Lt. John 1.37. *Et audierunt eum discipuli loquentem et secuti sunt Ihesum.* 38. *Conversus autem Ihesus et videns eos sequentes se, dicit eis: quid queritis? Qui dixerunt ei: rabbi (quod dicitur interpretatum magister) ubi habitas?* 39. *Dicit eis: venite et videte.*
 ‘The two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus. Then Jesus turned, and seeing them following, said to them, “What do you seek?” They said to Him, “Rabbi” (which is to say, when translated, Teacher), “where are You staying?” He said to them, “Come and see.”

- In contrast, movement verbs dominate in connection with V1+*tho* (23/67 instances).
- Analysis: *tho* as an element linked to temporal deixis:
 - 1) When *tho* occurs in postfinite position (a position linked to new information, cf. Donhauser & Petrova 2009, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009), it introduces a novel time interval.
 - 2) When *tho* occurs preverbally (a position linked to anaphoricity), it refers anaphorically to a temporal interval that has been established before.‘

- (14) a. [CP \emptyset [C' V_{fin}] [TP *tho* ...]] *tho* is part of the focus domain
 b. [CP *tho* [C' V_{fin}] [TP ___ ...]] *tho* has left the focus domain
-

3.2 Old High German II: Otfrid von Weissenburg

OHG/Otfrid of Weissenburg (around 870, gospel harmony; Old High German Reference Corpus): 52 cases of V1 (+*tho*) vs. 34 cases of *tho*+V2 (+ 31 cases of XP-V_{fin}-*tho* and a smaller number of other orders, including XP-*tho*-V_{fin})

- *tho* appears in a set of contexts that were formerly expressed by V1(+*tho*) orders (still possible):
- (15) a. **Tho wárun** thar in lánthe hirta háltente [...]
 ‘There were shepherds abiding in the fields...’ (O., Ev. I. 12,1)
 b. **Tho quam** bóto fona góte / éngil ir hímile,
 ‘There came a messenger from God, an angel from heaven’ (O., Ev. I, 5,3)
 c. **Tho quam** ein édiles man [...]
 ‘There came a nobleman [...]’ (O. Ev. IV, 35,1)
- (16) Stúant tho thár umbiríng / fílu manag édiling,
 ‘There stood many noblemen around’
 (O., Ev. I, 9,9)

- Competition between V1 and V2 also in other discourse functions.
- Turn taking:

(17) **Tho sprah** thiu múater obarlut [...]

‘Then the mother spoke loud and clear’ (O., Ev. I, 9,15)

(18) **Spráh** er **tho** zen líutin [...]

‘Then he spoke to the people [...]’ (O., Ev. IV, 12,43)

- Change of place/change of state:

(19) **Tho fuarun** sie ílenti [...]

‘Then they set off hastily’ (O., Ev. I, 13,7)

(20) **Fúarun** sie **thó** iro pád [...]

‘Then they moved on’ (O., Ev. IV, 4,13)

- **Conclusion/Otfrid**: Both V1 (+*tho*) and *tho*+V2 are robustly attested; however, it appears that *tho*+V2 has taken over functions that were formerly linked to V1+*tho*.

3.3 Old High German III: Notker

OHG/Notker (around 1025, translation of Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae*; Tax 1986, Old High German Reference Corpus): one example of V1 (+*tho*) vs. 11 cases of *tho*+V2: V2 has apparently won out over V1.³

- Use of *tô/dô* in clause-initial position without an anaphoric interpretation (quite similar to VF-*es* in present-day German):

(21) **Tô uuárd** táz ten chéiser lústa. dáz er dioterichen urîuntlichho ze_hóue ládeta.

‘And it befell that the emperor wanted to friendly invite Theodoric to his court.’ (Notker, Boeth., 5,21)

- Diminished role of *tho* as an instrument for discourse structuring; this is probably due to the rise of alternative strategies (e.g., a stronger preference for hypotactic structures).

- Development of *tho*+V2 in OHG:

- (i) Erosion of the original semantic/pragmatic function of V1+*tho*
- (ii) Rise of generalized V2 order, loss of other word order options (V1, V3)

³ An earlier (2009) manual search carried out in the edition by Tax produced 47 cases of *tô*+V2.

3.4 Reanalysis of *tho* as a CP-expletive in OHG?

- Early instances where clause-initial *tho* does not seem to have an anaphoric interpretation but rather seems to function as Vorfeld-expletive (in addition to (21) above, Donhauser & Petrova 2009: 21):

(22) *thô uuas thiu zehenta zît dhes tages*
 THO was the tenth time of-the day
 Lt. *hora autem erat quasi decima*
 'it was the tenth hour of the day'
 (Tatian, 51,15)

- *tho* was semantically underspecified:

- tho* could be used to translate a variety of different elements (conjunctions such as Lat. *et*, discourse particles like Lat. *autem*; cf. Betten 1987);
- tho* could be doubled by other temporal adverbs (Axel 2007: 156):

(23) *inti uuas **tho** giheilît ira tothter [fon dero ziti]*
 Lt. [...] & *sanata est filia illius ex illa hora.*
 'And her daughter was healed from that hour.'
 (Tatian, 273,31)

4. Middle High German

- As a result of regular sound change, *da(r)* (locative) und *do* (temporal) fell together (cf. e.g. Behaghel 1928: 90f.), increasing the semantic underspecification of *da/do*.

