Journal of Germanic Linguistics **25.3** (2013):199–246
doi: 10.1017/S1470542713000111

Inversions after *und* as a V1 Pattern in Middle High German: Information- and Discourse-Structural Aspects

Marco Coniglio and Eva Schlachter

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

In the following paper, we claim that the so-called *Inversionen nach und* are instances of V1 clauses. Although these constructions are attested from Old High German to the 19th century, we focus on the Middle High German period. Our arguments are based upon information- and discourse-structural properties. These clauses share typical properties of V1 clauses, namely, the absence of a topic-comment division, their relevance for textual cohesion, the accessibility status of the subject, the lexical semantics of their predicate, and their expressivity.[*]

1. Introduction.

It is a well-known fact that German, besides being an OV language, is also a typical V2 language. In syntax, this is traditionally described by assuming that in main declarative contexts, the verb is first moved to the C head and that a constituent (typically the subject) is then fronted to the first position (also called VORFELD).[1]

[*] The present study was conducted by project B4 of the Collaborative Research Centre 632 "Information structure: The linguistic means for structuring utterances, sentences, and texts." Special thanks go to the project leader Karin Donhauser, Svetlana Petrova (former project co-director), and the student assistants Anke Gehrlein, Andrew Murphy, Carolin Odebrecht, and Oxana Rasskazova. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their important comments on the first version of this paper.

[1] In German subordinate clauses, the verb typically occupies the last position:

(i) Ich glaube, dass Andreas ein Buch liest.
I think that Andreas a book reads
'I think that Andreas is reading a book.'

© Society for Gemanic Linguistics

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(1) [$_{CP}$ Andreas$_j$ [$_{C°}$ liest$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t$_j$ ein Buch t$_i$]]]
Andreas reads a book
'Andreas is reading a book.'

Notice that the pattern XP–V is typical of declarative contexts. In *yes/no* questions, for example, there is only movement of the verb, triggering the so-called subject-object inversion (V1 order). No constituent is fronted in such cases:

(2) [$_{CP}$ Ø [$_{C°}$ Liest$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Andreas ein Buch t$_i$?]]]
reads Andreas a book
'Is Andreas reading a book?'

V1 orders are also widely attested in certain types of declarative clauses, which have also been well investigated by Önnerfors (1997), for example, in episode-introducing sentences:[2]

(3) [$_{CP}$ Ø [$_{C°}$ Geht$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ein Mann auf den Markt t$_i$]]]
goes a man on the market
'A man goes to the market ...'

Declarative V1 clauses are often described as special emphatic "all-new-utterances" (Sasse 1995:5).

In general, however, it can be argued that the V2 pattern is typical of main declarative clauses. It is important to note that clauses introduced by coordinating conjunctions, such as *und* 'and', *oder* 'or', etc., are only apparent exceptions to this generalization. Such conjunctions do not trigger inversion, as they do not count as occupying the first position of the clause. This is shown by the contrast in 4.

(4) Maria ist in der Bibliothek ...
Maria is in the library

[2] Although this is not crucial for the analysis presented in this paper, we assume that V1 clauses are endowed with a fully-fledged C-domain, despite the fact that their first position is empty. Other proposals assume that the structure of the left periphery is truncated. See Abraham 2011, for example, where it has recently been proposed that the C-domain is not projected in these cases.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

a. ... und [$_{CP}$ Andreas$_j$ [$_{C°}$ liest$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t$_j$ ein Buch t$_i$]]]
and Andreas reads a book

b. ... *[$_{CP}$ und [$_{C°}$ liest$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Andreas ein Buch t$_i$]]]
and reads Andreas a book

'Maria is in the library and Andreas is reading a book.'

Coordinating conjunctions must be regarded as external to the clause they introduce. Thus, the first position is still available for fronting any constituent.

The only possibility for an inflected verb (in main declaratives) to occur in the first position after a conjunction is in symmetric coordinations such as the one in 5.

(5) (Andreas ist in der Bibliothek) und [$_{CP}$Ø$_j$ [$_{C°}$ liest$_i$ [$_{TP}$t$_j$ ein Buch t$_i$]]]
Andreas is in the library and reads a book
'(Andreas is in the library) and is reading a book.'

Here, the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential. Therefore, the subject of the second conjunct can be omitted.

In general, the description above is valid for earlier stages of the language as well. However, there is at least one important exception in the history of the language, which is traditionally referred to as INVERSION NACH *UND* ('inversion after *and*'). This structure is parallel to that of example 4b, which is ungrammatical in present-day German (henceforth PDG).

Inversion after *und* represents a phenomenon that has gone completely unnoticed in recent syntactic literature. For example, Paul's (2007:450) Middle High German (MHG) grammar resorts to referring to Behaghel (1932:30ff), who provides the most recent description of the phenomenon. In the latter, the construction is defined as the sequence of conjunction, finite verb, and *Subjekt in Späterstellung* ('subject in late position'), but the exact position of the subject is not specified:[3]

[3] Notice that there are different spellings of the conjunction: *andi/e, endi, inti, ind(e/i), und(e), unt(e)* as well as those with *n̄*, in which the horizonal line signals a missing dental sound.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(6) Die meister beriten sich. **vñ mohten si niht ervinden waz ez wær**.
(Könige 2ra, cited in Paul 2007:450)[4]

'The masters consulted one another, and they could [lit. 'and could they'] not figure out what it was.'

Of course, inversion after *und* is not obligatory. The conjunction *und* may also introduce standard declarative clauses with the subject or another constituent in the first position. The examples in 7 are taken from Behaghel 1932:31.

(7) a. unser herre gieng ob einem perig **und im volgot** ein michel menige (Schönb, Pr. IV, 37, 37, cited in Behaghel 1932:31)

'Our Lord went up to a mountain and a great many followed him [lit. 'and him followed a great many']'

b. also würket got alliu werc **unde der man der sele der stet** bloz unde lidic aller dinge (Myst II, 127, 36, cited in Behaghel 1932:31)

'God achieves all things and the man of the soul, he remains free and relieved of all things.'

The inversion after *und* constitutes an idiosyncrasy of MHG. This period is generally characterized by a stable V2 pattern in declarative contexts. The existence of V1 declarative clauses in MHG has been challenged by many authors (see Maurer 1924, among others). For this reason, the present paper also concentrates on this period and on the problem of whether inversions after *und* can be considered genuine V1 constructions.

One should bear in mind, however, that the phenomenon is by no means limited to the MHG period. Even if, according to Prell 2001:66, it represents 1.8% of all MHG declarative sentences and thus constitutes a

[4] In order to ensure accessibility to the examples provided in the paper, we have indicated the editions we had at our disposal. When we had access to the original manuscript, we have cited it based on the edition. All highlighting and emphasis in the examples is our own.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

relatively rare phenomenon, inversion after *und* remains productive from the Old High German (OHG) period into the 17th century (Behaghel 1932:31). Nonetheless, it is not even mentioned in Schrodt's (2004) OHG grammar II, and Ebert et al.'s (1993:432) Early New High German (ENHG) grammar makes paltry reference to it in a six-line paragraph on the normality of the construction during the whole ENHG period.[5] The sentences in 8 and 9 are examples from the OHG and ENHG period, respectively.

(8) a. […] endi israhel auh ardot baltliihho, **endi ist siin namo so sie inan nemnant**, […] (I 39, 10)

'[...] and Israel too remains fearless and his name is [lit. 'and is his name'] as they report it, [...]'

(Lat.: et israhel habitauit confidenter et hoc est nomen quod uocabunt eum, [...])

b. sie mugen iro ougun uf ze liehte erheven, **unde sint sie den fogelen gelih** (N. I 262, 7, cited in Behaghel 1932:31)

'they can raise their eyes to the light, and they are [lit. 'and are they'] like birds'

(9) Er verschmachtete des Tages vor Hitz, des Nachts vor Frost, **und kam kein Schlaff in seine Augen.** (Schupp 19, 17)

'He languished because of the heat by day, and because of the frost by night, and no sleep came [lit. 'and came no sleep'] to his eyes.'

However, inversion after *und* does not disappear until the 17th century. It is still attested in some works by Goethe as well, and in the late 20th century a somewhat—at times—vehement discussion condemning this construction arose among *Sprachpfleger* ('language caretakers'), which "gerade in der gegenwärtigen Zeit unsere Sprache im

[5] However, example 8a is listed there under the rubric of V1 clauses.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

höchsten Grade überschwemmt" (Lehmann 1878:79).[6] It was especially widespread in business, official and legal language, which developed from the *Kanzleistil* 'chancellery style', but also permeated the language of science and newspapers. Consider the examples in 10.

(10) a. Bis zu der gesetzlichen Regelung […] werden in Bayern 48, in Württemberg 17, in Baden 14, in Hessen […] 6 Abgeordnete gewählt, **und beträgt demnach die Gesamtzahl der Abgeordneten 382**.
(RV Art. 20, Abs. 2., cited in Günther 1898:309)

'Until legal regulation [...], 48 representatives will be elected in Bavaria, 17 in Württemberg, 14 in Baden, 6 in Hesse [...], and therefore the total amount of representatives will be 382 [lit. 'and amounts therefore the total number of representatives 382'].'

b. Hier fanden die Arbeiten über den Atlantischen Ozean ihren Abschluß, **und ist es nicht ohne Interesse**, die Resultate zusammenzufassen. (Lehmann 1878:93)

'Here, work on the Atlantic Ocean was terminated, and it is [lit. 'and is it'] of interest to summarize the results.'

c. Er lud seine Freunde zu sich ein, **und folgte ich sehr gerne seiner Einladung**. (Lehmann 1878:78)

'He invited his friends to his house, and I gladly accepted his invitation [lit. 'and followed I ...'].'

d. Das kommt natürlich aus dem Franz. her, ist feste Angewöhnung **und bedarf die Abgewöhnung einige Zeit.**
(Köln. Zeitung, cited in Andresen 1967:291)

'That obviously comes from French, it is a solid habit and breaking this habit requires [lit. 'and requires the ...'] some time.'

[6] "… at this very time is flooding our language to the highest degree." Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are our own.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

One of the reasons for the criticism of the *Sprachpfleger* is that no special function seems to be associated with inversion after *und*. Lehmann (1878:78f) entertains the idea that intended emphasis on the verb could be a possible motivation for its fronting, but he immediately rejects this view since, in the majority of cases, *unbedeutendere Verba* ('less significant verbs') or even auxiliary verbs are used in this construction. According to him, the *deutsche Bescheidenheit der Ichheit* ('German modesty when referring to the first person')—that is, avoiding having a personal pronoun begin a sentence—could only explain a few examples.[7]

Hammarström (1923:61) detects the absence of any special functions in the use of inversion after *und* even in some ENHG texts. He considers their exceptionally high frequency in *Doctor Faustus* as a mere mannerism of the author. This view is based on his comparison of the frequency of inversions after *und* in the two chapbooks *Eulenspiegel* and *Doctor Faustus*. In *Doctor Faustus*, 80% of all *und*-sentences display inversion, whereas in *Eulenspiegel* they only constitute 14% of the cases. Hammarström (1923:61) interprets this high number in *Doctor Faustus* as a consequence of the influence of the *Kanzleistil* and partly also of the language of Luther's Bible but does not provide any supporting arguments. Finally, Hammarström's opinion is adopted by Behaghel, who judges inversions after *und* later than 1700 to be artificial, particularly in view of the fact that they do not occur in regional dialects (Behaghel 1932:34).

