

**Germanic Properties in the Left Periphery of Old French:
V-to-C-Movement, XP-Fronting, Stylistic Fronting and Verb-Initial
Clauses**

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ABSTRACT

The present dissertation is a comparative investigation between the Germanic-like structural phenomena found in the left periphery of Old French (OF) clauses and the syntactic phenomena found in the left periphery of Old High German (OHG). The goal of this thesis is to provide evidence that only a synchronic analysis can explain the presence of Germanic-like structures in OF syntax. The reason for this lies in the similarities between the V2 properties found in OF and OHG. The two languages show V2 properties such as V-to-C movement and XP fronting, but also properties which are not found in Modern V2 languages such as a frequent V1 and V3 word order. The corpus I use consists of four OF texts from the 12th and 13th century which correspond to the late OF period. They are composed in different OF dialects from the northern part of France. The poetic texts chosen for this study are *Le voyage de Saint-Brandan* and *Gormont et Isembart*. The prose texts are *Le Roman de Tristan en prose* and *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*. I coded these OF documents according to certain criteria: main clause type, embedded clause type, finite verb position, first element preceding the finite verb, etc. The results indicate that OF can be considered a true V2-language that shares a certain amount of properties with OHG, namely V-to-C movement, XP fronting, Stylistic Fronting as well as verb-initial clauses. This thesis illustrates that the OF dialects closer situated to the Germanic language border show a higher frequency in Germanic-like syntactic phenomena than the dialects situated further away. A difference between poems and prose texts concerning the presence and intensity of certain syntactic phenomena can also be observed.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Con	Conditionnel
Dem	Demonstrative
Imp	Imperative
Inf	Infinitival
Part	Participial
PP	Prepositional phrase
PRT	Particle
S	Subordinate clause
SF	Stylistic Fronting
Sn	nominal subject
Sp	pronominal subject
SOV	subject-object-verb
SVO	subject-verb-object
V	verb
V _{fin}	finite verb
V1	verb-first
V2	verb-second
V3	verb-third

INDEX OF LANGUAGES

Danish, Middle

Danish, Modern

Danish, Old

Dutch

English

Faroese

Frankish, Old Low

French, Modern

French, Old (OF)

German, Middle High (MHG)

German, New High (NHG)

German, Old High (OHG)

German, Old Low (OLG)

Gothic

Icelandic

Latin

Latin, Vulgar

Romansch

Yiddish

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“...languages...they vary continually from century to century, and in one country and another, through the intermingling of the peoples, who by wars or other mischances are continuously becoming mixed with each other...” - Leonardo da Vinci (1508-10)¹

1.1 Aims

The present dissertation is a comparative investigation between the Germanic-like structural phenomena found in the left periphery of Old French (OF) clauses and the syntactic phenomena found in the left periphery of Old High German (OHG).

OF shares a certain amount of properties with OHG, a V2 language: V-to-C movement, XP fronting, Stylistic Fronting (SF)² as well as verb-initial clauses. The main goal of the present thesis is to show that OF is a V2 language³ whose V2 property was similar to the V2 property of OHG at some point in history. The present research will emphasize the need to compare OF to OHG if we want to examine the strong resemblance of the V2 property in the two languages.

¹ *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* ed. by Richter and Pedretti, 1977:106.

² The syntactic operation called Stylistic Fronting (SF) involves the movement of a constituent or a part of a constituent into a preverbal position of the left sentence periphery in clauses with an empty subject in the canonical subject position. A detailed description of SF is found in Chapter 2.

³ The V2 requirement is a syntactic construction in which the finite verb is placed through verb movement into the second position of the main clause, the C⁰-position in the complementizer domain. The finite verb is preceded by any XP constituent which moves to SpecCP.

In contrast to some literature that compares OF syntax to MHG and even NHG (Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Kaiser, 2002-2003, 1998; Elsig, 2009; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002), I propose and clearly show in this thesis that any other later state of the German language than OHG cannot serve as a true and loyal base of comparison for OF V2 structures. The reason is simple: because of a language-internal syntactic development V1, V2 and V3 structures in MHG and NHG are not the same as the ones in OHG (Axel, 2007; Maurer, 1924). V2 in NHG is more restricted than in OHG and MHG. NHG does not permit V1 and V3 word order with the same flexibility as it is the case for OHG (Axel, 2007). Moreover, V1 declarative clauses disappear completely from OHG between the 13th and mid-15th century. They reappear in the late MHG period from the mid-15th century on, but their context is restricted to translations from Latin V1 clauses containing verbs of speech (Maurer, 1924).

I have to point out that I do not intend to show that OF displays a Germanic syntax. I am aware of the fact that French is not a Germanic language. However, it is possible that OF syntax resembled OHG syntax at some point in history, more explicitly in the early stages of the OF language. The V2 pattern found in OF is therefore not of Germanic descent, but can be considered similar to it. It is this similarity found in the left periphery of the two languages, OF and OHG, which I intend to show in this thesis.

The main issue I see with the previous concepts and papers is that they compare OF with the wrong type of German. OF should be compared to OHG and not to MHG or NHG. The goal of this thesis is to present the hypothesis that a Germanic-like OF syntax existed and that it can be traced back via an analysis of OHG and OF syntax on a synchronic basis. I will analyze the OHG syntactic phenomena that are present in this Old

Germanic language at the time of the emergence of the OF language. Then, I will analyze four different dialects of OF to investigate if these Germanic syntactic patterns are present in their left periphery.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no such analysis available that compares OF with OHG data with the aim of comparing OF syntax on a synchronic basis with OHG. This dissertation will provide such an analysis.

1.2 Hypotheses and Proposal

In this thesis, I will argue that OF displays a higher frequency of Germanic-like syntactic properties in the northern part of France, i.e. the linguistic zone of the *langues d'oïl*⁴, than in the syntax of the *langue d'oc*, situated in the southern part of France. This frequency of Germanic-like syntactic properties increases the closer we get to the Germanic language border.

Pitz (2003) states that the creation of a true Roman-Germanic linguistic border takes place during the 8th and 9th century A.D. This is the time when OF starts to emerge as an independent language.

⁴ The term *oïl* in *the langues d'oïl* comes from the Latin word *hoc-ille* which means *yes*. The term *oc* of the *langue d'oc* is derived from the Latin word *hoc* meaning also *yes* (Cohen, 1987). The Latin word *hoc* translates into the affirmation adverb 'yes' and the Latin word *ille* into the personal pronoun 'he' (Buridant, 2000).

1.2.1 Hypotheses

I claim that Germanic-like syntactic properties are found in OF syntax, more specifically in the left periphery. Moreover, I show that OF displays a clear V2 pattern resembling the one found in OHG.

Therefore, I formulate the following three hypotheses:

- (1) A synchronic analysis of OF syntax with OHG syntax is essential if we want to investigate the Germanic-like syntactic properties found in its left periphery. Also, a synchronic comparison with OHG gives more information about the V2 pattern found in OF.
- (2) The OF dialects, the *langues d'oïl*, are situated closer to the geographic border of the Old Germanic languages than the Occitan language, the *langue d'oc*, and show therefore a higher frequency of Germanic-like syntactic structures at the left periphery. The closer the OF dialect is situated to the Germanic language border, the more the frequency of Germanic-like syntactic properties increases.
- (3) OF is a true V2 language following the same V2 requirements as OHG.

The present thesis focusses on the *langues d'oïl* spoken in the northern part of France since this region is situated next to the Germanic language border. However, in Chapter 2, I will talk about the results of a study conducted by Vance, Donaldson and Steiner (2009) who examine Germanic-like V2 structures in OF and Old Occitan. The results of this study are very valuable for my objective in order to demonstrate a strong Germanic-like syntax the closer we get to the Germanic language border.

