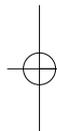Diachronic Studies on Information Structure

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Evidence for Two Types of Focus Positions in Old High German

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1 Word order variation in Early Germanic

Standard generative accounts[1] assume a uniform SOV base order in the early Germanic languages. This order shows up in subordinate clauses introduced by an overt complementizer in the head of a functional projection CP. In root clauses, the empty position of the complementizer is filled by the finite verb (Vf) while movement of another constituent to SpecC yields V2 on the surface. Under this analysis, the early Germanic languages share the syntactic structure of asymmetric SOV languages like modern German or Dutch, with some additional properties which explain apparent violations of this basic pattern. One of them concerns the obligatoriness of V-to-C movement in root clauses. While in Old High German (OHG), this kind of operation is well established in root clauses (cf. Axel 2007, for variation between V1 and V2 cf. Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2009), it is argued that in Old English (OE) movement to C is restricted to contexts with syntactic operators (wh- and negation words, sentence adverbials *þa* and *þonne*) in SpecC, with the verb targeting a lower projection (e.g. I°) in all remaining types of root clauses (cf. Kemenade 1987, 1997 among others on residual V2 in OE).

Another special property of early Germanic syntax that has been in the center of attention in the research is word order variation in the right periphery of clauses. In fact, there is significant evidence for subordinate clauses which display lexical material to the right of Vf in early Germanic. According to van Kemenade (1987, 39–41) and Tomaselli (1995, 350–351), such surface orders are the result of rightward movement of phrases, i.e. of extraposition, which is attested in the modern SOV languages as well. They also show that rightward movement in early Germanic and in

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1 See Lenerz (1984) for Old High German, van Kemenade (1987) for Old English and Erickson (1997) for Old Saxon.

the modern SOV languages affects the same type of constituents, namely i) PPs and other phonologically 'heavy' constituents, e.g. CP-complements or heavy DPs, or ii) VPs in clauses with complex verb forms in which Verb Raising (VR) or Verb Projection Raising (VPR) takes place.[2] In all cases, however, Vf is assumed to remain in its basic position at the end of the clause.

This account has been challenged on the basis of previously unnoticed evidence from Old English. Pintzuk (1991, 1999) provided examples of embedded clauses in which Vf is followed by types of phrases which do not undergo rightward movement in the modern SOV languages, e.g. pronominal objects, light adverbs or verbal particles. As such orders cannot be derived by extraposition, Pintzuk assumes leftward movement of Vf to the head of a clause-medial functional projection I(nflection)P. Additionally, she found evidence for particles and light elements following the main verb in verb clusters. Such orders can receive no other interpretation than as being instances of basic VO order. This means that against the standard account OE cannot be viewed as uniformly head-final in the base. Instead, word order variation in OE is the result of variation in the head-complement parameter both in VP and IP. This variation, in turn, is said to go back to language contact and to be an instance of grammar competition in the I-language of one and the same speaker (also called Double Base Hypothesis, see Kroch 1989).

A refinement of the Double Base Hypothesis is proposed by Fuss and Trips (2002). They account for the fact that one particular order which is potentially possible in the model of Pintzuk (1991, 1999), namely the one with a head-initial V° and a head-final I°, is actually not attested in the Old English records. Additionally, they observe a mismatch between the distributional properties of pronominal subjects and adverbs in main vs. embedded clauses in OE. While in main declarative clauses, adverbs cannot intervene between pronominal subjects and Vf, they are allowed to do so in embedded clauses. On the assumption that i) the position of the pronominal subject marks the left edge of IP (according to Pintzuk 1993, 1999) or TP (according to Fuss 2000) and ii) that Vf in main declarative clauses is in the head I° or T° respectively, leftward movement of Vf in embedded clauses should target another projection below IP/TP. Fuss and Trips assume this projection to be vP, a functional node that is only head-initial and hosts light verbs like auxiliaries and causative verbs. In line with this model, the grammars in competition in OE differ with respect to the

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2   VR and VPR refer to some special surface orders in which Vf occurs in medial position and is followed either by the untensed main verb V (VR) or by V and (some of) its complements (VPR). Note that the analysis of VR and VPR as instances of rightward movement reflects the original account proposed by Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986).

presence or absence of overt movement of Vf to νP , with additional variation of OV vs. VO in the base.

The issues put forward in the discussion on word order variation in OE have been applied to the explanation of this phenomenon in the historical stages of German as well. It is well known that over a long period of time German also displays a great deal of structural variation in subordinate clauses. Traditional descriptions, e.g. Behaghel (1932, 44, § 1457) or Ebert (1978, 39–43), report a high number of subordinate clauses in which Vf occurs in clause-medial position, followed by types of constituents which never appear postverbally in present-day German.

Recent work by Weiß (2006) and Schallert (2006) addresses word order variation in the earlier records of German from two rather different perspectives. Weiß discusses word order variation in clauses introduced by *das* 'that' in the so called 'minor' texts of the OHG period. Although he shows that a great number of clauses with verb-medial orders receives a proper interpretation within the standard extraposition account, he identifies some patterns which call for an alternative explanation. First, he provides evidence for embedded V1 and V2 in OHG. He argues that V2-orders with a non-subject before Vf are derived via overt movement of Vf to the head of a clause-medial functional (thus left-headed) projection TP which is between CP and P. While the specifier position of P is targeted by subjects, the specifier position of TP can host non-subjects as well, thus giving rise to embedded V2 with non-subjects before Vf in OHG.[3] Second, Weiß provides examples which show properties of VO in the base: these are mainly cases in which a clause-medial Vf is followed by a particle or a non-finite main verb and its object. However, while Weiß is skeptical as to whether basic VO-order can be really claimed for OHG due to scanty evidence in his corpus, Schallert (2006) proposes a model according to which OHG is a language with a mixed OV/VO base order.

Our alternative approach is to assume that variation in word order is variation on the surface that is due to the expression of information-structural categories. Adopting the Universal Base Hypothesis (UBH, cf. Kayne 1994), we assume that there is no variation in the base, deriving different surface orders from a unique order Spec-Head-Complement and leftward movement only (Hinterhölzl 2006). This approach has been applied to the explanation of word order variation and change in Older Icelandic where surface OV and VO orders co-occur for centuries (see Hróardóttir 2000). Hinterhölzl (2004) argues for a similar approach to explaining variation in OE and OHG. The hypothesis that the position of

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3   Axel (2007, 97-104) provides an alternative solution to such data. She opts for an analysis of embedded V2 as an instance of CP-recursion which is typical for some modern Germanic languages as well (Vikner 1995).

Vf in OHG correlates with the realization of information-structural categories in the clause is supported by recent empirical investigations showing that Vf separates the less relevant, or presupposed information from the new or asserted information in the clause (see Schlachter 2004, and with some modifications Petrova 2009). In the present study, we want to integrate these empirical facts into a syntactic model of clause structure in OHG.