According to Behaghel, the main function of this construction is the same as that of V1 clauses, namely, their *Anschlussstellung* ('connecting position'), which is made clear by means of the conjunction *und* (Behaghel 1932:30). Paul (2002:1058) interprets this connective function even more narrowly by restricting the occurrence of inversions after *und* to the cases in which "[…] der zweite Satz eine Folgerung aus dem ersten darstellt o. einen diesen begleitenden Umstand angibt (hier meist Ersetzung durch *auch* o. *u. zwar* möglich)."[8]

[7] In contrast, Behaghel (1932:35, 37) explicitly recognizes the possibility for the personal pronoun to occur postverbally as one of the causes.

[8] "[...] the second sentence represents the consequence of the first one, or specifies an accompanying circumstance (in most cases substitution by means of *auch* ['also'] or *und zwar* ['namely']) is possible."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The specific functions of inversions after *und* (compared with V1 clauses) are the object of the investigation in the present paper. Can we identify a single function for inversions after *und*, from which all other functions and properties (their connective function, the expression of a consequence or an accompanying circumstance, etc.) may be derived? Moreover, the question of the syntactic status of inversions after *und* needs to be addressed. Behaghel (1932:31) considers the inversion after *und* as the historical product of a former V2 order. He assumes that sentence-initial *und* was originally an adverb meaning *demgegenüber* ('in contrast, in comparison'). Consequently, its presence required that the verb occupy the second position. With this interpretation, he follows Sehrt's (1916) view that the Indo-European origin of the conjunction is a preposition with adversative meaning. According to this analysis, there must have been a grammaticalization process that changed the status of *und* from an adverb to a conjunction. An obvious consequence of this would be the assumption of at least two—if not three—lexical entries for *und* in MHG (adverb and conjunction), if one accepts a recent analysis of sentence-initial *und* in V-final clauses as a subjunction (Ferraresi & Weiß 2011).

Instead, we propose a unified analysis of *und* as a conjunction from the OHG period onwards. As such, it is placed in front of the whole sentence and can therefore be associated with different clause types (see section 3 with respect to *und* introducing subordinate clauses). This means that in *und*-V1-structures, the first position remains empty. We are therefore interested in investigating the following hypothesis:

(11) Inversions after *und* are instances of V1 clauses.
und $[_{CP}$ Ø $[_{C}$ V_i $[_{TP}$ ... t_i …]]]

We thus adopt Prell's (2001:65) idea, who counts inversions after *und*—despite their misleading denomination—as V1 clauses. As a result, they should no longer be classified as a free phenomenon but rather as a combinatorial fronting phenomenon, which "[...] nur in bestimmten, beschreibbaren Umgebungen vorkomme [...]" (Prell 2001:65, note 91).[9] However, Prell does not provide any explanation for these "describable" environments. The goal of the present paper is to investigate some

[9] "[...] which only occurs in certain, describable environments [...]"

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

crucial factors triggering V1 order after *und* and thereby fill the gap in the research on this phenomenon.

The paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we concentrate on specific problems with respect to V1 structures in MHG. In section 3, we present the texts we used for our survey and the methods we applied in collecting our data. In section 4, we discuss the most important factors for the licensing of inversions after *und*. We show that these factors partially overlap with those relevant for V1 clauses, but some properties specific to *und*-clauses are also examined. After some interim conclusions in section 5, section 6 is concerned with some theoretical considerations about the distinctive features of this and other constructions. A possible language change scenario is also presented.

2. V1 Declaratives in MHG.

The time span under investigation is the MHG period. The primary reason for this is that, since Maurer 1924, the MHG period has been regarded as the epoch of the V1 gap. According to Maurer, V1 order, inherited from Proto-Germanic and still attested in OHG, dies out in MHG. In ENHG, the construction re-enters the language under the influence of the Latin used by the humanists. This word order was initially limited to verbs of saying and was then extended to other verbs by process of analogy. Similar proposals are advanced in Biener 1926, Maurer 1926, Adolf 1944, Lenerz 1984, among others.

Maurer arrives at this conclusion by consulting sections of a number of texts from OHG to ENHG. He explicitly underlines the fact that he excluded *und*-clauses from his random sampling (Maurer 1924:152). Because of this surmised "gap," there has since been no theoretical investigation treating them as V1 declaratives either.

However, as is claimed, for instance, in Wunderlich & Reis 1924, Curme 1925, Paul & Mitzka 1960, Timm 1986, and more recently in Coniglio 2012, there are good reasons to assume that V1-order is a native pattern in MHG, despite being rarely attested. It was probably associated with specific stylistic niches and spoken register, as argued in Curme 1925:256.

> In the Middle High German period, it was [...] customary in the literary language to insert here [= sentence-initially] some formal particle [= *es*, *da*, etc.]. In Old High German, this was not necessary. While in the literary language of the M.H.G. period there was always a formal

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

particle here, the older usage with the verb in first place was doubtless wide-spread in popular speech.

As becomes clear in the following discussion, our analysis of inversion after *und* is among those studies that aim at explaining the apparent gap in the diachrony of V1 declaratives in the MHG period, in contrast to the assumptions of Maurer (1924).[10] Thus, the situation can be depicted diachronically as in figure 1.

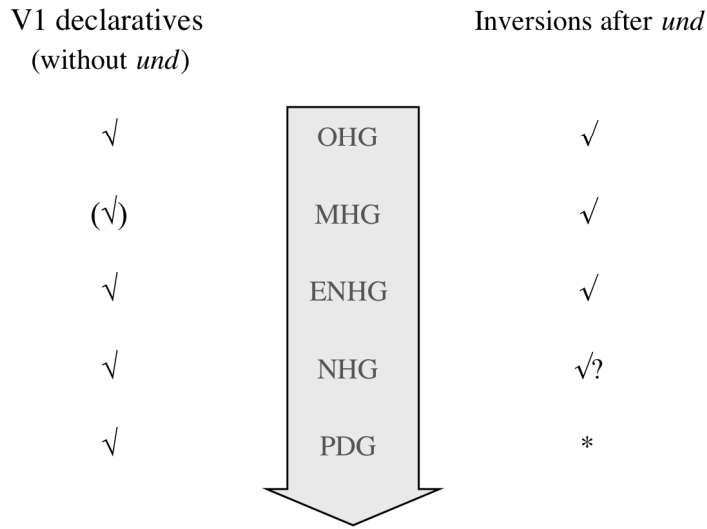


Figure 1. Attestations for V1 declaratives and inversions after *und* through the history of German.

[10] As was pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the question still remains why inversions after *und* during the MHG period should be more frequent than other types of V1 declaratives. Investigating this interesting aspect would be beyond the goal of the present paper since we think that this different frequency probably has to do with stylistic factors and with the different text tradition. This means that the difference in the frequency could be traced back to the complementary distribution of V1 clauses—which are associated with orality (see Curme 1925 and Coniglio 2012 with respect to MHG, and more generally, Önnerfors 1997, Reis 2000, and Abraham 2011)—and *und*-V1-clauses—which are probably associated with a written register, at least in the text types considered in our corpus.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

V1 declaratives (without *und*) are attested throughout the history of the German language up to the present day (see Önnerfors 1997 and Coniglio 2012). In contrast, inversions after *und* are attested until ENHG, after which only sporadic attestations can be found, but by now the pattern can be considered extinct.[11]

Now, given the continuity of inversions after *und* and V1 declaratives, one wonders whether the two constructions belong to one and the same type. In order to answer this question, we must first demonstrate that not only their form but also their usage and properties are analogous. This is what the present paper aims to show, thus confirming the hypothesis formulated in 11. However, before discussing their common functions and properties, a few words should be said about the way we conducted our research.

3. Research Methods.

We have to point out that, at the present time, no annotated MHG corpus is available at all. Corpora based on this stage of the language are currently being built, but unfortunately, they are still unavailable for quantitative research. This is why we decided, similarly to Maurer (1924), to perform a random search for *und*-V1-clauses in MHG texts.

For the collection of our data, we first of all investigated sermons. These are particularly suitable for syntactic studies because they are written in prose and thus not affected by metric factors. They cannot be regarded as direct manifestations of actual speeches written down by some impressed listeners, as Müller (1995:193) points out. Even if sermons show some features of proximity, such as emotionality or closeness to the hearer, they are mainly characterized by features expressing distance, according to Koch & Oesterreicher 2011:9, and thus reflect planned usage of language. Moreover, sermons have the advantage of alternating between argumentative/apologetic and narrative sections. Thus, they provide insight into two different styles.

[11] With respect to this point, namely, the absence of *und*-V1-declaratives in PDG, we agree with an anonymous reviewer that it would be very interesting to understand its reason. As a possible explanation, we can hint at the aforementioned normative efforts to eradicate this construction from the language up to the end of the 20th century.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

We mainly investigated texts from the Upper German dialect area. The *Speculum Ecclesiae* (West Bavarian) from the late 12th century is the earliest text we used for our research. The sermon *Predigtbuch des Priesters Konrad* (Bavarian/Alemannic, 1250–1275) is representative of the 13th century. For the late MHG epoch, we surveyed the *Predigten Johannes Taulers* (Alemannic, 1325–1350). Furthermore, our corpus includes single records from various other texts.

As mentioned in the introduction, the frequency of inversions after *und* is relatively low. Therefore, we collected more examples from those texts in which the phenomenon was more abundant. This is especially true for the *Predigten Johannes Taulers*, for which we covered about 60 pages and registered a total of 16 examples. Interestingly, Maurer (1924:156) maintains that precisely in *Tauler* he found no examples of V1 clauses. Obviously, only a broad-based empirical study, which also covers OHG and ENHG data, as well as other dialects and text types, can be the basis for a more detailed analysis of this construction.

Starting from the collected samples, the aim of this work is to obtain an initial picture of the distribution and functions of this structure. As a matter of course, not all examples of the combination *und* + verb were recorded. For example, cases like the following, in which the subject of the second conjunct is missing, were intentionally excluded from our corpus. The absence of an overt subject makes the determination of an inversion impossible:

(12) Dise drie geburte beget man húte mit den drien messen. Die erste singet man in der vinster naht, **und get an**:
(Tauler, Pred 7, 1, 22)

'Today, one celebrates these three births with the three masses. The first is sung in the dark night, and starts with:'

Here, we cannot decide whether the phonetically nonrealized subject pronoun (*pro*) is in a pre- (13a) or postverbal (13b) position:

(13) a. und [*pro*] get an
b. und get [*pro*] an

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Furthermore, we excluded other examples from our study that—despite the overt realization of the subject—are probably not to be numbered among inversions after *und*. The most important types are listed below. The first type consists of conditional and concessive clauses that display the surface word order *und*–V_{fin}, as in 14b and 15b. It is well known that in the early stages of the language, some types of subordinate clauses could be introduced by means of the conjunction *und* (Behaghel 1932:308ff, Ferraresi & Weiß 2011). A special feature of conditional and concessive clauses is that they show V1 order if the complementizer is missing (see 14b and 15b), as well as verb-late order in the presence of the clause-initial subjunction *ob* 'if', as in 14a and 15a.

(14) Conditional clause

a. **und ob ich** schuldec **wære**, /so wære ich grôzer zühte wert (Iw 4050)

'and if I were guilty [lit. 'and if I guilty were'], I would deserve harsh punishment'

b. ich erkande in wol, **und sæhe ich** in. (Gr 3896)
'I would recognize him if I saw him [lit. 'and saw I him'].'

