Cases of V-3 in Old High German*

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0. Introduction

This paper is organized in five sections. In the first section the notion of V-3 in O.H.G. will be introduced and discussed allowing us to define the particular construction which this investigation will concentrate on. In section two Old High German (O.H.G.) data will be compared with Old English (O.E.) data. The third section is devoted to the presentation and discussion of two alternative analyses already proposed in the literature in order to explain the construction under consideration (LENERZ (1985), and KEMENADE (1987)). Finally, in the last two sections, the proposal of a partially new analysis will lead us to two important issues concerning on the one hand the clitic-head relation and on the other the WH-construction.

1. Two Types of V-3

O.H.G. syntax was characterized by the V-2 constraint. This fact is clearly noted in such well-known traditional grammars of the German language like BEHAGHEL (1923-'32) and ERDMANN (1985) and has been clearly confirmed by recent studies developed inside the theoretical framework of Generative Grammar (cf. LENERZ (1984), (1985); TOMASELLI (1989); WEERMAN (1989)). The realization of the

V-2 constraint in O.H.G. presents one evident exception with respect to modern V-2 Germanic languages:

in the main declarative clause the finite verb could occupy, apart from the second position, a "later or delayed" position (*Späterstellung*).

As for the definition of what has been called "delayed" position, two important points should be clarified:

i) the cases of "delayed" position in the main declarative clause represent a minority with respect to V-2;

ii) from a syntactic point of view, the term "delayed" position refers to different word order patterns. Under this label one could in fact subsume all the cases in which the finite verb occupies a position between the second and the final position of the sentence: V-3, V-4, etc..

Inside this "basket" of exceptions to V-2 our attention will concentrate on what certainly seems more interesting with respect to the general problem concerning the "degree of realization" of the V-2 constraint in O.H.G. syntax: the cases of V-3.

First of all it should be stressed that even an apparently simple label like "V-3" does not unambiguously refer to a unique word order pattern.

It is well-known that O.H.G. prose consists of translations from Latin. This fact helps us to differenciate between two different types of V-3. Let us first consider the following examples:

(1)   *Isidors Schrift contra Iudaeos*   (VIIIth/IXth century)

(1a) dhaz *ir* chichundida   (BRAUNE-EBBINGHAUS 1979:19,135)
     Obj. Subj. V$_{fnt}$
     that he showed
     (he showed that)

(1b) erino portun *ih* firchnussu (BRAUNE-EBBINGHAUS 1979:16,25)
    Obj.   Subj. Vfnt   (cf. LENERZ (1985:106))
    iron doors   I   shatter
    (I shatter iron doors)

(1c) Dhes martyrunga endi dodh *uuir* findemes   mit urchundin
           NP   Subj. Vfnt   PP
    His martyrdom and death   we demonstrate   with evidence

    dhes heilegin chiscribes   (LIPPERT (1974:52))
           NP(Genitive)
    of the Holy Writings
    (we demonstrate his martyrdom and his death with evidence
    from the Holy Writings)

(2)   *Tatian*   (IXth century)

    Inti   ubil man   fon ubilemo tresouue   **bringit** ubilu
    Coor.   Subj.   PP   Vfnt   Obj.
    and (a)bad man from a bad treasure   brings   ill
    Latin: et malus homo de malo thesauro profert mala
                          (BRAUNE-EBBINGHAUS (1979:24,15))

Ex. (2), taken from *Tatian* (*ostfränkisch*, IX century), represents a case of V-3 which is clearly influenced by Latin: first of all, the finite verb (*bringit*) follows two "full" constituents (i.e.: the Subject NP and a PP); note then that the order of elements perfectly corresponds to the one exemplified by the Latin sentence.[1] Even if the influence of Latin can not be taken as an exhaustive explanation of the word order pattern exemplified by (2) and does not preclude the possibility of a genuine syntactic explanation, this type of V-3 construction will simply not be considered in this paper.

On the contrary, examples (1a,b,c), taken from the O.H.G. translation of *De fide catholica contra Judaeos* by Isidorus Hispalensis, exemplify a different type of construction which could be considered original of O.H.G. syntax: the V-2 constraint is violated by the presence of the subject pronoun which

intervenes between the fronted constituent and the finite verb.[2]

It is clear that examples (1a) and (1b) could be considered cases
of V-3 as well as cases of V-LAST (and, in fact, such an analysis
has been proposed by LENERZ (1985)). For the moment, from a
descriptive point of view, I prefer to consider these examples
cases of V-3 given that they clearly exemplify the same kind of
construction together with example (1c) where the third position
of the finite verb does not correspond to the final position of
the sentence.[3]

What has been said till now is well-known to people familiar with
Germanic Philology as the following short quotation from LIPPERT
(1974:15) clearly shows:

> Nach Reis, Fourquet und Behaghel können wir im aussagenden
> Hauptsatz außer der Erststellung des Verbs zwei weitere
> idiomatische Stellungsmöglichkeiten in der ahd. Prosa
> voraussetzen:
> Erstens. Die Zweitstellung des Verbs. Sie "ist ... beim ahd.
>   Isidor ... als regel anzusetzen" (Reis).
> Zweitens. Eine Späterstellung des Verbs, wenn "éléménts légers"
>   (Fourquet), d. s. im Satzplan unbetont (=enklitisch) verwandte
>   (Personal-)Pronomen und Adverbien zwischen Satzeingangsglied
>   und Verbum finitum treten.

The quotation from Lippert underlies exactly what follows:

there is general agreement on the fact that:

a) O.H.G. prose was characterized by the V-2 constraint

   (Subject-Verb Inversion in the main declarative clause);

b) the finite verb may shift to third position given the presence

   of a pronominal element.

In what follows I will concentrate exactly on this kind of
construction.

2. <u>Cases of V-3 in Old English</u>

The situation previously sketched for O.H.G. corresponds to the analysis proposed by KEMENADE (1987) for Old English syntax. Indeed, it clearly comes out from her work that first of all Old English was characterized by V-2; secondly, the V-2 constraint was systematically violated by the occurrence of a pronominal element.

This is clearly shown by the following examples, all taken from KEMENADE (1987:110):

```
(3) Æfter his gebede    he       ahof    þæt child   up
        PP              Subj.    Vfnt    Obj.        Particle
    after his prayer    he       lifted  the child   up

(4) das þing    we       habbad  be him   gewritene
    Obj.        Subj.    Vfnt    PP       V
    these things we      have    about him written
    (these things we have written about him)

(5) Fordon    we       sceolan mid ealle mod & mægene    to Gode    gecyrran
    Adv.      Subj.    Vfnt    PP                         PP         V
    therefore we       shall   with all mind & power      to God     turn
    (therefore we shall turn to God with all our mind and power)
```

This type of construction is much more general in Old English than in O.H.G. and this in two respects:

a) this construction is well attested in Old English prose (on the contrary, in O.H.G. the construction under consideration is attested only in the translation of *Isidor* and partially in the *Monsee-Wiener Fragmenten*);

b) the pronoun which intervenes between the fronted element and the finite verb does not necessarily correspond to the Subject pronoun (which is indeed the general case for O.H.G.) given that it can also correspond to the Object of the verb or to the Object of a Preposition.