1.2.2. Proposal

In this thesis, OF syntax is compared to OHG syntax on a synchronic basis. I will show that this offers a new and a more successful direction to historical linguistics of explaining why OF word-order is the way it is. In the past, OF word-order has frequently been compared to Modern Germanic languages, especially to NHG (Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Kaiser, 2002-2003, 1998; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002). This comparison makes sense when it addresses the question of V2 as a unified phenomenon in which C requires V-to-C movement and a filled SpecCP. Then, V2 is either something a language displays or not. If OF shows the V2 property than it falls into the same class as Modern German. If not, it doesn't. This comparison is a question about language typology rather than a synchronic comparison of two languages.

The goal of this thesis is to provide evidence that only a synchronic analysis can explain the presence of Germanic-like structures in OF syntax. The reason for this lies in the similarities between the V2 properties found in OF and OHG. The two languages show V2 properties (For OHG: Axel, 2007; Behagel, 1932; Maurer, 1926; for OF: Mathieu, 2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b; Vance, 1997; Roberts, 1993; Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987; Thurneysen, 1892), but also properties which are not found in Modern V2 languages such as a frequent V1 and V3 word order (For OHG: Axel, 2007; Robinson, 1994; Maurer, 1924; for OF: Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Kaiser, 2002-2003, 1998; Elsig, 2009; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002). This fact makes the synchronic questions more interesting and provides the basis for the present research.

Studies that underline the strong resemblance of OF word order properties with the ones found in Modern Germanic languages usually point out three syntactic

configurations to demonstrate this resemblance. First, the OF V2 pattern is compared to the V2 requirement of Germanic languages, especially to the one found in NHG (Vance, 1997; Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987). Second, it is mentioned that the basic VO word order in VP is shared not only by OF but also by Modern Scandinavian languages and Romansch (Roberts, 1993). Third, the SF constructions that exist in OF are a typical and well-known structure in Modern Icelandic (Mathieu, 2007, 2006; Roberts, 1993).

The purpose of the present dissertation is to show that OF, despite being a Romance language, is a language that demonstrates a V2 pattern very similar to the one found in the Old Germanic V2 languages. In particular, I will show that OHG is indeed the Germanic variant which has to be chosen for a comparison with OF syntax.

1.2.3 The OF Corpus

The corpus I use consists of four OF texts from the 12th and 13th century which correspond to the late OF period. Two texts are written in verse, the other two in prose⁵. The texts written in verse chosen for this study are *Le voyage de Saint-Brandan* (VdB) and *Gormont et Isembart* (GeI). The prose texts are *Le Roman de Tristan en prose* (Tr) and *Les Miracles de Saint Louis* (MdSL). The OF corpus of the present research is composed of clauses containing the first 502 finite verbs of the poetic texts *VdB* and *GeI* as well as the clauses containing the first 506 finite verbs of the prose texts *Tr* and the clauses of the first 508 finite verbs of the prose document *MdSL* (Table 1).

⁵ Please see Section 1.3 for the reasons why I chose these four texts.

TABLE 1

The corpus: *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*

Text	Lines coded	Main clauses	Embedded clauses	Total of V_{fin} coded
<i>VdB</i> (verse)	1-468	321	181	502
<i>GeI</i> (verse)	1-566	380	122	502
<i>Tr</i> (prose)	1-318	280	226	506
<i>MdSL</i> (prose)	1-473	276	232	508
Total	1825	1257	761	2018

Table 1 illustrates that the two poems include each more than 300 main clauses: *VdB* contains 321 and *GeI* 380 main clauses. The prose documents contain each a little under 300 main clauses: *Tr* shows 280 main clauses and *MdSL* 276. Between the verse and prose documents, the amount of main and embedded clauses is relatively evenly distributed with only *GeI* showing a fraction more main clauses with 380 and fewer embedded clauses with 122 than the other three texts.

I coded the inflected verbs of each OF text according to the following criteria⁶:

-Clause type: principal, embedded

-Main clause type: declarative, imperative, interrogative, negative

-Embedded clause type: conjunctive, relative, indirect interrogative

⁶ The dictionaries I consulted for OF are Greimas (2001) and Godefroy (1881). For grammatical questions concerning OF, I decided to follow Buridant (2000). His work offers a very complete, detailed and in-depth picture of OF grammar.

-Inflected verb position: V1, V2, V3, >V3

-First element preceding the inflected verb: NP, DP, Adv, Adj, PP, Dem, Part, Inf, S

-Second element preceding the inflected verb: NP, DP, Adv, Adj, PP, Dem, Part, Inf

-Element following the inflected verb: NP, DP, Adv, Adj, PP, Part, Inf, Negation

-Null Subject: yes, no

-Stylistic Fronting: yes, no

-Verb-final: yes, no

-Germanic inversion⁷: yes, no

-Romance inversion⁸: yes, no

-Direct speech⁹: yes, no

The OF results will be compared to OHG word order. The OF and OHG texts I compare are a few centuries apart. My results indicate that the syntactic pattern at the left periphery of late OF texts of the 12th and 13th century resembles the one OHG exhibits around the 9th century. The goal of this research is to investigate whether the left peripheries of the two languages share the same Germanic properties concerning verb movement and verb placement. I need to demonstrate the existence of V-to-C movement as well as the possibility of XP fronting in OF.

⁷ Germanic Inversion: When the fronted non-subject XP constituent occupies the position preceding the finite verb, Germanic inversion takes place, i.e. the subject follows immediately the finite verb and the nonfinite parts of the verb follow the subject.

⁸ Romance Inversion: In this inversion type, the subject follows the nonfinite parts of the verb and is realized in clause-final position. It is usually found in Romance languages, but not in Germanic languages.

⁹ As we do not have any native speakers of OF, the closest a written manuscript can be to the actual oral speech pattern is the direct speech.

1.2.3.1 Direct Speech

Throughout the OF examples in this dissertation, I indicate the letters *DS* following the title and the line of the respective examples. *DS* stands for direct speech and, interestingly, three of the OF texts, namely *VdB*, *GeI* and *Tr*, display a large amount of direct speech, as shown in Table 2. The text *MdSL* is a church document and consists of a summary of interviews conducted by the Catholic Church. This special text type is very likely responsible for the very few instances of DS.

TABLE 2

Direct speech in *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*

OF Texts	Total Main clauses	Total DS Main clauses	% of DS Main clauses	Total Embedded clauses	Total DS Embedded clauses	% of DS Embedded clauses
<i>VdB</i>	321	71	22.12	181	27	14.92
<i>GeI</i>	380	104	27.37	122	36	29.51
<i>Tr</i>	280	164	58.57	225	83	36.88
<i>MdSL</i>	276	11	3.98	232	---	---

The parts of the texts containing DS give a glimpse of the spoken OF language. Native speakers of OF no longer exist and the closest. Consequently, DS documented in a written manuscript most closely resembles actual oral speech patterns of the time. I will continue to mark example sentences for DS throughout this thesis.

1.3 The OF and OHG Texts in more Detail

As I have mentioned in Section 1.2.3, the corpus is composed of two text forms: verse and prose. Prose texts are always the first choice for word order studies. The major issue is availability. The choice of prose texts for OHG is extremely limited. The *Serments de Strasbourg*¹⁰ is the only native OHG prose text, apart from some proverbs (Axel, 2007). The other OHG prose texts are either word-by-word translations from Latin, like the OHG *Tatian* (ca. 850), or more or less free translations, like the OHG *Isidor* (ca. 800).

Maurer (1924)¹¹ points out: “Basically, I’m of the opinion that, for the knowledge of the laws determining word order, prose is to be used initially. Only when observations have been done on this basis, then, of course, the poetry is to be used as well. In the OHG period, however, the limited choice of prose sources compels us to include poetic texts. Only the parts where the OHG prose is different from the Latin prose are more valuable than the verses of *Otfrid*, which are bound by rhythmic and rhyming forces.”

The situation for OF texts is similar. Texts in verse form are predominant up to the 12th century. OF prose appears in the later OF period from the 13th century on (Labelle, 2007; Vance, 1997). According to Vance (1997), these prose texts show a more restricted V2 word order in contrast to 12th century texts written in verse. This difference

¹⁰ The *Serments de Strasbourg* has been written in the *romana lingua*, corresponding to early OF, and the *teudisca lingua*, corresponding to OHG.