(15) Concessive clause

a. **vnd ob ich** hivte **sæhe** tot den vater min, mir enwrde nimmer leider danne vmbe sinen lip. (NL B 2256 (2259))

'and even if I were to see my father dead today [lit. 'and if I today saw dead my father'], nothing would make me sadder than seeing his [Rüdiger's] body.'

b. daz tæt ich, **und wær** offen mir diu helle. (Hadamar 190, cited in Kraus 1960:167)

'I would do it even if hell would then be waiting for me [lit. 'and were open to me the hell'].'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The alternation of *ob* and the finite verb indicates that they compete for the same syntactic position. We assume that in the absence of *ob*, the verb is fronted to the position typically occupied by the complementizer (just as in V1 conditionals not introduced by *und*):

(16) a. und [$_{CP}$ ob [$_{IP}$ ich in *sæhe*
and if I him saw

b. und [$_{CP}$ *sæhe*$_i$ [$_{IP}$ ich in t$_i$
and saw I him

It follows that examples like 14b and 15b represent cases of subordination. Therefore, they are not taken into consideration in the following.

The second group of examples excluded from our survey—although they have often been considered as examples of inversions after *und* in the literature on the topic—are cases like the following:

(17) a. [...] dô chom ein ungewitere, wand Adam gevallen was, **und fuor unser herre in sîn paradysum und sprach vil chlagelîchen**:[...]
(PaulPr 13, 24; Hs. 14r)

'[...] there came a storm because Adam had fallen, and our Lord went [lit. 'and went our Lord'] to his paradise, and very sadly proclaimed: [...]'

b. da chom daz himelisch licht ůber in **und leit er sich selb in daz grap und hiezz erz zůdekchen und schied er von dirr werlt**.
(Konr 3 O, 210)

'Then, the heavenly light came upon him, and he lay down [lit. 'and lay he down'] in the grave, and he ordered [lit. 'and ordered he'] that it be sealed, and he departed [lit. 'and departed he'] from this world.'

In the examples above, we cannot rule out an analysis where the adverb *dô*/*da* 'then' in the first clause is present in the Vorfeld of the *und*-clause and then omitted under identity. Cases like 17 would be analyzed as V2 clauses, as represented in 18.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(18) dô chom ein ungewitere …
und [dô] fuor unser herre …
und [dô] sprach …

Such interpretation is provided, for instance, in Hammarström 1923:59. Sanders (1908:282) considers this form of inversion as *entschuldbar* 'excusable'. Although this phenomenon deserves closer investigation, such examples are not considered further in the present paper. As a matter of fact, the presence of a phonetically nonrealized Vorfeld before the finite verb could be assumed for cases like these.[12] This also means that examples like 17a, which are listed in Paul 2007:450 as cases of inversion after *und*, do not form part of our data.

The third group of examples not included in our survey are clauses that (intentionally) reproduce the word order of their Latin source. Consider, for instance, the following passage with its Latin original:

(19) An dem tage gie ih'c zu / dem huſe. unt saz bi dem mer. **unt / ſaminten ſih zim michel menige**. (Bibelfragmente 64, 13)

'On that day Jesus went out of the house and sat by the sea. And a great crowd gathered around him [lit. 'and gathered to him a big crowd'].'

(Lat.: In illo die exiens Jesus de / domo, sedebat secus mare. Et / congregatae sunt ad eum turbae multae, [...])

The sequence of the constituents reproduces the Latin one. Hence, the Latin influence cannot be excluded in such cases.

To sum up, we have shown that ambiguous examples cannot represent a solid foundation for a detailed description of inversions after *und*. In the following, we investigate the conditions underlying the phenomenon by restricting our analysis to unambiguous examples.

[12] In section 6, we come back to a similar type of sentence, where the Vorfeld is occupied by the expletive *es*, and we compare it with V1 clauses.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

4. A Multifactorial Approach to Inversions after *und*.

As we consider so-called Inversionen nach *und* as instances of V1 clauses, we now discuss the treatment of V1 clauses in the recent syntactic literature. Basically, two main aspects can be identified. In the field of the diachronic studies on the phenomenon, the most prominent discussion is that of the function of V1 clauses in OHG and their decline in the further development of German (see Axel 2007). As for the functions of V1 clauses in the discourse, we refer to Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2005, 2010) and Petrova & Solf (2008), who consider them as discourse linking tools.

With respect to the synchronic investigations of V1 clauses, Sasse 1995 and Önnerfors 1997 are particularly worth mentioning. Sasse tries to capture the fundamental features of theticity by comparing verb-subject-sequences (henceforth VS) in various (mainly Indo-European) languages. Önnerfors devotes his study to the grammatical and pragmatic functions of V1 declarative clauses in New High German (NHG). He provides insight into the historical development and occasionally into the features of other Germanic languages. The common feature of the two approaches is that they do not provide a unique explanation for the whole V1 phenomenon and, more generally, VS word order, but rather list different favoring factors. For the purposes of our investigation, we treat the characteristics discussed in Sasse 1995 and Önnerfors 1997 as crucial for the licensing of the V1 order.[13] We consider to what extent they may fit with the analysis of *und*-V1-clauses, too.

The following features shared by V1 and inversions after *und* are discussed in the next sections: the absence of a topic-comment division (section 4.1), textual connectiveness (section 4.2), the role of the information status of the subject (section 4.3), the lexical-semantic properties of the predicate (section 4.4), and expressivity (section 4.5). It should be emphasized, however, that these factors usually cluster together.[14]

[13] Nonetheless, it could be the case that other factors—not discussed below—also trigger V1-orders (see Leiss 2011 and Schaller 2011 on the role played by perfectivization in the licensing of OHG and Old Icelandic V1 clauses).

[14] An anonymous reviewer underlines the absence of quantitative evidence with respect to the factors illustrated in the following sections. We must point out that there is no MHG corpus annotated with respect to syntax yet available. The corpus we had at our disposal was a group of texts, some of which were digitized (for example, http://www.mhdwb-online.de/). Given the high frequency of the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

4.1. Absence of Topic-Comment Division.
The absence of a topic-comment structure is considered to be a key feature of thetic sentences. Sasse (1995:4f) defines the latter as sentences in which no argument is picked out as a predication base. The entire situation, including its participants, is represented as a unit. Consequently, the subject is, in a way, also part of the predicate. This is reflected in the iconic VS sequence. The role of the theticity in V1 declarative clauses in the early stages of German has been the object of extensive investigation by Önnerfors (1997) and Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011).

The following sentences illustrate that the absence of a topic-comment structure characterizes inversions after *und* as well:

(20) a. [daz kǫ̊rnelin …] so laget es und sǔchet eht den rŏch in dem korne, er lǫ̊set den gevangenen der in dem korne lag, daz der ufgat **und wurt ein gůt rŏch darus**. (Tauler, Pred 20, 3, 1)

'[the grain of corn ...] And so, it keeps watch and now seeks the scent of the grain, it frees the prisoner who was lying in the grain so that he emerges and brings forth a pleasant scent [lit. 'and arises a pleasant scent from it.']'

b. Dan von dem urteile. Weles ist daz urteil? Des urteiles nimmet sich ein ieglicher an, und hebe*n*t nút fúr ir ǒgen ir eigen urteil und ire mere gebresten, **und het doch Cristus gesprochen**: 'mit der mossen domitte du missest, domitte sol dir wieder gemessen werden.' (Tauler, Pred 74, 16, 3)

'Then about the judgment. What is the judgment? Everyone accepts this judgment [of others], and [they] do not bear in mind their own judgment and their more serious shortcomings, and yet

---

conjunction *und*, our research could not always be restricted to the particular examples we were interested in. Therefore, we could only rely on our manual research and on our somewhat informal methods of sampling data. Even though we decided to collect examples from excerpts of texts that had been previously selected as representative for that period, our choice was necessarily arbitrary. Hence, despite the huge amount of data analyzed, it is not possible to provide reliable univocal quantitative evidence for the purpose of the present paper.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> Christ said [lit. 'and said yet Christ']: "The standards by which you measure others shall also be used to measure you."'

The bolded clause in 20a lacks a clear topic-comment division. It is not to be interpreted as a predication about the subject *ein guot rouch*. It is rather the whole process that is predicated here. Thus, the clause has a thetic reading. In 20b, too, the subject *Cristus* can be interpreted neither as the starting point of the predication nor as the topic of the utterance.

Notice further that Functional Sentence Perspective studies have pointed out that such structureless V1 clauses are used to introduce new information. As such, they typically occur at the beginning of a new text. However, it is clear that the latter characteristic does not directly apply to our examples. Önnerfors (1997:82ff) tries to make sense of the absence of a topic-comment division by assuming peculiar syntactic properties for this type of clauses, which are characterized by a negative feature [–TKG], where TKG stands for *Topik-Kommentar-Gliederung* 'topic-comment division'. Below, we use the English abbreviation TCS (topic-comment structure).

As we show in section 6, we can assume that the left periphery of V1 clauses (and, thus, of inversions after *und*, too) is syntactically characterized by being [–TCS]. The negative specification of this feature is associated with an empty first position. In contrast, its positive specification [+TCS] triggers the fronting of a (nonexpletive) XP to the Vorfeld, as is observed in V2 clauses.

We would like to point out that, starting from MHG, one observes V2 clauses whose first position is occupied by an expletive (such as *es* 'it'). These sentences have properties similar to those of V1 clauses, in particular, the absence of a topic-comment division. That is why we assume a feature [–TCS] for *es*-V2-clauses, too.[15] That means that this feature may be associated either with an empty first position or with the insertion of an expletive (see section 6). An obvious question arises then: What is the difference between V1 clauses and clauses introduced by an

[15] Here, we are departing from the analysis presented by Önnerfors (1997:96), who assumes that *es*-V2-clauses are associated with another feature, namely, [–Topik] (see also Coniglio 2012:31f). Since the explanation for the different function of the two features remains unclear, we decided to propose the alternative view discussed below.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

expletive? We show in section 4.5 that a possible explanation for their different functions can lie in another feature, namely, the presence or lack of expressivity.

4.2. Textual Connectiveness.

At first glance, V1 clauses seem to have two contradictory functions with respect to text structure. On the one hand, they are used at the beginning of new texts; on the other hand, they may also occur text-internally. If one considers the information status of the discourse participants, what at first glance looks like a sign of unclear distribution is, in fact, guided by specific rules.

An "introductive text function" (Sasse 1995:15) is typical of V1 clauses that introduce new information.[16] These are called "news sentences," "all-new-utterances," etc. (see Sasse 1995:5). They are typical examples of thetic sentences.[17] Sasse (1995:14) points out, however, that, in his corpus, sentences with "first mention subjects" occur relatively seldom (with the exception of existential VS clauses with *be*). In this regard, not all Germanic languages display the same properties. Citing Santorini 1989:60 and Sigurðsson 1990:46, Önnerfors (1997:37f) reports that neither Yiddish nor Icelandic has discourse-initial V1 clauses.

In text-internal position, though, one finds V1 sentences in which the discourse referents, usually the subjects, realize given information (Sasse 1995:16). However, this givenness must be interpreted as greater referential distance from the antecedent. The resumption of a previously mentioned discourse referent results in topic discontinuity with respect to the immediately preceding sentence ("disruption of immediate topic continuity," Sasse 1995:16). Therefore, this kind of shift serves to introduce new episodes in the discourse.