Note that this difference between O.E. and O.H.G. seems, in fact, to confirm the traditional hypothesis that O.H.G. went further than Old English as far as the realization of V-2 is concerned (cf., FOURQUET (1938)).

Anyway, despite this difference, Old English and O.H.G. syntax are characterized by two important similarities concerning on one side the relative order pronoun-V_{fnt} (cf. § 2.1), on the other the position of the finite verb in the subordinate clause (cf. § 2.2).

2.1 The Relative Order Pronoun-V_{fnt}

The relative order pronoun-finite verb obeys the same order constraints both in O.E. and O.H.G. (where attested). In other words, the distributional facts captured by Ans van Kemenade for Old English also holds for O.H.G. data. Her results are subsumed in the following scheme (cf. KEMENADE (1987:139)):

(6)   Main Clause:

    a. XP - pronoun+V_{fnt} - .....

    b. $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{WH} \\ ne \\ þa \end{Bmatrix}$ - V_{fnt}+pronoun - ..... / * WH/*ne*/*þa* - pronoun+V_{fnt}

          Subordinate Clause:

    c. Comp.+pronoun - .....   / * pronoun+Comp. .....

Note that, as far as the main clause is concerned, the pronoun precedes the finite verb only when the fronted element corresponds to a NON-negative declarative costituent (XP)

(pattern (6a) - cf. ex. (1a,b,c), (3), (4) and (5)).

On the contrary, when the first costituent of the main clause corresponds either to a WH-costituent or to the clitic of negation, the pronoun follows the finite verb in third position. This word order pattern (cf. (6b)) will be analyzed later (cf. § 5.) where the syntactic nature of the adverb *þa* will also be discussed.

In the subordinate clause (cf. (6c)), the pronoun immediately follows the lexical complementizer:

(7)   Old English

(7a) þæt he mehte his feorh *generian*

(7b) þæt hi mihton swa bealdlice Godes geleafan *bodian*
                              (examples from KEMENADE (1987:59))

(8)   Old High German (*Isidors Schrift contra Iudaeos*):[4]

(8a) dhazs *dhu* firstandes heilac chiruni
     Comp. Subj. Vfnt   Obj.
     (that you   understand the Holy Secret)

(8b) dhazs *ih*   fora sinemu anthlutte hneige   imu   dheodun
     Comp. Subj.   PP   Vfnt NP(Dat.) Obj.
     (that I   in front of his face   bow   to him   people)
     (that I make people bow to him before his face)

2.2 The Position of Vfnt in the Subordinate Clause

A second important similarity between Old English and O.H.G. concerns the position of the finite verb in the subordinate clause. What is particularly interesting for our purposes is the fact that both O.E. and O.H.G. are characterized by the phenomena of Verb Raising (V.R.) and Verb Projection Raising (V.P.R.). The following scheme provides a first summary of the most common word order patterns attested in the subordinate clause:

(9) a. Comp. .... V_{fnt} (V-LAST)
     b. Comp. .... V_{fnt} XP   (Extraposition)
     c. Comp. .... V V_{fnt} (V-LAST)
     d. Comp. .... V_{fnt} V   (V.R.)
     e. Comp. NP(subj) V_{fnt} NP(obj) V   (V.P.R.)

As for the preceeding sheme the following observations are
needed:

i)   If on one side both O.E. and O.H.G. are clearly
     characterized by an O-V order as far as the internal structure
     of the VP is concerned, on the other the position of the V_{fnt}
     in the subordinate clause is certainly freer than, for
     example, in modern German.

ii) In sentences with a simple tense (patterns (9a. and b.)),
     the verb may occupy the final position but it could also be
     followed by one (or more) constituents. A fact generally
     attributed to a process of extraposition.

iii) In sentences with a complex verbal form we find essentially
     three different word order patterns:

     1) the verbal complex occupies the final position. In this
        case the relative order PAST PARTICIPLE - V_{fnt} is clearly
        subject to dialectical variations. We can find both the
        order PAST PARTICIPLE-V_{fnt} as in modern standard German and
        the order V_{fnt}-PAST PARTICIPLE (a phenomenon attested, for
        example, in standard Dutch and which is usually referred to
        as Verb Raising).

     2) the subordinate clause could be characterized by the so-
        called "bracket structure" (cf. (9e)); in other words, the
        Object NP occures between the V_{fnt} and the non finite part
        of the verbal complex giving rise to a construction

otherwise typical of the main clause (*Verbale Klammerbildung*).[5] What is really important to note here consists in the following: any instance of "bracket structure" in the subordinate clause is crucially different from the main clause *Verbale Klammerbildung* with respect to the possible positions of the Subject NP. In the main clause the Subjet NP could occur either sentence initially to the left of the V_{fnt} or to the right of the V_{fnt} (Subject Verb Inversion: XP V_{fnt} NP(subj.) ....). In the subordinate clause, on the contrary, the Subject NP generally occurs to the right of the complementizer before the V_{fnt}.

Some examples of the word order patterns just discussed are given below in §§ 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

2.2.1 <u>Old High German (*Isidors Schrift contra Iudaeos*)</u>

    a. **V-LAST**
(10) dhemu izs *firgheban* uuard
     REL. Subj. V V_{fnt}
     ((to) whom it forgiven was)

    b. **Extraposition**
(11) dhazs uuerodheoda druhtin sendida mih zi dhir
     Comp.   Subj. V_{fnt} Obj. PP
     (that the Lord of the army sent me to you)

(12) dhazs dhu firstandes heilac chiruni
     Comp. Subj. V_{fnt} Obj.
     (that you understand the Holy Secret)

(13) dhazs ih   fora sinemu anthlutte hneige   imu   dheodun

     Comp. Subj.   PP V_{fnt} NP(Dat.) Obj.
     (that I   in front of his face   bow   to him people)
     (that I make people bow to him before his face)

(14) dhazs dher selbo gheist ist   got
     Comp.   Subj. V_{fnt} NP

(that the spirit himself is God)

    c. **Verb Raising**
(15) dher fona uuerodheoda druhtine **uuard** *chisendit*
    REL.   PP   V$_{fnt}$ V
    (who from the Lord of the army was sent)

    d. **Verb Raising + Extraposition**
(16) dhazs dhiz   ist   *chiquhedan* in unseres druhtines nemin