2 Surface Orders in Dependent Clauses in OHG

2.1 Remarks on the Database

In this section, we concentrate on data from the OHG Tatian translation, one of the largest prose texts from the early period of OHG (around 850). We base our observations on clauses in which the OHG text differs in word order from the corresponding Latin original. In applying this method we subscribe to the view that instances of the kind provide evidence for native OHG grammar (cf. Dittmer and Dittmer 1998, Donhauser 1998, Fleischer, Hinterhölzl and Solf 2008).

We use a database containing all deviations from the Latin original found in the text parts of the scribes , and ε (a total of 1.658 entires) and concentrate on dependent clauses included in it. More precisely, we select clauses which specify a situation variable or fill an argument position of a higher predicate as well as in which the C-domain is filled by an adverbial subordinator, a complementizer or a relative pronoun. In many cases, these structures are used in OHG to translate different kinds of dependent clauses of the Latin original, see (1) below. However, note that in OHG, constructions with the same formal and semantic properties are found even in those cases in which the Latin equivalent is a non-finite clause, e.g. an infinitival clause (2) or participial construction (3). This strongly suggests that the structures in question are instances of genuine OHG syntax:

(1)   [thô   sie   thar   uuarun] / uuvrđun
         when they there were   PASS.AUX
         taga   gifulte   [thaz siu bari]
         days   filled.PL   that   she gave-birth
         'When they were there, the time came for her to give birth' (T 35, 22-23)[4]
         lat. *cum essent ibi / Impl&i sunt dies ut parer&*

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4   Examples are cited by manuscript page and line number according to the diplomatic edition of Masser (1994). A slash represents the end of line both in the Latin and OHG text. Note that in the manuscript, the Latin source and the OHG translation form two juxta-

(2)   Inphieng   thô   antwurti […] / [thaz   her
       received   then   response   that   he
       niarsturbi]
       NEG-die.SBJV
       'It was revealed [to Simeon] that he would not die' (T 37, 28-29)
       lat. *& responsum acceperat […] / non uisurum sé mortem*

(3)   Thô   herod   arstarb
       when   Herod   died
       'When Herod was dead' (T 41, 20)
       lat. *Defuncto autem herode*

Following traditional classifications, we distinguish between conjunctional and relative clauses in the database. As for the latter, we have to be aware of cases that yield a possible root interpretation as well. See (4) in which the structure in square brackets is ambiguous between a subordinate relative clause with an extraposed object and an asyndetic coordinate root conjunct showing the typical V2 order.[5] But apart from such cases, the database provides numerous examples of relative clauses which can be unambiguously identified as subordinate structures, e.g. headless relative clauses (5a) as well as restrictive relative clauses (5b). Note that Vf in clause-medial position is ungrammatical in such structures in modern German but obviously possible in OHG:

(4)   sum   tuomo uuas   In sumero burgi/
       certain judge was   in certain town.DAT
       [ther   niforhta   got]
       DEM   NEG-feared   God
   (a) 'There was a judge in a town who did not fear God'
   (b) 'There was a judge in a town. He did not fear God' (T 200, 30-31)
       lat. *Iudex quidam erat In quadam ciuitate/ qui deum non timebat*

(5) a. salige   sint   [thiethar   sint   sibbisame]
       blessed.PL are   who-PRT   are   peaceful.PL
       'Blessed are the peacemakers' (T 60, 16)
       lat. *Beati pacifici*

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posed columns. Every line in the OHG text contains exactly the material provided in the corresponding Latin one, with a few exceptions in the entire codex (cf. Masser 1997).

5   Endriss and Gärtner (2005) describe a parallel biclausal construction in modern German and argue for an interpretation of the second clause as a quasi-relative root conjunct with a special topic-marking function. They also outline a number of conditions which allow for V2 in this case. Petrova and Solf (t.a.), Axel (in prep.) point out that the conditions allowing for V2 in the same kind of construction in OHG are identical to those for its modern-German equivalent. Following this, it is legitimate to assume that not only the formal but also the semantic properties of the construction are identical in OHG and in modern German, which favours a root interpretation of the second conjunct in (4).

b. In   thie   burg /   galileę   [thero namo   ist nazar&h
    Into   that   town   [of] Galilee whose name   is Nazareth
    'into that town of Galilee whose name is Nazareth' (T 28, 4-5)
    lat. *In ciuitatem / galileae cui nomen nazar&h*

A further specification is needed with respect to causal clauses, cf. Dittmer (1991). It is well-known that the elements introducing them in OHG, mainly *uuanta* or *bithiu uuanta* 'because', vary between extra-clausal connectives linking two coordinated root clauses (cf. *denn* in modern German) and subordinating conjunctions placed in C° (cf. *da* and *weil*[6] in modern German). Since by virtue of these properties, causal clauses may confuse the picture gained for conjunctional clauses in general, the figures for them are kept separate in the statistics.

2.2 Quantitative Distribution and Clues to Basic Order

First, we determine the ratio of surface orders in which Vf is in clause-final position as opposed to those displaying lexical material to the right of Vf.[7] Table 1 provides an overview over the quantitative distribution of these orders in the three groups of dependent clauses distinguished in the database:

clause type	total	clause-final Vf		non-final Vf	
conjunctional clauses	360	199	55,28 %	161	44,72 %
relative clauses	203	139	68,47 %	64	31,53 %
causal clauses	79	29	36,71 %	50	63,29 %
total number	642	367	57,17 %	275	42,83 %

Table 3: Surface orders in dependent clauses in OHG Tatian

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6   It is well known that in modern German, causal clauses with *weil* can also display V2 order under special conditions, see Altmann (1997) among others.

7   Postverbal clausal structures, both finite and non-finite ones (infinitives, participial constructions and the like), are not considered in the investigation. It is well known that CP-complements, in contrast to DP-complements, are regularly extraposed in modern German, i.e. they follow their selecting verb. OHG displays no difference in this respect. See (i):

(i)   só   ír   uuoll& [thaz   íu   man
      how   you want   that   you.DAT.PL   PR.INDEF
      tuon] /   só   tuot ír   ín   selbsama
      treat   the way   treat you-PL them.DAT.PL REFL.PR
      'Treat other people the way you want to be treated by them' (T 65, 16–17)
      lat. *& prout uultis ut faciant uobis homines. / facite illis similiter*
      We consider this type of evidence as irrelevant for the question at issue. Please note that extraposed clausal structures are not included in the figures in Table 1.

At first sight, these figures reveal that clauses with non-final Vf surface order are relatively frequent in OHG. The high proportion of non-final Vf orders among the causal clauses is compatible with the intuition that we probably deal with root conjuncts in part of the data. But among the conjunctional clauses, which do not allow for a paratactic analysis, the proportion of non-final Vf orders is still significantly high. Here, in nearly half of the cases the scribe decided to depart from the structure of the Latin original but ended up in a structure which is different from the assumed basic verb final order.

