

# (Three) Types of V2 in Early Germanic

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Berlin, 16.6.2005

## 1. Introduction

### Basic observations

- Earlier stages of Germanic exhibit word order patterns similar to the V2 phenomenon which is characteristic of many Modern Germanic languages.
- At a closer look, however, we can identify a variety of types of V2 in the different branches of (Early) Germanic.

### Central claims

- The historical facts provide evidence for at least three different underlying structural configurations which give rise to V2-patterns on the syntactic surface: ‘operator V2’, ‘pseudo V2’, and ‘full V2’.
- In Germanic, the historical core of the V2 phenomenon reduces to V-to-C movement which is triggered in operator contexts (cf. e.g. Kiparsky 1995, Eythórsson 1995, 1996). Therefore, the historical system shares basic properties with the limited V2 properties of Modern English illustrated in (1):<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. What has Floyd seen?  
b. \*What Floyd has seen?  
c. Never would I do that  
d. \*Never I would do that

### Organization of the paper

- In section 2, I examine the nature of V-to-C movement in the earliest records of Germanic (Gothic), showing that a form of ‘operator V2’ represents the historical core of the Germanic V2 property (cf. Kiparsky 1995, Eythórsson 1995, 1996).
- In section 3, it is argued that the apparently more pronounced V2-properties of Old English (OE) can be reduced to a form of operator V2 as well, revealing a historical continuity from the oldest stages of Germanic to Modern English. In addition, V2 patterns may result from a configuration where a topic fronted to SpecCP is linearly adjacent to the finite verb which occupies a head position in

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<sup>1</sup> This trait of English syntax is usually referred to as ‘residual V2’, suggesting that the V2-properties of Modern English represent the residue of a former more elaborate V2-system, which was similar to the ‘full V2’ grammars of the other present-day Germanic languages. However, research into the historical syntax of English has shown that this term is actually a misnomer; it can be shown that English has never been a V2 language in the sense of the modern Germanic V2 languages (cf. e.g. Kroch & Taylor 1997, Haeberli 1999, Fischer et al. 2000).

the inflectional domain. It is shown that the loss of V2 patterns in the history of English affects only the latter construction (labeled ‘pseudo V2’ here).

- In section 4, it is shown that Old High German (OHG) differs fundamentally from Gothic and Old English in that it exhibits a form of ‘full V2’ which is already very similar to the verbal syntax of the Modern Germanic V2 languages.

## 2. Verb fronting and operator V2 in Gothic

- Except for a few runic inscriptions, the earliest Germanic data available to us is of Gothic origin, dating from the fourth century. Mainly, the texts are quite literal (i.e. word-by-word) translations of a Greek bible. Therefore, the word order of the Gothic bible often merely imitates the word order of the Greek original.
- Gothic exhibits basic OV order in main clauses (cf. e.g. Eythórsson 1995, Ferraresi 1997):

- (2) a. ik in watin izwis **daupja**  
 I in water you-PL baptise  
 (Matt. 3.11; Roberts 1996:161)
- b. þaþroh þiudangardi gudis **wailamerjada**  
 since-that kingdom of-God is-preached  
 jah hazuh in izai **naupjada**  
 and everyone into it presses  
 (Luk. 16.16; Ferraresi 1996:277)

- However, in a number of contexts, the finite verb systematically undergoes movement into the left clausal periphery (cf. Longobardi 1994; Eythórsson 1995, 1996; Ferraresi 1997). Interestingly, regular V-to-C movement seems to be limited to contexts that license the same movement operation in Modern English: wh-questions, neg-preposing, and imperatives:<sup>2</sup>

- (3) hva **skuli** þata barn wairþan?  
 what shall that child become  
 Gk. ti ara paidion touto **estai**  
 ‘what shall that child become?’  
 (Lk. 1,66; Eythórsson 1996:110)

- (4) ni **nimiþ** arbi  
 NEG takes inheritance  
 Gk. mē klēronomēsēi  
 ‘shall not be heir’  
 (Gal. 4,30; Eythórsson 1996:110)

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<sup>2</sup> Note that in the examples (3)-(5), the position of the finite verb in the Gothic sentence has no model in the Greek original and can therefore be taken to reflect genuine properties of the syntax of Gothic (cf. Eythórsson 1995:22ff.).

(5) **wairþ** hrains  
become clean

Gk. katharisthēti

‘become clean!’

(Mt. 8,3, Mk. 1,42, Lk. 5,13; Eythórsson 1996:110)

- Thus, it seems that Gothic already exhibited a form of V-to-C movement that shows some similarities to the ‘residual’ V2 phenomenon of present-day English (at least with respect to the syntactic contexts where this operation is triggered).

## 2.1 Apparent counterexamples

### 2.1.1 Pronoun placement in wh-questions

- It appears that in wh-questions, subject pronouns may precede (6) or follow (7) the finite verb in Gothic, conflicting with the claim that wh-questions always give rise to V2 order:

(6) a. **dube jus** mitop ubila in hairtam izwaraim?  
why you-PL think evil in hearts your

Gk. hinati **humeis** enthumeisthe ponēra en tais kardiais humōn  
why you-PL think evil in the heart your

‘Why do you think evil in your hearts?’

(Mt. 9,4; Ferraresi 1997:53)

b. **hvaiwa þu** qiþis þatei frijai wairþip?  
how you-SG say that free become

Gk. pōs **su** legeis hoti eleutheroi genēsesthe  
how you-SG say that free become

‘How do you say you shall become free?’

(Jo. 8,33; Ferraresi 1997:53)

(7) a. **hva þanamais þaúrbum weis** weitwode?  
what further need we witness

Gk. ti eti chreian echomen marturōn  
what further need have-1PL witness

‘What do we need any further witnesses?’

(Mk. 14,63; Ferraresi 1997:55)

b. **hva nuk-kant þu**, quino?  
what now-know you wife

Gk. ti gar oidas, gunai  
what therefore know-2SG wife

‘What do you know, wife?’

(I Cor. 7,16; Ferraresi 1997:55)

- However, note that in (6), the Gothic word order is identical with the Greek original, suggesting that these apparent counter-examples are just very literal translations which do not tell us much about the syntax of Gothic.
- In contrast, the Gothic examples showing V2-order in (7) correspond to Greek clauses lacking an overt subject. It is thus very likely that the newly introduced overt subject pronoun indicates some real word order properties of Gothic, namely that pronouns must follow the finite verb in Wh-questions, giving rise to systematic V2 order.

### 2.1.2 Second position particles

- Verb movement to second position seems to be blocked in the presence of C-oriented clitic particles which usually appear in the second position of a clause.
- The relevant set of second position particles includes the coordinating particle *-uh* and the modal (or emphatic) particles *þan*, *nu*, and *auk*:<sup>3</sup>

(8) *hvan-uh þan þuk sehsum gast jah ga-laþodedum?*  
 when-PRT PRT you we-saw stranger and PERF-we-invited  
 Gk. *pote de se eidomen xenon kai sunēgagomen*  
 ‘And when did we see you as a stranger and invited you?’  
 (Mt. 25,38; TITUS)

(9) a. *hva nu taujai im frauja þis weinagardis?*  
 what PRT do them owner of-the vineyard  
 Gk. *ti oun poiēsei autois ho kurios tou ampelōnos*  
 ‘What then shall the owner of the vineyard do to them?’  
 (Lk. 20,15; TITUS)

b. *hva auk boteiþ mannan, jabai gageigaiþ þana fairhu allana*  
 what PRT profit man if gain-3SG the-DEM world whole  
*jah gasleiþeiþ sik saiwalai seinai*  
 and injure REFL soul his  
 Gk. *ti gar ōphelei anthrōpon kerdēsai ton kosmon holon kai zēmiōthēnai tēn*  
*psuchēn autou*  
 ‘For what does it profit a man, if he gains the whole world, and loses (lit. injures) his own soul?’  
 (Mk. 8,36; TITUS)

- Observation: A closer look at the examples in (8) and (9) reveals that the second position particles found in the Gothic examples correspond directly to second position particles in the Greek text. This suggest that the placement of the Gothic particles is heavily influenced by word order properties of the Greek original.

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<sup>3</sup> These particles are connected to sentential properties such as clause type, focus and the main/embedded distinction. In recent generative work on Gothic, it is therefore generally assumed that these particles are generated in the C domain. If the particle in question is a clitic, it attaches to the right of lexical material that has moved into the left clausal periphery (cf. Eythórsson 1995, 1996, and Ferraresi 1997 for comprehensive discussion).