- **Presentative clauses:**

(24) *Dô kom ein siusen unde ein dôz*
 'There came a roar and noise [...]' (Iwein, 994)

(25) a. *do was kvmen vf sine vart*
 ein ieger mit hvnden vil gut,
 'There came a hunter with dogs on his trails'
 (Reinhart Fuchs (late 12th cent.), 286)
 b. *do qvamin schire sehse man,*
 der iglicher eine stange zoch.
 'There came six men [...]'
 (Reinhart Fuchs (late 12th cent.), 516)

- Early MHG: *da/do* begins to appear in impersonal constructions:

(26) *dô wart niht mê gesezzen*
 'There was no sitting around anymore'
 (Iwein, 2282)

(27) **dâ enwart** [...] niht vil erbeizet under wegen
 ‘People didn’t dismount often on the way (lit. There was not much
 dismounting on the way)’
 (Gregorius, 2537)

- The extension to contexts such as impersonal passives might be taken to indicate that *dô* had been reanalyzed as a VF-expletive:

(28) a. [_{CP} *dô* [_{C'} V_{fin}] [_{TP} ___ ...]] (before reanalysis: *do* undergoes mvt. to SpecCP)

b. [_{CP} *dô* [_{C'} V_{fin}] [_{TP} ...]] (after reanalysis: *do* is inserted as a Vorfeld-filler)

- Parallel development: Rise of *es* as a general expletive element (cf. Brugmann 1917, Behaghel 1923, Lenerz 1985, Abraham 1993, Paul 1998, Axel 2009), e.g. in presentative/existential clauses:

(29) a. **iz enwiderrete** nieman

‘Nobody protested.’

(Reinhart Fuchs (Ende 12. Jh.), 1437)

b. **iz enwart** nie niehein keiser sô hêre geboren an der erde

‘Never before, such a great emperor has been born on earth.’

(Rolandslied, 1592)

c. **Ez leit** der vischære

von armuot grôze swære.

‘The fisherman suffered from great poverty.’

(Gregorius, 1201)

- Likely origin: Reanalysis of non-referential correlative *es* (still ambiguous between correlative and expletive function in NHG, cf. Axel 2009):

(30) **iz gilimfit** [sus zi uuesanne]

it behoves so to be

‘it behoves to be so’

(Tatian 513, 5; Axel 2009: 141)

- In the ENHG period, expletive *es* more or less completely replaced *da/do* in all relevant contexts...

5. Early New High German

- **Quantitative study** (Bonn ENHG corpus): relative frequency of *da/do*+V2 and *es*+V2.

- **Observation:** In the course of the ENHG period, the frequency of *da/do*+V2 is in steady decline. At the same time, there is an increase of clauses introduced by *es* (see the appendix for details).