¹¹ My translation. Maurer’s (1924) original quote in German: “Grundsätzlich stehe ich auf dem Standpunkt, dass zur Erkenntnis der Wortstellungsgesetze zunächst nur Prosa heranzuziehen ist. Erst wenn auf dieser Grundlage die Beobachtungen gemacht sind, dann ist natürlich auch die Poesie zu verarbeiten.. In ahd. Zeit allerdings nötigt uns schon die geringe Auswahl an Prosaquellen, auch die Poesie mit heranzuziehen....Nur die Partien, wo die deutsche Prosa gegen die latein. Vorlage geht, sind wertvoller als die immerhin unter rhythmischem und Reimzwangstehenden Otfridverse.”

between verse and prose texts is an interesting observation and is worth taking a look at with the help of the OF corpus that I use.

For this dissertation, I decided to code two texts in verse from the 12th century that are written in two different dialects of OF and two texts in prose from the 13th century which are also composed of two different dialects. All four texts come from the same era, namely the late OF period.

I am aware that the word order in poems is determined by rhyme and metre, has been chosen for poetic reasons and is less natural than prose. Moreover, I propose to follow the opinion of Völcker (1882) to look at it from the perspective that even in the relatively free language of poetry, the word order cannot go against what is permitted in the language's grammar. In contrast, the word order as well as the choice of words in prose texts are not altered by any metrical or rhythmic restrictions and are therefore to be considered the first choice especially for syntactic studies (Cichosz, 2010, Maurer, 1924). Also, there are studies which make the deliberate choice to analyse prose as well as poetic texts in OHG (Cichosz, 2010). Cichosz (2010) is interested in comparing various syntactic structures in the two text types. According to her, "linguists simply cannot afford to exclude certain texts on the basis of their form, because it would mean losing a substantial part of information about a given language (Cichosz, 2010:43)".

I share Cichosz' point of view and will demonstrate that poetic texts offer valuable information in addition to prose texts. This is why I have chosen to analyze the two text types. Furthermore, verse documents are especially important for the study of SF, a construction which plays a major role in my study (see Chapter 3). The main

interest for me is to compare SF in late OF verse with SF in late OHG verse as well as to compare SF in late OF verse with SF in late OF prose.

In summary, the reason I chose the late OF period is the availability of the texts as well as the possibility of studying two different text types that have been composed in the same time frame. Late OF offers these two possibilities.

1.3.1 The OF Texts

The texts I investigate are from the 12th and 13th century. According to Buridant (2000) and Geckeler and Dietrich (1995), these centuries cover the Classical OF period. Early OF, in contrast, is spoken between the 9th and 11th century (Geckeler and Dietrich, 1995). Buridant (2000) is more specific concerning the time frame covering Early OF. According to him, it is the period between 842 and 1130 A.D.

OF texts show a fascinating variety of regional dialects. Unfortunately, the dialect in which a text is written does not provide necessarily any information about the origin of the author of the texts who is often unknown. The dialectal differences in OF texts are in part due to the scribes and their dialectal heritage (Geckeler and Dietrich, 1995; Cohen, 1987). These regional variants of the written language are called *Scriptae* (Roegiest, 2006; Geckeler and Dietrich, 1995; Goebel, 1979), a term which expresses the evidence that OF texts are not written in some pure dialect. Instead, they are a mix of regional and supra-regional elements (Roegiest, 2006; Goebel, 1979). The notion of *Scriptae* embraces the fact that we cannot trace back the dialectal origin of the author of a certain text, because the scribes have added, over the course of several centuries, their own dialectal sources and, in addition, supra-regional linguistic elements.

What does this mean for me? It means that I cannot trace back the texts in some cases to the original authors. Even if I do, the fact that the texts have been copied by scribes and handed down to us over the course of several centuries in the form of these copies obliges me to admit that the dialectal variation found in these texts may be due to the scribes' regional linguistic heritage. Does it change anything for this thesis? No. As long as I can trace back the dialects in which the four texts are written, it is not important to my analysis if the dialectal variation is the one of the original author or not. Additionally, the dialectal variations found in the OF texts of my corpus do not concern the syntax. They are mainly of phonological or morphological nature (see e.g. Bayot, 1931 for *GeI*).

Adams (1989:1) notes that “the syntax of OF shows a high degree of consistency across texts and dialects and that writers must therefore have been relying on a written standard in much the same way that writers of Modern French conform to a standard not necessarily observed in speech”. In his monumental dictionary of the German language, Grimm (1822) observes that the written language is conservative in comparison to oral speech (Wells, 1979). This is an important point for this dissertation, since there are no native speakers of OF. The present study solely depends on written documents. The fact that written texts present a loyal picture of OF grammar is essential.

For the present study, I coded four OF texts: two texts written in verse form¹² dating back to the 12th century, namely *Le voyage de Saint-Brandan* (VdB) and *Gormont*

¹² The OF texts written in verse form are called *Chansons de geste* which can be translated by ‘songs of heroic deeds’. These texts are epic poems talking about heroic battles, historic events, romance and chivalry.

et Isembart (GeI) with the former written in the Anglo-Norman¹³ *Scriptae* and the latter in the *Scriptae* of the center of France which corresponds to the dialect spoken in the Île-de-France and is the one that will become the dominant French literary language as well as the spoken standard language to the detriment of other OF dialects and *Scriptae* (Roegiest, 2006).

The other two texts are written in prose and date back to the 13th century, namely *Le Roman de Tristan en prose* (Tr) and *Les Miracles de St Louis* (MdSL). The former is written in the dialect of the Picardie and the latter in the dialect of the Île-de-France.

The motivation for the text choice is the following: I had to cover a specific region, century, the two literary forms verse and prose as well as different dialects. Therefore, I needed texts from the north of France, the linguistic zone covering the *langues d'oil*, which is situated south of the Germanic language border. From the 12th century on, there is a substantial amount of texts written in different dialects. These texts constitute my data base for this study. They are large enough to give an excellent base for the knowledge of OF word order.

The following presents the four OF documents in more detail:

(1) *Gormont et Isembart* (GeI), a poem about the battle of Cayeux: The copy of *GeI* which survived the centuries up to the modern era is often referred to as the fragment of *GeI*. The reason is that the surviving copy was found in less than perfect condition. The manuscript of *GeI* which is housed at the *Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* since 1875 was discovered in 1837. It has survived in fragments on four pages of two papers which

¹³ The Anglo-Norman dialect is a variety of the Norman language. It developed in England after 1066 A.D., the year of the Norman conquest of William the Conqueror.

had been used in the binding of another book. In the book binding process, some parts of these pages have been cut. Still, 661 lines survived this process.

The date of origin is unknown. It has been suggested by Bayot (1931) and Völcker (1882) that it belongs to the oldest chansons de geste like *La Chanson de Roland* (CdR). The version of *GeI* I work with in the present study, a copy accomplished by a scribe, dates from the 12th century, more specifically from the end of the first third of the 12th century (Bayot, 1931). The original composition of the poem dates from the last quarter of the 11th century or even earlier according to Völcker (1882). Bayot (1931) also states the late 11th century for the composition of the original document. Bayot specifies that the chronicles written in 1088 by Hariulf, the chronicler of the “Abbaye de Saint-Riquier”, mention that he has heard the *chanson de geste* of *Gormont et Isembart*.

According to Bayot (1931), the paleographic evidence from *GeI* tells us that the fragment is of Anglo-Norman origin as it is very close to the manuscripts written in England in the 13th century. English scribes used a distinctive spelling in some cases such as the double accented *e*. One example would be the word *aspée* (*GeI*, 1.227). Bayot explains the various orthographic variations and anomalies found in the text with its Anglo-Norman heritage. He underlines that, after eliminating all the orthographic variations, *GeI* shows no dialectal sign at all. Bayot states that this poem has been written in the literary language of the centre of France and that there are some signs pointing to the south-west of Paris.