### ***The coordinating particle -uh***

- According to Eythórsson (1995:102), there are only three examples where *-uh* attaches to a clause-initial wh-word, resulting in a violation of the V2 constraint:

- (10) a. *hvan-uh þan þuk sehþum gast jah ga-lapodedum?*  
when-PRT PRT you saw-1PL stranger and PERF-we-invited  
Gk. *pote de se eidomen xenon kai sunēgagomen*  
'And when did we see you as a stranger and invited you?'  
(Mt. 25,38; TITUS)
- b. *hvan-uh þan þuk sehþum siukana aiþþau in karkarai jah*  
when-PRT PRT you saw-1PL sick or in prison and  
*atiddjedum du þus?*  
came-1PL to you  
Gk. *pote de se eidomen asthenounta ē en phulakē kai ēlthomen*  
'And when did we see you sick, or in prison, and came to you?'  
(Mt. 25,39; TITUS)
- c. *hva-uh þan habais þatei ni namt?*  
what-PRT PRT have-2SG that not received  
Gk. *ti de ekheis ho ouk elabes*  
'What do you have that you did not receive?'  
(1Cor. 4,7; Eythórsson 1995:102)

- In (10a-c), *-uh* is directly followed by the modal particle *þan* 'then'. The finite verb in turn follows either *þan*, as in (10c), or the pronoun *þuk*, as in (10a-b). Notice that these patterns correspond exactly to the word order of the Greek original. Thus it seems that the combination of *-uh* + *þan* serves to translate the adversative particle *de* which occupies the second position in the Greek original. Accordingly, the distribution of the particle *uh* (+ *þan*) actually does not provide a counterexample to the claim that V-to-C movement is systematically triggered in Gothic wh-questions.

### ***The modal particles þan, nu and auk***

- The set of second position modal particles includes: *þan* 'then', *nu* 'now, thus' and *auk* 'because, also, thus'.<sup>4</sup>
- The placement of these particles is heavily influenced by properties of the Greek original:
- *þan*: 226 examples where *þan* translates Greek second position particles; only 12 cases where its insertion has no model in the Greek text (Ferraresi 1997:115f.).

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<sup>4</sup> According to Ferraresi (1997:112ff.), *þan* and *nu* can be used either as adverbials or as modal particles. In the latter use, they are confined to second position where they can be preceded by any other element. No such positional restrictions can be observed if *þan* and *nu* function as adverbials. In contrast, *auk* exclusively serves to render Greek emphatic particles which appear in second position.

- *nu*: 92 examples where *nu* translates Greek second position particles; only 4 examples where *nu* is used as an emphatic second position particle without a model in the Greek text (cf. Ferraresi 1997:118).
- *auk*: no examples where *auk* is inserted without a corresponding Greek particle (Ferraresi 1997:122).
- A search conducted within the TITUS corpus (New Testament only) produced the following numbers for cases where a clause-initial wh-word is immediately followed by a modal particle (with the finite verb in a position to the right of this complex).<sup>5</sup>

Table 1: Wh-words immediately followed by a modal particle in the Gothic NT

|                        | Pan | -uh + þan | nu | Auk | þau <sup>6</sup> | Total |
|------------------------|-----|-----------|----|-----|------------------|-------|
| hvas (masc.nom)        | 1   | –         | –  | 2   | –                | 3     |
| hva (neut.nom/acc)     | –   | 1         | 7  | 5   | –                | 13    |
| hō (fem.nom/acc)       | –   | –         | 1  | –   | –                | 1     |
| hê (neut.instr.)       | –   | –         | 2  | –   | –                | 2     |
| han (‘when’)           | –   | 2         | –  | –   | –                | 2     |
| haiwa (‘how’)          | –   | –         | 4  | –   | –                | 4     |
| hapar (‘which of two’) | –   | –         | 1  | –   | –                | 1     |
| duhê (‘why’)           | –   | –         | –  | 1   | 2                | 3     |

- Crucially, in all instances where the insertion of a modal particle leads to an apparent violation of the V2 constraint, the position of the Gothic particle imitates the position of a corresponding element in the Greek text. This is shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Gothic 2<sup>nd</sup> position particles in wh-questions & corresponding Gk. particles<sup>7</sup>

|         | Greek 2 <sup>nd</sup> position particles |     |     |     |     | no corresponding Greek particle | Tot. |
|---------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|------|
|         | de                                       | gar | oun | nun | kai |                                 |      |
| þan     | 1  | –   | –   | –   |     | –                               | 1    |
| -uh þan | 3  | –   | –   | –   |     | –                               | 3    |
| nu      | 2  | –   | 12  | 1   |     | –                               | 15   |
| auk     | –  | 8   | –   | –   |     | –                               | 8    |
| þau     | –  | –   | –   | –   | 2   | –                               | 2    |

- Therefore, we can conclude that the placement of Gothic second position particles does not provide a counterexample for the claim that Gothic already exhibited systematic V2 in wh-questions: in all relevant cases, a given Gothic

<sup>5</sup> No relevant examples were found with the wh-words *his* (MASC/NEUT.GEN), *hamma* (MASC/NEUT.DAT), *hizai* (FEM.DAT), *hana* (MASC.ACC), *harjis* (‘which one’), *bihê* (‘where of’), *hileiks* (‘what ... like’), *helauda* (‘how big’).

<sup>6</sup> According to Wright (1924), *þau* is best translated as ‘then, in that case’ in this environment.

<sup>7</sup> The relevant bible passages (NT) are as follows: Gk. *de* rendered by Gothic *þan*: Lk. 7,17; *de* rendered by *-uh þan*: Mt. 25,38; Mt. 25,39; 1Cor. 4,7; *de* rendered by *nu*: Mt. 11,16; Jo. 9,21; *gar* rendered by *auk*: Mk. 8,36; Rom. 11,34; 1Cor. 4,7; 1Cor. 10,29; 2Cor. 12,13; Phil. 1,18; 1Thess. 2,19; 1Thess. 3,9; *oun* rendered by *nu*: Jo. 9,19; Lk. 7,31; Lk. 7,42; Lk. 20,15; Mk. 15,12; Rom. 7,7; Rom. 9,14; Rom. 9,30; Rom. 10,14; 1Cor. 10,19; 1Cor. 4,26; Phil. 2,1; *nun* rendered by *nu*: Jo. 6,42; *kai* rendered by *þau*: 1Cor. 15,29 and 1Cor. 15,30.

particle merely translates a corresponding second position element of the Greek text.

## 2.2 Summary

- Gothic exhibits systematic V-to-C movement in a set of syntactic contexts that are quite similar to the contexts that trigger V-to-C movement in present-day English; that is, neg-preposing, imperatives, and wh-questions (cf. Eythórsson 1995, 1996). In the latter, verb movement gives rise to V2 orders.
- Thus, it seems that the evidence available to us suggests that the earliest stages of Germanic already showed a form of systematic V2 limited to wh-questions; apparent counter-examples can be shown to follow from extra-grammatical factors (influence of Greek word order).

## 3. Old English: operator V2 + ‘pseudo V2’

- Well-known fact: Old English (OE), exhibits word order patterns reminiscent of the Modern Germanic V2 languages, i.e., the finite verb occupies the second position after a fronted XP, leading to subject-verb inversion (examples taken from Trips 2002:231):

(11) a. *object–V<sub>fin</sub>–subject*

[Pæt hus] **hæfdon** *Romane* to ðæm anum tacne geworht ...  
that house had Romans to the one sign made  
‘The Romans had made that house to their sole sign.’  
(Orosius, Or\_3:5.59.3.1042)

b. *PP–V<sub>fin</sub>–subject*

[On þysse dune ufanweardre] **bæd** *Sanctus Albanus* fram Gode ...  
on this hill higher up bade Saint Alban from God ...  
‘On this hill higher up Saint Alban asked from God ...’  
(Bede, Bede\_1:7.38.30.323)

c. *adverb–V<sub>fin</sub>–subject*

[Uneaðe] **mæg** *mon* to geleafsuman gesecgan ...  
Hardly may man to faithful speak  
‘Hardly may man speak to the faithful ...’  
(Orosius, Or\_3:9.70.16.1292)

- Claim: ‘genuine’ V2 patterns which involve a spec-head relationship between a fronted XP and the finite verb are actually restricted to instances of V-to-C movement triggered in operator contexts (which is again reminiscent of the limited V2 properties of Modern English).