    Comp. Subj. V$_{fnt}$ V   PP
    (that this   is   said   in the name of our Lord)

    e. **Verb Projection Raising**
(17) dhazs dhar ist Christ *chizeichnit*
    Comp. Adv. V$_{fnt}$ Subj.   V
    (that there is Christ   meant)

(ex. from BRAUNE-EBBINGHAUS (1979)- cf. TOMASELLI (1989:101-103))

2.2.2 <u>Old English</u> (examples from KEMENADE (1987:40, 55, 59))

    a. **V-LAST**
(18)þæt ic þas boc of Ledenum gereorde to Engliscre spræce awende
    Comp.Subj. Obj.   PP   PP   V$_{fnt}$
    (That I translate this book from the Latin language to the
    English tongue)

(19) þæt hie   gemong him mid sibbe *sittan* mosten
    Comp. Subj.   PP   PP   V   V$_{fnt}$
    (that they must settle in peace among themselves)

    b. **Extraposition**
(20) æfter disum gelamp
    (then it happened)
    þæt   micel manncwealm becom ofer þære Romaniscan leode
    Comp.   Subj.   V$_{fnt}$ PP
    (that a great plague came over the Roman people)

    c. **Verb Raising**
(21) þæt   he   Saul   ne **dorste** *ofslean*
    Comp. Subj. Obj. Neg+V$_{fnt}$ V
    (that he didn't dare to murder Saul)

    d. **Verb Projection Raising**
(22) þæt he   mehte   his feorh *generian*
    Comp. Subj. V$_{fnt}$ Obj.   V
    (that he could save his property)

(23) þæt hi   mihton swa bealdlice Godes geleafan *bodian*
    Comp. Subj. V$_{fnt}$ Adv.   Obj.   V
    (that they could preach God's faith so boldly)

2.2.3 First Conclusion

What is crucial to the scope of this work is the question whether the order XP-pronoun-V$_{fnt}$ (...) in the main clause can be connected with the position of the V$_{fnt}$ in the subordinate clause, in particular with the word order pattern (9e), i.e.:

Comp. NP$_{subj}$. vfnt ...... V.

A quick overview of some well-known O.H.G. texts[6] and of some of the most thoroughly studied modern continental West Germanic languages[7] will provide us with the right answer:

24) An overview:

	[vpNP V]	V-2	XP pronoun+V$_{fnt}$ ...	Comp. NP V$_{fnt}$ .. V	V.R.
Old English	+	+	+	+	+
O.H.G.					
Isidor	+	+	+	+	+
Muspilli	+	+	-	(+)	-
Williram	+	+	-	+	+
Memento Mori	+	+	-	-	+
West Flemish	+	+	-	+	+
Zurich Swiss German	+	+	-	+	+
German	+	+	-	-	+
Dutch	+	+	-	-	+

As we can see looking at the previous table, the assumed correlation is confirmed by the data. Whenever you find the order XP-pronoun-V$_{fnt}$ in the main clause, you also find instances of the order Compl. NP$_{subj}$. V$_{fnt}$ NP$_{obj}$. V in the subordinate clause.

Is is important to note that this doesn't seem to hold the other
way round. At least for Williram (O.H.G.) and more clearly for
two modern languages like West Flemish and Zurich Swiss German
the possibility of having some instances of what has been called
bracket structure in the subordinate clause does not correlate
with V-3 cases in the main clause.[8]

As for table (24) there are other two points which should be
stressed:

1) From the point of view of the diachronic evolution the order
   XP-pronoun-V_{fnt} (...) is lost before V.P.R. in the
   subordinate clause.

2) Muspilli shows a quite interesting situation. In fact we find
   an instance of V.P.R. (just one example amongst 65 subordinate
   clauses) in a dialect which does not have simple V.R.. This is
   particularly interesting as far as the nature of V.P.R. in
   O.H.G. is concerned (cf. footnote 8). On the contrary, in
   modern West Germanic languages the presence of V.P.R. is
   strictly dependent on the presence of "simple" V.R. (cf. DEN
   BESTEN (1986)).

3. Are V-3 Cases exceptions to V-2?

In the preceeding section it has been clearly shown that both
O.E. and O.H.G. syntax present two important related
similarities:

a) the relative order pronoun-V_{fnt}

b) the positions of the V_{fnt} in the subordinate clause.

In this section it will be tentatively assumed that every

analysis which captures O.E. data should also capture O.H.G data and vice versa.

As far as the word order pattern XP pronoun V_{fnt} ..... , two radically different anlayses have already been proposed in the literature with respect to O.H.G. on one side (cf. LENERZ (1985)) and to O.E. on the other (cf. KEMENADE (1978)). In what follows these two analysis will be briefly presented and discussed.

3.1   LENERZ (1985)

The analysis provided by Lenerz in order to explain examples like (1a,b,c), which, for the sake of simplicity, are repeated below:

(25a) dhaz *ir* chichundida
      Obj. Subj. V_{fnt}

(25b) erino portun *ih* firchnussu
        Obj.   Subj. V_{fnt}

(25c) Dhes martyrunga endi dodh *uuir* findemes   mit urchundin
         NP   Subj. V_{fnt} PP

     dhes heilegin chiscribes
          NP(Genitive)

is based on his hypothesis about the historical development of the early stage of the German Language.

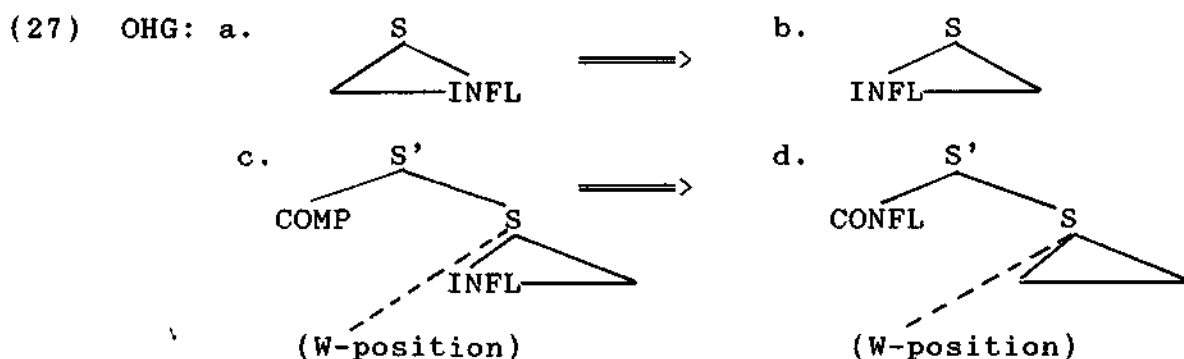This could be summarized as follows (cf. LENERZ (1985:126):

"Early Germanic had (52a) [= (26a)] as base structure with (52b) [= (26b)] as a stylistic reordering, X^{max} being any constituent, i.e. also the finite verb:
(26a)   S

(26b)
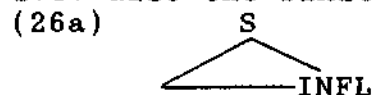
The preposed verb in (52b) [= (26b)] may then have been re-analysed as S-initial INFL in base structure.