Sostmann (1910) reviews several points of view concerning the origin of the author of *GeI*. They range from the Picardie in the north, the Île-de-France in the Centre of France to the Anglo-Norman west. Sostmann (1910) analyzes the linguistic evidence

of the manuscript and comes to the conclusion that *GeI* is written in the Francien language, but that an Anglo-Norman scribe has brought a slight Anglo-Norman touch to the document.

Concerning the metrical nature of *GeI*, the lines contain 8 syllables with an additional extrametrical syllable at the end of the line. The meter is therefore octosyllabic.

(2) *Le Voyage de saint Brandan* (VdB), a poem about adventures in a religious context: The poem *VdB* is a translation from the Latin text the *Navigatio sancti Brendani Abbatis*. The oldest known Latin version dates from the 9th century. The Anglo-Norman monk Benedeit, a talented and well-educated scholar who lived in England at the beginning of the 12th century, translated the Latin original into Anglo-Norman. The exact birthplace of Benedeit is unknown. The date of the translation lies between 1100 and 1121 according to Short and Merrilees (1984)¹⁴.

The document of *VdB* has been handed down to us in six manuscripts. The condition of the manuscripts varies. They are either preserved completely or partially. The best preserved manuscript out of the six is the Cotton Vesparien B.X. and is housed at the British Library in London. It dates from the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th. This is the manuscript that has been published by Ian Short (responsible for text and translation) and Brian Merrilees (responsible for introduction and notes) in 1984. The present study uses this document. According to Short and Merrilees (1984), the poem displays an Anglo-Norman character which is present through the rimes, the

¹⁴ The manuscripts refer in the very first verse to Aaliz (Alice), the second wife of King Henri 1st who married him in 1121. There is however one manuscript referring to Henri's first wife, Mahalt (Maude) who married Henri 1st in 1100 and died in 1118 (Short and Merrilees, 1984).

versification as well as the orthography. The manuscript reflects the insular Anglo-Norman language of the first quarter of the 12th century.

The metrical pattern of *VdB* is octosyllabic, i.e. each line contains 8 syllables.

(3) *Les Miracles de Saint Louis* (MdSL), the testimony of Louis' miracles experienced by witnesses who are in favour of his canonization: There are four manuscripts of *MdSL* which have been handed down to us. The dates vary between the beginning of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century. The manuscript used in the present study dates from the beginning of the 14th century. It is housed at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris (fr. 4976, fol. 97-213). According to Fay (1932), this document is without any doubt the closest to the original manuscript which dates from the late 13th century. The author is Guillaume de Saint-Pathus who was the confessor of the Queen Marguerite de Provence, the wife of King Louis, for 18 years (between 1277 and 1295 according to Fay). His birthplace is Seine-et-Marne located in the Île-de-France.

Between May 1282 and March 1283, the Catholic Church conducted interviews in which 330 witnesses described the miracles they experienced first-hand from King Louis who later became canonized as Saint Louis. The transcriptions were sent afterwards to Guillaume de Saint-Pathus to be written down in prose; first in Latin and afterwards in the dialect of the Île-de-France, the Francien language.

(4) *Le Roman de Tristan en prose* (Tr), a novel about chivalry and romance: According to Ménard (1987), there are 82 manuscripts or fragments of *Tr* which are known to us housed at libraries all across Europe. Not only is the number of manuscripts very impressive, but also the length of the literary work itself which goes beyond 500

pages. Ménard (1987) chose the manuscript which is the most complete and of excellent quality. He found it in the National Library of Vienna. This manuscript of *Tr* (ms. 2542) has been copied around the year 1300 A.D. Ménard came to this conclusion after closely inspecting the musical notes written on the document, the paleography and some small illustrations.

Unfortunately, the author of the original text is unknown. It is however known that the original text was composed in the first third of the 13th century. The manuscript of *Tr* Ménard (1987) uses dates from 1300. It has been copied by a scribe from Picardie. The manuscript follows the orthographic tradition of the north of France. Ménard points out the voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant as in the words *che* (Tr, 1:7) ou *gentilleche* (Tr, 1:26). He also mentions the writing of *k* in the relative pronoun *qui* which is written *ki* (Tr, 1:2). The scribe uses typical linguistic elements from Picardie with moderation. Mostly, he uses a mix of the OF literary standard language, the Francien language, with dialectal elements from the Picardie region which are only discretely present according to Ménard (1987). He explains it with the aim to produce a copy of a manuscript which is understood everywhere in France. According to Ménard (1987), the syntax of *Tr* respects the usual norms and practices throughout the manuscript.

In short, the four texts share the same time frame, i.e. the late OF period. Even though the original manuscripts were composed in the 12th and 13th century, the copies I use date from the 13th century (for the 12th century manuscripts) and from the beginning of the 14th century (for the 13th century manuscripts). Even though the scribes who copied the original manuscripts made a few changes, these changes can be considered of minor nature for this study as they concern mainly a different spelling or the replacement of a

word with another out of dialectal preference (e.g. in the case of Tr, 49:10: a replacement of *que* with *quant*). The original syntax has always been respected in the four texts.

1.3.2 The OHG Texts

Word order studies in OHG face four major problems: first, only a few OHG prose texts are available (Axel, 2007; Maurer, 1924). Second, these few texts are translations from Latin sources with different translational qualities (Axel, 2007; Robinson, 1994; Lippert 1974; Maurer, 1924). Third, the documents are not large enough for word order studies (Robinson, 1997). Fourth, word order studies on OHG exist, but the authors have completed them at different times using different methods and not having always worked properly (Maurer, 1924).

Axel (2007) gives an excellent overview of the Early and Late OHG prose texts. All prose texts are translations from Latin except for one document which is a translation from Greek. Original OHG prose texts are rare. The *Serments de Strasbourg* is, apart from some proverbs, the only original OHG prose text passed on to us.

The OHG prose texts handed down to us are the following according to Axel (2007):

Early OHG prose:

- (1) OHG *Tatian* written in East-Franconian around 850: a partial interlinear version, i.e. it is a partial word-by-word translation from Latin.
- (2) OHG *Isidor* written in South-Rhine-Franconian (Paris Codex) around 800: a relatively free translation and considered to be of outstanding quality (Lippert, 1974).

- (3) OHG *Isidor* written in Bavarian (Mon(d)see-Vienna Fragment) around the early 9th century: a collection of fragmentary manuscripts; it also contains the Bavarian translations of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the anonymous tract *De vocatione gentium*, a sermon by St. Augustine on Matthew 14, as well as the last part of an anonymous sermon.

Late OHG prose:

- (1) Notker Labeo (950-1022) is the author of a large OHG corpus written in Alemannic containing very free translations, paraphrases and commentaries of various works of classical Greek and Latin literature: Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*, Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, Pope Gregory I's *Morals*, and Aristotle's *Categories*.
- (2) Williram, the abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Ebersberg in Bavaria, composed a German translation and paraphrase of the *Song of Songs* in the second half of the 11th century.

OHG poetic texts:

- (1) *Gospel Harmony* by Otfrid of Weissenburg (ca. 863 to 871) written in South-Rhine-Franconian

- (2) *Hildebrandslied* (around 820/830), written in a mixture of OHG and Old Saxon

The first major difficulty studying OHG syntax is that the available prose texts are not very large. According to Robinson (1997), "the *Isidor* text is our best early source of Old High German prose" (1997:2). There are only two other OHG prose texts which Robinson considers sufficiently large for the study of the word order, namely *Tatian* and the works of Notker Labeo. *Tatian*, on the one hand, is a translation from Latin. Its word

order is very close to the Latin source and therefore not the ideal candidate for studying the native OHG word order. Recent research has, however, shown that *Tatian* gives valuable information about native OHG word order if solely the sentences which demonstrate word order differences to the original Latin version are considered (Petrova and Solf, 2009; Petrova, 2006; Dittmer and Dittmer, 1998). The works of Notker Labeo are older and have been written two centuries after the *Isidor* text. These facts make the *Isidor* text the best source for the study of Early OHG syntax as it is a free translation of Latin, it can be considered the oldest OHG prose text and, additionally, its translator showed a deep knowledge of the art of translation, a fact recognized by many scholars (Robinson, 1997; Lippert, 1974; Gering, 1876).