## 3.1 Systematic deviations from V2 in Old English

- V3 orders with non-pronominal subjects: OE exhibits word order patterns similar to Modern English, that is, there are examples in which a full subject DP fails to undergo inversion with the finite verb, cf.

- (12) a. [Æfter þeossum wordum] [se Hælend] **cwæþ** to his leornerum...  
 after these words the Savior spoke to his disciples  
 (Blickling 135; Swan 1994:241)
- b. [Her] [Oswald se eadiga arceb] **forlet** þis lif.  
 in-this-year Oswald the blessed archbishop forsook this life  
 (ASC, Laud (992); Kroch & Taylor 1997:304)

- This word order pattern is actually quite frequent in the OE data (cf. e.g. Swan 1994, Koopman 1998, and Haeberli 1999, 2000). Based on a quantitative analysis of ten OE text samples, Haeberli (2000:4) calculates a percentage of 28.7% for cases where fronting of a non-operator does not lead to inversion of a nominal subject and the finite verb.
- According to Kroch & Taylor (1997:304), this type of V3 order occurs most frequently with temporal adverbs that function as ‘scene setters’.
- Pronoun placement: in clauses with a fronted non-operator, (weak) subject pronouns systematically intervene between the clause-initial XP and the finite verb, giving rise to V3 order:

- (13) a. [Æfter his gebede] *he* **ahof** þæt cild up.  
 after his prayer he lifted the child up  
 ‘After his prayer, he lifted the child up.’  
 (AHth, II, 28; Kemenade 1987:110)
- b. [þas þing] *we* **habbaþ** be him gewritene.  
 these things we have about him written  
 ‘These things we have written about him.’  
 (PC, 1087, 143; Kemenade 1987:110)

- However, strict V2 order is observed if the fronted element is an operator such as a wh-phrase as in (5) or the negation *ne* as in (6). Here, the pronoun invariably follows the finite verb.

- (14) a. Hwæt **sculon** *we* þæs nu ma secgan?  
 what shall we afterwards now more speak  
 ‘What shall we afterwards speak now more?’  
 (Bede, Bede\_2:9.132.1.1253)
- b. hu **wurð** *he* elles gelæred?  
 how was he otherwise taught  
 ‘How was he taught otherwise?’  
 (Bede, BedePref:2.11.153)

- (15) a. ne **bið** *he* lengra þonne syfan elna lang.  
 NEG is he longer than seven ells long  
 ‘He is not taller than seven ells.’  
 (Orosius, :1.15.2.149)



b. Ne **meaht** *þu* deman Gallia biscopas buton heora agenre  
 NEG might you judge Gaul's bishops but their own  
 aldorlicnesse, ...  
 authority  
 'You might not judge the Gaul's bishops but their own authority.'  
 (Bede, Bede\_1:16.74.5.679)

- In addition, the temporal adverbs *þa*, *þonne* 'then' trigger obligatory subject-verb inversion with all kinds of subjects, including pronouns (cf. Mitchell 1985, Kemenade 1987, Kroch & Taylor 1997, Pintzuk 1999):<sup>8</sup>

(16) Ða **for** *he* norþryhte be þæm lande;  
 then went *he* northwards to that land  
 'Then he went northwards to that land.'  
 (Orosius, :1.14.7.128)

(17) Ðonne **ærnað** *hy* ealle toward þæm feo;  
 then run-to they all towards the treasure  
 'Then they all ran towards the treasure.'  
 (Orosius, :1.17.21.233)

- These findings can be summarized as follows:<sup>9</sup>

(18) *V2 and V3 in non-embedded sentences of OE*

- a. XP – V<sub>fin</sub> – DP<sub>subj.</sub> ...
- a'. XP – DP<sub>subj.</sub> – V<sub>fin</sub> ...
- b. XP – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub> ...
- b'. \*XP – V<sub>fin</sub> – subject pronoun ...
- c. WH/NEG/*þa*/*þonne* – V<sub>fin</sub> – subject pronoun ...
- c'. \*WH/NEG/*þa*/*þonne* – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub> ...

- Concerning the placement of pronominal subjects, there is apparently a diachronic continuity from OE to Modern English: fronting of non-operators leads to the order *XP – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub>*, whereas V2 is forced by fronted operators (abstracting away from *þa* and *þonne*).
- With respect to V2, the key difference between OE and Modern English thus consists in the loss of the pattern (18a), that is, subject-verb inversion with full nominal subjects in cases where a non-operator is fronted (cf. Haeberli 1999, 2000).

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<sup>8</sup> V2 order can also be observed with other temporal adverbs such as *nu* 'now', cf.

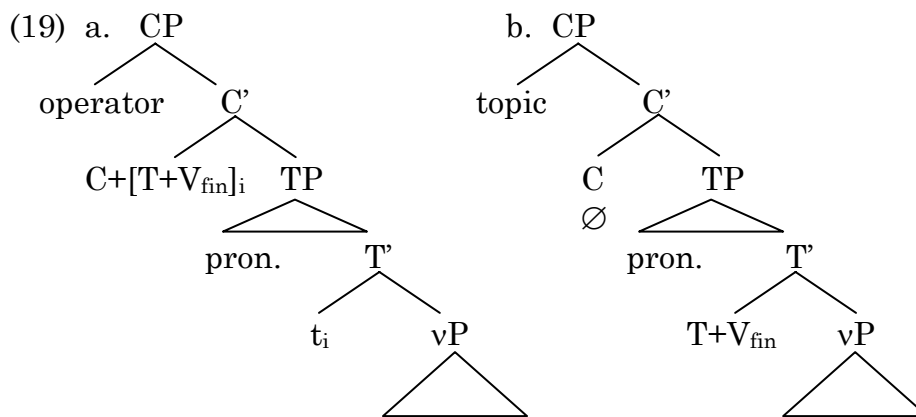
(i) Nu hæbbe *we* ymb Affrica landgemæro gesæd.  
 now have we about Africa's boundary said  
 'Now we have spoken about Africa's boundary.'  
 (Orosius, :1.20.25.302)

However, V2 order is much less regular with *nu* than with *þa* and *þonne* (cf. Mitchell & Robinson 1988:69; similar facts hold w.r.t. *þær*, *þider*, *þanon*, *swa* and *þeah*). For this reason, this paper focuses on V2 patterns with *þa* and *þonne*.

<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, OE exhibits V1 and V-final order in main declaratives, cf. e.g. Mitchell (1985), Pintzuk (1999).

### 3.2 Toward an analysis

- The facts presented in the previous section led many researchers to assume that the clause structure of OE differs considerably from that of the present-day Germanic V2 languages (cf. Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991; Pintzuk 1993, 1999; Hulk and van Kemenade 1995; Kemenade 1997, 1999; Kroch & Taylor 1997; Haeberli 1999, Fischer et al. 2000, Fuß 1998, 2003, Fuß & Trips 2002).
- Basic assumption shared by these approaches: weak subject pronouns occupy a fixed position at the left edge of IP; accordingly, V2 and V3 orders in connection with pronouns are taken to involve different positions of the finite verb:
  1. Only in contexts with fronted operators, the finite verb moves to C ( $\rightarrow$ V2).
  2. In clauses with fronted non-operators, the finite verb occupies a position lower down in the inflectional domain ( $\rightarrow$ V3).<sup>10</sup>
- Assuming a ‘minimalist’ clause structure (Chomsky 1995, 2000), this can be implemented as follows:



(20) *Wh – V<sub>fin</sub> – subject pronoun*  
 [CP hu [C **wurð**<sub>i</sub>+C [TP he [T' t<sub>i</sub>' [vP elles gelæred ]]]]]?  
 how was he otherwise taught  
 ‘How was he taught otherwise?’  
 (Bede, BedePref:2.11.153)

(21) *PP – subject pronoun – V<sub>fin</sub>*  
 [CP Æfter his gebede [TP he<sub>i</sub> [T' ahof [vP t<sub>i</sub> þaet cild up]]]]  
 after his prayer he lifted the child up  
 ‘After his prayer, he lifted the child up.’  
 (AHth, II, 28; Kemenade 1987:110)

- Obligatory inversion with *þa*, *þonne*: *þa*, *þonne* are syntactic operators which occupy SpecCP and trigger V-to-C movement due to the presence of criterial features in C (van Kemenade 1987).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Pintzuk (1993, 1999): Infl; Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991): Agr1; Roberts (1996): Fin, Kroch & Taylor (1997): Agrs, Hulk & van Kemenade (1995), Kemenade (1997), Fischer et al. (2000): F, Fuß (2003): T).