Since there were also structures with COMP in O.H.G., S-initial INFL became identified with COMP (CONFL).

In other words, following Lenerz (who bases his analysis of V-2 on PLATZACK (1983)), the rise of V-2 in O.H.G. is crucially dependent on two different processes of reanalysis:

(27) OHG: a.   b.

(tree diagrams for 27a, 27b, 27c, 27d showing S, S', INFL, COMP, CONFL nodes and (W-position) labels)

(cf. LENERZ (1985:122, 126), where W-position = Wackernagel position)

Given the historical evolution illustrated in (27), there are two possible analyses of example (25a) and (25b):

i) As proposed by LENERZ (1985:106), examples (25a) and (25b) could be analyzed as "relics" of the first O.H.G. stage (cf. (27a)), which corresponds, in fact, to the Early Germanic stage (cf. (26a)). This analysis gives rise to one main objection: since the (subject) pronoun precedes the finite verb even in non V-LAST main clauses (cf. (25c)), such examples should be reconducted to a completely different explanation (but see note 3).

ii) Example (25a), (25b) and (25c) could all be analyzed as instances of the third O.H.G. stage (cf. 27c). The subject pronoun occupies the W-position (the position reserved for "light"-elements), immediatly preceding the V_{fnt} in INFL. There is again one main objection to such a possible analysis.

Note, in fact, that we would falsely predict that in the subordinate clause the following orders are both possible in O.H.G.:

(28a): ^{OK}Comp. - Subject pronoun - V_{fnt} - .....
(28b):   * Comp. - $\emptyset$ - V_{fnt} - NP$_{(subj.)}$ - ..... [9]

Apart from the objections just discussed, it is clear that only the analysis proposed in ii) is compatible with O.E. data. On the contrary the analysis in i) draws an obvious distinction between O.E. and O.H.G. as far as the word order pattern XP pronoun V_{fnt} is concerned, a result which, given our premises, is completly undesirable.

3.2   KEMENADE (1987)

Turning now to the analysis provided by Kemenade for O.E. data, her main claim (contrary to Lenerz's proposal for O.H.G.) consists in the assumption that examples like (3), (4) and (5) are, in fact, instances of V-2.

Given the distributional facts concerning the relative order pronoun-V_{fnt} captured in her investigation (cf. (6)):
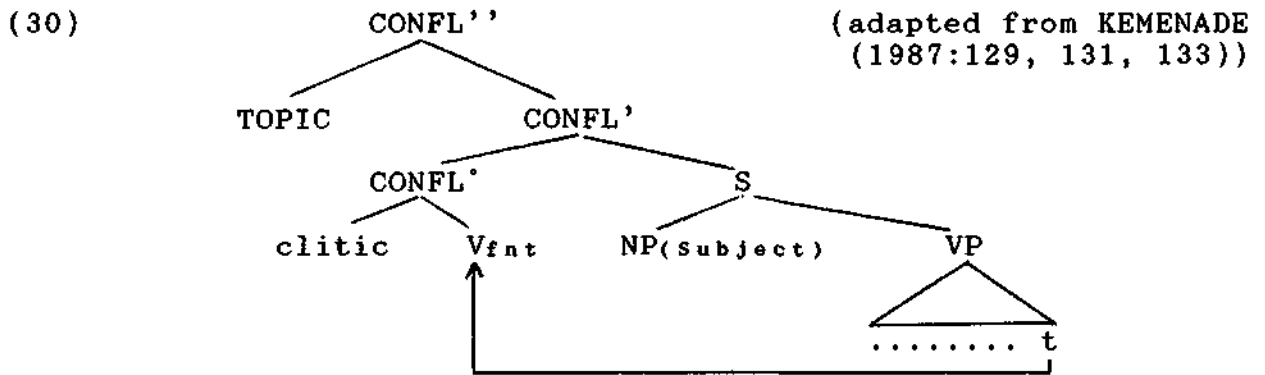
(29) <u>Main Clause</u>:

    a.   XP - pronoun+V_{fnt} - .....

    b. $\begin{Bmatrix} WH \\ ne \\ \flat a \end{Bmatrix}$ - V_{fnt}+pronoun - ..... / * WH/_ne_/_þa_ - pronoun+V_{fnt}

        <u>Subordinate Clause</u>:

    c. Comp.+pronoun - .....   / * pronoun+Comp. .....

Kemenade proposes the following analysis:

Crucially assuming that pronominal elements in O.E. could have the status of "syntactic" clitics, the word order pattern: XP-pronoun-V_{fnt}-(...) (cf. (29a)) is attributed to a process of cliticization on the left of COMP°. More precisely, the S-structure representation of the word order pattern (29a) corresponds to the one proposed in (30) below (where COMP°= CONFL):

(30)   CONFL''   (adapted from KEMENADE
          /   \   (1987:129, 131, 133))
      TOPIC   CONFL'
                  /   \
             CONFL°   S
            /   \   /   \
      clitic V_{fnt} NP(subject)   VP
                                        / \
                                    .... t

Note that in order to explain the fact that in the word order patterns (29b) and (29c) the clitic position is on the right of the CONFL-projection rather than on the left of CONFL, KEMENADE (1987:139-'40) must assume that:

i)   if the topic position (= [Spec., CONFL'']) is occupied by an operator (Wh-elements, *þa* and *ne*) the specifier and the head of CONFL'' appear to behave as one constituent within which cliticization is impossible;

ii)   there is a crucial distinction between V-2 as lexicalization of CONFL° and *that* as lexicalization of CONFL°. More precisely, *that* corresponds to the proper base-generated lexicalization of CONFL°, whereas V-2 must be viewed as a default lexicalizer.