However, the frequency of surface patterns is only one aspect of the phenomenon in question. It has been pointed out in the literature that superficial non-final verb orders are ambiguous between a VO base order and a surface VO order derived by extraposition from an OV base. Recent studies on word order variation in early Germanic therefore consider examples which contain linguistic diagnostics as indications of underlying order (cf. Kroch and Taylor 2000).

First, clues to base order are provided by negative evidence from modern SOV languages. In modern SOV languages, extraposition is typical for adjunct-PPs, CPs complements and heavy (modified) DPs, while it is excluded for pronouns, verbal particles, predicative nouns and adjectives, as well as for light (e.g. monosyllabic) adverbs. If constituents of the latter group appear after Vf in a subordinate clause, it is unlikely that they have aquired this position via rightward movement. In case the predicate consists of Vf only, we cannot tell whether we have a surface VO-order derived by leftward movement of Vf, or an instance of basic VO. But, if the predicate consists of a finite auxiliary and a non-finite main verb (V), a light element to the right of V is a clear indication of VO in the base (see, e.g., Kroch and Taylor 2000).

Second, there is a class of elements which mark the right edge of the VP in SOV languages. These are non-finite main verbs (6a), nominal parts of predicates (6b), and verbal particles (6c). If in a subordinate clause, an argument XP appears after Vf which follows one of these elements, it is standardly assumed that this is a case of extraposition from a basic OV-order:

(6)   a   –V–Vf–XP
      b. –predAdj/N–Vf–XP
      c. –PRT–Vf–XP

Based on these general observations, we shall turn to the analysis of surface orders in dependent clauses in OHG.

2.3 The Derivation of Orders with clause-medial Vf

Table 2 provides an overview over the type and frequency of phrases appearing in postverbal position in dependent clauses in the database. Aditionally, we specify whether the constituent in question is in postverbal position in the Latin original as well (+lat) or whether it is realized after Vf in OHG independently of the Latin order (-lat).

clause	PP		full DP		pron DP		adverb		predAdj		Inf/Part	
type	+lat	-lat	+lat	-lat	+lat	-lat	+lat	-lat	+lat	-lat	+lat	-lat
conj cl	84	--	68	3	7	--	3	--	6	2	1	18
rel cl	18	5	12	10	1	--	--	--	3	5	9	4
caus cl	12	3	21	2	1	2	--	--	1	--	5	8
total	114	8	101	15	9	2	3	--	10	7	15	30

Table 2: Typology of postverbal phrases in dependent clauses in the OHG Tatian database

Let us analyze these orders from the point of view of the diagnostics in (6).

It is well-known that PPs are a typical subject of extraposition in modern German. The OHG data fits into this picture. As shown in (7a–c), we find in the examples all types of diagnostics mentioned in (6) above. This seems to support the view that the surface orders attested here are derived from a basic OV order and the PP is moved to the right of Vf:

(7) a. –V–Vf–PP
         noba   imo   íz   gigeban   uuerde   fon
         if not him   it   given   PASS.AUX.SBJV from
         himile
         Heaven.DAT
         'unless it be granted to him by Heaven'   (T 57, 7)
         lat. *nisi ei fuerit datum de caelo*
     b. –predAdj–Vf–PP
         salige   sint thiethar   arme   sint   in geiste
         blessed.PL are who-PRT   poor.PL   are   in mind.DAT
         'blessed are the simple-minded' (T 60, 3)
         lat. *beati pauperes spiritu*
     c. –PRT–Vf–PP
         mit thiu   hér thó   ingieng   in   capharnaum
         when   he then PRT-went   in   Capharnaum
         'when he arrived in Capharnaum' (T 83, 8)
         lat. *Cum introiss& in capharnaum autem*

Next to PPs, DPs taking all possible syntactic functions in the clause (i.e. subjects, objects and predicative DPs) may appear after Vf in dependent clauses in OHG. In modern German, this property is attested for heavy

DPs which are able to form an intonational phrase on their own (Hinterhölzl 2004, 152). In the OHG examples, postverbal DPs in part of the data may also be considered as heavy DPs. Additionally, we find a typical diagnostics for extraposition from a basic OV-order in (8a):

(8)　a.　–V–Vf–DP

thaz	gibrieuit	uuvrdi	[al these	umbiuuerft]
that	registered	PASS.AUX.SBJV	all this	universe

'that all the universe be registered' (T 35, 9)

lat. *ut describer&ur uniuersus orbis*

　　b.

thaz	mannes	sun /	hab&	[giuualt	in erdu /
that	man.GEN.SG	son	has	power	in earth

zifurlazenne	sunta]
to forgive	sins

'that the Son of Man has the power to forgive sins on Earth' (T 89, 26-28)

lat. *quod filius hominis / potestatem hab & in terra / dimittere peccata*

However, in OHG, light DPs, e.g. pronouns (9a) and bare nouns (9b) as well as predicative nouns (9c) may also occur after Vf in subordinate clauses. This is a problem for the extraposition account because in modern SOV languages, phrases like these do not undergo rightward movement:

(9)　a.　–PRT–Vf–pronominal DO

thaz	sie	úz	uuvrphin	sie
that	they	PRT	threw	them

'that they expelled them' (T 76, 2)[8]

lat. *ut eicerent eos*

　　b.　–Vf–single DO

Inti	thiethár	hab&un	diuual
and	whoPRT	had	devil

'and those who were possessed by the devil' (T 59, 1)

lat. *& qui demonia habebant*

　　c.　–Vf–predN

thaz	sie	hiezzin	boanerges
that	they	were called	Boanerges

'that they be called Boanerges' (T 59, 22)

lat. *boanerges*

8　One may doubt the validity of (9a) by virtue of the fact that the pronominal object follows the selecting verb in the original as well. In the text sections considered in the database, only causal clauses (being potential root conjuncts) provide examples of pronouns in postverbal position contrary to the Latin, cf. (i) in Fn. 9. However, as has been shown in the literature, examples with postverbal pronominal objects, which are no imitations of the original, also appear in other types of dependent clauses. See Dittmer and Dittmer (1998, 148):

(i)

thiedar	giotmotigot	sih
who-PRT	humiliates	REFL.PR

'who humiliates himself' (T 195, 19)

lat. *qui se humiliat*

Examples with postverbal DPs as complements of copula verbs of the type *heizzan* 'be called' are especially revealing for further analysis, as they are often passivized and thus contain both an inflected auxiliary and an untensed main verb. On the one hand, patterns like –V–Vf–predN as in (10a) give support to the view that the DP has been moved to the right of Vf from a basic OV order. Under this analysis, we have to hypothesise for OHG a type of rightward movement which is not attested in the modern SOV languages. Nevertheless, this explanation does not hold for all cases involving postverbal predicative DPs. See (10b) where the pattern –Vf–V–predN is best analyzed as an instance of a base order in which all complements are serialized to the right of their heads. Any attempt to provide an alternative derivation from a basic OV order involves a series of complicated and unusual movement operations:

(10) a.   –V–Vf–predN
           ther   giheizan   ist   p&rus
           who   called   is   Peter
           'who is called Peter' (T 54, 15)
           lat. *qui uocatur p&rus*
      b.   –Vf–V–predN
           thiu   uuas   ginemnit   b&hleem
           which   was   called   Bethlehem
           'which was called Bethlehem' (T 35, 17)
           lat. *quae uocatur b&hleem*

The same considerations hold for predicative adjectives after Vf. Most remarkable are examples like (11) in which the clause-final placement of Vf in the Latin original is suspended in OHG:

(11)   daz   sie   sin   blinte
           that   they   be.SBJV   blind.PL
           'that they be blind' (T 224, 6)
           lat. ut […] caeci fiant

Again, the question arises how to explain these data in OHG. Following the diagnostics in (6a), (12) receives an interpretation according to which the sentence has a basic OV order but the predicative adjective has undergone rightward movement, i.e., we have to assume a type of extraposition which does not exist in modern German:

(12)   –V–Vf–predAdj
           thiu   thar   ginennit   ist   unberenta
           who   PRT   called   is   barren-F
           'who is said to be barren' (T 29, 2)
           lat. *quae uocatur sterilis*

Problems also arise when we consider clauses with complex verb forms. It is well known that OHG provides evidence for VR and VPR as also attested in OE and some modern dialects of Geman and Dutch, cf. (13a–c):

(13) a thaz   ír   nisít   fortuomte
        that   you-PL   NEG-are   judged.PL
        'that you be not judged [as well]' (T 71, 17)
        lat. *ut non iudicemini*

    b. thó   tág   uúas   giuuortan
        when   day   was   PASS.AUX
        'when daylight came' (T 107, 23)
        lat. *cum dies factus esse&*

    c. thiethár uuolle   mit   thír   uuehslon
        who   want.SBJV with   you.DAT   change
        'who ever wants to change place with you' (T 65, 12)
        lat. *uolenti mutare a té*

Basically, three types of analyses have been put forward in explaining this phenomenon. The standard analysis proposed by Haegeman and van Riemdijk (1986) involves rightward movement of the VP. If the arguments have left the VP prior to VP extraposition, then only the main verb occurs after Vf giving rise to –Vf–V order in the surface (VR); if, however, an argument remained in the VP, it is also moved to the right yielding orders like –Vf–XP–V in the surface (VPR). Pintzuk (1993) identifies cases of VPR that cannot be explained by rightward movement of the VP. Assuming that pronouns cannot be affected by VPR in modern Germanic dialects, she argues that these cases must involve leftward movement of Vf to a clause-medial IP (to vP according to Fuss and Trips 2002 and Weiß 2006). However, cases with VPR-ed pronouns can be found in West Flemish (cf. Haegeman 1992). The third type of analysis proposed by den Dikken (1994) assumes that orders in which an untensed main verb follows the inflected auxiliary display VO base order (cf. Hinterhölzl 2006).

    Let us consider the OHG examples from the point of view of these theories. Leftward movement of Vf is supported by example (14) in which Vf is found to the left of the monosyllabic light adverb *giu* 'any longer' modifying it:

(14)   só thaz   her nimohta   giu/
        so that   he NEG-might   already
        ougazorht gan in thie   burg
        openly   go to this   town
        'so that he could not openly enter this town any more' (T 83, 4-5)
        lat. *Ita ut non poss& manifeste / In ciuitatem iam introire*

But at the same time, the first two accounts on VR and VPR run into problems concerning the derivation of examples involving arguments of

copular verbs like *heizzan* 'be called'. Let us first look at surface orders of the type –Vf–V–predN as in (15):

(15)   thes   namo   uuas   giheizzan   simeon
           whose   name   was   called   Simeon
           'whose name was called Simeon' (T 37, 24)
           lat. *cui nomen simeon*

At least three interpretations are possible. (16a–b) involve basic OV order with extraposition of predN provided that nominal predicates actually undergo rightward movement in OHG. (16a) shows the traditional analysis of VR/VPR as VP-extraposition. By contrast, (16b) involves leftward movement of Vf to a higher functional head, say $vv°$ (cf. Fuss and Trips 2002). An alternative solution, though, is (16c) which assumes that the attested order is a base order in which all heads (here Vf and V) select their complement to the right (VO base). In this case, Vf is merged in a functional head above VP. This analysis is supported by the fact that predicative nouns, unlike object DPs, do not have to check case features by leftward movement (to AgrP):

(16) a.   CPthes namo tVP uuas [VP tj giheizzan] simeonj
       b.   CPthes namo uuasj VP[ti giheizzan tj] simeoni
       c.   CPthes namo uuas [VP giheizzan simeon]

Previous analyses of VR and VPR also face a problem with surface orders of the type –predN–Vf–V, as given in (17a). Under the analysis involving overt movement of Vf to v, the proper landing site of Vf would be to the left of the predicative noun unless it has been moved to the left itself. However, there is no proper motivation for this kind of movement of nominal predicates, e.g., they are not subject to scrambling to the left in modern German (cf. Hinterhölzl 2006, 9). The alternative solution is to assume that Vf is moved to a position immediately following a narrowly focussed constituent, as will be advocated below. This type of derivation is illustrated in (17b):

(17)   –predN–Vf–V
       a. In thero st&i thiu   [abilina]   uuas   heizzan
           in   that   town   which   Abilina   was   called
           'in that town which was called Abilina' (T 43, 24)
           lat. *abilinae*
       b. thiuFOC[abilinaj] uuasi tj heizzan ti

2.4 Embedded Root Patterns in OHG?

In this section, we want to look at possible indications for embedded root patterns in the OHG data.