With respect to this episode-introducing function, Matras (1995) and Sasse (1995) distinguish three main subtypes of VS sentences. The first group is the reactive/consequential one (Sasse 1995:17), in which the V1

[16] Sasse (1995:14) speaks more cautiously of "low presuppositionality of both S and V."

[17] We do not intend to rule out the existence of other instances of thetic sentences, as, for example, PDG subject-accented sentences like *HARry kommt* 'Harry is coming' (Sasse 1987:527). However, they are not the subject of the current paper.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

clause expresses a contextual consequence of the preceding sentence. Such V1 clauses typically occur in oral narrations and contain given subjects (Sasse 1995:17). In addition, Sasse (1995:18) mentions another type, namely, the explanative/elaborative one. The V1 sentence provides the explanation for a fact that is either explicitly mentioned in the previous sentence or emerges implicitly from the extratextual situation (Sasse 1995:18).

Referring to the aforementioned functions, Matras (1995) and Sasse (1995) use the more general term *connective function*. However, they recognize a connective function in the pure discontinuative type of V1 clauses, too. They resolve the apparent contradiction by assuming that connectiveness and discontinuity operate at different levels. The connective function refers to the concatenation of text segments, while the term *discontinuity* applies to the disruption of topic continuity (Sasse 1995:17, note 9).

In German and in other Germanic languages, the text-internal function of V1 clauses with respect to textual connectiveness is also well documented (see Önnerfors 1997:34ff). Also, in earlier stages of the German language, V1 clauses establish a special textual connection with the preceding sentence, as pointed out by Reis (1901) and Biener (1926: 252). This view is adopted by Behaghel (1932:30) when he speaks of the *Anschlussstellung* 'connection position' of V1 clauses (see section 1).

Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011) recognize the special episode-introducing function of V1 sentences in OHG *Tatian*. When these sentences contain not only new information but also thematic material, such as personal pronouns, they typically do not occur at the beginning of a new text, but rather have the textual function of linking a new episode to the preceding one. By adopting the theoretical apparatus for modeling discourse relations proposed by Asher & Lascarides (2003), Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011) interpret V1 sentences as the implementation of coordinating relations in the discourse, while V2 sentences are to be interpreted as the syntactic realization of subordinating discourse relations.

Unlike pure V1 declarative sentences, *und*-V1-clauses are easier to describe with respect to their textual function. They are neither at the beginning of a new text nor at the beginning of a new text section, which may probably be attributed to the semantic-pragmatic contribution of the conjunction *und*. Their connective function is clearly distinguishable. We

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

have found examples both for the reactive and the explanative type. The reactive one is illustrated in example 21.

(21) der genaden lobt der gut sant Johannes unsern herren und hiez im ein grab graben bei dem alter und lut die læut ze samen und sanch die messe und seit in daz gotes wort und gab in den hiligen gotes lichnamen und vestent si an dem hiligen gelauben **und gie er in daz grab**. (Konr, 3 O, 203)

'Because of this grace, the good St. John praised our Lord and had a grave dug at the altar, and called the people together and sang the mass and preached God's word to them and gave them the Holy Lord's body and strengthened them in the Holy faith, and went [lit. 'and went he'] into the grave.'

One of the sentences opening the scene, *hiez im ein grab graben bei dem alter* 'had a grave dug at the altar', provides the context for the V1 clause at the end of the passage. The sequence of events is completed and terminates with an expected result. The inversion after *und* at the end of this list signals the logical conclusion of this chain of events.[18] This often gives the impression of a strongly assertive and corroborative function of such utterances.

Such a function may not only be found in narrative sections, such as in 21, but also in argumentative ones. This means that it is not only events that are affected by the conclusion of a listing but also argumentations, as shown in 22.

(22) Das sint die lúte die noch stant in irre natúrlichen luterkeit und unschult, **und sint sú vil selig**, [...] (Tauler, Pred 29, 7, 16)

'These are the people who still remain in their natural purity and innocence, and they are [lit. 'and are they'] very happy, [...]'

[18] Kraus (1960:182ff) deals with the concluding function of *und*. Interestingly, many of the examples he mentions contain inversions after *und*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The state of happiness, expressed by means of the *und*-clause, arises as a result of the pure and chaste lifestyle mentioned in the preceding relative clause.

An example of the explanative function of *und*-V1-clauses is given in 23.

(23) Wanne nieman enwil liden **und mûs doch iemer ein liden und ein lossen sin,** kere es war du wilt. (Tauler, Pred 27, 6, 20)

'Because no one wants to suffer, yet this will still always mean [lit. 'and must yet always ... be'] suffering and loss, think of it as you wish.'

The explanation provided in the *und*-V1-clause refers to a fact that is part of common knowledge. This could be paraphrazed as *we all know that there is suffering*. In this case as well, the *und*-V1-clause has the effect of reinforcing the utterance. This is also signaled by the modal particle *doch* 'yet', typical for such contexts (see Önnerfors 1997:155).

Summarizing the discussion above, the functions of inversions after *und* are heterogeneous. Their common characteristic is that they are used in a peculiar way to link an utterance to the preceding context and thus contribute to connectiveness in Sasse's (1995) terms. In the next section, a further aspect is discussed that is relevant from both a discourse-structural and an information-structural perspective, namely, the information status of the subject.

4.3. Information Status of the Subject.

In MHG, the information status of the subject seems to play an important role not only in inversions after *und* but in V1 declarative sentences in general. In this regard, one can speak of tendencies, since no *a priori* predictions about the exact syntactic position of a certain subject NP can be made. Sasse (1995:22f) limits his observations to the more narrow concept of (in)definiteness, which corresponds more or less to the new/given dichotomy. Following Gundel et al. 1993:275, we use (in)definiteness in a much broader sense. They identify various anaphoric means with a different degree of salience. It is assumed that there are six levels of givenness, that is, "six implicationally related cognitive statuses

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

relevant for explicating the use of referring expressions in natural language discourse" (Gundel et al. 1993:274):

(24) The Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993:275)

in focus	>	activated	>	familiar	>	uniquely identifiable	>	referential	>	type identifiable
{*it*}		{*that*, *this*, *this* N}		{*that* N}		{*the* N}		{indefinite *this* N}		{*a* N}

Determiners and pronouns are used to signal different cognitive statuses and allow the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents (see Gundel et al. 1993:274f). The objects referred to by expressions on the left of this hierarchy are cognitively more accessible than the ones individuated by pronouns or determiners and situated further to the right.

This hierarchy allows us to make some correct predictions about the syntactic positions of subjects in a sentence.[19] A subject occurring further to the left is a cognitively more salient entity. It is thus a better candidate for syntactic movement to a preverbal position, which is normally available for topics, given constituents, and other elements that are cognitively more accessible. In contrast, a subject that is further to the right tends to remain in a postverbal position.

An initial informal investigation reveals that subjects occur more frequently in postverbal position when their cognitive status is on the right of the Givenness Hierarchy. This explains, for instance, why indefinite subjects are very frequent in inversions after *und* (and, more generally, in V1 declarative clauses), as in 25.

(25) Das nu die sinnelicheit schin inziehe in die vernunft und die vernunft in den geist, so wurde das swartze gel und daz gele wis, **und wurde ein luter einvaltikeit** do dis lieht alleine inlúhtet und anders niergent, (Tauler, Pred 21, 4, 17)

[19] See Gundel et al. 1993:285, note 16: "Languages also exploit [...] syntactic devices such as preverbal vs. postverbal position to signal cognitive status."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> 'If the radiance of sensuality were then to enter reason, and reason the spirit, then that which was black would become yellow and that which was yellow would become white and there would be a sincere simplicity [lit. 'and would become a sincere simplicity'], where this light shines only here and nowhere else,'

Therefore, there is a tendency for indefinite subjects to be placed postverbally. Notice that indefinites tend to be associated with existential *sein* 'to be' or *werden* 'become'. These are the only cases in our corpus that may be referred to as *monoargumental* in Sasse's (1995:20ff) terms.

In inversions after *und*, definite NPs are also possible. However, in this regard one has to distinguish between ACTIVATED and NON-ACTIVATED subjects. A subject is activated if it has been mentioned in the preceding context. In contrast, a subject is nonactivated if it has been newly introduced in the discourse, even if it is familiar in Gundel et al.'s (1993) terms. In inversions after *und*, definite subjects are often characterized by being [–activated], as in the example in 26.

(26) Es ist so maniger kummer mit dem menschen, **und tribet in die nature nu har nu dar**, und ist manigerleige daz die nature dicke do regnieret, do man wenet das es zůmole Got si, und kan der mensche nút so zů worem vollekomenen frieden kummen noch zůmole himelsch werden, e der zit. (Tauler, Pred 79, 19, 24)

> 'There is some grief with man and sometimes nature drives him here, and sometimes there [lit. 'and drives him nature'], and it is often the case that nature also rules where it is believed that only God was, and so man neither reaches truly perfect peace nor can he prematurely become completely heavenly.'

Definite postverbal subjects that can be described as [+activated] are comparatively less frequent. Consider 27.

(27) Alſo hiez in unſer herre. dc er ſin růte von im wurfe. uñ zehant do er ſi von im gewarf. do wart ſi ze ainem grôzen ſclangen [...] do dc unſer herre ſach do ſpracher ze im. dc er ſi hindan bi dem ſporten ûf hůbe wan ſo wurde ſi aber ze ainer růti. alſo tet ez herre Moyſes. **uñ wart der ſclange wider ze ainer růte**.
(Grieshabersche Predigten 17, 13)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

'So our Lord commanded him to throw down his staff before him, and immediately after he had thrown it down, it turned into a great snake [...]. As our Lord saw this, he said to him that he should pick it up by the tail, because then it would become a staff again. Moses did so, and the snake became [lit. 'and became the snake'] a staff again.'

In 27, the definite subject *der ſclange* is [+activated] since it has already been mentioned in the preceding context. Although they are less frequent, pronominal subjects are also attested in inversions after *und* (see example 21, repeated below).

(28) der genaden lobt der gut sant Johannes unsern herren und hiez im ein grab graben bei dem alter und lut die læut ze samen und sanch die messe und seit in daz gotes wort und gab in den hiligen gotes lichnamen und vestent si an dem hiligen gelauben **und gie er in daz grab**. (Konr, 3 O, 203)

'Because of this grace, the good St. John praised our Lord and had a grave dug at the altar, and called the people together and sang the mass and preached God's word to them and gave them the Holy Lord's body and strengthened them in the Holy faith, and went [lit. 'and went he'] into the grave.'

The frequency of pre- or postverbal positioning of subjects is highly dependent on their cognitive properties. The following hierarchy captures the generalization:[20]

[20] Also, factors such as weight and relevance for the following discourse often seem to play an important role in the extraposition of the subject, as shown in the following examples. The coordination of two phrases in i and the modification by a relative clause in ii might have influenced the position of the subject.

(i) Daz pfert daz machet den mist in dem stalle, und wie der mist einen unflat und einen stang an im selber het, daz selbe pfert zúhet den selben mist mit grosser arbeite uf daz velt, **und wehsset dannan uz edel schǒne weisse und der edel sǔsse win,** der niemer also gewǔhsse und were der mist nit do. (Tauler, Pred 27, 6, 28)

'The horse that excretes in the barn, and as the excrement has filth and stench in itself... the same horse drags the same excrement across the field

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(29) pronoun > $NP_{definite}$ [+activated] > $NP_{definite}$ [–activated] > indefinite

A subject situated on the left of the hierarchy is more likely to be fronted to the prefield than an element occurring on its right. As a consequence, the probability of it occurring in a construction with *und*-inversion (and, more generally, in V1 declarative sentences) is lower. In contrast, a subject on the right of the hierarchy occurs more often in a postverbal position. For instance, pronominal subjects are less frequently attested in inversions after *und* than indefinite subjects.