A first immediate advantage of the analysis proposed by Kemenade consists in the fact that this is free from the objections previously moved to the analysis proposed by LENERZ (1985) (cf. § 3.1, in particular points i) and ii) on p. 15)). Nevertheless two important theoretical objections arise with respect to her work: First of all we must assume that, depending on circumtances (cf. (29a) versus (29b,c)), the clitic either adjoins on the left or on the right of the same structural head (CONFL·);[10]

Second, Kemenade's analysis (like LENERZ (1985)) is crucially based on the assumption that the structure of the sentence of a V-2 language lacks an independent INFL-projection. Note that this hypothesis, in its original formulation (cf. PLATZACK (1983)), was built up by two distinct assumptions:

a) in V-2 Germanic languages the morpho-syntactic characterization of COMP· resembles, under many respects, the characterization of INFL· in Romance languages;

b) this fact makes the postulation of an "extra", independent INFL-projection superfluous.

Without compromising in any way the validity of the assumption in a), in the following section it will be argued, contrary to b), that the assumption of an (independent) INFL-projection is justified both by theoretical and empirical reasons (cf., amongst others, PLATZACK (1986), Den BESTEN (1986), TOMASELLI (1989), (1990)).

4. <u>Assuming an independent INFL-Projection: Advantages and</u>
<u>Problems</u>

If we assume that the structure of the sentence of a V-2 language
is characterized (like in other non V-2 languages) by two
distinct functional projections, i.e.: IP and CP, then the
following much more attractive analysis can be provided in order
to explain the relative order pronoun-V$_{fnt}$ both in O.E. and
O.H.G.:

i) it is possible to assume that the (Subject) pronoun cliticizes
either on the left of INFL° or to the right of COMP° (possibly
involving two differnt syntactic processes);

ii) the order XP-clitic+V$_{fnt}$-(...) in the main declarative clause
is derived from:

a) cliticization to the left of INFL°;

b) head to head movement.

(31)
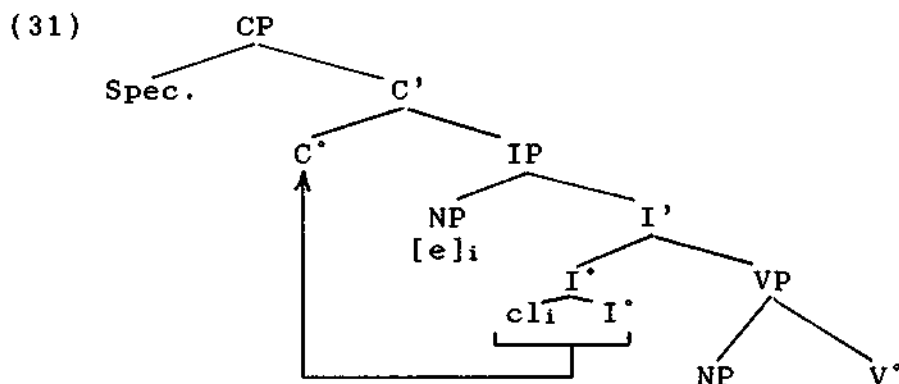
iii) cliticization to the left of the lexical complementizer is
automatically excluded. Given the fact that:

a) the base-generation of the lexical complementizer in COMP°
obviously prevents head to head movement;

b) direct cliticization to the left of COMP° should be

independently excluded;

there would be no way to derive the following unattested word order pattern:

(32)   clitic+*þæt/dhazs-*......   (cf. (29c)).

The analysis just proposed gives a clear account of the word order patterns (29a) and (29c) but it is clearly not sufficient to explain (29c). Before turning to this important issue (cf. § 5), something more must be said about structure (31).

4.1   IP as a Head-Medial Projection: Problems

Note that two different important assumptions underlie (31):

- IP is a distinct maximal projection with respect to CP;
- IP is analyzed as a head-medial projection.

This second hypothesis posits, in fact, more than one problem:

I) As for the history of English, the postulation of an intermediate stage S-INFL-O-V naturally fits with the general hypothesis that the historical development of this language was characterized by a gradual change from an original SOV to the actual SVO type.[11] On the contrary, as far as the history of the German language is concerned, the idea that O.H.G. was characterized by a head-medial INFL-projection would imply that, at a certain point in its historical development, German went back to a SOVI type.[12]

II) Since the V_{fint}, in both O.E. and O.H.G., could occupy the final position in the subordinate clause (cf. § 2.2, point

(9)), we must assume that:

a) in the main clause V° obligatory passes through INFL° in its way to COMP° in order to: i) eventually pick up the clitic; ii) avoid a violation of the Head Movement Constraints;

b) in the subordinate clause V° to I° movement should be stated in optional terms;

c) we should draw a potential distinction between "full" verbs on one side and modal and auxiliary verbs on the other. In fact, if V° to INFL° movement, as far as the subordinate clause is concerned, was more precisely limited to modal and auxiliary verbs (as suggested by Ans van Kemenade and Tony Kroch during the conference in York), then we would still need an explanation for why INFL° can never represent a final landing site for "full" verbs.[13]

The possibility to to give an adequate and detailed answer to the problems just sketched goes beyond the purposes of this article and is therefore left to further research.

4.2   IP as a Head-Medial Projection: Advantages

At this point it is really important to note that if on one side the hypotesis of a head-medial INFL-projection is far from being unproblematic, on the other it presents at least, two immediate advantages which are briefly discussed in A) and B) below:

A) The possibility to correlate the process of cliticization to INFL° (which combined with V-2, i.e.: INFL° to COMP° movement, gives rise to the word order pattern: XP-clitic+V_{fnt}-(...))

with IP being **head-medial** (which combined with head to head movement gives rise to the word order pattern Comp.-NP$_{(subj.)}$-Vf$_{nt}$-NP$_{(obj.)}$-V in the subordinate clause) is independently confirmed by the following well-known typological constraint:

(33) a. $^{OK}[_{IP}NP_i[_{I'}[_{I}°cli+Vf_{nt}]$ VP]
      b. $*[_{IP}NP_i[_{I'}VP [_{I}°cli+Vf_{nt}]]$

In other words, the possibility to cliticize to a head-final INFL° seems to be unattested cross-linguistically.

Note, in fact, that cliticization to INFL° should be excluded in a SOVI language both at the Phonetic Form (the movement wouldn't be string-vacuous) and at S-Structure (movements to the right are usually limited to "heavy" elements);

B) It is possible to correlate the loss of cliticization to two different factors both concerning the category INFL:

As for English, the loss of a process of cliticization to INFL correlates with a change in the morpho-syntactic characterization of INFL° (a process wich is generally referred to as "deflexion"; cf. KEMENADE (1987) and WEERMAN (1989));

As for German, the loss of cliticization to INFL° correlates with a change of the head-parameter within IP:

34)   NP$_{(subj.)}$ INFL VP ———> NP$_{(subj.)}$ VP INFL

Note that this difference is perfectly compatible with the fact that the correlation between the loss of cliticization

and the loss of V-2 only holds for the history of English (cf. KEMENADE (1987) and HULK-KEMENADE (1990)). Both phenomena could in fact be reasonably traced back to the genaral process of deflexion which this language underwent.