Let us first look at data for potential embedded V2. There is plenty of evidence for surface orders in which Vf occupies the second position in a dependent clause. However, in the vast majority of the cases, the position before Vf is occupied by the subject of the clause, see (18a). In order to argue for embedded V2, we need to show that the subject obligatorily follows Vf if a non-subject occupies the preverbal position. But orders with non-subjects before Vf are found rarely in our database. We are able to attest 10 instances of the kind, 6 of which are causal clauses allowing for an interpretation as root conjuncts[9].
The remaining cases are given in (18b–e):

(18) a. thaz   truhtin   mihhilosota   sína   miltida
        that   Lord   showed   His   mercy
        'that the Lord showed His mercy' (T 30, 19)
        lat. *quia magnificauit dominus misericordiam suam*

     b. só imo   gibot   truhtines   engil
        as him.DAT.SG   commanded   Lord.GEN.SG   angel
        'as the angel of God commanded to him' (T 35, 2)
        lat. *Sicut precepit ei angelus domini*

     c. thô   thaz   gihorta herodesther   cuning
        when   this   heard Herod the   king
        'When Herod the kind heard this'
        lat. *audiens autem herodes rex*

     d. thaz   gibrieuit   uuvrdi   al these   umbiuuerft
        that   registered   PASS.AUX.SBJV   all this   universe
        'that all the universe be registered' (T 35, 9)
        lat. *ut describer&ur uniuersus orbis*

     e. oba in sodomu   uuarin   gitanu /   megin
        if in Sodom   were.SBJV   done-PL   virtues
        'if in Sodom were preformed virtues' (T 102, 23-24)
        lat. *si in sodomis facte fuissent uirtutes /*

However, none of the examples in (18b–e) provides safe evidence for embedded V2. In (18b–c), we have no diagnostics which could allow us to judge whether the verb has been moved to the left or the full subject has been extraposed. (18d) is ambiguous as well: we cannot tell whether the participle is in the prefield of a V2 clause or whether it is in its basic position in the VP, which in this case contains nothing but the lexical verb and the finite auxiliary, with the subject being extraposed to the right.

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9   The examples are T 29, 33; T 35, 27-28; T 39, 29; T 59, 10; T 60, 21 and T 204, 24-25. One of them is given in (i):
(i) uuanta bithiu   bín ih   gisentit
    because therefore   am I   sent
    'because that's why I was sent' (T 59, 10)
    lat. *quia ideo missus sum*

Finally, in (18e), movement of Vf to the second position in the clause would yield a pattern in which the subject constituent *megin* 'virtues' is between Vf and the untensed verb *gitaniu* 'performed'.

Weiß (2006) also argues for the existence of embedded V1 in OHG in his corpus. In our database, we find subordinate clauses in which Vf precedes all remaining constituents, but an interpretation as a root pattern is not forced. First, we find V1 in examples with complex predicates like those in (19a–b). As was discussed in Section 2.3 above, the –Vf–V–XP orders are interpretable as head-initial base orders:

(19) a. –Vfin–V–predN
         thiethar   ist giheizan   zelotes
         who-PRT   is called   Zelotes
         'who is called Zelotes' (T 59, 27)
         lat. *qui uocatur zelotes*

      b. –Vfin–V–NP–PP
         thaz   uuvrdi   arougit   gotes
         that   became   shown   God.GEN.SG
         uuerc   In imo
         work   in him.DAT.SG
         'that God's work be shown through him' (T 220, 20)
         lat. *ut manifest&ur opus dei In illo*

At the same time, we hardly find examples which contain diagnostics for a leftward movement of Vf to the position before all constitutents of the clause. A unique case is given in (20) where Vf appears to the left of a reflexive pronoun which is normally situated in the so-called Wackernagel position at the left edge of the middlefield, immediately below C°. However, an interpretation as a coordinate conjunct with V1 order is also possible in this case:

(20)   uuanta   nahit   sih /   himilo   richi
       because   approaches   REFL.PR   heaven.GEN.PL   kingdom
       'because the kingdom of Heaven is approaching' (T 44, 1-2)
       lat. *adpropinquauit enim / regnum caelorum*

3 An Alternative Approach to Word Order Variation in OHG

3.1 Basic Theoretic Assumptions

In the previous section, we presented evidence for surface orders in subordinate clauses which cannot be explained as cases of extraposition from a head-final base order, and which cannot be analyzed as embedded root patterns either. Alternatively, we claim that all attested surface orders in

OV languages can be derived from a universal VO base plus licensing movement of arguments and VP-internal predicates (cf. Zwart 1993 for Dutch, Hinterhölzl 2006 for German), as is illustrated in (21a). In this approach, superficial VO orders are derived by i) spell-out of the lower copies of licensing movement out of the VP (cf. Hinterhölzl 2009) or ii) by remnant movement of the VP (VP-intraposition) across the material extracted from the VP before, as is illustrated in (21b):

(21) a.   [CP that [AgrO XP$_i$ [PRT$_j$ [VP V t$_i$ t$_j$]]]]
      b.   [CP that [VP V t$_i$] [AgrO XP$_i$] t$_{VP}$]

In this paper, we will pursue an approach in terms of option ii) above. Adopting a VO base approach, we can account for heavy and light post-verbal constituents alike.

In the following, we will provide evidence for the fact that these movement operations are motivated by information structure. The main observation in favour of this view is that we can find a tight correlation between the information-structural value of constituents in the clause and their positional realization with respect to Vf. Basically, we shall investigate the realization of the following information-structural categories: i) the position of background, or presupposed information as opposed to the novel, or asserted information in the clause, and ii) the positional distribution of narrow, e.g. contrastive focus with respect to Vf.

3.2 The Position of Background vs. New Information

It is commonly assumed that the background domain of the utterance comprises information which is presupposed in the context. This especially applies to expressions which refer to given, but also to accessible information in the discourse. In OHG subordinate clauses, such expressions show a regular tendency to appear very high in the middlefield, in the position immediately following the C-domain of the clause.

This property is well-known for pronominal arguments which regularly appear in the Wackernagel position, i.e. in the middlefield immediately below C°. This is borne out by the data in our database as well. Pronouns are inserted or transposed to the Wackernagel position in 317 cases in conjunctional clauses, in 115 cases in relative clauses and 57 cases in causal clauses; see (22):

(22) a.   thanne Ir   Iz   find&
           when   you.PL it.ACC.SG   find
           'when you have found it' (T 40, 4)
           lat. *cum Inueneritis*

b. unzan ih   thir   quede
    until   I   you.DAT.SG   tell
    'until I tell you' (T 40, 28)
    lat. *usquedum dicam tibi*

There are only 16 examples in which a pronominal constituent does not
occupy the Wackernagel position. But we are able to provide an explana-
tion for this fact. First, in 9 of the examples, the pronoun is postverbal in
the underlying Latin structure as well, see (23a). Second, in 5 cases, a pro-
noun is moved out of the postverbal domain in the Latin but its proper
realization in the Wackernagel position is blocked by the line break, see
(23b). Finally, in the remaining two cases, a root interpretation with Vf in
C° is also plausible, see (23c); under this interpretation, the pronoun,
which follows Vf immediately, can be analyzed as occupying the Wacker-
nagel position:

(23) a. thaz   sie   fiengin   inan
          that   they   arrest.SBJV   Him
          'that they arrested Him' (T 119, 9)
          lat. *ut raperent eum*
      b. thaz   sie   mit   Iro   hanton /
          that   they   with   their   hands
          thih   nemen
          you   take
          'that they hold you with their hand' (T 50, 10-11)
          lat. *& in manibus / tollent té*
      c. uuanta /   samasó uuîzagon   hab&un   Inan
          because   like   [a] prophet had   Him.ACC
          'because they regarded Him as a prophet' (T 204, 24-25)
          lat. *quoniam / sicut proph&am eum habebant*

But apart form pronouns, full lexical phrases are also regularly shifted
from the postverbal position in the Latin original to the position below C°
in OHG, when they are discourse-anaphoric or accessible. Consider the
position of the DP *uueralt* 'the world' in (24a) which takes up a referent
already established in the preceding main clause. In (24b), the same posi-
tion is targeted by the DP *gote* 'God-DAT.SG' whose referent is not ex-
plicitly mentioned in the previous context but is part of the common
ground of the interlocutors. Full DPs providing anaphoric or inferable
information are shifted to the preverbal domain in 38 cases in the data-
base. The reverse transposition, i.e. to shift full DPs in anaphoric use from
the preverbal position in the Latin to the postverbal position in the OHG,
does not occur in the database.