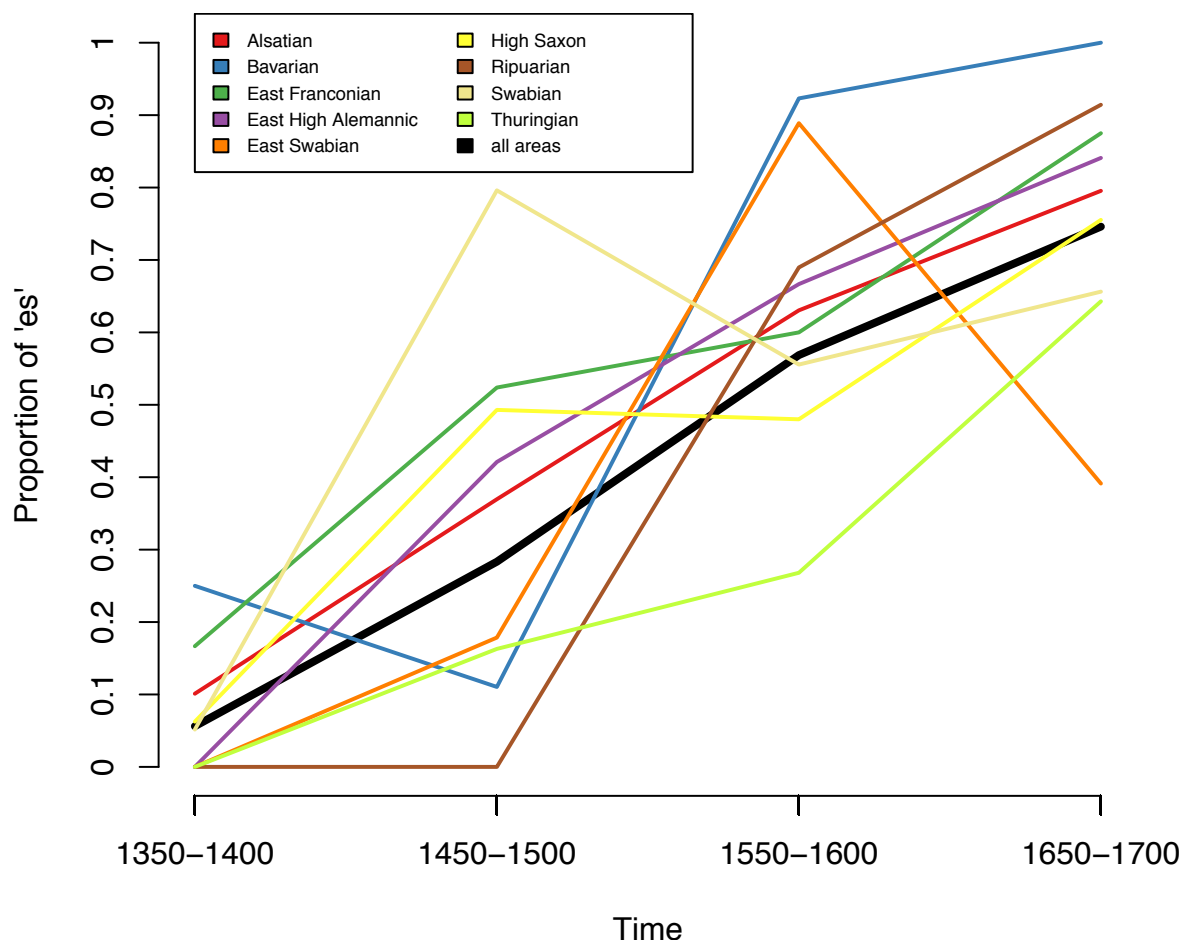


Figure 1: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in ENHG

- The data suggests that there is a connection between the loss of the pattern *da/do*+V2 and the rise of the competing pattern *es*+V2 \Rightarrow Further indication that there was a period where *da/do* could be used as a VF-expletive (similar to *es*)
- Tentative conclusion: (2)/(31) can be maintained for all historical stages of German:

(31) *Generalization: VF-expletives and V2 in Germanic*
rigid V2 syntax \leftrightarrow VF-expletives

- Questions:
 - (i) Connection between the development of VF-expletives and the rise of rigid V2?
 - (ii) Why did *es* qualify as a better expletive than *da*?

6. EPP features, expletives and the rise of (generalized) V2

- Historical development of generalized V2 in German:
 - (i) **Loss of V1**: Development of obligatory XP-fronting to SpecCP.
 - (ii) **Loss of V3**: Development of a restriction against multiple XP-fronting
- Proposal: Both changes are surface reflexes of single underlying change, namely the development of an obligatory EPP feature in C.

6.1 Loss of V1 declaratives

- Step 1: When the original semantic/pragmatic function of XP-fronting began to erode, XP-fronting was grammaticalized as a purely syntactic operation; “fossilization” giving rise to a semantically neutral EPP feature in C⁰ (Axel 2007, Fuß 2008, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2009)⁴
- Result: Fronting of non-topics (Axel 2007):

- (32) a. [Neoman] **niuirdit** fona gote festi [...]
 nobody NEG-becomes by God strengthened
 Lt. *Nemo erit a deo nisi firmus [...]*
 ‘Nobody will become strengthened by God [...]’
 (*Monsee Fragments*, XL,19; *St. Augustini sermo*; Axel 2007: 120)
- b. [Neo] **nist** zi chilaubanne dhazs fona dhemu salomone
 never NEG-is to believe that of the Salomon
 sii dhiz chiforabodot
 is this prophesied
 Lt. *Numquid de illo salomone creditur prophetatum? minime*
 ‘It can never be believed that this was prophesied by Salomon.’
 (*Isidor*, 638; Axel 2007: 120)

- Step 2: When the EPP feature became obligatory, SpecCP had to be filled by overt material ⇒ **loss of V1 declaratives**

⁴ Fossilization of XP-fronting is possibly linked to the existence of an alternative strategy to mark IS distinctions (given vs. new information), namely clause-internal word order variation in the IP/TP domain (scrambling) As a result, the status of main clauses with fronted topics became ambiguous. More precisely, they could be analyzed as resulting from

- (i) XP-fronting triggered by IS properties (givenness/topicality) linked to C⁰, or
- (ii) XP-fronting triggered by a semantically/pragmatically neutral EPP feature, preserving IS distinctions established at an earlier stage of the derivation (i.e., by IP/TP-internal movement, cf. e.g. Frey 2004, 2006, Grewendorf 2005 on present-day German).

Analysis (ii) is arguably the more parsimonious option, since it does not require double marking of one and the same IS-related category in different clausal domains (all clauses can be parsed by assuming that IS categories are marked within IP/TP only, while (i) requires that IS is sometimes marked within CP, and sometimes within IP).

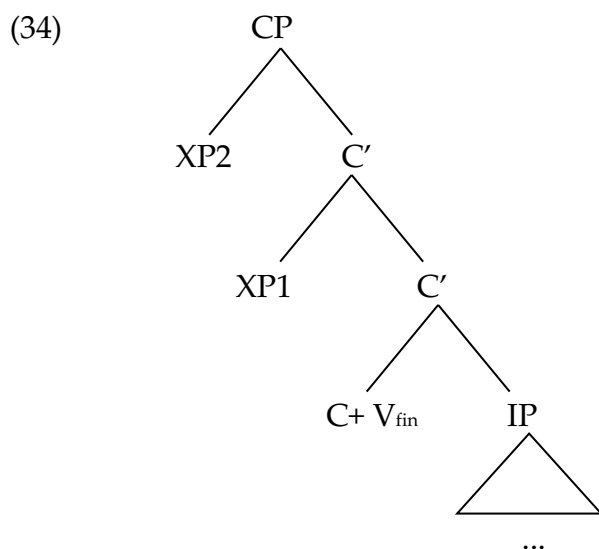
- The development of an obligatory EPP feature in C is linked to the reanalysis of *thô* as a CP-expletive (possibly driven by least effort strategies that favor the least costly derivation in case the input is ambiguous, cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003):

- (33) a. [CP ... *thô* [C' V_{fin} + C_[+EPP] [TP t_{thô} T [vP ...]]]] ⇒
 b. [CP *thô* [C' V_{fin} + C_[+EPP] [TP ... T [vP ...]]]]