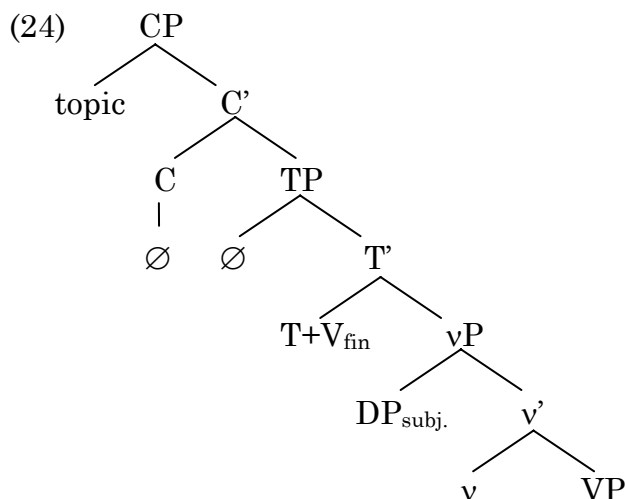
<sup>11</sup> However, see section 3.4 below for an alternative analysis according to which *þa* and *þonne* are merged in SpecTP, forcing the subject to stay in a lower position.

- V2/Inversion with full subject DPs: nominal subjects may remain in a low, presumably vP-internal position (cf. Pintzuk 1999, Kemenade 1997, Kroch & Taylor 1997, Haeberli 1999, Fischer et al. 2000).
- In examples with multiple sentential negation (consisting of the clitic *ne* and the negative adverb *na*) pronominal subjects appear to the left of *na* whereas nominal subjects consistently follow *na* (Fischer et al. 2000:124f.):

- (22) a. Ne het he us **na** leornian heofonas to wyrce<sup>n</sup>e  
 not ordered he us not learn heavens to make  
 ‘He did not bid us learn to make the heavens.’  
 (ÆLS, 127; Fischer et al. 2000:125)
- b. Nis **na** se halga gast wuniende on his gecynde  
 not-is not the holy ghost existing in his nature  
 swa swa he gesewen wæs  
 as he seen was  
 ‘The Holy Ghost is not existing in his nature as he was seen.’  
 (ÆCHom I, 22.322.17; Fischer et al. 2000:125)

- Under standard assumptions concerning the structural positions of negative adverbs such as *na* – either located in SpecNegP or adjoined to VP – these examples suggest that nominal subjects can remain in their  $\theta$ -position. In contrast, pronominal subjects can (or must) move to a position on the left edge of TP.
- Accordingly, subject-verb inversion in examples such as (23) can be attributed to a configuration where the finite verb moves to an inflectional head while the subject stays behind in a lower position (e.g., its  $\theta$ -position SpecvP):

- (23) *object – V<sub>fin</sub> – subject*  
 [<sub>CP</sub> Pæt hus [<sub>TP</sub>  $\emptyset$  [<sub>T</sub> **hæfdon** [<sub>vP</sub> *Romane* to ðæm anum tacne  
 geworht]]]]  
 that house had Romans to the one sign made  
 ‘The Romans had made that house to their sole sign.’  
 (Orosius, Or\_3:5.59.3.1042)



- In other words, the majority of V2 orders found in OE result from a configuration where the topic and the finite verb are merely linearly adjacent: ‘pseudo V2’ (cf. Fuß 2003).
- Still unclear: syntactic derivations which give rise to the structures/word order patterns found in OE, in particular with respect to the asymmetries between pronominal and non-pronominal subjects.

### 3.3 Systematic V3 with pronouns

- Pronoun placement in OE – proposals in the literature:
  - (i) subject pronouns of OE are clitics; special placement properties result from special placement rules (either in the syntax or at PF: left/right adjunction, PF repositioning; Kemenade 1987, Kiparsky 1995, Tomaselli 1995, Pintzuk 1999);
  - (ii) subject pronouns occupy a special structural position associated with the licensing of clitics/weak pronouns (Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991: Agr<sup>10</sup>, Roberts 1996: SpecFinP, Hulk & van Kemenade 1995, Fischer et al. 2000: SpecFP);
  - (iii) only pronominal subjects move to the feature checking position of subjects (Fuß 1998, 2003: SpecTP; Haerberli 1999, 2003: SpecAgrsP).
- Technical implementation of (iii): overt Move F(eature) – elements which consists of nothing but formal features (auxiliaries, clitics/weak pronouns) can be overtly attracted by a category even if this category does not host a “strong” attracting (EPP) feature.<sup>12</sup>

#### ***Basic assumptions***

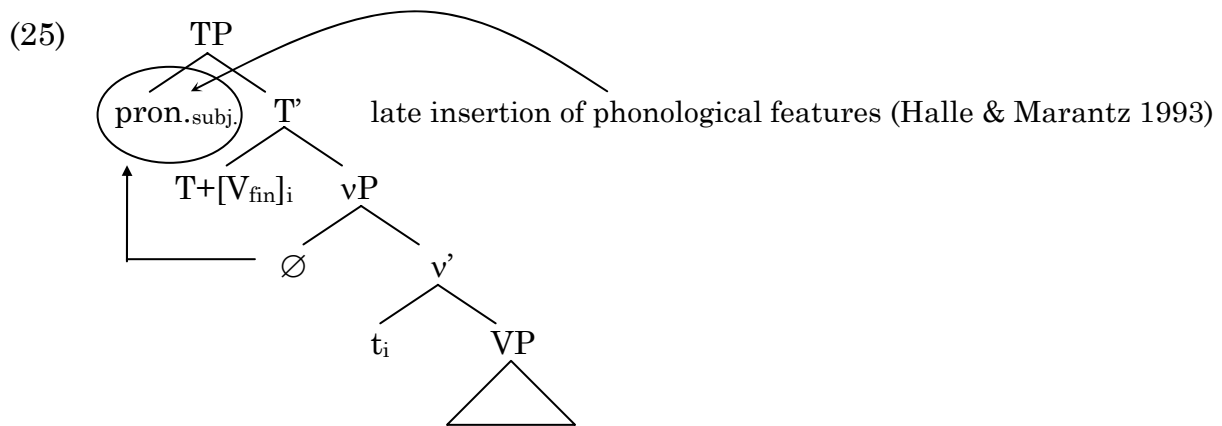
1. Grammar model: (i) Late Insertion of phonological material (Halle & Marantz 1993); (ii) all [–interpretable] features must be eliminated prior to Spell-out (i.e., there is no covert movement; at the point of Spell-out, the syntactic structure is transferred to PF/LF; Bobaljik 1995, Groat & O’Neil 1996).
2. Verb movement: In main clauses, movement of the finite verb to T is triggered by licensing requirements of the chain (C, T) (cf. Fuß & Trips 2002 for details).<sup>13</sup> Movement further up depends on the presence of criterial features in C (licensing of syntactic operators in SpecCP, cf. e.g. Rizzi 1996).

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<sup>12</sup> Originally, the idea that Move F may apply in the overt syntax is proposed by Roberts (1998) to account for the well-known fact that only auxiliaries undergo overt verb movement in English.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Travis (1984), Bennis & Hoekstra (1989), Roberts (1996), Roberts & Roussou (2001), Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) for related ideas. According to Evers (1981), Tense is to be construed as an operator that needs a scope-bearing element. This function is carried out by the verb, which has to enter into a structural relation with Tense. In main clauses, Tense and the verb are related by means of a syntactic chain that is established by V-to-T as a Last Resort. In independent sentences, this operation “anchors the temporal reference of the event on the time of the utterance” (Bennis & Hoekstra 1989, p. 26). In contrast, Tense of embedded clauses is dependent on the temporal anchoring of the matrix clause (see Enç 1987). By assumption, this relation is mediated in a local fashion by the complementizer, rendering V-to-T superfluous and therefore by economy impossible.