On the contrary, however, in the history of German the loss of cliticization corresponds to the strenghtening of V-2. This fact does not constitute a problem if we assume that the loss of cliticization, in this case, is not to be linked to a change of the morphosyntactic characterization of INFL° (which would be, by the way, completely unjustified) but rather to the different position occupied by INFL° at D-structure (cf. (34)).

After this excursus through some of the most interesting consequences of the hypothesis that both O.E. and (may be more problematically) O.H.G. were characterized by a head-medial IP, it is time now to turn to the last important problem which our analysis has left unexplained.

5. Why does the Presence of a Clitic on COMP° interfere with the Specifier-Head Relation?

A problem which has remained "dangling" until now is the following. Given the word order pattern (29b), here repeated as (35):

$$(35) \quad \begin{Bmatrix} WH \\ ne \\ \not{p}a \end{Bmatrix} - V_{fnt} + pronoun - \ldots / \ast \; WH/ne/\not{p}a - pronoun + V_{fnt}$$

Why can the (clitic) pronoun not intervene between the element in the specifier of the COMP-projection ([Spec., CP]) and the V_{fnt}

in COMP˚?

The answer provided by KEMENADE (1987) consists, as we have already noted before (cf. § 4.), of two interrelated assumptions:

i)   the WH-element, the clitic of negation (*ne*) and *þa* are **operators**;

ii) the relation between an operator in [Spec., CP] and the V_{fint} in COMP˚ is such that nothing can interrupt it.[14]

Note, first of all, that for the assumption in i) the following objection could be raised:

if on side we can certainly assume that both WH-elements and negation are operators, on the other the syntactic status of the adverb *þa* is uncertain. STOCKWELL (1977), in fact, assumes (on the basis of unpublished work by W. Rybarkiewicz; cf. STOCKWELL (1977:note 2, p. 311)) that *transitional adverbs* like *þa, þonne, þær*, are to be considered conjunction elements together with the coordinating conjunction. Following this hypothesis, sentences introduced by *þa* should be more appropriately analyzed as V-1 sentences together with YES/NO questions (cf. also FOURQUET (1938)).

As for the assumption in ii), the idea that the relation between the WH-element and the V_{fint} is "special" in a certain way is immediately captured by the *WH-criterion* recently proposed by RIZZI (1990a). Following, in essence, MAY (1985) and updating his proposal in terms of Chomsky's clausal projections theory, Rizzi assumes that the occurence and position of WH-elements is determined by the following principles (cf. RIZZI (1990a:378):

(36) **WH-Criterion:**
      Principle A: Each [+wh] X˚ must be in a Specifier-Head

relation with a wh-phrase
Principle B: Each wh-phrase must be in a Specifier-Head
relation with a [+wh] X°

One of the main purposes which underlies the formulation of the WH-Criterion consists in the possibility of accounting for what Rizzi calls "residual V-2". This label refers to the constructions which imply the *V-2 mechanics* (i.e.: V° to I° to C°) in non V-2 languages, in particular Subject Aux Inversion (SAI) in English and Subject Clitic Inversion in French (SCI). These two syntactic phenomena are respectively exemplified in (37) and (38) below:

(37) SAI
    a. Who_i did_j [Mary t_j see t_i] ?
    b. *Who_i [Mary INFL saw t_i] ?

(38) SCI
    a.   Que manges-tu?
    b. *Que tu manges?

Note that if on one side the adjacency requirement WH-word - V_{fnt} has been already analyzed in terms of V° (to I°) to C° movement,[15] on the other the explanation for why the V_{fnt} must move to COMP° in a non V-2 language crucially relies on the WH-Criterion.

In fact, if we assume (following RIZZI (1990a:378-9)) that the feature [+wh] may occur:

i)   in COMP° in the subordinate clause (through selection by
       the matrix verb),

ii)   in INFL° in the main clause[16],

then it follows that INFL° (i.e.: the V_{fnt}) must move to COMP° in the main WH-clause in order to satisfy principle B of the WH-Criterion.

The hypothesis that the movement of the V_{fnt} to COMP in the main WH-clause is forced by the WH-Criterion receives independent evidence from the diachronic perspective. If we consider the historical evolution of V-2, in fact, we do not find any violation of the V-2 constraint in the WH-construction.

First of all it is well known that in O.H.G. one possible exception to the V-2 constraint in the main *declarative* clause consisted in a (strongly) limited ammount of V-LAST construction.[17] It shouldn't come as a surprise that no case of V-LAST construction is attested in the main interrogative clause neither in O.H.G. (nor in O.E.).

Secondly, it is clear that the distributional facts presented by KEMENADE (1987) with respect to the relative order pronoun-V_{fnt} in O.E. (here extended to O.H.G. data) go exactly in this direction. The fact that the V-2 constraint seems to be "stronger" in the WH-construction should be, in fact, simply attributed to the WH-Criterion and this independently from whatever explanation one could provide for "full V-2".

Turning now to our original problem, if what has been said so far proves to be reasonable, then in order to explain the word order pattern in (35) we have simply to assume the following:

(39) The complex head which derives after a process of cliticization (= $[_{I^\circ}$ clitic $[_{I^\circ}$ $V_{fnt}]]$) is unable to satisfy principle b. of the WH-Criterion.

At this point it is important to note that:

a) The WH-Criterion together with (39) cover not only the O.E.

(and O.H.G.) data under discussion (cf. (35)) but can be immediatly extended to the phenomenon of Subject Clitic Inversion in French (cf. (38);

b) An important distinction must be drawn between subject clitics *versus* object clitics. In fact, if on one side the generalization captured in (35) does not imply any asymmetry between subject *versus* object clitics as far as O.E. is concerned, on the other hand as for O.H.G. and, more obviously, modern French, the same generalization shows to be true just as far as subject clitics are involved. Compare (38) with the following two examples:

(40)   Qui l'a mangée?
        (Who it-has eaten = Who ate it?)

(41)   Quand l'as-tu mangée?
        (When it-have-you eaten   =   When did you eat it?)

As you note, while the subject clitic must occure to the right of the finite verb (cf. *tu* in (41) and (38)), the object clitic (cf. *l'* in (40) and (41)) regularly occurs to the left of it.[18]

c) the constraint (39) crucially implies that the process of (subject-)cliticization modifies the status of the head on which it applies.


From this last assumption arise at least two important related issues:

I)   How does cliticization modify the status of the head?

II)   Which principle underlies the constraint proposed in (39)?