- Expletives as morphosyntactic repairs: semantically neutral elements that are inserted as a last resort to realize a certain structural position.
- Expletives therefore signal the presence of obligatory EPP-features: Expletives mark obligatory positions which are discourse-semantically neutral and have syntactic functions only:
 - (i) SpecTP: English, Scandinavian, and Dutch (?);
 - (ii) SpecCP in all Germanic V2 languages.⁵

6.2 Loss of V3 orders = loss of multiple specifiers in the left clausal periphery

- Analysis of V3 in early OHG: C can project more than a single specifier:



- Loss of V3 orders/multiple XP fronting: Loss of the possibility of multiple specifiers in the C-domain/Vorfeld ⇒ rigid V2 (cf. Fuß 2008 for details)
- Connection with the rise of expletives/an obligatory EPP?

⁵ Note for instance that SpecCP in German is a multi-purpose position which can host all kinds of XPs (topics, foci, operators etc.).

- General idea/intuition: Expletives signal that a certain structural position has syntactic functions only. For reasons of derivational economy, the relevant position cannot be realized more than once (i.e., it is unique).

- Derivational economy: Construction of syntactic structures proceeds with least effort: no superfluous operations (Chomsky 1995).
- Multiple XP-fronting/V3 is ruled out by derivational economy: As soon as the (purely syntactic) requirements of C are fulfilled by either (i) fronting of a single XP or (ii) insertion of an expletive, C is inert and may not trigger any further operations.
- The loss of multiple specifiers is perhaps linked to another property of expletives:

(35) *Expletives and structure-building operations*

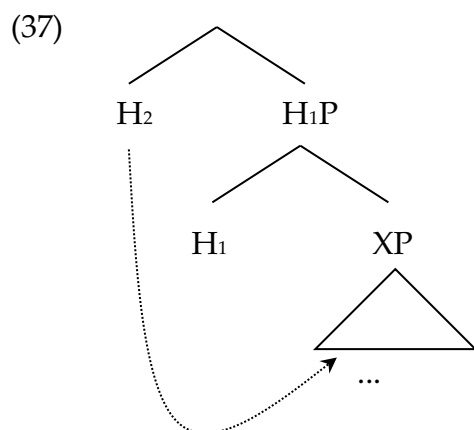
The insertion of an expletive terminates the projection of a head and blocks the availability of multiple specifiers.

- The observation that expletives ‘close off’ the projection of a functional head follows from:
 - (i) strict cyclicity;
 - (ii) the assumption that the expletive itself acts as a probe, initiating an Agree relation with a functional head F after the expletive has been merged as specifier of F (Chomsky 2000, 2004).
- Strict cyclicity: A lower head H_1 may not any longer trigger syntactic operations after a higher head H_2 has been merged, acting as a probe (Chomsky 2000: 132):

(36) Properties of the probe/selector α must be satisfied before new elements of the lexical subarray are accessed to drive further operations.

- In a structure like (37), H_1 is inert after H_2 (which has been subsequently added to the structure) has initiated an Agree operation:⁶

⁶ This assumption seems to be implicit in most work on the strict cycle (for related discussion cf. e.g. Chomsky 1995: 234f., Collins 1997: 81ff., and in particular Chomsky 2000: 132f.); it follows more or less directly if phases are equated with phrases as for example in Müller (2010). The status of (36) is somewhat less clear under the assumption that T may initiate syntactic operations only after it has inherited the relevant uninterpretable features from C (Chomsky 2004). One might argue, however, that this particular situation does not conflict with (36), since T in fact has no probe properties prior to Merge of C. After C has been added, the relevant features (e.g., $u\phi$, EPP) are handed over to T, giving rise to cases of ‘parallel probing’ where operations triggered by C and T apply in parallel.



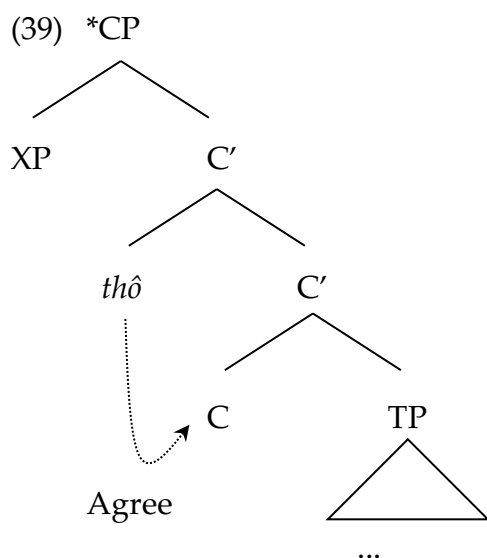
Agree

- Expletives as probes: The checking/valuation relation between a functional head F and an expletive merged in F's specifier is initiated by the expletive itself (cf. Chomsky 2000: 128, 2004: 114).
- Derivation of generalization (33): After an expletive has established an Agree relation with C or T, C/T become inert and may not trigger further operations. As a result, they can neither attract further elements nor project additional specifiers.

- (38) a. [CP ... *thô* [C' V_{fin} + C_[+EPP] [TP *t_{thô}* T [vP ...]]]] →
 b. [CP *thô* [C' V_{fin} + C_[+EPP] [TP ... T [vP ...]]]]