In this regard, a more detailed survey based on the results of the investigation of Gundel et al. (1993) would be necessary. As a matter of fact, the exact position of postverbal subjects seems to be related to their information status. While pronominal subjects may occur in a position immediately following the inflected verb, full NPs can also occur further to the right in the sentence. To sum up, we have shown that the factor of information status (possibly in combination with other factors) plays an important role in determining the position of the subject in inversions after *und*.

4.4. Lexical-Semantic Properties of the Predicate.
The role played by the semantics of the predicate has been permanent subject of discussion in the literature on V1 clauses (see Sasse 1995:23 and Önnerfors 1997). Existential *be*, verbs of saying, movement, and those indicating a physical or mental change have often been classified as verbs favoring VS order. For instance, Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2011:190) have recently called attention to the importance of these verb classes for OHG *Tatian*.

---

with great effort, and then fine, beautiful wheat and noble sweet wine grow out of them [lit. 'and grows then out of beautiful ...'], which would never have grown in this way, had there been no excrement.'

(ii) Alle, die des heiligen crûces hochcȝeit mit ffi̊ȝȝe begent, die enphahen teil in dem gotes riche **vnd behaltet ſi der heilige Criſt,** der ſi an dem heiligen crûce erlediget hat. (Konr 10, 172)

'All those who observe the feast of the Holy Cross with fervor, they have a place in God's kingdom and Holy Christ, who set them free on the Holy Cross, keeps them safe [lit. 'and them keeps Holy Christ, who ...'].'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Their specific influence is not thoroughly undisputed, though, and the current state of research seems to indicate substantial differences among Germanic languages. Even though Önnerfors (1997:20) claims that verbs of saying are crucial in all Germanic languages, their influence on V1 clauses was emphasized especially for Old English. In contrast, Donhauser et al. (2006:77, note 18) do not recognize any special influence of this lexical class on the formation of V1 clauses in Old Icelandic, thus confirming the results reported by Rieger (1968:84), who examined the larger saga texts.[21] Sasse (1995:23) also underlines that in the languages he examined, VS clauses are neither limited to these classes nor is there any verb in these classes that mandatorily triggers VS order.

With these provisos, the second part of this section deals with the role played by individual lexical classes for *und*-V1-clauses. First, let us consider verbs of saying. As early as OHG, there emerged a tendency to replace the old V1 pattern with the more recent V2 word order. Petrova (2011) conducted a study of the variation of V2 and V1 clauses with *tho* in OHG *Tatian*. She comes to the conclusion that in the presence of verbs of saying, the V2 pattern with sentence-opening *tho* is preferred to V1 order. Nevertheless, we can observe a certain influence of this verb class on the frequency of V1 orders. As already mentioned at the beginning of section 2, Maurer (1924) also ascribes a fundamental role in the reemergence of V1 clauses in ENHG to verbs of saying. He claims that the influence of Latin manifests itself in the 15th century starting from verbs of saying, in particular, in parenthetical clauses after direct quotations, which "[…] in einer scheinbaren Anfangsstellung in Gebrauch sind" (Maurer 1924:184).[22]

In our corpus, we also find some examples for inversions after *und* with verbs of saying:

(30) Zacheus, min ene, der ſeite minem vater **vnd ſæit mı̊r min vater**,
do er alſam verſchieden ſolte: […] (Konr 10, 82)

'Zacchaeus, my ancestor, he told my father, and my father then told me [lit. 'and told me my father'] when he too was going to die: [...]'

[21] Rieger 1968 is thus in direct contradiction to Heusler 1967:174.

[22] "[…] are used in an apparent initial position."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In this example, the inversion after *und* is inserted as a link into the narrative chain. Since nothing unexpected happens, a corroborative or confirmative effect ensues from this particular structure.

In inversions after *und*, verbs of saying are often used to introduce quotations:

(31) Unſer herre der ſprichet, daz wir nimir in ſin riche chomin, wirne ezzin ſinen heiligen lichenamin. **Vn*de* ſprichet .s. Paulus** 'Swer der ſi, der den gotiſ lichename un*de* ſin blůt ezzi un*de* trinche unwirdechlihen, der ezze un*de* trinche im ein êwige urteile.'
(Speccl 50, 11)

'Our Lord, he says that we will never enter his kingdom, if we do not eat his Holy body. And St. Paul says [lit. 'and says St. Paul'] "whosoever eats God's body and drinks his blood unworthily, (he) eats and drinks his way to eternal damnation".'

It is interesting to compare the sentence in bold with the preceding one, which also contains a verb of saying but begins with the subject. A spot test we carried out showed that nonpronominal subjects are very often activated by means of left dislocation and are thus established as Aboutness Topics.[23] In contrast, *Paulus*—in the sentence in bold in 31—is introduced as a new subject. This means that even these cases with VS order display specific functions and that *und*-V1-sentences with verbs of saying are not to be considered as mere lexicalizations.

Second, the so-called psych verbs mentioned by Sasse (1995:23) are characterized by an experiencer subject (for example, *sich freuen* 'to rejoice' or *hassen* 'to hate'; see Petrova 2011:217, note 4). The same applies to perception verbs, such as *hören* 'to hear' and *sehen* 'to see'. Both classes of verbs are attested in inversions after *und*. Consider the example in 32.

[23] For instance, the subject *Paulus* in the following sentence has not yet been activated in the discourse:

(i) Paulus der sprach: 'die geschrift tőtet und der geist machet lebende'.
(Tauler, Pred 78, 19, 15)

'Paul, he said: "the written word kills and the spirit makes alive".'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(32) Das sint die lúte die noch stant in irre natúrlichen luterkeit und unschult, und sint sú vil selig, **und gesach sú Got ie** daz sú nút verdinget ensint von der welte oder von den creaturen, oder sint ouch ettewenne verdinget gewesen, daz sú doch nů fri sint und lidig und unverdinget sint; (Tauler, Pred 29, 7, 16)

'These are the people who still remain in their natural purity and innocence, and they are very happy, and God has always seen [lit. 'and saw them God always'] that they are not bound by the world or by creatures, or even if they were ever bound at some time, that they are now free, and released, and unbound.'

In this example, the function of the sentence is again that of reinforcement and confirmation. This view is confirmed by the aspectual prefix *ge-* on the preterite form of the verb.[24] Herewith, additional emphasis is placed on the completion of the verbal action. A similar confirmative interpretation is also available for the following sentence:

(33) Do ſprach dy konigin: "Ir ſeyt vil thumb lewt, das ir den irrtumb ewer veter nicht lat. Ir leſet dy weiſſagen **vnd verſtet ir nicht**." (Konr 10, 56)

'Then, the queen said: "You people are very stupid as you do not abandon your fathers' mistake. You read the prophets and do not understand [lit. 'and understand you not'].'"

Third, the importance of verbs of motion is constantly referred to in the literature on OHG. This was already shown for *Otfrid* by Ohly (1888); and Petrova (2011) also considers the influence of this verb type as crucial for the pattern V1–*tho*. In contrast, we found hardly any evidence for this class in our corpus, which may be related to text type. Verbs of motion typically occur in narrative sequences. One example was already given in 21 and is repeated below.

[24] Also, see Leiss 2011 and Schaller 2011 on the role of its OHG equivalent in the licensing of V1 clauses.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(34) der genaden lobt der gut sant Johannes unsern herren und hiez im ein grab graben bei dem alter und lut die læut ze samen und sanch die messe und seit in daz gotes wort und gab in den hiligen gotes lichnamen und vestent si an dem hiligen gelauben **und gie er in daz grab**. (Konr, 3 O, 203)

'Because of this grace, the good St. John praised our Lord and had a grave dug at the altar, and called the people together and sang the mass and preached God's word to them and gave them the Holy Lord's body and strengthened them in the Holy faith, and went [lit. 'and went he'] into the grave.'

Fourth, most often, however, it is the verb *sein* 'to be' that occurs in inversions after *und*. In the cases investigated by Sasse (1995), mostly the existential reading of the verb seems to come into play. Existential *sein* is also attested in our corpus, for instance, in 35a as an infinitive in combination with the modal verb *müssen*. Sentence 35b is an example of a similar use with *werden* 'to become'.

(35) a. Wanne nieman enwil liden und můs **doch iemer ein liden und ein lossen sin,** kere es war du wilt. (Tauler, Pred 27, 6, 20)

'Because no one wants to suffer, yet this will still always mean [lit. 'and must yet always ... be'] suffering and loss, think of it as you wish.'

b. [daz kǒrnelin…] so laget es und sůchet eht den rǒch in dem korne, er lǒset den gevangenen der in dem korne lag, daz der ufgat **und wurt ein gůt rǒch darus**. (Tauler, Pred 20, 3, 1)

'[the grain of corn ...] And so, it keeps watch and now seeks the scent of the grain, it frees the prisoner who was lying in the grain so that he emerges and brings forth a pleasant scent [lit. 'and arises a pleasant scent from it'].'

Petrova (2011) points to the relevance of this verb type for OHG V1 clauses in *Tatian*. Moreover, based on the frequency of the combination of the verb *be* with indefinite subjects, Sasse (1995:23f) even discerns a

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

correlation with discourse-opening strategies. This observation does not seem to apply to the evidence in our corpus, though. The V1 pattern introduced by *und* has an almost opposite function, since it concludes a certain sequence as a sort of résumé. One possible reason for the functional difference is that existential clauses in MHG could already be introduced by means of expletive *es* 'it'.

The following two examples illustrate the inversion with the copulas *sein* in 36a and *werden* in 36b, respectively.

(36) a. Iʒ was ein ſeligiu frŏwe, Druſiana geheiʒen, diu hete einen elichen man, der hieʒ Andronicus; **vnd was diu frŏwe chuſche vnd reine** vnd marhte vil andæhticliche ſant Johannes lere ſo verre, das ſi ſich ïr eliches mannes abe tet ʒe vnchuſche.
(Konr 12, 21)

'There was a blessed lady, called Drusiana, who had a husband, whose name was Andronicus; and the lady was chaste [lit. 'and was the lady chaste'] and pure and reverently respected St. John's teachings so much that she separated from her husband for fear of unchastity.'

b. Alſo hiez in unſer herre. dc er ſin růte von im wurfe. uñ zehant do er ſi von im gewarf. do wart ſi ze ainem grôzen ſclangen [...] do dc unſer herre ſach do ſpracher ze im. dc er ſi hindan bi dem ſporten ûf hů̊be wan ſo wurde ſi aber ze ainer rů̊ti. alſo tet ez herre Moyſes. **uñ wart der ſclange wider ze ainer růte**.
(Grieshabersche Predigten 17, 13)

'So our Lord commanded him to throw down his staff before him, and immediately after he had thrown it down, it turned into a great snake [...]. As our Lord saw this, he said to him that he should pick it up by the tail, because then it would become a staff again. Moses did so, and the snake became [lit. 'and became the snake'] a staff again.'

Fifth, besides copula verbs, auxiliary and modal verbs are also attested in this kind of construction, as shown in 37. The aforementioned

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

example in 35a with *můs* 'must' + *sin* 'to be' can also be numbered among these cases.