3. Position of full DP subjects: T does not carry an EPP feature in OE. Thus, feature checking (agreement, Case) between T and DP<sub>subj</sub> is accomplished by movement of the DP's set of formal features to T (Move F, Chomsky 1995), while phonological features are assigned to the  $\theta$ -position SpecvP. As noted above, this accounts for the frequent V2 patterns found in OE with full DP subjects.<sup>14</sup>
4. Position of pron. subjects: pronouns can move overtly to SpecTP due to their reduced morphosyntactic feature content. Following Chomsky (1981: 330), I assume that in contrast to R-expressions, pronouns consist of nothing but formal features, i.e., [(D), Case,  $\phi$ ].<sup>15</sup> If a pronoun is accessed by the  $\phi$ -set of T then all its formal features are pied-piped in the course of Move F(eature) (Chomsky 1995), leaving no features behind in its base position.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, phonological features can only be assigned to the head position of the movement chain, SpecTP, giving rise to V3 orders with fronted non-operators (cf. Fuß 2003 for details):



- Thus, it appears that in OE, SpecTP is accessible only for pronominal elements.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Further support for this assumption comes from the fact that OE displays a number of subjectless constructions in which neither a nominative subject nor an expletive element shows up in the subject position (SpecTP), in contrast to Modern English. Relevant examples include weather verbs, experiencer verbs and impersonal passives (cf. the examples in (34) below).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. “Assume that there is some set of grammatical features  $\phi$  that characterize pronouns; i.e., pronouns are distinguished from overt anaphors and R-expressions in that the grammatical features of pronouns are drawn solely from  $\phi$ , whereas overt anaphors and R-expressions have some other grammatical features as well. Thus *John* and *each other* each have some grammatical feature that identifies them as non-pronominal, i.e., some feature outside of the set  $\phi$ .”

<sup>16</sup> According to Roberts (1998), in the course of the operation Move F, formal features are ‘stripped away’ rather than copied.

<sup>17</sup> Note that cross-linguistically, weak pronouns/clitics prefer to occupy a position rather high in the inflectional field, giving rise to differences in the placement of pronominal vs. full nominal arguments (e.g., subject pronouns in Germanic, object pronouns in Romance, object shift in Mainland Scandinavian).

### 3.4 Inversion with *þa* and *þonne*

- Traditional analysis: *þa*, *þonne* are syntactic operators on a par with wh-phrases negation etc. As a result, they trigger verb movement to C<sup>0</sup> which crosses the subject pronoun in SpecTP (cf. e.g. van Kemenade 1987):

(26) [CP þa/þonne [C' V<sub>fin</sub> [TP pron. [T' t<sub>V</sub> [vP ... ]]]]

- Problem: lack of V2 effects with 'then' in Modern English: although fronted operators such as wh-phrases and negation continue to trigger inversion in Modern English, *then*, the present-day equivalent of OE *þa*, *þonne* fails to do so:

(27) a. \*Then **will** Harry/he read that book.  
 b. Then Harry/he **will** read that book.

- The assumption that the descendants of OE *þa*, *þonne* lost their operator status and with it the ability to trigger verb movement should lead us to expect a dramatic change in the semantics of 'then'. However this is not borne out by the facts: Mod. English *then* receives an interpretation similar to OE *þa*, *þonne* (cf. e.g. Kroch & Taylor 1997:303).
- If *þa*, *þonne* are not operators, there is actually no reason to assume that the finite verb occupies a position different from its position in other clauses with fronted non-operators. Therefore, it is likely that the finite verb uniformly occupies T<sup>0</sup> in all clauses with a fronted non-operator, including those with clause-initial *þa*, *þonne*.
- Position of *þa*, *þonne*: alternative interpretation of the fact that *þa*, *þonne* forces inversion of pronominal subjects – complementary distribution of subject pronouns (giving rise to V3) and *þa*, *þonne* (leading to obligatory inversion) in preverbal position. This can then be taken to suggest that *þa*, *þonne* and subject pronouns compete for the same structural position, SpecTP:

(28) *V3 orders with fronted non-operators*  
 [CP topic [TP **subject pronoun** [T' V<sub>fin</sub> [vP ...]]]]

(29) *Inversion with þa, þonne*  
 [CP ... [TP **þa/þonne** [T' V<sub>fin</sub> [vP subject pronoun ...]]]]

- Analysis: the temporal adverbs *þa*, *þonne* are merged as the specifier of TP, thereby blocking movement of the subject pronoun to this position (*Merge over Move*, Chomsky 1995). As a consequence, the pronoun has to stay behind in its (postverbal) theta-position (SpecvP), giving rise to surface V2 patterns such as (20):<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> However, this raises the question of how Case and agreement checking is accomplished in this context.

(30) [CP [TP *þa* [T **for** [vP *he* norþryhte be þæm lande ]]]  
 then went *he* northwards to that land  
 ‘Then he went northwards to that land.’  
 (Orosius,:1.14.7.128)

- Following Alexiadou (2000), I assume that SpecTP can host temporal adverbs only if there is no general EPP feature in T, which by assumption is the case in OE (see above).
- Under this analysis, we should expect that in sentences where SpecTP is occupied by *þa*, *þonne*, it should be possible to front another XP to SpecCP, giving rise to V3 orders + inversion (with all kinds of subjects). This expectation is borne out by the facts (data from the York corpus):

(31) a. On þa ilcan tima *þa* **comon** hi to Medeshamstede...  
 at the same time then came they to M.  
 (ChronE\_[Plummer]:870.5.1115)

b. Syððan *þa* **com** he to se cyng Eadgar, ...  
 afterwards then came he to the king E.  
 (ChronE\_[Plummer]:963.9.1396)

c. Mid þam ða **com** þæt wif.  
 with that then came that woman  
 (ACHom\_II,\_8:67.14.1355)

d. Him *þa* **andswarode** se biscop.  
 him then answered the bishop  
 (GD\_1\_[C]:4.28.5.293)

(32) a. For þi *þonne* **wacion** we, ...  
 for that then stay-awake /watch we  
 ‘because then we stay awake/watch...’  
 (ChrodR\_1:14.6.277)

b. On ðone sexteoðan dæg ðæs monðes *þonne* **bið**  
 on the sixteenth day of-the month then is  
 Sancte Marcelles tid ðæs papan.  
 Saint Marcel-GEN feast-day of-the pope-GEN  
 (Mart\_5\_[Kotzor]:Ja16,A.1.99)

- Thus, in examples with *þa* and *þonne*, fronting of another XP may give rise to V3 orders, similar to examples where SpecTP is occupied by a pronominal subject. This can be taken as further support for the suggestion that *þa* and *þonne* occupy the same position as subject pronouns, forcing the latter to stay *in situ*.
- Open question: why can only *þa*, *þonne* occupy SpecTP and trigger V2 patterns, in contrast to other temporal adverbs in OE?

### ***The special status of þa, þonne***

Basic claims: (i) the pronominal character of *þa*, *þonne* sets them apart from other temporal adverbs and enables them to occupy SpecTP, a position reserved for pronominal elements in OE.

(ii) the role of *þa*, *þonne* in the temporal interpretation of a given clause forces them to occupy SpecTP in OE.

- Pronominal character: historically, *þa* and *þonne* developed out of demonstrative pronouns. In the case of *þa*, the connection with the demonstrative paradigm is still rather transparent in OE, where the temporal adverb *þa* is homophonous with the acc.sg.fem. and nom./acc.pl. of *se* ‘the, that’. By assumption, the pronominal character of *þa* and *þonne* enables them to occupy SpecTP (OE T<sup>0</sup> tolerates only (pro)nominal material in its specifier).
- Temporal interpretation: ‘then’ is often classified as an ‘dependent’ (Smith 1981) or ‘purely deictic’ adverb (Cinque 1999:87). In contrast to other temporal adverbs, these adverbs “require the existence of an explicit anchor time to be completely interpreted” (Smith 1981:220). This anchor time is typically given in the discourse context:

(33) Hig genealæhton and genamon hys fyt and to him geeaðmeddon.  
they approached and took his feet and to him worshipped  
*Ða* cwæð se hælynd to heom, ...  
then said the Lord to them  
‘They approached him, held him by the feet and worshipped him. *Then* the  
Lord said to them...’  
(OE Gospels, Matt. 28:9; Freeborn 1998:61)

- In other words, ‘then’ serves to link this anchor time (the reference time of the previous clause) with the reference time of the clause in which ‘then’ appears (cf. Smith 1981, Enç 1987, and in particular Thompson 1999).
- By assumption, this induces a tense variable in T which must be bound by a (pro)nominal element (which according to Roberts & Roussou 2001 is the essence of the EPP; cf. Davis 1998 for similar ideas).<sup>19</sup>
- In OE, the pronominal character of *þa* and *þonne* enables them to be merged directly in SpecTP, thereby satisfying the contextually induced EPP feature in T.
- In other words, the morphosyntactic make-up of these adverbs explains why they *can* show up in SpecTP, whereas their actual appearance in this position is ultimately triggered by their function, i.e. identifying the temporal setting of a given (main) clause.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Note that in embedded clauses, Tense is always dependent on the temporal anchoring of the matrix clause (cf. Enç 1987). By assumption, this relation is mediated by the complementizer (cf. Travis 1984, Bennis & Hoekstra 1989). Therefore, *þa*, *þonne* are not required to occur in SpecTP. Rather, they are only optional elements that are free to adjoin to any of the maximal projections (TP, vP, VP) giving rise to more word order options.