(24) a. nisanta got sínan sun / In uueralt thaz her
     NEG-sent God his.ACC son to world that He
     uueralt tuome / uzouh thaz uuerolt si giheilit
     world judged.SBJV but that world be.SBJV healed
     thuruh inan
     through Him
     'God didn't send His son into the world that the world be condemned but rather that the world be saved though Him' (T 197, 30-32)
     lat. *non enim missit deus filium suum / In mundum ut l[sic!]udic& mundum/ sed ut salute&ur mundus per ipsum*

  b. after thiu gifulta uuarun taga / […] brahtun sie Inan
     after filled-PL were days / […] brought they Him.ACC
     thô In hierusalem / thaz sie Inan gote
     then to Jerusalem / that they Him God.DAT
     giantuuvrtitin
     presented.SBJV
     'after the days [of her purification] they brought Him to Jerusalem to present Him to the Lord' (T 37, 11-14)
     lat. *postquam Impl&i sunt dies / […] tulerunt illum In hierusalem / ut sister ent eum domino*

A parallel situation is described by Kemenade and Los (2006) and Kemenade (2009) for OE. They observe that discourse-linked material in OE regularly appears in a special syntactic domain situated between the subordinating conjunction and an adverbial *þa* which functions as a discourse partitioner in the clause. A similar function of the OHG adverbial *tho*, which is the equivalent of OE *þa*, can be illustrated in (25). Here, *tho* is placed after the anaphor *thaz* 'this' referring to the event narrated in the previous sentence, whereas the referent of the subject expression, which is not activated in the preceding context, remains in postverbal position:

(25) mit thiu thaz [tho] gisah simon petrus
      when this PRT saw Simon Peter
      'when Simon Peter saw this' (T 55, 29)
      lat. *Quod cum uider& simon p&rus*

The current version of our database provides only very few examples with *tho* in this function in OHG. We assume, however, that the role of a discourse partitioner described for *þa* in OE is taken by Vf in OHG itself: it is Vf that targets exactly the position which separates the given or presupposed information from the rest of the utterance, which corresponds to the focus domain of the clause.

This assumption is borne out when we look at the information-structural status of constituents realized after Vf in subordinate clauses in OHG. Here, we turn the attention to those examples which contain postverbal material independently of the Latin order. We can distinguish two

basic groups of constituents that appear to the right of Vf in subordinate clauses in OHG: i) complements of main verbs and ii) complements of auxiliary or copula verbs.

Complements of main verbs appearing before Vf in the Latin structure but after Vf in the OHG clause are rare in the database. We only find 4 examples of the kind. But it is crucial that in all of them, the postverbal XP represents novel information, which is not pre-established or inferable in the context, cf. (26). At the same time, our database provides no examples in which novel material positioned after Vf in the Latin original is shifted to the position before Vf in OHG:

(26)   [Inti   bráhtun imo / alle ubil habante ='and they brought to Him all evil people']
        Inti   thie   thár   hab&un   diuual
        and   those   PRT   had   devil
        'and those who were possessed by the devil' (T 59, 1)
        lat. *& qui demonia habebant*

In the second group of examples, the constituent that appears after Vf is the non-finite part of a complex predicate, e.g. a predicative adjective (27a), a nominal complement of a copula verb (27b) or the untensed main verb (27c), a total of 52 instances:

(27) a. soso   thie   lihhazara   sint   gitruobte
          like   the   hypocrites are   sad.PL
          'like the hypocrites with a sad countenance' (T 68, 23)
          lat. *sicut hypocrite tristes*
      b. fon   theru   burgi   thiu   hiez   nazar&h
          from   the.DAT   town.DAT which   was-called Nazareth
          'from the town which was called Nazareth' (T 35, 16)
          lat. *de ciuitate nazar&h*
      c. nibi   ir   uuerdet   giuuentite /   inti   gifremite
          if   you.PL   PASS.AUX   converted-PL   and   formed.PL
          'if you do not become like this young boy' (T 151, 12)
          lat. *nisi conuersi fueritis / & efficiamini sicut paruuli*

At first sight, the two groups of postverbal constituents shown in (26) and (27) appear to have little in common. However, from the point of view of information structure, these types of constituents share one important property in the clause: they constitute the domain of new-information, or presentational focus, in the utterance. As for the postverbal arguments like in (26), this interpretation results from their novelty in the discourse. By contrast, the postverbal constituents in (27) do not display properties of discourse referents and therefore cannot be analyzed with respect to the given/new distinction. However, it is obvious that together with Vf, they constitute the asserted part of the proposition, as opposed to the domain of background material which is placed before Vf. This supports the as-

sumption that Vf targets a position in the clause which separates the in-formation-structural domains of given vs. new information in the clause. This generalization, however, shall receive a modification with respect to the placement of contrastive information in the clause.

3.3 The Position of Contrastive Information

We also looked at the positional realization of constituents which convey contrastive information in the clause, e.g., they form a complementary pair of alternatives with another entity in the discourse, or are used to express selection, correction, or emphasis. The results of the analysis clearly show that contrastive information is associated with a particular syntactic position in the clause, namely with the position which immediately precedes Vf. This position is targeted by 36 of 43 contrastive phrases in the database, i.e. in 84 % of the cases involving contrast on an XP. It is important to note that this positional realization of contrastive informa-tion applies to all types of phrases, so e.g. for arguments (28a–b) but also for adjuncts (28c) and modifiers (28d). The phrases in square brackets either form a contrastive pair with another element explicitly mentioned in the context, or are in the scope of a silent focus operator triggering ex-haustive reading ('this XP and nothing/nobody else'):