- insertion of *thô* in SpecCP eliminates C's EPP-feature.
- thô* carries an uninterpretable feature [uF] that renders it active and must be eliminated as well.⁷
- Following Chomsky (2000, 2004), *thô* acts as a probe that accesses C as the closest goal. As a result, *thô*'s [uF] deletes.
- Crucially, C is inert and cannot trigger any further operations after it has been accessed by the expletive probe. Thus, C may not project further specifiers, ruling out a structure as in (39).

⁷ As to the nature of [uF], we might speculate that it relates either to C's clause type features (i.e., [+declarative] in the case at hand) or to the fact that C in V2 languages is typically linked to finiteness. The latter might be taken to indicate that both C and the expletive *thô* carry an uninterpretable tense specification [uTns]. This seems to make the correct typological prediction that cross-linguistically, C-related expletives are confined to V2 languages. I leave this point open for future research.



- After the reanalysis, examples with clause-initial *thô* provided positive evidence to the learner that at least in a certain context, C could not project more than a single specifier.⁸
- Together with the fact that the original semantic/pragmatic motivation for XP-fronting was becoming more and more opaque, the reanalysis of *tho* can be taken to have tipped the scales in favor of a strict V2 grammar that lacks the possibility of multiple specifiers in the C-domain.
- (wild) guess: V2 (with an XP in SpecCP) can be analyzed on a par with the derivation in (39): In generalized V2 languages, the fronted XP carries a non-interpretable feature [uF] that renders it active (so it remains visible to C's EPP feature). After being attracted to SpecCP, [uF] probes C, thereby "closing off" the CP projection ⇒ **rigid V2...**
- What about V3 orders (Svetlana & Nicolas's talk)?
 - i. base generation of material outside CP (late merge?)
 - ii. movement of complex phrases to SpecCP (big DPs, partially evacuated VPs, combination of DPs and topic/focus markers)

⁸ Note that this approach makes a set of additional predictions:

- (i) Expletives cannot occur in subcategorized positions (e.g. within VP, cf. Chomsky 1981): Expletives may occur only in positions with a purely syntactic function (e.g., they are incompatible with the assignment of thematic roles in subcategorized positions). The insertion of expletives in thematic positions would terminate the projection of VP and prevent the assignment of thematic roles to other elements.
- (ii) Systematic structural distinction between expletive-*es* and correlate-*es*: Only the latter can occur in all argument positions, while the use of expletive-*es* is limited to positions with a purely syntactic function.

7. Concluding summary

- The generalization concerning the correlation between rigid V2 and the existence of VF-expletives can be maintained for all historical stages of German.
- Evidence suggesting that *do/da* 'then' came to be used as an expletive prior to the development expletive *es*:
 - (i) Structure of presentative clauses in the history of German (V1 >>> *tho* + V2 >>> *es* + V2)
 - (ii) A quantitative study of Early New High German texts suggests that there is a connection between the loss of *do/da*+V2 and the rise of *es*+V2.
 - (iii) Use of *do/da* as a VF-expletive in some present-day German dialects (Bavarian; unclear: status of *da* in Cimbrian).
- Analysis of the connection between the loss of V1 and V3 orders and the rise of VF-expletives:
 - (i) Expletives signal that a given structural position has syntactic functions only (presence of a semantically neutral obligatory EPP feature);
 - (ii) For reasons of structural (derivational) economy, the relevant position may be realized only once.
 - ⇒ loss of V1 declaratives
 - ⇒ loss of multiple XP fronting