<sup>20</sup> This analysis raises the question of whether pronoun placement giving rise to V3 can be analyzed along similar lines. For example, one might assume that the function and interpretation of personal pronouns is related to the function of ‘then’ in that pronouns represent inherently old information which is anchored to the discourse context. We might then conjecture that only this kind of material may occupy SpecTP in OE, due to the fact that it induces a variable in T which must be bound (see the appendix for an analysis of V3 orders of the type *XP* – *subject DP* – *V<sub>fin</sub>* along similar lines).



### 3.5 The loss of ‘pseudo V2’ in the Middle English period

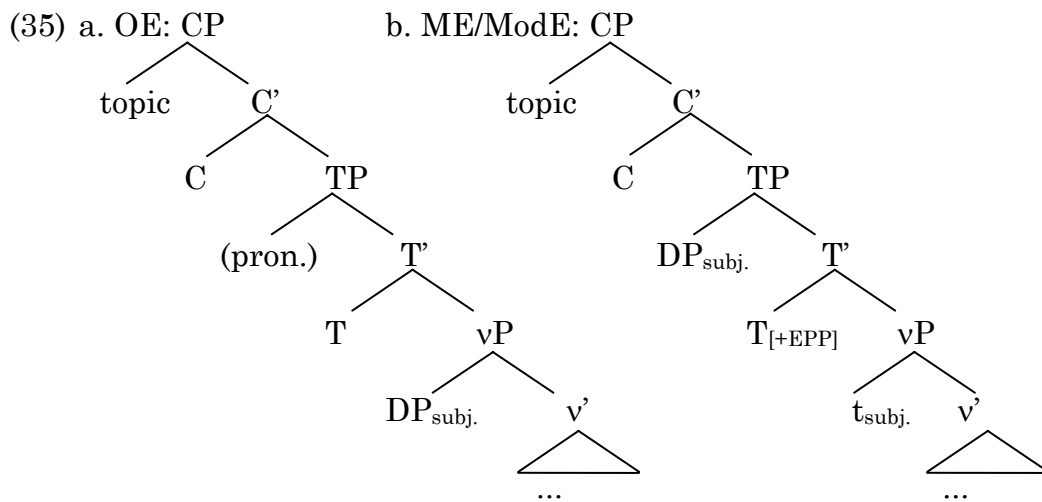
- Observation: chronological parallels between the loss of ‘pseudo V2’ orders (i.e., the pattern (18a)  $XP - V_{fin} - DP_{subj}$ ) and changes affecting the status of the subject position in the Middle English (ME) period suggest that these two changes are connected (cf. Hulk & van Kemenade 1995, Kemenade 1997, Haerberli 1999, 2000, Fuß 2003).
- As already noted above, OE displays a number of subjectless constructions where neither a nominative subject nor an expletive element shows up in the subject position (SpecTP). Relevant examples include weather verbs, experiencer verbs and impersonal passives:

- (34) a. norþan            sniwde  
       [from] north    snowed  
       ‘it snowed from the north’  
       (Seafarer, 31; Kiparsky 1997:471)
- b. him            ofhreow   þæs mannes  
       him-DAT pitied    the    man-GEN  
       ‘he pitied the man’  
       (AColl, 192.16; Allen 1995:68)
- c. þæt eallum folce            sy gedemed beforan ðe  
       that all        people-DAT be judged    before    thee  
       ‘that all the people be judged before you’  
       (Paris Ps. 9.18; Kemenade 1997:335)

- In Early Middle English, these constructions began to disappear, a development which is accompanied by the emergence of the expletive *there*. According to e.g. Breivik (1989), (1990), Allen (1995), Kemenade (1997) and Haerberli (1999), the loss of subjectless structures took place roughly between 1350 and the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.
- This change can be attributed to the development of an EPP feature in T that requires the subject position (here identified as SpecTP) to be overtly filled – either by a nominal bearing nominative case or a semantically vacuous expletive element such as *there*.
- Interestingly, it appears that the loss of surface V2 orders of the type  $XP - V_{fin} - DP_{subj}$  proceeded parallel to the loss of subjectless constructions: according to van Kemenade (1997) and Haerberli (1999), the relevant change took place in the period roughly from 1350 to 1425.
- Analysis: the diachronic development of an EPP-feature required SpecTP to be overtly filled, thereby disrupting the linear adjacency of clause-initial topics and the finite verb in T.<sup>21</sup> This led to the loss of ‘pseudo V2’ configurations, giving rise to the familiar V3 topic-constructions of present-day English:<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> A related analysis is proposed by Hulk & van Kemenade (1995), van Kemenade (1997), Haerberli (1999) and Haerberli (2002) who attribute the loss of pseudo V2 configurations to the loss of expletive *pro* which by assumption occupied the subject position in OE, forcing nominal subjects to remain in their  $\theta$ -position. After the loss of expletive *pro* in the ME period, the only remaining possibility to satisfy the EPP was overt movement of the subject to SpecAgrsP/SpecTP. This disrupts PF-adjacency between the finite verb and a topic in SpecCP and therefore leads to the loss of pseudo V2 orders. However, this account predicts that structures similar to those



- Interestingly, it appears that the loss of *þa*, *þonne* + inversion took place in the very same period.
- Fuß & Trips (2003): a survey over a set of ME texts in the PPCME2 shows that ‘then’ loses its special status as a trigger of V2 in the period from 1340-1475, cf.

Table 3: Frequency of ‘then’+V2 in 7 ME texts

|  | Full subject DPs |                   |            | Pronominal subjects |                   |            |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
|  | number inverted  | Number uninverted | % inverted | Number inverted     | number uninverted | % inverted |
| Ayenbite of Inwit [S], (1340)                      | 14               | 18                | 44         | 16                  | 7                 | 70         |
| Richard Rolle [WM], (1348/49)                      | 2                | 8                 | 20         | 10                  | 10                | 50         |
| Polychronicon [S] (pre1387)                        | 1                | 58                | 1          | 0                   | 55                | 0          |
| Mirror of St. Edmund, Vernon ms. [WM], (1390)      | 6                | 2                 | 75         | 13                  | 13                | 50         |
| The Brut or the Chronicles of England [WM], (1400) | 17               | 3                 | 85         | 34                  | 4                 | 89         |
| Aelred of Rievaulx’s De Institutione [WM], (1400)  | 6                | 1                 | 86         | 3                   | 4                 | 43         |
| Gregory’s chronicle                                | 12               | 39                | 23         | 6                   | 31                | 16         |

found in OE pseudo V2 are possible with an overt expletive in ME. To the best of my knowledge, however, the following pattern is not attested in any historical stage of English:

(i) \*[CP The book [<sub>AgrsP</sub> there [<sub>Agrs'</sub> read [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> the student]]]]]

<sup>22</sup> Sten Vikner (p.c.) pointed out to me that Mainland Scandinavian seems to represent a problem for this proposal: The presence of Infl-related expletives indicates the existence of a strong EPP-feature in these languages. Nevertheless, Mainland Scandinavian has not lost regular V2 in main clauses. However, this situation might be the result of a different chronological order of the relevant historical processes, with the development of full V2 preceding the development of a strong EPP-feature. In fact, this hypothesis is confirmed by the historical facts: Falk (1993) shows that Old Swedish (1225-1526) is a full V2 language that has not yet developed obligatory overt (expletive) subjects.