There is a second drawback concerning the research done on OHG. As Maurer (1924) points out, word order studies on OHG exist, but the authors have completed them at different times using different methods and have not always worked properly. Maurer states that the past researches still offer a sufficient base on which future research can build.

The third challenge is that there are no corpora available. Authors who worked on OHG texts never built upon an annotated corpus, they researched the sentences and constructions they needed directly in the documents without giving an exact number of the total of the sentences, the total of the sentences excluded because of Latin word order, the total of the sentences with a native OHG word order etc.

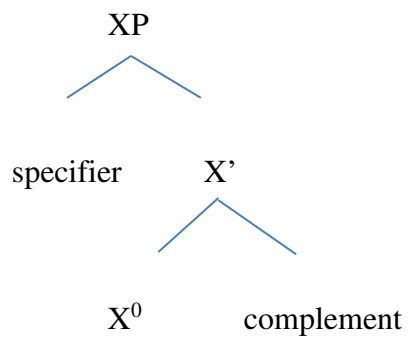
The fourth difficulty is that there are no translations in NHG available. Even in the glosses, OHG terms are explained in OHG.

Taking into account all these challenges, I decided to build upon Axel's (2009, 2007) research. Her work offers the most recent, extensive and complete generative study of OHG syntax. In this dissertation, I will mainly use the sentences and examples of the OHG prose and poetic texts Axel used for her research. I will also consider the OHG examples published in Robinson (1997, 1994), Dittmer and Dittmer (1998), Hopper (1975) and Lippert (1974).

1.4 Theoretical Assumptions

The theoretical framework I use in this thesis is the generative framework, more specifically the Principles and Parameters approach (Chomsky, 1995; 1981). In what follows, I present an overview of the theoretical premises I adopt for the present thesis. According to standard assumptions in generative syntax, the basis for my analysis is the binary syntactic representation of XP projections (1):

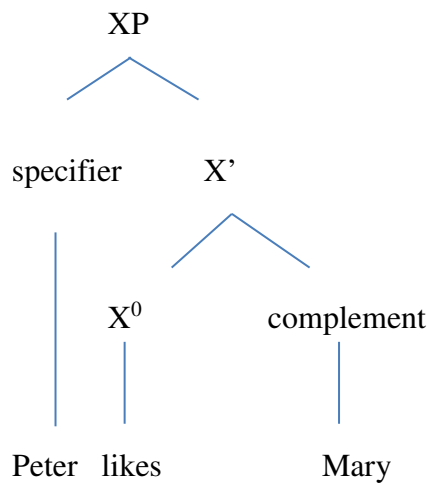
(1) The XP projection



In this syntactic structure, there is one maximal projection: XP. This maximal level cannot project further structures. X^0 is the head of the XP projection. The

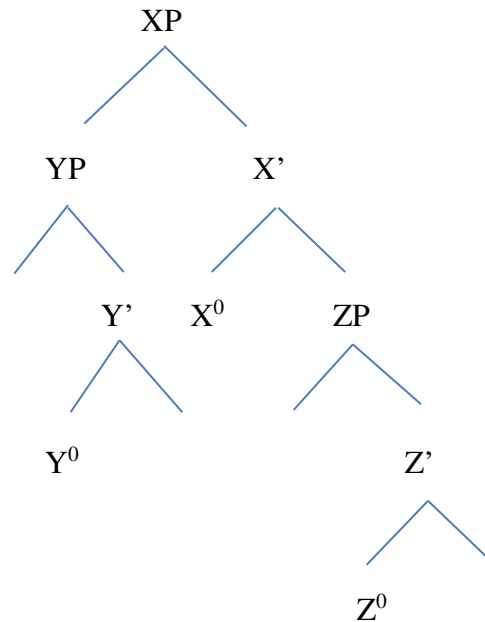
complement of the head is placed to its right and the specifier is placed to its left. The complement following the head is the typical order in VO-languages. In OV-languages, this order is inversed with the head placed to the right of the complement. A very simple sentence with a subject, a verb and an object would therefore have the following syntactic structure (2):

(2) Peter likes Mary.



The structure can get more complex with the specifier as an YP and the complement as a ZP as shown in (3):

(3) XP projection with YP- and ZP-projections



The maximal projection XP dominates immediately the sister branches YP and X' as well as everything else which is situated under these branches. Even if YP is higher up in the structure than ZP, it is not dominating it. Both maximal projections are on different branches and do not dominate one or the other.

In a clause, different maximal projections can be found, namely a CP (=Complementizer Phrase), an IP (=Inflectional phrase), a VP (=Verbal Phrase), a DP (=Determiner Phrase), an NP (=Nominal Phrase), an AdvP (=Adverbial Phrase), an AP (=Adjectival Phrase) and a PP (= Prepositional Phrase). Phrases have heads which determine the grammatical properties of the phrase. These grammatical properties determine the distribution of each phrase within the clause, i.e. phrases are organized according to a specific order to form main and embedded clauses.

The heads C, I and D are heading the functional projections CP, IP and DP. They are called functional projections as they do fulfil certain grammatical functions in the

clause such as inflection (in IP) as well as subordination, topicalization or *wh*-clauses (in CP). The head of the DP is the head of the whole nominal structure. The determiner in the head D establishes either a definite or an indefinite interpretation of the nominal in the DP. The head of IPs is called an A-head (*A* stands for *argument*) and the one of CPs A'-head (*A'* stands for *non-argument*). A-heads assign case and theta-roles (θ -roles) and are therefore responsible for the argument structure of a clause. A'-heads, on the contrary, do not determine the argument structure. Their function is to license, for example, operators in interrogative clauses.

The heads V, N and A are called lexical categories as they head lexical projections which differ from functional projections. The lexical items belong to an open class of categories, i.e. these words can express different grammatical categories and are modified through inflection. The heads P and Adv belong, on the contrary, to a category which is called non-lexical. Non-lexical items are generally considered a closed class of categories and cannot be modified through inflection.

The basic projections for a clause are the functional projections CP and IP. In German, the CP-level is projected in subordinate clauses. The complementizer in (4) is placed under C^0 :

(4) CP in a subordinate clause: German

Ich weiß, [_{CP} [_{C⁰} dass [_{IP} Hans einen Apfel isst]]]

I know that Hans an apple eat.3SG

“I know that Hans is eating an apple.”

The CP-level can also be projected in main clauses. V2 languages need this level to place the finite verb under C^0 (5).

(5) CP in a main clause: German V2

[_{CP} Hans [_{C⁰} isst [_{IP} einen Apfel]]]

Hans eat.3SG an apple

“Hans is eating an apple.”

The syntactic tree structure for the clauses in (4) and (5) is shown in (6):

from I⁰ to the C⁰ can therefore apply to create the V2-configuration. The subject or an XP constituent is filling the specifier position of the CP. The freedom of choice of the sentence-initial element in the main clause is what defines V2 besides the finite verb movement to C⁰.

There are two types of movement operations which are motivated by the feature checking of the morphological features of case, number, person and gender: head-movement (a head moves to another head) and XP movement (an XP moves to the specifier-position of another head). Features can be strong or weak. Strong features trigger overt movement which is visible at both levels, the phonetic form PF and the logical form LF. Weak features trigger covert movement which is only visible at the LF-level. The two types of movement, i.e. head-movement and XP movement, as well as the checking of features are important to my analysis, mainly in Chapter 3 where I talk about SF and XP fronting.