(37) a. Dan von dem urteile. Weles ist daz urteil? Des urteiles nimmet sich ein ieglicher an, und hebe*n*t nút fúr ir ǒgen ir eigen urteil und ire mere gebresten, **und het doch Cristus gesprochen**: 'mit der mossen domitte du missest, domitte sol dir wieder gemessen werden' (Tauler, Pred 74, 16, 3)

'Then about the judgment. What is the judgment? Everyone accepts this judgment [of others], and [they] do not bear in mind their own judgment and their more serious shortcomings, and yet Christ said [lit. 'and said yet Christ']: "The standards by which you measure others shall also be used to measure you."'

b. Bittet in, das er vns laʒʒe genieʒʒen ſines vil heren crûces, wande alles das er ye dar an begie, das was in der alten ê alles vor betůtet, **vnd ſulen wir vil wol wiʒʒen** vnd bedenchen, das vnter allen den werchen ſiner barmunge, die er von anegenge ʒv vnser ſelde gordent hat, das niht ſo wunderlich iſt, noch ſo heiliges, noch ſo here ʒe ſagenne, noch ſo verre ʒe predigen, ſo der heilig Chriſt der ein leben iſt aller lebentigen menniſchen, durch vns ſvntere wære gecriucʒegot. (Konr 11, 50)

'Ask him that he let us share his highly exalted cross, for everything he suffered because of that which was already written in the Old Testament; and we should know very well [lit. 'and should we very well know'] and remember that—among all the works of his mercy, which he has arranged for our salvation from the beginning—nothing is as inscrutable or sacred or such a joy to proclaim or as important to preach as the fact that Holy Christ, who is the only life of all living people, was crucified by us, sinners.'

The sentence-opening function of auxiliary verbs was very early observed in OHG (see Reis 1901:229), as well as in Gothic (Delbrück 1911:17) and Old English (Barrett 1953:46). As mentioned in section 1, it is precisely the presence of such verbs that makes Lehmann (1878:78f)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

doubt whether the fronting of the verb may be associated with its emphasis.

One could wonder why sentences with periphrastic verb forms should be more prone to having V1 than sentences with synthetic verb forms.[25] We should point out that a solution for this problem is necessary for an account of V1 clauses in general, not just for inversions after *und*. We can purely conjecture that in thetic sentences, auxiliary/modal verbs (and light verbs in periphrastic constructions in general) are more prone to fronting than lexical verbs because this enables the lexical verb to occur in a neutral position at the end of the clause. A lexical verb in the first position easily receives a narrow scope interpretation (with focus on the verb), which is not the relevant one in thetic sentences. This is a possible explanation for the higher number of periphrastic verb forms in V1 clauses.

To sum up, lexical factors may also play an important role in licensing of inversions after *und*. Nonetheless, formulating an exact definition of which verb classes can occur in these constructions is no easy task.

4.5. Expressivity.

German V1 sentences can be regarded as a marked type of declarative clause. The feature that distinguishes them from their unmarked V2 counterparts is described as "expressivity" and "emphasis" in the literature (see Önnerfors (1997:25ff, 178ff), whose account the present section draws on considerably).[26] This interpretation is also widely supported from a diachronic perspective. Germanic V1 sentences are described as "emphatic" or "dramatic" (see Hopper 1975:47, 59). Schrodt (2004:197f) interprets OHG V1 sentences as "emphatic" or "expressive", too. Moreover, Erdmann (1886:184) and Reis (1901:227) use the term *Lebhaftigkeit* 'livelyness' to characterize the effect of the V1 phenomenon in *Otfrid*.

Following Oppenrieder 1989, Önnerfors (1997) assumes the existence of an independent type of emphatic V1 declarative sentences in

[25] We thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this question.

[26] In no grammar book is this aspect scrutinized so accurately as in Önnerfors 1997. For instance, Zifonun et al. (1997) are very succinct in their description of this phenomenon. They only make reference to the literature discussed in Önnerfors 1997.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

PDG. In most of these cases, the modal particle *doch* is used, which, however, is not to be confused with the one used in contexts of *inhaltliche Begründung* 'content-related explanation' (Önnerfors 1997: 155). The following is an example of a PDG emphatic V1 declarative sentence:

(38) Ich fahre gerade in Eurasburg den Berg hinunter. **Springt mir** doch glatt eine Katze ins Vorderrad.
(Oppenrieder 1989:217, note 42)

'I am driving down the mountain in Eurasburg. A cat just jumps [lit. 'jumps a cat'] into the front wheel!'

According to Önnerfors, this usage must be distinguished from the exclamative one as well.[27] At the information-structural level, exclamative clauses are characterized by the absence of a topic-comment division, too. Furthermore, at the speech act level, they simultaneously realize exclamative and assertive illocutions, although the exclamative component is predominant (Önnerfors 1997:175f, 206). What distinguishes emphatic V1 clauses from exclamative ones is, among other things, that sentences such as 38 are incorporated into the text progression (Önnerfors 1997:183).[28]

As already shown in section 4.2, integration into the text progression can be considered a typical feature of MHG *und*-V1-sentences. Consider the following example:

(39) Wan also man also besessen ist mit der naturen, wer mag do gehelffen? sicher nút wol ieman denne Got. Es schinet so vil dinges

[27] Önnerfors (1997:175) does not consider exclamative V1 clauses as an independent sentence type, but as a pragmatically marked usage of declarative sentences.

[28] This is why the transformation into an exclamative sentence with verb-final order is not possible in this case:

(i) Ich fahre gerade in Eurasburg den Berg hinunter. *Daß mir eine Katze ins Vorderrad springt! (Oppenrieder 1989:217, note 42)

'I am driving down the mountain in Eurasburg. *A CAT jumping into the front wheel!'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

notdurft, **und ist die notdurft so wit, so breit, und duncket man sich so krang, so zart**. (Tauler 77, 19, 14)

'If one is so obsessed with the nature, who can help except God? Surely no-one but God. So much seems to be needed, and the need is so wide, so broad, and one feels [lit. 'and feels one'] so sick, so frail.'

In the sentence in 39, there are two *und*-V1-clauses following one another. Among others, their integration into the preceding discourse is reinforced by the properties of the subjects that have been mentioned in the immediately preceding context. In contrast to PDG example 38, in which the subject is newly introduced into the discourse, no similar effect (that of an event happening surprisingly) can arise in this case. Nonetheless, an emphatic reading is probably associated with the V1 order in this sentence as well. However, the emphasis is more likely due to the fact that the content of the proposition must be interpreted as strongly asserted. This becomes clearer in the following example:

(40) Ich bin ain gůter hierte. wan ich erkenne miniu ſchâf wol. **uñ erkennent ſi mich och**. (Grieshabersche Predigten 10)

'I am a good shepherd. Because I certainly know my sheep well. And they know me too [lit. 'and know they me also'].'

Similarly, in this case the V1 sentence has an assertive/corroborative function: It may well be expected that animals and shepherd know each other. In PDG, one could paraphrase the sentence by adding the modal particle *doch*:

(41) Ich bin ein guter Hirte. Denn ich kenne meine Schafe wohl. Erkennen sie mich **doch** auch!

It is true that the sentence literally reproduces its Latin original (*Ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco (oves) meas et cognoscunt me meae*, John 10, 14).[29] However, based on the comparison with other OHG V1 sentences

[29] The now authoritative edition of the Vulgate by Weber & Gryson (2007) hands down this sentence without the substantive *oves* 'sheep'. However, a

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

it can be argued that this usage was also a native pattern in OHG. This interpretation is also consistent with the observation by Wunderlich & Reis (1924:104, cited in Önnerfors 1997:32), who speak of *Beteuerungsformeln mit* doch ('asseveration formulas with *doch*').

As mentioned in section 4.1 and anticipating the discussion in the next section, we assume that this expressivity is syntactically realized by means of an illocutive feature [+EXPR] to be posited in the left periphery. This feature distinguishes V1 clauses from V2 clauses in general. Furthermore, we show below that this feature also allows us to distinguish V1 clauses from V2 clauses introduced by an expletive (*pace* Önnerfors 1997:96 and Coniglio 2012:31f). Although *es*-V2-clauses also lack a topic-comment division, they are characterized by the absence of expressivity.

5. Interim Conclusions.

The discussion above makes clear that the occurrence of inversions after *und* is made possible by certain (in particular, information-structural) factors. Above, we have just considered the most important ones, namely:

i. the lack of a topic-comment division, that is, of the typical split within categorical sentences between the entity the predication is about and the predication itself;

ii. textual connectiveness, that is, the discourse-linking function of inversions after *und*;

iii. the information status of the subject, that is, the referential properties of the subject and its salience in the discourse;

iv. lexical-semantic factors, namely, the specific classes of predicates that occur in such constructions;

v. expressivity, that is, the particular stylistic effect achieved by means of the VS order.

---

comparison of the various online versions of the Vulgate shows that there is great variation in the various manuscripts with respect to the insertion or omission of this word.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

It is clear from the discussion above that *und*-V1-clauses share these properties with normal V1 clauses. This confirms the hypothesis in 11 (see p. 206 above) that inversions after *und* are to be classified as special instances of V1 clauses.

At this point the question arises whether all these factors can be considered equivalent in order to explain the presence of *und*-V1-clauses or whether one or a combination of some factors can be considered more basic than others. Many traditional grammarians often assumed that the fundamental function of inversions after *und* consists in textual linkage and/or conveying some degree of expressivity (see Önnerfors 1997:25ff, 34ff). In contrast, Önnerfors (1997:86ff) argues that the lack of the topic-comment division is the common feature of all the modern subtypes of V1 declarative sentences. We do not intend to reject his proposal but we consider the absence of this division as the structural manifestation of the pragmatic function.

The other two factors (3 and 4) can be derived from this formal functional characterization. On the one hand, the preference for new (indefinite) subjects in *und*-V1-clauses results from the specific function of these clauses to connect the preceding and following discourse: They usually present the sometimes unexpected result of an argumentation or a sequence of events described in the narrative. Nonetheless, this connective function does not preclude the occurrence of given (definite) subject NPs or pronouns. On the other hand, the preference for certain semantic verbal classes can be related to this function as well. Since most V1 clauses are mainly perceived as expressing thetic statements, they are associated—among other things—with the semantics of ending, appearance and disappearance, sudden events, or "verbs of utterances, emotions," as Sasse (1995:24) puts it.

Within this perspective, the view of *und*-V1-clauses from the late 20th century such as in 10 as instantiations of mere mannerism is too simplistic. Most of them—if not all—maintained their original function of expressing the result of a previously mentioned activity or state of affairs and of reinforcing it at the same time. It follows that they were relatively widespread in registers of business as well as in official and legal language. However, it is a fact that *und*-V1 clauses were limited to such contexts, and we thus have to raise the question of how the further diachronic development proceeded in less marked registers.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

6. A Theoretical Approach to the Development of V1 Clauses.
In the following, we address the problem of the distinction between inversions after *und*—and more generally, V1 clauses—and V2 clauses. First, we explain the distinction between the two types of clauses in terms of different feature specification of the left periphery. Then, we present a possible change scenario.