(28) a. niuuizze   íz   thin   uuinistra/ uuaz   [thin zesuua]
          NEG-know   it   your   left hand   what   your right hand
          tuo
          do
          'your left hand should not know what your right hand is doing' (T 67, 5)
          lat. *quid faciat dextera tua*

      b. thaz   thu [mannon]   nisís   gisehán /
          that   you people.DAT.PL   NEG.be.SBJV   seen
          fastenti úzouh thinemo   fater
          fasting but   your.DAT   father
          'that you do not appear fasting to the people but to your father' (T 68, 31)
          lat. *ne uidearis hominibus / ieiunans*

      c. [Ír guhortut thaz then alton giqu&an uúas/ nifursuueri thih='you heard
          that it was told to your predecessors: "You should not swear"']
          thane ih quidu íu/   thaz   mán
          PRT   I tell you.DAT.PL   that   INDF]
          [zi thuruhslahti]   nisuuere
          at all   NEG-swear-SBJV
          'But I tell you that you should not swear at all' (T 64, 17)
          lat. *non iurare omnino*

    d.   íogiuuelih   gommanbarn   thaz   uuamba   [êrist]   Intuot
        each   male-child   which wamb   first   opens
        'each male child which opens the wamb' (T 37, 17)
        lat. *adaperiens uuluam*

In 7 cases (16%), the phrase bearing contrastive focus does not appear in the position immediately before Vf. However, word order in these examples either corresponds to the original as shown for the bare plural *rehte* 'the righteous man' in (29a), or the placement of the contrastive XP to the left of Vf is blocked by the line-per-line principle of the translation as shown for the DP *thiu himiliscun* 'the heavenly matters' in (29b):

(29) a. niquam   zi thiu   thaz   ih iladoti
         NEG-came   for the reason that   I   called
         [rehte] /   ouh   untige   zi   riuue
         righteous.PL   but   inful.PL   to   repentence
         'I haven't come to call the righteous people but the sinners for repentence' (T 91, 24)
         lat. *Non enim ueni uocare iustos / sed peccatores in poenitentiam*
    b. [oba ih íu erdlihhu quad='when I told to you earty things']
         oba   ih íu   quidu /   [thiu   himiliscun]
         if   I   you.DAT.PL   tell   the heavenly-PL [things]
         'if I tell you the heavenly things' (T 197, 14-15)
         lat. *si dixero uobis / caelestia*

This picture invokes the conclusion that contrastive information is systematically realized in the position which is left-adjacent to Vf in subordinate clauses in OHG.

3.4 Interim Conclusion: the Structure of the Clause in the OHG Tatian

The foregoing investigation revealed that we are able to distinguish three different domains in the structure of the clause in OHG which tightly correlate with the information-structural value of the constituents that occupy them. First, it was shown that presupposed material making up the background domain of the utterance is regularly placed in the position that immediately follows the subordinating conjunction or the relative pronoun; i.e., background material is situated in the so called Wackernagel position at the left edge of the middlefield. Second, constituents conveying the asserted part of the utterance are regularly realized after Vf; in this case, Vf marks the left edge of the domain of new-information or presentational focus in the utterance. Third, phrases bearing a contrastive or exhaustive interpretation regularly appear in the position left adjacent to Vf in the clause.

3.5 Comparison with the OHG Isidor

The principles of clause organization described for the OHG Tatian may be detected in other texts of the classical OHG period as well. In this section, we will provide a comparison with another main representative of the OHG corpus, the translation of the theological treatise *De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Iudaeos* written in Latin by Bishop Isidorus of Sevilla (560-636). The OHG translation, called the OHG Isidor, is dated back to the time around 800. The purpose of the text is to vindicate the notion of Trinity against the doctrine of Arianism. By numerous references to statements of the Old Testament, the scribe attempts to verify the divine origin of Christ, who, contrary to the assumptions of the Arianists, was not only adopted but created by God the Father.

These facts are crucial to the interpretation of the examples with respect to the information-structural value of the constituents involved. In this text, we continuously come across expressions conveying information related to the divine origin of Christ as well as to the fact that he already came to mankind as a human being. As the aim of the text is to confirm the information in these expressions and to exclude any alternatives to it, it can be taken for granted that these expressions are subject to narrow, or contrastive focus in the clause. Interestingly, the material allowing for such an interpretation regularly appears in the position immediately before Vf, see *fona fater* 'by the Father' in (30a), *man* 'a human being' in (30b), and the contrastive pair *iu* 'already' vs. *noh* 'still' in (30c). At the same time, background information follows the subordinating conjunction, see *christ gotes sunu* in (30a) as well as the personal pronoun *ir*-3SG in (30b–c) which refers to the person of Christ, i.e. to the activated topic of elaboration in these passages. By contrast, the domain bearing information that is asserted is opened by Vf:

(30) a. [Mit so mihhiles hęrduomes urchundin ist nu so offenliihho armarit='By so many facts it is evidently said]

dhazs christ gotes sunu [...] [fona fater]
that   Christ God.GEN Son   from Father
uuard   chiboran
PASS.AUXborn
'that Christ, the Son of God, was created by the Father' (I 96)

b. dhazs ir [man]   uuardh   uuordan
that   He human   AUX   become
'that he became a human being' (I 393)

    c. [Souhhemes auur uuir nu ziidh dhera christes chiburdi=‘But let us explore
        the time   of Christ's birth']
        huuedhar ir [iu]   quami   odho   uuir
        whether He already came.SBJV   or   we
        [noh] sculim siin   quhemandes   biidan
        still   shall   His   arrival   expect.INF
        'whether He already came or we still have to expect His arrival'(I 434)

More cases involving contrast on a single constituent can be added to this
pattern. In (31), the scribe rejects the option that a certain prophecy may
apply to someone else rather than to Jesus. Again, the expressions that
convey the rejected opposite to the referent of Jesus appear left-adjacent to
Vf. Background material like the pronouns *ir* 'he' in (31a) and *izs* 'it' in
(31b) follow immediately after the conjunction, and Vf opens the domain
of asserted information:

  (31) a. [Umbi dhesan selbum christ chundida almahtic fater dhurah
           isaian=‘About   the same Christ the almighty Father predicted through
           Isaiah']
           dhoh   ir   [in cyres nemin]   quhadi
           although he in cyres name   told.SBJV
           'although he used the name 'Cyros' ' (I 150)
      b. so huuer so   uuanit dhazs izs [in salomoni]
           whoever   thinks that   it   in Salomo.DAT
           uuari   al arfullit   filu   aboho   firstandit
           PASS.AUX.SBJV all fulfilled   much incorrectly understood
           'Whoever thinks that this became true in the person of Salomo misunder
           stood many things' (I 631)

3.6 Theoretical Implications

The previous analysis invokes the conclusion that OHG is discourse-
configurational, i.e., that there is a tight correlation between the informa-
tion-structural value of sentence constituents and their positional realiza-
tion in the clause. In this section, we want to address the question of how
these empirical observations can be integrated into a syntactic model.