As for the question in II), note, first of all, that

cliticization has been generally analyzed as a process of adjunction of a head (the clitic itself) to another head (I° or, more controversially, C°).[19] Given this assumption, the interference caused by the clitic could be reduced to the notion of intervention as stated, for example, in RIZZI (1990b). In fact, the clitic adjuncted to C° (either directly as proposed by Kemenade, or indirectly through I° to C° movemement as proposed here) interferes in the relation between the WH-element in [Spec., CP] and the V_{fnt} in C° in a way which is similar to the interference caused by a preposition intervening between a verb and its complements in a Case assignement relation. This situation is easily clarified in the following schema:

(42)a.　　XP　　-　　X_β°　　-　　X_α°　　　　SPECIFIER-HEAD AGREEMENT

　　b.　　X_α°　　-　　X_β°　　-　　XP　　　　HEAD-COMPLEMENT RELATION
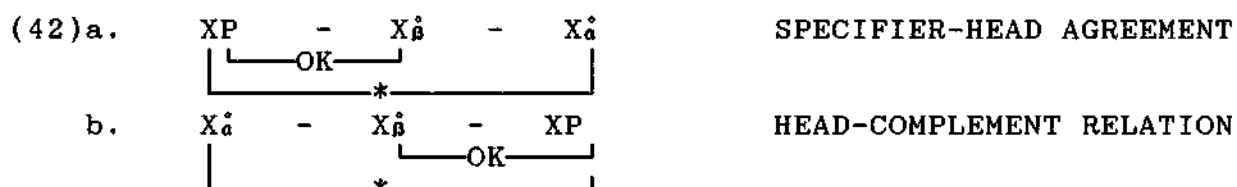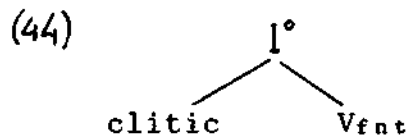
Turning now to the other question (cf. (I)), an interesting solution seems to rely on a typology of possible cliticization processes (a goal pursued in recent work by Cecilia Poletto). As Poletto pointed out to me, there are reasons to assume that the process of cliticization applies in at least two different ways:

a) cliticization through adjunction:

(43)　　　　　I°
　　　　　／　　＼
　　clitic　　　I°
　　　　　　　　│
　　　　　　　　V_{fnt}
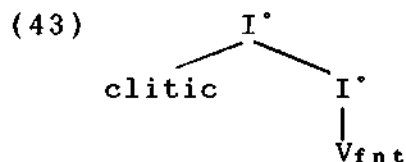
b) cliticization to an X° internal level:[20]

(44)

```
            I°
           / \
          /   \
    clitic     Vfnt
```

Given this crucial difference, it is clear that only cliticization through adjunction (cf. (43)) would be pertinent as far as the constraint (39) is concerned. On the contrary, the complex head resulting after cliticization to an X° internal level (cf. (44)), should not cause any violation of principle B of the WH-Criterion.

Note that this distinction provides us with a principled explanation for the different (morpho-)syntactic behaviour between:

i)   cliticization phenomena in Romance languages versus cliticization phenomena in Germanic languages;

ii)   cliticization of the subject pronoun versus cliticization of object pronouns.

A deeper investigation of the consequences of such speculative assumptions goes further beyond the purposes of the present paper and it is therefore left to future work.

NOTES

* This paper is the preliminary version of a talk presented at the First Generative Diachronic Syntax Conference in York (April 1990). In addition to instructive discussion from the participants at that conference (particularly from Ans van Kemenade, Tony Kroch, Cecilia Poletto, Ian
Roberts, Beatrice Santorini, Sten Vikner and Fred Weerman), comments and other help came from the following people: Werner Abraham, Harald Clahsen, Denis Delfitto, Giorgio Graffi, Maria Teresa Guasti, Lidia Lonzi, Andrea Moro, Luigi Rizzi and Raffaella Zanuttini. Of course, responsability for errors is just mine.

1) As for the relevance of the influence of Latin syntax in *Tatian* cf. the detailed study by LIPPERT (1974).

2) Note that in ex. (1a,b,c) the fronted constituent always corresponds to the Object NP just by chance.

3) As Beatrice Santorini pointed out to me, ex. (1c) is not the clearest example one could provide in order to differentiate this particular kind of V-3 construction from an other possible exception to V-2 in O.H.G., i.e. the V-LAST construction. Since one has to assume, independently from the facts under consideration, that O.H.G. syntax is characterized by a process of extraposition, then ex. (1c) could be analyzed, in principle, as one of the possible variants which could be derived exactly from a V-LAST construction through extraposition. A sentence with a complex verbal form (auxiliary/modal - past participle/infinitive) or a particle verb (for ex. *liebhaben*) would certainly provide a more direct and convincing evidence in order to draw a precise distinction between ex. (1a,b,c) and the V-LAST construction.

4) The strict adiacency requirement lexical complementizer - Subject pronoun is not a unique characteristic of the syntax of O.H.G. Isidor. This adjacency requirement characterizes, in fact, not only O.H.G. in general but also all modern V-2 languages.
What uniquely characterizes *Isidors Schrift contra Iudaeos* with respect of both other O.H.G. texts and modern V-2 languages consists in what follows:
in modern V-2 languages, as well as in other O.H.G. texts, the Subject pronoun immediately follows the syntactic position COMP° independently of the lexical item which fills it.
In other words, the Subject pronoun occupies a position immediatly to the right of:
i)   the lexical complementizer in the subordinate clause;
ii)   the finite verb in the main clause.
The following examples are taken, respectively, from *Williram* (a prose text of the XI century) and from *Muspilli* (a poem of the late VIII century):
    Williram (cf. BRAUNE-EBBINGHAUS 1979:75,77,78)
a) dáz   er   da   ézze   dáz uuôcher sînes êigenen óbeze

```
        Comp.Subj. Adv. Vfnt      NP(obj.)
b) daz  íh  níeuuánne  necúme   in conventicula haereticorum
        Comp.Subj. Adv.   Neg+Vfnt        PP
c) thicco gehiezzer  mir   sîne cuomst  per prophetas
        Adv.   Vfnt+Subj. NP(Dat.)  NP(obj.)      PP
```

Muspilli (cf. BRAUNE-EBBINGHAUS 1979:87)
```
e) denner  mit den miaton   marrit   daz rehta
        Comp+Subj.  PP             Vfnt        NP(obj.)
f) daz  hortih
        Obj. Vfnt+Subj.
```
As for the relevance of the adiacency requirement COMP°-Subject pronoun in modern V-2 languages I refer here directly to TOMASELLI (1989), (1990a).