As mentioned in the preceding sections, the question of what functions V1 clauses have can only be answered by considering the difference between V1 clauses and V2 clauses. We have argued that the topic-comment division plays a fundamental role. This view is endorsed by the literature on this topic, and it is also supported by diachronic research (see Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010, Petrova 2011). Following Önnerfors (1997:82ff), we could assume that V1 clauses (and thus also inversions after *und*) are characterized by the presence of the feature [–TCS] indicating that no topic-comment structure is available in this type of clauses. In contrast, V2 clauses typically show a topic-comment division and are therefore associated with the feature [+TCS].

Now, the question arises what is the relation between V1 clauses and clauses with an expletive (such as *es* 'it' or *da*/*do* 'there') in the first position. Since the latter are also described in the literature as all-comment constructions, one could assume that V1 clauses are identical to *es*-V2-clauses, apart from the fact that their expletive is not realized phonetically. Thus, from a diachronic viewpoint, it is often claimed that *es*-V2-clauses replace the older V1 clauses (see Axel 2007:120ff and her criticism there; Fuß 2008:236ff). Fleischer (2011:220) shows that V1 clauses in OHG Bible translations are rendered by *es*-V2-clauses in the ENHG period. However, subtle differences between the two types of clauses are sometimes reported in the literature.

For example, Önnerfors (1997:96f) distinguishes between V1 clauses and *es*-V2-clauses in PDG. On the one hand, although the former do not have a topic-comment structure, they contain elements able to function as topics (for instance, pronouns). The latter, on the other hand, potentially possess such a structure; however, they signal explicitly that no topic is available by filling the structural topic position with an expletive.[30] Önnerfors (1997:96) assumes that *es*-V2-clauses are characterized by the presence of the feature [–Topik].

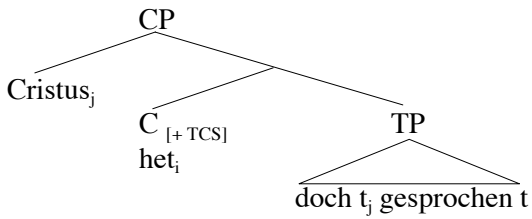
[30] Notice further that subject pronouns are not grammatical in clauses introduced by *es*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The precise distinction between [–TCS] (–TKG in Önnerfors' terminology) and [–Topik] remains mysterious. Here we intend to depart from Önnerfors' view and argue for a different feature composition of the two types of clauses. We claim that both types share the feature [–TCS], and that their different functions can be ascribed to a different feature, namely, the illocutionary feature associated with expressivity mentioned in section 4.5. We assume that V1 clauses—which are characterized by expressivity—are endowed with the feature [+EXPR]. In contrast, *es*-V2-clauses are better defined as [–EXPR], given that they lack this typical property of V1 clauses.

Let us assume that these features are realized in the left periphery of the clause. The head C is endowed with (a bundle of) features that can be held responsible for the possible fronting of an XP or the realization of an expletive in the Vorfeld.[31] To begin with, we consider the typical declarative clause in German, which is a V2 clause with a constituent (typically the topic) fronted to the first position. The head C carries the feature [+TCS] that triggers the movement of the XP to SpecCP. The sentence in 42 and in the following examples are free adaptations of the MHG sentence in 20b.[32]

(42) (*und*) [$_{CP}$ *Cristus*$_j$ [$_{C°}$ *het*$_i$ [$_{TP}$ *doch* t$_j$ *gesprochen* t$_i$]]]



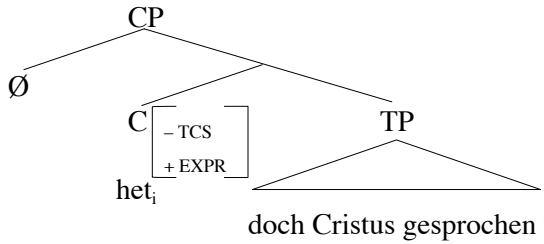
[31] For the sake of simplicity, we do not assume the presence of an articulated structure of the left periphery, as proposed by Rizzi (1997) or—more specifically for German—by Frey (2004). Under such a scenario, we could assume that these features are realized on different heads in the C-Layer. An alternative model is outlined by Abraham (2011), who assumes that V1 clauses are truncated above TP and thus do not have a C-Layer at all. However, the present point is not crucial for the following argumentation.

[32] We assume that the conjunction *und* may be realized in all the three clause types considered.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The feature specification of V1 clauses (and consequently of inversions after *und*) differs from that of V2 clauses in the polarity of the feature for topic-comment division: [–TCS] versus [+TCS]. Furthermore, V1 clauses display the feature [+EXPR], which syntactically encodes the particular expressive nuance discussed in section 4.5:

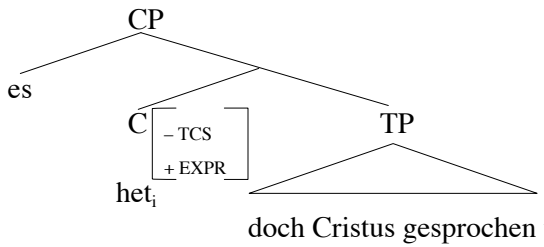
(43) (*und*) [$_{CP}$ Ø [$_{C°}$ *het*$_i$ [$_{TP}$ *doch Cristus gesprochen* t$_i$]]]



The combination of the features [–TCS] and [+EXPR] is the reason why no XP-fronting takes place in V1 declarative clauses.

With respect to V2 clauses introduced by *es* or by another expletive, we claim that although they lack the topic-comment division just like V1 clauses, they are characterized by the feature [–EXPR]:

(44) (*und*) [$_{CP}$ *es* [$_{C°}$ *het*$_i$ [$_{TP}$ *doch Cristus gesprochen* t$_i$]]]



It is specifically this absence of expressivity that distinguishes *es*-V2-clauses from V1 clauses. In the latter case, one cannot assume the existence of a phonetically null expletive identical to *es* 'it' or *da*/*do* 'there'. An analysis in terms of ellipsis of the expletive could certainly explain some cases of inversion; but it would be too restrictive since it

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

would not account for all the cases where the V1 order occurs.[33] The feature specification is different for the two cases, which have partially different usage contexts. The hypothesis of ellipsis of an expletive must therefore be rejected.

Let us now look at the diachronic development of V1 and V2 clauses. For the sake of our argumentation we assume the scenario in figure 2 below. In OHG, both the V1 and the V2 order are already established. According to recent investigations (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010:315, Petrova 2011:215), V1 order is characterized by the absence of a topic-comment division, while V2 order is better described as [+TCS]. Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2010) assume that V2 order is derived from V1 order by means of the fronting of a constituent, typically the topic. They consider V2 clauses as the product of reanalysis of V1 clauses that were preceded by a syntactically nonintegrated Aboutness Topic.

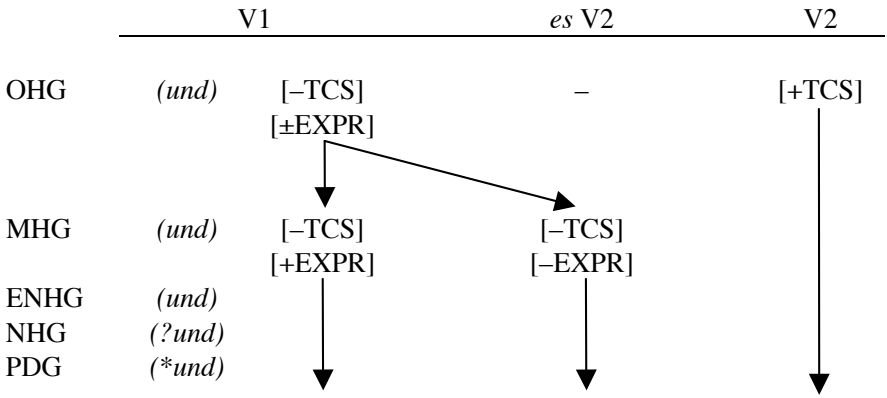


Figure 2. A syntactic change scenario
involving the feature specification of V1 and V2 clauses.

[33] In this scenario, hinted at by an anonymous reviewer, one would further expect that all V1 declaratives can be explained in terms of ellipsis of the expletive. However, this prediction is not borne out by the German data. According to Önnerfors 1997:57ff, the placement of *da* 'there' in V1 declaratives often renders the relevant sentence ungrammatical.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

As shown in figure 2, V1 clauses are described as [–TCS]. In contrast, we argue that in OHG (and probably in Proto-Germanic, too) V1 clauses were underspecified with respect to the feature [EXPR]. We are thereby able to explain the wide distribution and frequent use of V1 clauses in OHG. Apart from introducing new discourse relations (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010) or new discourse referents (Petrova 2011), the V1 pattern is used to introduce quotations, at least in the OHG Isidore's treatise (Robinson 1994). Thus, its expressive value is not always instantiated.

For MHG, we assume that a fundamental change takes place, the results of which can also be seen in the following epochs. V1 clauses are specified as [+EXPR], while V2 clauses introduced by an expletive emerge as the nonexpressive counterparts to V1 clauses. We treat modal particles found in V1 clauses (see 20b) as evidence for the positive instantiation of this value. Structurally, they possibly originate from OHG V2 sentences introduced by *tho* 'there, then'. They are also characterized by the absence of a topic-comment division, or [–TCS]. Hence, they have a function similar to V1 clauses. However, unlike V1 clauses they are further specified as [–EXPR]. Therefore, they can be considered as the unmarked pendant of V1 clauses for instantiating utterances without topic-comment division. The contrast between the marked V1 order and the unmarked *es*-V2-order can also be found in the subsequent stages of language development, up to PDG, without any substantial change. The MHG period is hence characterized by the predominance of the V2 order, given the underspecification of this pattern with respect to expressivity.

We suggest that a possible trigger for the splitting of the functional values of the features in the MHG period is the further development of the distinction between written and oral language. Written language is characterized by *es*-V2-clauses, while bare V1 clauses are typical for oral registers. The association of this feature with a spoken register probably explains the scarce written attestation of V1 clauses during this stage (Curme 1925), but also during the subsequent ones. As discussed above, the basic function of V1 clauses is an expressive one, that is, they reinforce a preceding utterance by adding a narrative or explanative

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

sequence to the preceding text unit. A similar view can be held for *und*-clauses that share the same properties of other V1 sentences.[34]

To conclude, we would like to underline that the term *Inversion nach* und, which has become established in the literature, is actually misleading. The view that the types of clauses investigated in this paper are V1 clauses introduced by a conjunction was recently advocated by Prell (2001) as well. In this paper, we have shown why this view is on the right track by examining the factors that trigger the VS pattern. We argued that these factors are mainly related to discourse and information structure and that the main purpose of these structures is to produce stylistic and rhetoric effects. Furthermore, we proposed a syntactic analysis of *und*-V1-clauses that takes into account the typical lack of topic-comment division and expressivity in this sentence type and suggested a possible diachronic development.

REFERENCES

Abraham, Werner. 2011. Linke Satzperipherie und versteckte Definitheitskategorie: V1-Deklarative, Wortartunabhängigkeit und Narrativität. (Althoch)Deutsch—Altisländisch im Vergleich. Kotin & Kotorova 2011, 51–70.

Adolf, Helen. 1944. Intonation and word order in German narrative style. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 43. 71–79.

Andresen, Karl Gustaf. 1967. *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (= Unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der 11, von Franz Söhns hrsg. Auflage, Leipzig 1923).

Asher, Nicholas, & Alex Lascarides. 2003. *Logics of conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Axel, Katrin. 2007. *Studies on Old High German syntax: Left sentence periphery, verb placement and verb-second*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barrett, Charles Robin. 1953. *Studies in the word-order of Ælfric's catholic Homilies and Lives of the Saints*. Bern, Switzerland: University of Bern dissertation.