The main purpose of this thesis is to provide an account of verb-movement and XP fronting in OHG and to compare the results with the OF data I have collected and analyzed. The left periphery in the syntactic structure is therefore the vital part of my study. For the left periphery, I adopt an analysis with a layered CP as suggested by Rizzi (1997) and adopted by Benincà and Poletto (2002) and Benincà (2004) for Old Romance languages. Rizzi (1997) proposes a split of the CP-system into the following different functional layers: *ForceP*, *TopP*, *FocP* and *FinP*.

Even if I adopt the split CP-system, I call the finite verb movement V-to-C movement as it is the term generally used in the literature. By V-to-C, I understand a movement of the finite verb to the C-domain. The main goal of this thesis is to

demonstrate that even with V1 and V3 structures present, a language can follow the V2 requirement. For OHG, this is possible as shown by Axel (2007). The flexibility of the CP-system is helpful for this purpose as it provides the necessary layers to explain different word orders.

An essential point in the discussion of the Germanic-like V2-status of OF is that we have to think of V2 as a structural phenomenon by placing the finite verb obligatorily in C⁰. The existence of V1 and V3 word order should not prevent us from analyzing OF as a true V2-language. Axel's (2009, 2007) analysis of V2 structures in OHG has clearly shown that the existence of V1 and V3 clauses is compatible with a V2 analysis. The split CP-system provides the frame for an analysis which integrates XP movement either by the V2 requirement, by topicalization or by SF into the positions preceding the finite verb in main clauses. Mathieu's (2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b) analysis is the first, according to my knowledge, to explore the split CP to explain SF in OF.

The present dissertation deals with the Germanic-like features found in OF syntax. While investigating possible similarities in the world's languages, Universal Grammar (UG) needs to be mentioned. UG is the innate language faculty which consists, on the one hand, of principles which are invariant and present in each language, such as the Empty Category Principle¹⁵ or the Extended Projection Principle¹⁶, and, on the other hand, of parameters which vary across the languages. These parameters offer a choice between two options. An example is the V2-parameter. A language can either be V2 or

¹⁵ The Empty Category Principle (ECP): This principle defines the restrictions on non-overt elements and states that traces must be properly governed.

¹⁶ The Extended Projection Principle (EPP): The requirement that every clause must have a subject, i.e. SpecIP has to be filled.

not. The V2 requirement demands finite verb movement and XP fronting to be present in a V2 language. The Principles and Parameters account dates from the early 80s (Chomsky, 1981) and since then, the generative framework has evolved. The most recent one is the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2001, 2000, 1995). The Principles and Parameters account still offers the basics for explaining cross-linguistic variation with its approach that there are universal aspects of grammar as well as aspects of grammar which are subject to variation across languages.

The present study investigates written texts. According to Adams (1989:1), written languages are “legitimate objects of study into the nature of the language faculty”. Studies such as the present one, which investigate languages that are no longer spoken, must especially rely on the written language. I consider the written language to be possibly an indirect representation of certain patterns of the spoken language, and therefore, UG-based constraints should be present in the written language.

According to Pitz (2003) and Maurer (1952), historical linguistic research should consider not only linguistics, but also social, cultural and archeological facts. In the following section, I will discuss these elements with a brief historical overview.

1.5 France and its Populations: A Historic Background

Gaul, inhabited by the Gauls since the 6th century B.C., became colonized south to north by the Romans during the 2nd and 1st century B.C. The Roman conquest started in 125 B.C. and was finalized in 51 B.C.

The Gauls were not a politically united people. At the time of the Roman conquest, there were 70 different Gaulish nations which formed 500 different tribes, united mainly through the Gaulish language and social structure (Klare, 1998).

After the Roman conquest of Gaul, a period of assimilation followed for the Gauls in which they adopted the Roman culture and the Latin language. The Gauls became Roman Gauls, abandoning completely the Gaulish language around 400 A.D. in favour of Vulgar Latin¹⁷. In the eastern region of Gaul where Switzerland is situated today, Gaulish was however spoken until the 5th century A.D. (Klare, 1998; Cohen, 1987). Cohen (1987) expresses no doubt about the fact that the Gaulish language influenced the Vulgar Latin spoken in the Gallo-Roman territory. Interestingly, the Latin spoken in the north-east of the Gaulish territory seems to have been influenced by the Germanic languages as well, for example by the Frankish (Pitz, 2000; Brosman, 1999) and the Gothic language (Pitz, 2000). This Germanic influence created latinized expressions which entered the Gallo-Roman language and, later, OF (Holmes, 1931; Brüch, 1913).

Between the 3rd century (Marchello-Nizia, 1999; Cohen, 1987) and the 4th century (Pitz, 2000), the Germanic expansion towards the northern parts of Gaul started coming from the north-east of the Germanic territory. Pitz (2000) states that this expansion, generally thought of as a Germanic conquest of Gaul, was a rather slow Germanic infiltration, a claim supported by archeological and historical research (Pitz, 2000).

Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians and Visigoths settled or passed through the Roman-Gaulish territory. In the 5th century, the Ripuarian Franks expanded their

¹⁷ Vulgar Latin is the term for the Latin spoken in everyday life by the common people. It is not a literary or very highly educated form of this language such as Classical Latin that was used in the written language (Marchello-Nizia, 1999).

kingdom up to the north of the River Loire (Pitz, 2000; Marchello-Nizia, 1999; Cohen, 1987). They continued to use the Frankish language without imposing it on Latin or the emerging Gallo-Roman language spoken in Gaul. However, Frankish, the language of the reigning class, has been in close contact with the emerging Gallo-Roman language. Frankish acted on Gallo-Roman as a superstrate, i.e. the two languages coexisted, but with one language, Frankish, being in a superior position to Gallo-Roman since it was the language of social and political power.

Roughly by the 7th century A.D., the Latin spoken by the assimilated population in Gaul had transformed into Gallo-Roman. Three different linguistic zones have developed in the romanized Gaul: in the north-east, the zone of the *langues d'oïl*, in the south, the zone of the *langue d'oc* and, in the south-east, the zone of the *Franco-Provençal* language. An explanation for the emergence of these regionally different languages is that the Romanization varied in intensity and length in each of these parts of Gaul (Pitz, 2003; Geckeler and Dietrich, 1995).

As mentioned earlier, it was not only the variety in the intensity of the Romanization that contributed to different linguistic zones within the French territory, but also the degree of the Germanic influence through an intense contact with the Frankish population mainly in the northern part of the French territory (Pitz, 2003, 2000; Holmes, 1931; Brüch, 1913).

In 842 A.D., an important political event occurred and is considered to be the milestone for the French language: it is the year in which the first document in OF, the *romana lingua*, was written. The *Serments de Strasbourg* is the very first document written in OF. It is a legal text composed by Nithard, the historian for the Carolingian

family, a Frankish royal family reigning over the Frankish Empire since the 8th century A.D. It expresses an alliance of commitment and support between two of Karl the Great's grandsons splitting the Empire between them: Louis the German, reigning over the Germanic part of the Empire, and Charles the Bald, reigning over the Frankish part which corresponds to today's France (Cohen, 1987).

The *Serments de Strasbourg* is not only the first and earliest document written in OF, but it is also a piece of international treaty law showing the existence and importance of the two official languages spoken on the same territory: the *romana lingua*, corresponding to early OF, and the *teudisca lingua*, corresponding to OHG. Louis the German pronounced the oath in the *romana lingua*, the language of the people living in the Frankish part of the Empire, while Charles the Bald pronounced it in the *teudisca lingua*, more specifically in the Rhenish Frankish dialect of OHG (Robinson, 1992), the language of the people living in the Germanic part of the Empire. This event demonstrates the political and social importance of the two languages on the same territory. The symbolic character of this bilingual document is immense.