- The correlation between the loss of ‘then’+V2 and development of the expletive *there* becomes particularly clear in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, a text which exhibits variation between V2 and V3 after clause-initial *panne* ‘then’, see Table 3 (probably an instance of *Grammar Competition*, cf. Kroch 1989). However, all examples with the expletive *ber* ‘there’ display V3 order without inversion, with the expletive intervening between *panne* and the finite verb:

- (36) a. *panne ber nys prowesse ariht: ...*  
 then there not-is prowess properly  
 ‘Then there is no proper prowess.’  
 (CMAYENBI,83.1613)
- b. *panne ber ne is non noblesse: ...*  
 then there not is no nobleness  
 ‘Then there is no nobleness.’  
 (CMAYENBI,87.1702)

- The absence of V2 orders in clauses in which *panne* and *ber* co-occur supports the conjecture that there is a close connection between the loss of ‘then’+V2 and the rise of an EPP feature in T: in cases where an expletive is inserted as SpecTP to satisfy T’s EPP feature, the adverb *panne* must occupy another position (presumably adjoined to TP or occupying an outer spec of TP).
- Over time, V2 patterns with ‘then’ dropped out of the grammar, since SpecTP became a position reserved for subjects/expletives which could not host adverbs any longer:

(37) [<sub>CP</sub> ∅ [<sub>TP</sub> ‘then’ [<sub>TP</sub> expl./subj. [<sub>T</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> ...]]]]]

- Note that the connection between the two changes in question receives a natural explanation on the assumption that OE *þa*, *þonne* occupy SpecTP, but remains unaccounted for if these elements are analyzed as operators that are located in SpecCP.

### 3.6 V2 in Old English: Summary

- In OE, V2 orders result from three underlying configurations: (a) a spec-head relationship between a fronted operator and the finite verb (in C<sup>0</sup>), similar to ‘residual V2’ in present-day English; (b) ‘pseudo V2’, resulting from linear adjacency between a fronted XP in SpecCP and the finite verb, which is located in T; (iii) a spec-head configuration between the temporal adverbs *þa* and *þonne* and the finite verb in T (by assumption an instance of an ‘contextually induced EPP feature’).
- Only pronominal subjects move to SpecTP, giving rise to V3 orders with fronted non-operators. Due to the absence of a general EPP feature in T, nominal subjects remain in their θ-position SpecvP.
- The loss of V2 patterns in the ME period is analyzed as resulting from the independent development of an EPP-feature in T.

## 4. Full V2 in Old High German

- General problem with OHG data: In contrast to OE, the vast majority of records are translations of Latin or Greek religious texts. As a result, the word order properties of the OHG texts are quite often heavily influenced by the syntax of the original.
- Proviso: only the following observations can be taken to indicate genuine word order properties of OHG:
  - a) cases where the word order of the OHG translation deviates from the word order of the original.
  - b) a potential change which is never carried out in the translation (e.g., a change from V2 in the original to V3 order in the OHG translation)

### 4.1 Systematic inversion with pronouns

- In contrast to OE, subject pronouns regularly follow the finite verb in unembedded declaratives, giving rise to V2-patterns similar to the modern Germanic languages:

- (38) a. Dhinera uuomba uuwaxsmin **setzu** *ih* ubar min hohsetli  
your womb's fruit place I upon my throne  
(Isidor, 611; Robinson 1997:9)
- b. [In dhemu uuorde] **chundida** *ir* bifora umbi christan  
in those words prophesied he PRT about Christ  
himilischen druhtin, dhazs ir [...]  
[the] heavenly Lord that he  
(Isidor, 559, Robinson 1997:72)

- Even in the earliest records of OHG this pattern is already very common. V3 patterns with pronouns similar to OE are found mostly in the OHG *Isidor*-translation (around 800). However, even in this text, there are 30 cases of the order *XP-V<sub>fin</sub>-Pron.* whereas we can find only 8 cases of *XP-Pron/Adv.-V<sub>fin</sub>.*
- Moreover, the remaining 8 examples can be analyzed as instances of SOV order (+extraposition as e.g. in (39)), which appears to be a possible word order in main clauses of OHG (see below):

- (39) a. [Dhes martyrunga endi dodh] *uuir* **findemes** mit urchundin  
his martyrdom and death we prove with testimony  
dhes heilegin chiscribes  
[of] the holy scripture  
(Isidor, 516; Robinson 1997:17)
- b. [Erino portun] *ih* **firchnissu**, iisnine grindila firbrihu  
bronze portals I destroy-1SG iron locks break-1SG  
endi [dhiu chiborgonun hort] dhir ghibu  
and the hidden treasures you give-1SG  
'I destroy bronze portals, break iron locks and give you the hidden treasures.'  
(Isidor, 157; Robinson 1997:17)

- In the following example, a non-V2 order (in the Latin original) is changed to a V2 declarative in which the subject pronoun follows the finite verb. This suggests that pronouns had to undergo subject-verb inversion in the OHG of the *Isidor* translation as well (cf. Lippert 1974):

(40) a. et ideo nobis natus est  
 and therefore us born is  
 b. endi [bidhiu] **uuard** *ir* uns chiboran  
 and therefore was he us born  
 ‘And therefore he was born to us.’  
 (Isidor, 394)

- Similar examples are found in the OHG *Tatian* translation:

(41) tunc & *ipse* **ascendit** → tho **ersteig** her úf.  
 ad diem festum zi themo itmalen dage  
 ‘then he **went** also up unto the feast’  
 (347,12f. [104,3]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 79)

- According to Dittmer & Dittmer (1998: 79) there are 21 examples in which the subject pronoun is shifted to a postverbal position, giving rise to V2 order.

#### 4.2 V2 in the OHG *Tatian* translation

- Dittmer & Dittmer (1998): in cases where the word order of the OHG *Tatian* translation (around 880) differs from the word order of the Latin original (so-called version “G”), the relevant changes can be taken to indicate that already this early stage of OHG was characterized by a systematic V2 syntax. The following table lists their observations for chapters 106-109 and 140-150 of the *Tatian*:

Table 4: Prefield elements in the OHG *Tatian* (ch. 106-109 & 140-150), Dittmer & Dittmer (1998)

|  | Latin version “G” –<br>preverbal area | OHG – Prefield            | Total |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| Word order of translation<br>corresponds to original | empty                                 | Empty                     | 40    |
|  | single XP                             | single XP                 | 142   |
|  | two XPs (or more)                     | two XPs (or more)         | 29    |
| Word order of translation<br>deviates from original  | two XPs (or more)                     | less elements, but > 1 XP | 2     |
|  | two XPs (or more)                     | single XP                 | 16    |
|  | single XP                             | empty                     | 3     |
|  | single XP                             | two XPs (or more)         | –     |
| Insertion of elements absent in<br>the original      | empty                                 | single XP                 | 46    |
|  | single XP (or more)                   | single XP (or more) + 1   | –     |
| Insertion of finite verb leads to<br>V2 order        |                                       |                           | 2     |

- The vast majority of changes result in V2 orders where the prefield is occupied only by a single XP.

- This is achieved by either (i) reducing the number of preverbal elements found in the Latin original (via shifting elements to a postverbal position, mostly in the middle field) or (ii) inserting or shifting elements to the prefield in cases where the Latin original exhibits V1 order.

- Reduction of the preverbal field to a single element:<sup>23</sup>

(42) *unum tibi deest* → *ein ist* thir uuan.  
 one thing you lack one thing is you-DAT lacking  
 ‘thou lackest one thing’  
 (Tatian 357,15 [106,3]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 92)

- Insertion of an element into the preverbal position:

(43) *dixit illi.* → *thó quad* her imo.  
 said him then said he him  
 ‘then he said to him’  
 (Tatian 357,1 (106,2); Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 92)

(44) *rogo ergo te pater* → *ih bitiu* thih fater  
 pray-1SG therefore you father I pray you father  
 ‘I pray thee therefore father’  
 (Tatian 365,5 [107,3]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 95)

- In the chapters 106-109 of the OHG *Tatian*. there are 12 instances where an empty Latin preverbal position is translated by an OHG prefield which contains a single element which has no model in the Latin original.
- Concerning the elements inserted in this context, Dittmer & Dittmer (1998: 95) state: “Es handelt sich um leichte Glieder wie *ih*, *tho* und *thanne*.”
- *tho* ‘then’: 8 examples, *thanne* ‘then’: 1 example, *ih* ‘I’: 3 examples.
- Note that this is reminiscent of the elements which (obligatorily) occupy the preverbal position SpecTP in OE.