    The clause structure derived for OHG bears parallels to the situation
described by Diesing (1997, 390–396) for Yiddish. According to her, the
different syntactic realization of object DPs with respect to the selecting
main verb triggers three different types of semantic interpretation. As
Hinterhölzl (2004, 154) observes, these interpretations correspond to
different categories of information structure. Leftward movement of a DP
outside the VP is associated with definiteness and specificity, i.e. with back-
ground, while postverbal (*in-situ*) placement yields an existential reading
of discourse-new indefinite DPs as instances of new-information, or pre-

sentational focus. Additionally, both definite and indefinite objects in the position left-adjacent to the verb gain a special, marked status which is only possible when contrastive or corrective emphasis is put on them, i.e. when they are contrastively focussed. Hinterhölzl (2004) accounts for this distribution by assuming movement of the verb to the head of a Focus phrase FocP which is situated at the left edge of the middlefield above the Case-checking projections for arguments. While contrastive elements move to SpecFoc, new objects remain in the scope of the focus head where they receive Case, see (32):

(32)   [C Backgr [FocPContrF V [AgrP PresF   [VP tV]]]]

In our present account, we retain the idea of a focus phrase FocP which is situated between CP and VP in the structure of the clause. One significant difference to the account in (32) though, remains. From the viewpoint of the empirical study, we have to replace V in (32) by Vf; i.e., the position of contrastive focus is left-adjacent not to the main verb but to Vf in the clause. All patterns attested in OHG subordinate clauses can be derived according to the following operations:

(33) a. Vf is moved to the head of focus phrase FocP
       b. SpecFoc is reserved for contrastively focussed information; this explains the left adjacency of contrastive information to Vf observed in the data[10]
       c. constituents which convey new information remain in the scope of the focus phrase, i.e. after Vf
       d. given and presupposed constituents leave the scope of the focus phrase by movement to a position outside the VP, e.g. to the Wackernagel position below C.

Let us also address the question why these two focus positions were distinguished in the clause stucture of OHG. Petrova (2009) puts forward two suggestions that provide an explanation for this issue. The first one relates to aspects of the prosodic realization of focus especially in cases of multiple foci. In the OHG Tatian, we often find examples in which two different constituents receive focus interpretation in the clause. Consider (34a–b):

(34) a. [nimág ther man Iouuiht intphahén/= 'a man can receive nothing']
           noba   imo   íz gigeban   uuerde   fon
           unless him.DAT it   given   PASS.AUX from
           himile
           Heaven.DAT
           'unless it has been given to him from Heaven' (T 57, 6-7)
           lat. *Non potest homo quicquam accipere.'/ nisi ei fuerit datum a caelo*

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10 The movement analysis is strongly supported by the observation that contrastive phrases in the narrow scope of negation are obviously above the negative operator *ni*, see (27b).

b.   [thisu sprahih íu/= 'these things I have spoken to you']
     thaz   in   mir   habet   sibba /
     that   in   me.DAT   have   peace
     In therru uueralti   habet   ir   thrucnessi (T 290, 7-9)
     In the   world   have   you.PL   tribulation
     'that in Me you may have peace; in the world, you will have tribulation.
     lat. *ut in me pacem habeatis / In mundo presuram habebitis*

In each of these sentences, two different constituents receive a focus inter-
pretation. One of them is involved in a relation of contrast to another
entity in the discourse. In (34a), the participle *gigeban* 'given' refers to the
only way to obtain spiritual power, namely by being given it, not by ac-
quiring it oneself. In (34b), the PP *in me* 'in me' forms a contrastive pair
with the expression *In therru uueralti* 'in this world'. Additionally, there is
also material supplying new information to the context. In (34a) this is the
source of the spiritual power, namely Heaven, and in (34b), new informa-
tion is conveyed in the direct object *sibba* 'peace' which is also contrasted
to the expression *thrucnessi* 'pressure' in the following conjunct. In the
Latin version, in both cases the different types of foci are situated on the
same side of Vf, after it in (33a) and before it in (33b). In the OHG text,
however, the two different focus constituents are placed in such a way that
the contrastive or narrowly focused information is immediately before Vf,
while new information focus follows it.

      Similar patterns can be found in the OHG Isidor translation as well.
Consider (35) where each of the subordinate conjuncts contains members
of two different pairs of contrastive information: i) *chihoric* 'obedient' vs.
furiro 'superiour', and ii) *gote* 'to God' vs. *andrem gotes chiscaftim* 'to the
other creatures of God'. In each of the conjuncts, Vf appears exactly be-
tween the two focus expressions:

(35)   [Got […] setzida innan in siin paradisis= 'God placed him [Adam] in His
         paradise']
         dhaz   ir   chihoric   uuari   gote   endi
         that   he   obedient   was.SBJV   God.DAT   and
         furiro   uuari   andrem   gotes   chiscaftim
         superiour   was.SBJV   other.DAT.PL   God.GEN   creatures.DAT.PL
         'that he should be obedient to God and superior to the other creatures of
         God' (I 488)

These observations invite the assumption that Vf in OHG is used to avoid
the stacking of two different types of focus in one and the same structural
domain in the sentence. As focus is prototypically associated with main
stress, the placement of Vf between two different types of focus was a
means of avoiding a clash of two heavily stressed phrases in the clause.

      This scenario, however, does not account for the regular association of
contrastive vs. presentational focus with a special position in the clause.

However, the different positional realization of focus types allows for the unambiguous interpretation of the pragmatic value of the constituents involved. It guarantees that preverbal focus is interpreted as XP-focus only, excluding the option of focus projection. In this way, OHG avoids a phenomenon known as 'focus ambiguities' in modern German (as well as in a number of other non-related languages). In modern German, main accent on the rightmost XP in base order yields both VP- or XP-focus while in scrambled order, the rightmost surface constituent receives an unambiguous contrastive interpretation (see Abraham 1992). By contrast, in the system reconstructed for OHG, phrases belonging to the domains of new-information focus surface in postverbal position while preverbal focus only triggers the option of XP-focus with additional effects of contrast, emphasis, and exclusion of alternatives.

4 Conclusions

In this paper, we addressed word order variation in subordinate clauses as one of the most remarkable properties of OHG syntax. We outlined the main properties of the previous models proposed to handle syntactic variation in Early Germanic and applied them to the analysis of data from the OHG Tatian translation.

It turned out that we cannot account for the attested patterns by simply reducing variation to unmotivated extraposition operations. In the same line, we argued that problematic patterns cannot be analyzed as root patterns in subordinate clauses inducing variation in OHG because this is not supported by our data.

Alternatively, we adopted the assumption that variation in word order is a correlate of information structure, i.e. that the different word order patterns can be derived form a universal VO base by assuming leftward movement of constituents, which is related to the expression of information-structural categories.

It was shown that constituents are mapped according to their information-structural contribution into three different fields of the clause: i) presupposed, or background material is realized adjacent to C, ii) new or asserted information appears post-verbally, while iii) narrowly (contrastively) focussed phrases are realized left-adjacent to Vf.

To account for this positional distribution of constituents in the clause, we assume leftward movement of Vf to the head of a functional projection FocP which separates the domains of background and presentational focus in the clause, with SpecFoc being reserved for phrases with a contrastive, narrow-focus interpretation.

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