It is important to point out that OF is not one single language. It is a cover term for the different dialects spoken in the zone of the *langues d'oïl*: the Picard, the Champenois, the Orléanais, the Walloon, the Lorrain, the Anglo-Norman, the Norman and the dialect of the Île-de-France (Marchello-Nizia, 1999; Cohen, 1987). The dialect spoken in the Île-de-France region, nowadays commonly known as the *Francien* language¹⁸, will become the standard French language for the future. According to

¹⁸ Gaston Paris, a philologist, created the term *Francien language* in 1889 to replace the term dialect of the Île-de-France (Geckeler and Dietrich, 1995).

Buridant (2000), it is from the middle of the 13th century on that the French of the Île-de-France appears as the predominant dialect or as he formulates it: «Dès le milieu du XIII^e siècle, le “vrai” français est déjà le français de l’Île-de-France».

Apart from the *langues d’oil*, the Gallo-Roman part of the Romance languages consists of two more languages spoken on the French territory: the *langue d’oc*, which is the Occitan language spoken today in the south of France, and the *Franco-Provençal* language, which is still spoken in the south-east of France.

1.6 An Overview of OHG and OF

OHG is not one single language, but refers to different West-Germanic dialects. The OHG dialects spoken in the mountainous regions of South Germany are in a geographical opposition to Old Low German (OLG) dialects spoken in the German northern plains (Wells, 1985)¹⁹, namely Old Low Frankish and Old Saxon²⁰. OHG is composed of the following dialects: Middle Frankish, Rhenish Frankish, East Frankish, South Rhenish Frankish, Alemannic and Bavarian (Wells, 1985; Sonderegger, 1974).

The reason for the split between OHG and OLG is the *HG Consonant Shift* or *Second Germanic Consonant Shift* which happened around 500 A.D. and affected OHG, but not OLG (Wells, 1985). Robinson (1992) calls it the major and most important factor for the distinction between OHG and the other Germanic languages and dialects. It is a phonological development in which the three Germanic voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/

¹⁹ According to Wells (1985), the OHG ‘Oberland’ (= highland) opposes the OLG ‘Niederland’ (= lowland) and Robinson (1992) points out that the terms ‘high’ and ‘low’ are geographical and not evaluative terms.

²⁰ Old Saxon is the main source for Modern Low German whereas Old Low Frankish is considered the main source for Modern Dutch and Flemish (Wells, 1985).

became the geminate fricatives [f], [s] and [x] or the affricates [pf], [ts], [kx] in specific environments.

According to Wells (1984), it is impossible to map the separation between OHG and OLG before the *HG Consonant Shift*. It is however possible to map present-day HG and LG which are separated by a traditional boundary which is called the *Benrath Line*. This boundary “is an isogloss separating medial /k/ in the north from medial /χ/ (a voiceless velar spirant), as represented by LG *maken* (= to make, to do) versus HG *machen* (Wells, 1985: 42)”.

OHG covers the period between 750-1050 A.D. (Axel, 2009). It is from 750 A.D. on that the first written texts emerge (Axel, 2007). The first book written in OHG, more specifically in the Bavarian dialect, is the *Abrogans* from 765 A.D., an alphabetical Latin-German glossary (Robinson, 1992).

Like OHG, the OF-period begins with the year in which the first written document emerged: 842 A.D. The time period between 842 and 1350 A.D. is considered the OF-period (Marchello-Nizia, 1999; Geckeler and Dietrich, 1995).

OHG and OF are the oldest attested stages, respectively, for HG and for French. Even if OHG is older than OF, they share major syntactic structures in the clausal left periphery: V1, V2 and V3 word order as well as SF (7). Please note that the fronted XP element is underlined and the finite verb is written in italic (all the upcoming examples will follow this pattern).

(7) OHG: V1, V2, V3 and SF

a. V1

uuas thar ouh sum uuitua in thero burgi (T, 415,2)

was there also some widow in that city

“There was a widow in that city.”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:11)

b. V2

Chiuuisso *chioffanodom* uuir nu hear dhazs (I, 484)

certainly revealed we now here that

“Certainly we have now revealed here that”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:5)

c. V3

Auar iu *sagem* (MF, XI, 18; Mt 18:19)

again you Dat.PL say 1.SG

“Again I say to you”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:11)

d. SF

odouuan *giloubtit* mir (T, 295,8)

perhaps believed.CONJ me

“Perhaps you would have believed me”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:199)

(8) OF: V1, V2, V3 and SF

a. V1

Point le cheval par les costez (GeI, 119)

spur.3SG the horse on the ribs

“He spurs his horse on the ribs.”

b. V2

chelui *connois* je bien (Tr, 82)

that one know.1SG I well

“I know that one well.”

c. V3

Et au matin la dite Emmeline *vint* a li (MdSL, 270-271)

and in the morning the said Emmeline come.PAST.3SG to him

“And in the morning Emmeline came to him.”

d. SF

Perdu avez votre moreis (GeI, 104)

lost have.2PL your Arabian (horse)

“You have lost your Arabian horse”

The examples in (8) showcase the syntactic similarities found in OF as well as in OHG. There is, however, one important difference to point out: the basic word order. OHG basic word order is SOV (Axel, 2009, 2007; Jäger, 2008) shown in (9a) whereas OF has a basic SVO word order (Vance, 1997; Roberts, 1993, Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987) shown in (9b).

(9) Underlying word order in OHG and OF

a. OHG: SOV

/thaz ih íu thaz tuon *mugi* (T, 209,13)

that I you this do can

“That I am able to do this for you”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:84)

b. OF: SVO

Il demandent a Lancelot s' il fu onques en la maison le roi

They ask._{3PL} to Lancelot if he be._{PAST.3SG} once in the house the king

Artu

Artu

“They ask Lancelot if he ever was in King Arthur’s house” (Tr, 76-78)

The question still debated is to which type of V2 OF belongs to: symmetrical (Lemieux and Dupuis, 1995; Sitaridou, 2004), asymmetrical (Labelle, 2007; Mathieu, 2007, 2006; Vance, 1997, 1989; Roberts, 1993; Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987) or even both with asymmetrical V2 for Early OF and symmetrical V2 for Late OF (Côté, 1995). Symmetrical V2 moves the finite verb no further than I in main and embedded clauses, such as in Icelandic and Yiddish, whereas asymmetrical V2 displays an asymmetric syntactic pattern with the finite verb under C in main clauses and under I in embedded clauses, such as in OHG and NHG. I will try to answer this question in Chapter 2 of the present thesis.

Furthermore, looking at the examples in (7d) and (8d), one can see that SF in OF seems to differ from SF in OHG with respect to the type of constituent which can undergo SF. Nevertheless, the two languages possess SF constructions as a grammatical option as they make a clear distinction between topics and stylistically fronted elements in their respective syntactic structure. I will go into further detail about the differences and similarities of SF in OHG and OF in Chapter 3.

In the upcoming chapters, I am going to investigate if the difference in the underlying word order has an effect on my hypothesis, namely that OF displays Germanic-like syntactic structures which are very similar to OHG syntax.

Having seen the similarities between OHG and OF syntactic properties in the preceding examples in (7) and (8) as well as some differences regarding the basic word order in (9), let us now turn to an overview of the syntactic studies done on OHG and OF.

Studies on OHG syntax are not numerous. The existing books and articles about this subject often date back nearly a century ago (Behagel, 1932; Maurer, 1924). In more recent years, studies of Dittmer and Dittmer (1998), Robinson (1996), Näf (1979) and Lippert (1974) have contributed significantly to the knowledge of OHG syntax through their studies of the texts *Tatian*, *Isidor* and *Notkers Consolatio*. The most complete and recent picture of OHG syntax is offered by Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007). Axel studies, within a generative framework, the verb placement and the V2-phenomenon in the left sentence periphery of OHG. Her main interest is to find the origins of the V2 property in OHG. She successfully shows that, even though V1 and V3 word orders are present, Early OHG manifests verb movement into the left sentence periphery as well as a generalized V2 requirement.