### ***The rise of full V2 in continental West Germanic***

- Assumption: cases in which another element is newly inserted to the preverbal field still reflect the unmarked, ‘core’ instances of V2 in OHG.
- The facts illustrated in (43) and (44) can then be taken to suggest that full V2 developed via a structural change in which patterns involving an obligatory spec-head relationship between the finite verb and certain elements in SpecTP (‘then’ or pronouns) were reanalyzed in terms of an obligatory spec-head configuration in the C-domain:

(45) a. [<sub>CP</sub> ... [<sub>TP</sub> ‘then’/subject pronoun [<sub>T</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ...]]]] →  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub> ‘then’/subject pronoun [<sub>C</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ...]]]]

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<sup>23</sup> The line numbers refer to Masser’s (1994) edition of the *Tatian*. The numbers in brackets refer to the version edited by Sievers (1961).

- This reanalysis reinforced the V2 character of the ancestor(s) of OHG by adding new V2 patterns to the already existing V2 orders in the context of fronted operators.
- Speculation: the special anaphoric character of the fronted elements induced an EPP feature in C<sup>0</sup>, similar to OE T<sup>0</sup> (see above) Over time, this EPP feature was generalized to all instances of matrix C (analogous to the development of a general EPP in T in the history of English), eventually leading to the full V2 syntax of continental West Germanic.

#### 4.2.1 Violations of the V2 constraint in the OHG *Tatian*

- With respect to apparent deviations from V2, we have to bear in mind that OHG translations often respect the line breaks of the original. That is, if a sentence runs over two lines in the original, material which is part of the first line must not be shifted to the second line and vice versa in the OHG translation (see e.g. Masser 1997 and Dittmer & Dittmer 1998:23 on the OHG *Tatian* translation). In many cases, this gives rise to deviating word orders (V3 in the following example):

(46) Auditis autem his discipuli → then gihorten thie iungoron  
**mirabantur** ualde dicentes **uuntrotun** thrato sus quedenti:  
 ‘And when they had heard this, the disciples **wondered** much, saying.’  
 (Tatian 359,6 [106,4]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 98)

- Still, there are a couple of examples where the translation deviates from the Latin original, but does not exhibit V2 order: (i) Latin V2/V3 rendered by OHG V1; (ii) Latin preverbal field is enlarged by insertion of further elements.
- V2/V3 → V1:

(47) Et pastores **erant** in regione eadem → **uuarun** thô hirta in thero lantskeffi  
 ‘And there were shepherds in the same country’  
 (Tatian 85,29 [6,1]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 100)

- Enlargement of prefield:

(48) Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire > Nioman nimag zuuein herron thionon  
 aut enim unum **odio habebit** odo *her einan* **hazzot**  
 et alterum diligit. inti anderan minnot.  
 aut unum sustinebit. odo einan gitregit  
 et alterum contemnet inti anderan ubarhugit.  
 ‘No man can serve two masters: for either he **will hate** the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.’  
 (Tatian 85,29 [6,1]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 100)

- In the above example, a subject pronoun has been inserted into preverbal position, giving rise to apparent V3 order. Note, however, that the relevant clause (or, rather, the sequence of clauses in (48)) can also be analyzed as an SOV main clause.

- A related example is given in (49):

(49) nam digna                    →    *uuir* uuirdigen  
 factis **recepimus**            tatin **intfahemes**.  
 ‘for we **receive** the due reward of our deeds’  
 (Tatian 85,29 [6,1]; Dittmer & Dittmer 1998: 100)

- Again, a subject pronoun is inserted, enlarging the preverbal field. Similar to (48), however, the result can be analyzed as a matrix SOV clause.
- Dittmer & Dittmer (1998: 103): in these contexts, the inserted element is always a phonologically light element (e.g. a pronoun).

### 4.3 Summary

- Pronoun placement: In contrast to OE, pronouns systematically invert with the finite verb in main clauses of OHG.
- Tatian, main clauses: cases in which the word order of the Latin original is changed in the OHG translation indicate that early stages of OHG already exhibited systematic V2.
- Minority patterns: V1 and V-final order in main clauses.

## 5. Concluding summary

- We can identify at least three different types of V2 in Early Germanic: (i) operator V2 (Gothic, OE); (ii) ‘pseudo V2’ (OE); (iii) full V2 (OHG). In addition, OE exhibits inversion phenomena triggered by temporal adverbs like *þa* and *þonne* which are analyzed as temporal anaphors which occupy SpecTP, forcing the subject to stay behind in a postverbal position.
- Furthermore, OE shows a considerable number of systematic V3 orders in main clauses (with pronominal *and* nominal subjects).
- All early Germanic languages exhibit further word order options in main clauses, e.g. V1 or V-final order (see Pintzuk 1999 on V1 and SOV in matrix declaratives of OE).
- Operator V2 appears to be the historical core of the V2 phenomenon in Germanic, revealing a historical continuity from the earliest records to present-day English.
- It was suggested that in continental West Germanic, full V2 developed via a structural reanalysis in which an obligatory spec-head configuration between the finite verb and temporal adverbs/pronouns was shifted from TP to CP, eventually giving rise to a general EPP feature in C (however, see e.g. Kiparsky 1995 for an alternative scenario).

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## Appendix: Speculations on the rise of an EPP feature in T

- Traditional idea (cf. Sapir 1921, Kiparsky 1997): loss of inflectional morphology required arguments to occur in fixed structural positions (subjects can only be licensed under spec-head with their case-assigning head, T).
- Problem: Icelandic exhibits rich verbal and nominal inflection, but crucially lacks free reordering of nominal arguments (in contrast to e.g. Modern German or OE). In other words, Icelandic apparently has to rely on positional licensing of arguments despite the fact that its case system is rich enough to unambiguously identify the grammatical relations taken up by nominal arguments (cf. Thráinsson 1997).
- Hypothesis: the historical development of an EPP feature in T is connected to licensing requirements of Tense (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2001) and the independent development of a rigid tense system in the history of English.
- As already noted above, OE exhibits V3 orders where the finite verb is preceded by a scene-setting temporal adverb and a full nominal subject:

- (50) a. [Æfter þeossum wordum] [se Hælend] **cwæþ** to his leornerum...  
after these words the Savior spoke to his disciples  
(Blickling 135; Swan 1994:241)
- b. [Her] [Oswald se eadiga arceb] **forlet** þis lif.  
in-this-year Oswald the blessed archbishop forsook this life  
(ASC, Laud (992); Kroch & Taylor 1997:304)

- Problem: If only pronominal subjects can move overtly to (or rather, be spelled out in) SpecTP, the question arises how full nominal subjects can show up in exactly this position, giving rise to V3 orders such as (50).
- Possible answer: examples in (50) represent instances of multiple topicalization, targeting different specifier positions in the C domain (following Rizzi 1997).
- Alternative analysis: sentences like (50) are early instances of the Modern English pattern, i.e., with the nominal subject occupying SpecTP.
- Basic proposal: movement of the subject is triggered by further licensing requirements of Tense, apart from those already fulfilled by verb movement (cf. fn. 13 above).
- Contextually induced EPP: Similar to *ba* and *bonne*, scene-setting adverbs in SpecCP anchor the utterance to a reference time specified in the preceding discourse context. This in turn induces the presence of a tense variable in T that must be bound by a (pro)nominal element in SpecTP. In contrast to *ba*, *bonne*, however, scene setting adverbs cannot be merged in SpecTP (presumably due to their non-nominal character).
- The development of a general EPP (i.e., a tense variable in T) can then perhaps be related to another change, namely the development of an elaborate and rigid system of tenses, with a clear functional differentiation of, e.g. past and perfect tense, which is a characteristic of Modern English (in OE, there are only two tenses, past and non-past; cf. Denison 1993 for a comprehensive overview of the diachronic developments in question).

- Interestingly, it appears that the the latter development took place at about the same time as the changes discussed above (i.e. the loss of V2 and subjectless constructions). For example, Bauer (1970) claims (in a study of the use of different tenses in the works of Chaucer and Gower) that the differentiation of past and perfect tense was completed by and large by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>24</sup>
- Under these assumptions, it is possible to relate the possibility of V3 patterns with nominal subjects to the loss of the superficial V2 orders generated by the ‘pseudo V2’ configuration discussed above.

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<sup>24</sup> Another indication that these suggestions are perhaps on the right track comes from the fact that in a language such as German, the absence of EPP effects (cf. Haider 1993; Roberts & Roussou 2001) goes hand in hand with a – compared to English – much less rigid tense system, where past and perfect tense are freely interchangeable and the present tense can assume all kinds of temporal functions (cf. Zeller 1994, Grewendorf 1995).