Appendix: *da* vs. *es* in Early New High German

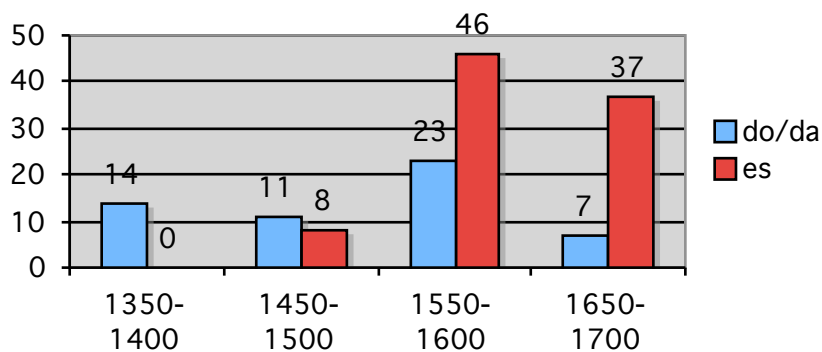
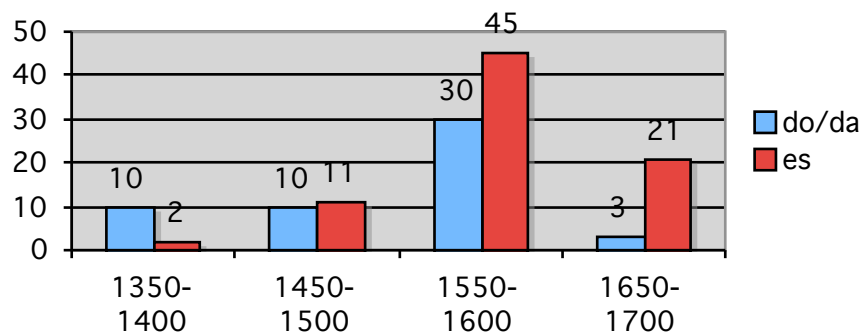
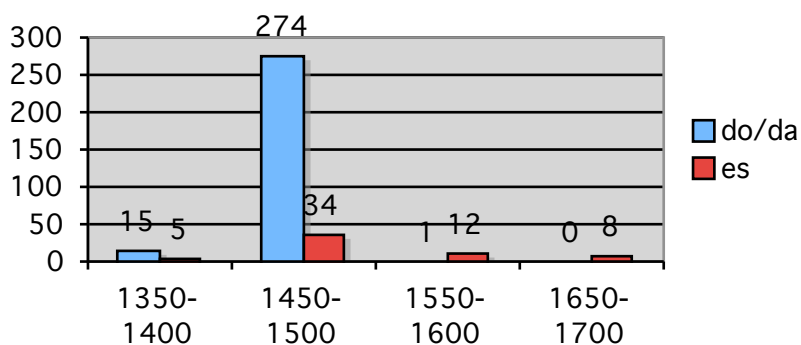
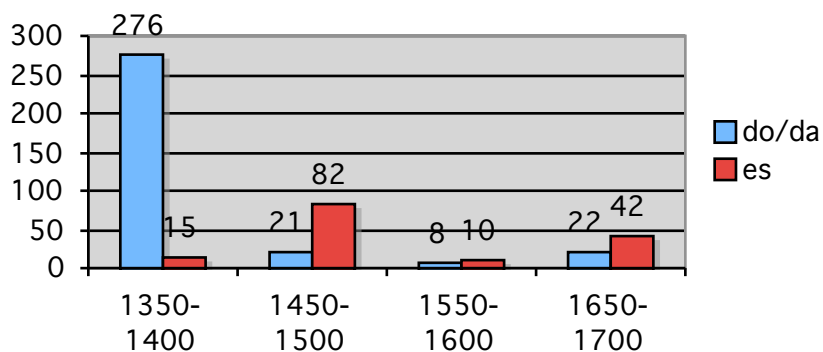
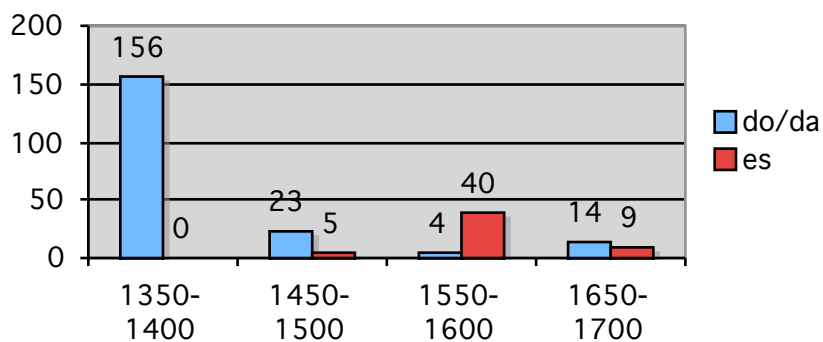
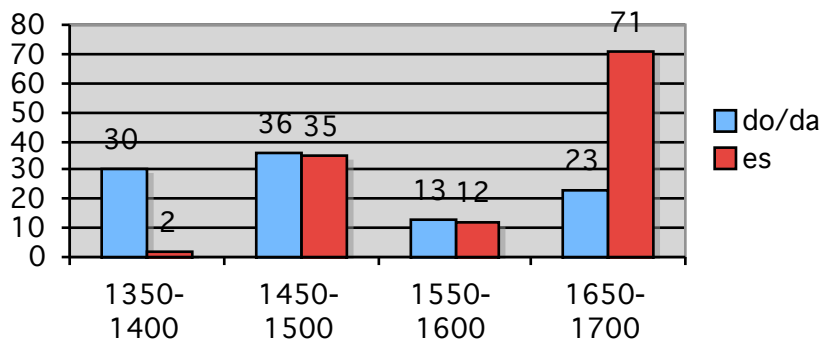
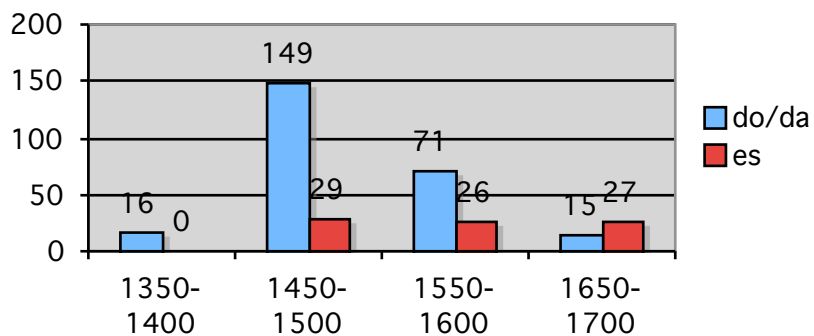
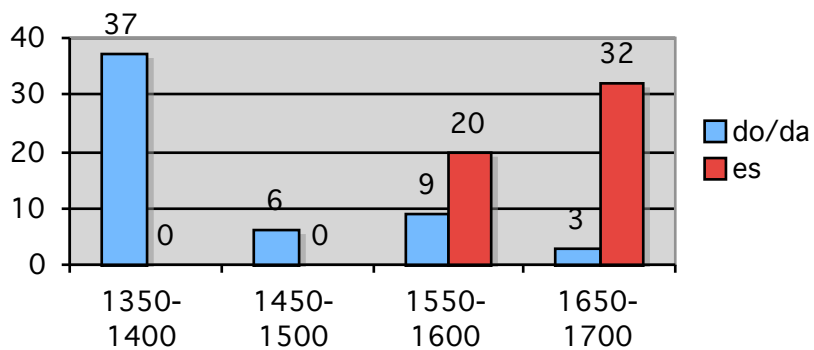
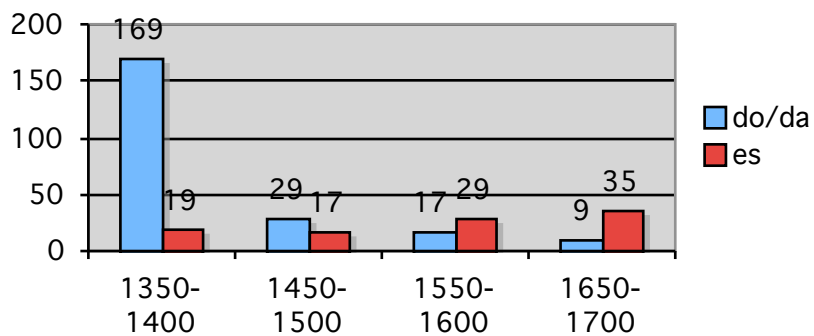