5) As Ans van Kemenade pointed out to me, the word order pattern (9b), here repeated for the sake of simplicity:
a)   Comp. NP(subj.) Vfnt NP(obj.) V
could ambiguously refer to two rather different sintactic constructions, which should be more precisely characterized by two distinct word order patterns:
b)   Comp. NP(subj.) XP   Vfnt NP(obj.) V
c)   Comp. NP(subj.) *(XP) Vfnt NP(obj.) V
Note that only the word order pattern in b) could be unambiguously analyzed as an istance of VPR.
On the contrary, the word order pattern in c) could be much more adequatly analyzed as the result of V° movement to INFL° given the hypothesis of a deep structure word order of the type:
d)   [IP NP(subj.) [I°] [VP NP(obj.) V°]]
where IP is a head medial maximal projection. This idea will be, in fact, explored in § 4..

6) For a detailed research about the syntax of verb in O.H.G. cf. TOMASELLI (1989, Chapter 2).

7) cf., among others, HAEGEMAN-RIEMSDIJK (1986), HAEGEMANN (forthcoming) and DEN BESTEN (1986).

8) The fact that the word order pattern   (9e) (i.e.: Comp. NP(subj.) Vfnt NP(obj.) V) could refer to two different syntactic constructions (cf. note 5.) plays an obvious important role in establishing the correlation under discussion. If on one side, as far as modern West Germanic languages are concerned, this word order pattern must be clearly attributed to VPR, on the other, as for O.H.G and O.E., at least some istances of what has been called "bracket structure" in the subordinate clause could be analyzed, in principle, as the result of V° to I° movement. It is clear that if the order XP pronoun Vfnt (...) in the main declarative clause should be more precisely connected with V° to I° movement in the subordinate clause, then this correlation seems to hold in both directions. This hypothesis will be explored in § 4..

9) This ungrammatical word order pattern is, in fact, attested in

at least one O.H.G. text (!). The following example, taken from *Muspilli*, is the only example of complementizer-V$_{fnt}$ adjacency usually cited in the historical Grammar of German (cf. ERDMANN (1985), JOLIVET-MOSSE' (1972)):

a) daz sculi der antichristo mit Eliase **pagan**
   Comp. V$_{fnt}$ NP$_{(subj.)}$ PP   V

Note that in the relative clause the eventual adjacency <u>relative pronoun - V$_{fnt}$</u> has a clear differnt syntactic value. The following examples are taken from the *Monsee-Wiener Fragmenten* (M) and from *Tatian* (T):

b)   (M): der **framtregit** fona sinemo horte niuuui ioh firni
           REL. V$_{fnt}$ PP   NP$_{(obj.)}$
b)'   (T): thie thár **frambringit** fon sinemo treseuue nivvu inti
           altiu
           (Latin: qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera)

c)   (M): Enti só huuer só **quuidit** lós uuort uuidar mannes sune
           Coor.   REL.   V$_{fnt}$ O   SP
c)'   (T): Inti só uuer só **quidit** uuort uuidar then mannes sun
           (Latino: Et quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium hominis)

Leaving aside the influence of the Latin syntax, it is clear that the adjacency <u>relative pronoun - V$_{fnt}$</u> could not be stated in structural terms. Assuming that the relative pronoun occupies the specifier of CP, both the head of CP (COMP°) and the trace of the relative pronoun in subject position ([Spec., IP]) intervene between the relative pronoun and the finite verb.

10)   cf. the review by ALLEN (1990), where this objection is also arisen.

11)   According to Steele <u>et al</u> (1981:285 ff.), the evolution of English went through the following stages:
a.   S O V Aux   (Old English)
b.   S Aux O V   (Early Modern English)
c.   S Aux V O   (Modern English)
Note that if on one side there is a certain agreement an the reletive chronology of these three stages (cf., amongst other, ROBERTS (1985) and, for an independent evidence coming from a different field of research, SCHWARTZ-TOMASELLI (1988)), on the other side what is at stake here concerns the absolute chronology. In fact it is crucial for the purposes of our analysis to assume that O.E. was already characterized by a head-medial IP (cf. b.).

12)   Unless one wants to assume with TRAVIS (1984) that modern German is characterized by a head-medial INFL-Projection as well. The fact that in recent works it has been convincingly shown that the system proposed by Travis is not an adequate description for modern German syntax (cf. Den BESTEN (1986), TOMASELLI (1989), SCHWARTZ-VIKNER (1989)) does not compromise, however, the validity of her analysis for an older stage of the language (for

related ideas concerning the historical development of Frech, cf.
ROBERTS (1990b)). Note, by the way, that the hypothesis that the
history of German was characterized by an SIOV stage finds an
interesing parallelims within the typological framework (cf.
LEHMANN (1971)).

13)   The fact that INFL° can not represent the final landing
site for verb movement (but just an intermediate step in V° to
COMP° movement) must be independently assumed for modern
Scandinavian languages (whith the exception of Icelandig), cf.,
amongst others, PLATZACK (1986).

14)   More precisely, KEMENADE (1987:139-'40) assumes the
following: "*if an operator whit an index (wh-elements, ba and ne)
moves to COMP [= (Spec., CP)], it transmits this index to the
head INFL [= COMP°, in a system where both CP and IP are distinct
maximal projections] as in (44)* [cf. a. below]:

a. [INFL°°COMP Oᵢ INFL] ——> [INFL°°COMP Oᵢ INFLᵢ]

...... *with respect to cliticization, (44) has the following
effect: COMP and INFL behave as one constituent, so that
cliticization is on the INFL projection rather than on INFL°*.
Apart from obvious terminological differences, Kemenade' main
idea is the following: when the specifier of CP is occupied by an
operator, the specifier and the head of CP behave as one
constituent preventing anything to intervene between them.

15)   For a first formulation of SAI and SCI in terms of movement
of the Vfₙₜ to COMP, cf. Den BESTEN (1983))

16)   For an exhaustive and detailed explanation cf. directly
RIZZI (1990a).

17)   This construction could be exemplified by the following
word order pattern:
    XP   YP   (Z)   Vfₙₜ   (Y)
where both XP and YP are two maximal projections. For a first
analysis of this construction in O.H.G. cf. LENERZ (1985).

18)   The situation represented by some northern Italian dialects
(like *basso polesano* - cf. POLETTO (1990) - and *trentino* - cf.
BRANDI-CORDIN (1981) and RIZZI (1987)) seems to provide immediate
support to this claim. A discussion of these data, anyway, goes
beyond the purposes of this paper.

19)   Cf. ROBERTS (1990a) and the literature cited there.

20)   As for the postulation of X° internal levels cf. SELKIRK
(1982) and ROBERTS (1990a).

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