[34] The only relevant aspect that can be observed in the later epochs is related to the extinction of *und*-V1-clauses during the NHG period. As discussed in section 1 (see also note 11) this can possibly have to do with the influence of the *Sprachpfleger*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Behaghel, Otto. 1932. *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung*, vol. 4. *Wortstellung. Periodenbau*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Biener, Clemens. 1926. Die Stellung des Verbums im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Literatur* 63. 225–256.
Coniglio, Marco. 2012. On V1 declarative clauses in Middle High German. *Linguistische Berichte* 229. 5–37.
Curme, George O. 1925. Review of Wilhelm Horn (ed.). *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 24. 255–257.
Delbrück, Berthold. 1911. *Germanische Syntax II. Zur Stellung des Verbums*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Donhauser, Karin, Michael Solf, & Lars Zeige. 2006. Informationsstruktur und Diskursrelationen im Vergleich. Althochdeutsch—Altisländisch. *Grenzgänger. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Jurij Kusmenko*, ed. by Antje Hornscheidt, Kristina Kotcheva, Tomas Milosch, & Michael Rießler, 73–90. Berlin: Nordeuropa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.
Ebert, Robert Peter, Oskar Reichmann, Hans-Joachim Solms, & Klaus-Peter Wegera. 1993. *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Erdmann, Oskar. 1886. *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Stuttgart: Cotta.
Ferraresi, Gisella, & Helmut Weiß. 2011. Al die wîle und ich lebe. 'Und' nicht nur koordinativ. *Satzverknüpfungen. Zur Interaktion von Form, Bedeutung und Diskursfunktion*, ed. by Eva Breindl, Gisella Ferraresi, & Anna Volodina, 79–106. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Fleischer, Jürg. 2011. *Historische Syntax des Deutschen. Eine Einführung*. Tübingen: Narr.
Frey, Werner. 2004. The grammar-pragmatics interface and the German prefield. *Sprache und Pragmatik* 52. 1–39.
Fuß, Eric. 2008. *Word order and language change. On the interface between syntax and morphology*. Frankfurt: Goethe University Frankfurt Habilitationsschrift.
Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg, & Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69. 274–307.
Günther, Ludwig. 1898. *Recht und Sprache. Ein Beitrag zum Thema vom Juristendeutsch*. Berlin: Heymann.
Hammarström, Emil. 1923. *Zur Stellung des Verbums in der deutschen Sprache*. Lund, Sweden: Lund University dissertation.
Heusler, Andreas. 1967. *Altisländisches Elementarbuch. 7. unveränd. Aufl.* Heidelberg: Winter.
Hinterhölzl, Roland, & Svetlana Petrova. 2005. Rhetorical relations and verb placement in Early Germanic Languages. Evidence from the Old High German Tatian translation (9th century). *Salience in discourse. Multidisciplinary approaches to discourse*, ed. by Manfred Stede, Christian

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Chiarcos, Michael Grabski, & Luuk Lagerwerf, 71–79. Münster: Stichting & Nodus.
Hinterhölzl, Roland, & Svetlana Petrova. 2010. From V1 to V2 in older Germanic. *Lingua* 120. 315–328.
Hinterhölzl, Roland, & Svetlana Petrova. 2011. Rhetorical relations and verb placement in Old High German. *Salience. Multidisciplinary perspectives on its function in discourse*, ed. by Christian Chiarcos, Berry Claus, & Michael Grabski, 173–202. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Hopper, Paul J. 1975. *The syntax of the simple sentence in Proto-Germanic*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
Horn, Wilhelm (ed.). 1924. *Beiträge zur germanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift für O. Behaghel*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Koch, Peter, & Wulf Oesterreicher. 2011. *Gesprochene Sprache in der Romania: Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch. 2. Aufl*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Kotin, Michail L., & Elizaveta Kotorova (eds.). 2011. *Geschichte und Typologie der Sprachsysteme. History and typology of language systems*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Kraus, C. von. 1960. Über die mhd. Conjunction *unde*. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, ed. by Edward Schroeder & Gustav Roethe, 11–186. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
Lehmann, August. 1878. *Sprachliche Sünden der Gegenwart. 2. Aufl*. Braunschweig: Wreden.
Leiss, Elisabeth. 2011. Die aspektuelle Funktion von Verberststellung (V1) im Altisländischen und Althochdeutschen. Kotin & Kotorova 2011, 71–80.
Lenerz, Jürgen. 1984. *Syntaktischer Wandel und Grammatiktheorie. Eine Untersuchung an Beispielen aus der Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Matras, Yaron. 1995. Connective (VS) word order in Romani. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 48. 189–203.
Maurer, Friedrich. 1924. Zur Anfangstellung des Verbs im Deutschen. *Beiträge zur germanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift für O. Behaghel*, ed. by Wilhelm Horn, 141–184. Heidelberg: Winter.
Maurer, Friedrich. 1926. *Untersuchungen über die deutsche Verbstellung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Müller, Ortwin. 1995. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der deutschen Predigt des Mittelalters. *Beiträge zur Schriftlinguistik. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Dieter Nerius*, ed. by Petra Ewald & Karl-Ernst Sommerfeldt, 191–200. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
Ohly, Carl Hermann. 1888. *Die Wortstellung bei Otfrid. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wortstellungslehre*. Freiburg, Germany: University of Freiburg dissertation.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Önnerfors, Olaf. 1997. *Verb-erst-Deklarativsätze. Grammatik und Pragmatik*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
Oppenrieder, Wilhelm. 1989. Selbständige Verb-Letzt-Sätze: Ihr Platz im Satzmodussystem und ihre intonatorische Kennzeichnung. *Zur Intonation von Modus und Fokus im Deutschen*, ed. by Hans Altmann, Anton Batliner, & Wilhelm Oppenrieder, 163–244. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Paul, Hermann. 2002. *Deutsches Wörterbuch. Bedeutungsgeschichte und Aufbau unseres Wortschatzes. 10. Aufl*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Paul, Hermann. 2007. *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik. 25. Aufl., neu bearbeitet von Thomas Klein, Hans-Joachim Solms, & Klaus-Peter Wegera. Mit einer Syntax von Ingeborg Schöbler, neu bearbeitet und erweitert von Heinz-Peter Prell*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Paul, Hermann, & Walther Mitzka. 1960. *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Petrova, Svetlana. 2011. Modeling word order variation in discourse: On the pragmatic properties of VS order in Old High German. *Indo-European syntax and pragmatics: Contrastive approaches*, ed. by Eirik Welo, 209–228. Oslo: OSLa.
Petrova, Svetlana, & Michael Solf. 2008. Rhetorical relations and verb placement in early Germanic: A crosslinguistic study. *"Subordination" versus "coordination" in sentence and text: A cross-linguistic perspective*, ed. by Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen & Wiebke Ramm, 329–351. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Prell, Heinz-Peter. 2001. *Der mittelhochdeutsche Elementarsatz. Eine syntaktische Untersuchung an Prosatexten des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts*. Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo dissertation.
Reis, Hans. 1901. Über althochdeutsche Wortfolge. *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 33. 212–238, 330–349.
Reis, Marga. 2000. Anmerkungen zu Verb-erst-Sätzen im Deutschen. *Deutsche Grammatik in Theorie und Praxis*, ed. by Rolf Thieroff, Matthias Tamrat, Nanna Fuhrhop, & Oliver Teuber, 215–227. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
Rieger, Gerd Enno. 1968. Die Spitzenstellung des finiten Verbs als Stilmittel des isländischen Sagaerzählers. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 83. 81–139.
Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. *Elements of grammar: A handbook of generative syntax*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
Robinson, Orrin W. 1994. Verb-first position in the Old High German "Isidor" translation. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 96. 356–373.
Sanders, Daniel. 1908. *Wörterbuch der Hauptschwierigkeiten in der deutschen Sprache. 36. Aufl*. Berlin: Langenscheidt.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Santorini, Beatrice. 1989. *The generalization of the verb-second constraint in the history of Yiddish*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania dissertation.
Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. The thetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25. 511–580.
Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1995. Theticity' and VS order: A case study. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 48. 3–31.
Schaller, Stephanie. 2011. Verb-erst-Stellung bei Deklarativsätzen im Althochdeutschen. Kotin & Kotorova 2011, 81–90.
Schrodt, Richard. 2004. *Althochdeutsche Grammatik II: Syntax*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Sehrt, Edward H. 1916. *Zur Geschichte der westgermanischen Konjunktion "und"*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Sigurðsson, Haldór Árman. 1990. V1 declaratives and verb raising in Icelandic. *Modern Icelandic syntax*, ed. by Joan Maling & Annie Zaenen, 41–69. San Diego: Academic Press.
Timm, Erika. 1986. Das Jiddische als Kontrastsprache bei der Erforschung des Frühneuhochdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 14. 1–22.
Weber, Robert, & Roger Gryson. 2007. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. 5. verb. Aufl.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
Wunderlich, Hermann, & Hans Reis. 1924. *Der deutsche Satzbau. 1. Bd. 3. Aufl.* Stuttgart: Cotta.
Zifonun, Gisela, Ludger Hoffmann, & Bruno Strecker. 1997. *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

PRIMARY TEXTS

Bibelfragmente = Kriedte, Horst (ed.). 1930. *Deutsche Bibelfragmente in Prosa des XII. Jahrhunderts*. Halle: Niemeyer.
Gr = Paul, Hermann (ed.). 2004. *Hartmann von Aue, Gregorius*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Grieshabersche Predigten = Grieshaber, Franz Karl (ed.). 1978. *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
I = Hench, George A. (ed.). 1893. *Der Althochdeutsche Isidor. Facsimile-Ausgabe des Pariser Codex nebst critischem Texte der Pariser und Monseer Bruchstücke*. Straßburg: Trübner.
Iw = Benecke, Georg Friedrich, & Karl Lachmann (eds.). 1968. *Iwein. Eine Erzählung von Hartmann von Aue. Neu bearb. von Ludwig Wolff. 7. Ausgabe, Bd. 1: Text*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
Konr = Mertens, Volker (ed.). 1971. *Das Predigtbuch des Priesters Konrad. Überlieferung, Gestalt, Gehalt und Texte*. München: Beck.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press

NL = Batts, Michael S. (ed.). 1971. *Das Nibelungenlied. Paralleldruck der Handschriften A, B und C nebst Lesarten der übrigen Handschriften*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
PaulPr = Jeitteles, Adalbert (ed.). 1878. *Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paul in Kärnten*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung.
Schupp = Schupp, Johann Balthasar. 1878. *Der Freund in der Not*. Halle: Niemeyer.
Speccl = Mellbourn, Gert. 1944. *Speculum ecclesiae. Eine frühmitterlalterliche Predigtsammlung. (Cgm 39). Mit sprachlicher Einleitung*. Lund: Gleerup.
Tauler, Pred = Vetter, Ferdinand (ed.). 1910. D*ie Predigten Taulers. Aus der Engelberger und der Freiburger Handschrift sowie aus Schmidts Abschriften der ehemaligen Straßburger Handschriften*. Berlin: Weidmann [reprint Dublin/Zürich 1968].

Institut für deutsche Sprache und Linguistik
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Unter den Linden 6
10099 Berlin
Germany
[coniglma@hu-berlin.de]
[eva.schlachter@staff.hu-berlin.de]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542713000111 Published online by Cambridge University Press