Figure 2: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in East High Alemannic

Figure 3: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in East FranconianFigure 4: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in BavarianFigure 5: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in SwabianFigure 6: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in East Swabian

Figure 7: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in High SaxonFigure 8: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in ThuringianFigure 9: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in RipuarianFigure 10: *do/da*+V2 vs. *es*+V2 in Alsatian

References

Primary sources

- Baesecke, Georg (ed.). 1952. *Das mittelhochdeutsche Gedicht vom Fuchs Reinhart. Nach den Casseler Bruchstücken und der Hs. Cod. pal. germ. 341* (2. Auflage von Ingeborg Schröbler). Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- Benecke, Georg Friedrich & Karl Lachmann (ed.). 1964. *Iwein. Eine Erzählung von Hartmann von Aue*. 6. Auflage. Berlin.
- Eggers, Hans (ed.). 1964. *Der althochdeutsche Isidor. Nach der Pariser Handschrift und den Monseer Fragmenten*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Erdmann, Oskar (ed.). 1973. *Otfrids Evangelienbuch* (6. Auflage, Ludwig Wolff). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Lachmann, Karl. (ed.) 1891. *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival*. 5. Auflage, Berlin.
- Luther, Martin. *Biblia Germanica 1545. Luther-Übersetzung - Ausgabe letzter Hand*. (Faksimile, 1967). Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Masser, Achim (ed.). 1994. *Die lateinisch-deutsche Tatianbilingue des Cod. Sang. 56*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Neumann, Friedrich (ed.). 1958. *Hartmann von Aue, Gregorius. Der „gute Sünder“*. Wiesbaden: Brockhaus. Reprint: Stuttgart: Reclam, 1963.
- Sievers, Eduard (ed.). 1966. *Tatian*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Steinhoff, Hans-Hugo. (ed.). 2005. *Lancelot und Ginover. Prosalancelot. Erster Band*. Frankfurt: Insel Verlag.
- Tax, Petrus (ed.). 1986, 1988, 1990. *Notker der Deutsche: Boethius „De Consolatione Philosophiae“*. Buch I/II, Buch III, Buch IV/V. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Wesle, Carl (ed.). 1955. *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Electronic Corpora

- Old German Reference Corpus*, <http://www.deutschdiachrondigital.de>.
- Reference corpus of Middle High German*, <https://www.linguistics.rub.de/rem/>
- Bonn Early New High German Corpus*, <https://korpora.zim.uni-duisburg-essen.de/Fnhd/>
- TITUS-Korpus (*Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien*). Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/>

Secondary texts

- Abraham, Werner. 1993. Null subjects in the history of German: From IP to CP. *Lingua* 89, 117-142.
- Axel, Katrin. 2007. *Studies on Old High German Syntax: Left Sentence Periphery, Verb Placement and Verb-Second*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Axel, Katrin. 2009. The consolidation of verb-second in Old High German: What role did subject pronouns play?, in Paola Crisma and Guiseppa Longobardi (eds), *Historical Syntax and Linguistic Theory*, 128-143. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bayer, Josef & Peter Suchsland. 1998. Expletiva und leere Subjekte im Deutschen. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 41, 12-38.
- Behaghel, Otto. 1923. *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Vol. 1: Die Wortklassen und Wortformen*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Behaghel, Otto. 1928. *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Vol. 3: Die Satzgebilde*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Behaghel, Otto. 1932. *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Vol. 4: Wortstellung*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Betten, Anne. 1987. Zur Satzverknüpfung im althochdeutschen Tatian. Textsyntaktische Betrachtungen zum Konnektor *thô* und seinen lateinischen Entsprechungen. In *Althochdeutsch. Band I: Grammatik. Glossen und Texte*, R. Bergmann, H. Tiefenbach, L. Voetz (eds., together with H. Kolb, K. Matzel & K. Stackmann), 395-407. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

- Breivik, Leiv. 1989. On the causes of syntactic change in English. In *Language Change: Contributions to the Studies of Its Causes*, L. Breivik & E. H. Jahr (eds.), 29-70. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brugmann, Karl. 1917. *Der Ursprung des Scheinsubjekts 'es' in den germanischen und den romanischen Sprachen*. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 69:5. Leipzig: Trübner.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89-155. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale. A Life in Language*, M. Kenstowicz (ed.), 1-52. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In Adriana Belletti (ed.), *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 3*, 104-131. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Collins, Chris. 1997. *Local Economy*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Dittmer, Arne and Ernst Dittmer. 1998. *Studien zur Wortstellung – Satzgliedstellung in der althochdeutschen Tatianübersetzung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Donhauser, Karin and Svetlana Petrova 2009. Die Rolle des Adverbs *tho* bei der Generalisierung von Verbzweit im Deutschen, in Monika Dannerer, Peter Mauser, Hannes Scheutz, and Andreas E. Weiss (eds.), *Gesprochen – geschrieben – gedichtet. Variation und Transformation von Sprache*, 11-24. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Fanselow, Gisbert. 2004. Cyclic phonology-syntax-interaction: Movement to first position in German. *Working Papers of the SFB 632, Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure (ISIS) 1*. S. Ishihara, M. Schmitz and A. Schwarz (eds.), 1-42. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Fanselow, Gisbert. 2006. On pure syntax (uncontaminated by information structure). In *Form, Structure, and Grammar. A Festschrift presented to Günther Grewendorf on Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, P. Brandt and E. Fuß (eds.), 137-157. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Frey, Werner. 2004. A medial topic position for German. *Linguistische Berichte* 198, 153-190.
- Frey, Werner. 2006. How to get an object-*es* into the German prefield. In *Form, Structure, and Grammar. A Festschrift presented to Günther Grewendorf on Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, P. Brandt and E. Fuß (eds.), 159-185. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Fuß, Eric. 2008. Word order and language change. On the interface between syntax and morphology. Habilitationsschrift, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt.
- Fuß, Eric, Ian Roberts & Carola Trips. 2009. Language change and language acquisition: The actuation problem revisited. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the LAGB, University of Edinburgh.
- Grewendorf, Günther. 2002. *Minimalistische Syntax*. Tübingen: A. Francke.
- Haiman, John. 1974. *Targets and Syntactic Change*. Den Haag: Mouton.
- Hartmann, Jutta. 2008. *Expletives in Existentials: English there and German da*. (LOT Dissertation Series 181). Utrecht: LOT.
- Hinterhölzl, Roland & Svetlana Petrova. 2005. Rhetorical relations and verb placement in early Germanic languages. Evidence from the Old High German Tatian translation (9th century). In *Salience in Discourse. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Discourse*, M. Stede, C. Chiarcos, M. Grabski & L. Lagerwerf (eds.), 71-79. Münster: Stichting/Nodus.
- Hinterhölzl, Roland & Svetlana Petrova. 2009. From V1 to V2 in Germanic. To appear in *Lingua*.
- Lawson, Richard H. 1980. Paratactic 'thô' in Old High German 'Tatian'. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81: 99-104.
- Lenerz, Jürgen. 1984. *Syntaktischer Wandel und Grammatiktheorie. Eine Untersuchung an Beispielen aus der Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Lenerz, Jürgen. 1985. Zur Theorie syntaktischen Wandels: Das expletive *es* in der Geschichte des

- Deutschen. In *Erklärende Syntax des Deutschen*, W. Abraham (Hg.), 99-136. Tübingen: Narr.
- Mayerthaler, Evi & Willi Mayerthaler. 1990. Aspects of Bavarian syntax or 'Every language has at least two parents.' In: J. A. Edmondson, C. Feagin & P. Mühlhäusler (eds.), *Development and Diversity. Language Variation across Time and Space. A Festschrift for Charles-James Bailey*, 371-429. A publication of The Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Müller, Gereon. 2010. On deriving CED effects from the PIC. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41(1): 1-34.
- Paul, Hermann. 1998. *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*. 24. Auflage. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Petrova, Svetlana. 2006. A discourse-based approach to verb placement in early West-Germanic, in Shinishiro Ishihara, Michaela Schmitz, and Anne Schwarz (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure (ISIS) 5*, 153-185. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag.
- Petrova, Svetlana & Michael Solf 2008. Rhetorical relations and verb placement in early Germanic. A cross linguistic study. In *'Subordination' vs. 'Coordination' in Sentence and Text. A Cross-linguistic Perspective*, C. Fabricius-Hansen & W. Ramm (Hgg.), 333-351. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Roberts, Ian. 2004. The C-System in Brythonic Celtic Languages, V2, and the EPP. In: L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of IP and CP*, 297-328. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Ian and Anna Roussou. 2003. *Syntactic Change. A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, Orrin W. 1997. *Clause Subordination and Verb Placement in the Old High German Isidor Translation*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Schrodt, Richard. 2004. *Althochdeutsche Grammatik II*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Simpson, Andrew. 2004. The EPP, fossilized movement and reanalysis. In *Diachronic Clues to Synchronic Grammar*, E. Fuß and C. Trips (eds.), 161-189. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tomaselli, Alessandra. 1995. Cases of verb third in Old High German. In *Clause Structure and Language Change*, A. Battye and I. Roberts (eds.), 345-369. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trips, Carola & Eric Fuß. 2008. The syntax and semantics of the temporal anaphor 'then' in Old and Middle English. In *Advances in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, A. Alexiadou, J. Hankamer, T. McFadden, J. Nuger & F. Schäfer (Hgg.), 171-195. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weiß, Helmut. 1998. *Die Syntax des Bairischen. Studien zur Grammatik einer natürlichen Sprache*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.