As well, Jäger (2008) offers an excellent analysis of the syntax of negation in the history of German. She examines negation in OHG, MHG and NHG. A novel approach to examine word order variation in Old Germanic languages is offered by Petrova and Solf (2009) and Petrova (2006). This approach claims that there is a close link between information-structural domains and word order variation. Therefore, as German negation and the link between the informational-structural domains and word order variation go

beyond the scope of the present thesis, I will not pursue these issues and leave it for further research.

For more than a century, OF syntax and its V2 property has been the focus of interest of numerous studies. Since Thurneysen (1892), it is generally admitted that OF is a V2 language. But already in 1882, Völcker observed that subject-verb inversion takes place in OF when a constituent other than the subject fronts the finite verb. According to Völcker (1882), the object (pronominal and nominal), adjective, adverb and participial can precede the verb and trigger subject-verb inversion. Völcker, unlike Thurneysen, never explicitly speaks of a V2 requirement although he implicitly explains exactly this pattern.

The V2 property has been the object of numerous studies in recent years (Vance, Donaldson and Steiner, 2009; Labelle, 2007; Mathieu, 2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b; Sitaridou, 2004; Cardinaletti and Roberts, 2002; Vance, 1997, 1989; Roberts, 1996, 1993; Lemieux and Dupuis, 1995; Côté, 1995; Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987). These studies are all considering OF a V2 language although it is still in discussion which type of V2: asymmetric or symmetric. Some researchers are of a different opinion and see OF as a non-V2 language (Elsig, 2009; Kaiser, 2002-2003, 1998; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002; Buridant, 2000).

Germanic-like structural phenomena are well attested in the left periphery of OF, namely the V2 phenomenon (Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987; Roberts, 1993; Vance, 1997; Vance et al., 2009), Germanic inversion (Adams, 1987; Roberts, 1993; Vance, 1997), and SF (Mathieu, 2007, 2006; Roberts, 1993).

Kaiser (2002-2003, 1998) and Elsig (2009) question a V2 analysis for OF. They argue that OF never has been a strict V2 language in the Germanic sense. According to them, a language which shows V1 and V3 structures cannot be considered V2 at all. Kaiser and Scholze (2009) argue the same. Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002) argue that although it can be considered that OF displays a V2 pattern, it is not a Germanic-like V2 structure.

I will challenge this view by demonstrating that V1 and V3 structures have their place in a V2 language, especially if we consider V2 to be a structural phenomenon and not just a canonical second position in a clause. Interestingly, syntactic structures such as V1 and V3 are found in OHG, a language where the V2 phenomenon is present from the earliest Germanic times on (Axel, 2009, 2007). I will show the same pattern for OF.

1.7 Summary of the Chapters

In this dissertation, I aim to explain that OF displays features of a Germanic-like V2-language. The opponents to that theory (Elsig, 2009; Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Kaiser 2002-2003, 1998; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002) question the V2-status of OF for the reason that the V2 word order does not seem to be of the same restrictive nature as it is the case for Modern German. I have already explained why it is impossible to make a clear decision about the V2-status of OF by comparing it to a Modern Germanic language. To understand the structures occurring in French syntax, OHG, the Germanic language spoken at the time of the emergence of its Romance neighbour, needs to be looked at. The study of OHG sentence structure and of its syntactic mechanisms leads to the conclusion that that SF, V1, V2 and also V3 sentence structures are quite common in

this Old Germanic language. OF strongly resembles OHG as its syntactic properties in the left peripheries resemble the ones found in this Old Germanic language.

The chapters are organized as such:

-Chapter 2 examines one major requirement for V2 languages: V-to-C movement. I will examine this type of verb movement in OHG and compare the results for OHG with my results for OF. The objective of this chapter is to establish if the V2 pattern in OF resembles the one found in OHG.

-Chapter 3 explores the second major requirement for V2 structures: XP fronting. This chapter aims to clarify the V2 status of OF by comparing XP fronting found in the OF corpus to OHG. The focus in this chapter is set on SF.

-Chapter 4 focuses on V1, a word order frequently found in OHG and OF. The main purpose of this chapter is to validate if the presence of V1 structures prevents a language from fulfilling the V2 requirement.

-Chapter 5 offers the conclusion to this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

VERB SECOND AND VERB MOVEMENT

The V2 requirement is a syntactic construction in which the finite verb is placed through verb movement into the second position of the main clause, the C⁰-position in the complementizer domain. The finite verb is preceded either by the subject or by an XP constituent that moves to SpecCP if the subject is not present in that position. A variety of XP categories can precede the finite verb. If the subject is not the initial element, it has to follow the finite verb. The V2 phenomenon is possible in root contexts because the C⁰-position is not blocked by a subordinator as it is the case for embedded clauses. The V2 pattern exists therefore in root contexts, namely in main clauses, but can also be found in embedded clauses in a symmetrical V2 environment in which the finite verb does not move higher than the I-level in main and embedded clauses (see (18) for Icelandic) and embedded clauses with a root interpretation in asymmetrical V2-contexts (see (19) for bridge-type verbs in German).

The objective of this chapter is to understand the V2 status of OHG and to explain the structures occurring in OF syntax. By comparing the two languages, I hope to clarify any discussion on the V2 property in OF.

2.1 Introduction to V2

Germanic languages are generally known as V2 languages. North Germanic languages (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic and Faroese) as well as West Germanic languages (German, Dutch, Yiddish, Frisian and Afrikaans), all have this

construction in their main clauses. The examples in (10) showcase HG, Dutch, Danish and Modern English (Fuss, 1998:9-10). In total, there are three types of V2: asymmetric, symmetric and residual.

Note that the fronted XP-element is underlined and the finite verb is written in italics (all the upcoming examples will follow this pattern).

(10) Subject – V_{fin}

- | | | |
|----|--|---------|
| a. | <u>Peter</u> <i>hat</i> dieses Buch gelesen. | HG |
| b. | <u>Peter</u> <i>heeft</i> dit boek gelezen. | Dutch |
| c. | <u>Peter</u> <i>har</i> denne bog læst. | Danish |
| d. | <u>Peter</u> <i>has</i> read this book. | English |

(11) Object – V_{fin}

- | | | |
|----|--|----------------|
| a. | <u>Dieses Buch</u> <i>hat</i> Peter gelesen. | HG |
| b. | <u>Dit boek</u> <i>heeft</i> Peter gelezen. | Dutch |
| c. | <u>Denne bog</u> <i>har</i> Peter læst | Danish |
| d. | * <u>This book</u> <i>has</i> Peter read. | Modern English |

(12) PP - V_{fin}

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------|
| a. | <u>Für dieses Buch</u> <i>habe</i> ich bezahlt. | HG |
| b. | <u>Voor dit boek</u> <i>heb</i> ik betaald. | Dutch |
| c. | <u>For denne bog</u> <i>betalte</i> jeg. | Danish |
| d. | * <u>For this book</u> <i>have</i> I paid. | Modern English |

(13) Adverb - V_{fin}

- a. Vielleicht *hat* Peter dieses Buch gelesen. HG
- b. Misschien *heeft* Peter dit boek gelezen. Dutch
- c. Måske *har* Peter denne bog læst. Danish
- d. *Maybe *has* Peter read this book. Modern English

(14) wh-element - V_{fin}

- a. Was *hat* Peter gelesen? HG
- b. Wat *heeft* Peter gelezen? Dutch
- c. Hvad *har* Peter læst? Danish
- d. What *has* Peter read? Modern English

(15) XP - XP - V_{fin}

- a. *Vielleicht Peter *hat* dieses Buch gelesen. HG
- b. *Misschien Peter *heeft* dit boek gelezen. Dutch
- c. *Måske Peter *har* denne bog læst. Danish
- d. Maybe Peter *has* read this book. Modern English

English, which belongs to the West Germanic branch, is the only Germanic language that shows a very limited use of V2 and is therefore called a *residual*²¹ V2

²¹ Eythórsson (1996) does not support the view that OE had obligatory verb movement in its main clauses and was therefore a *full* V2 language that later became a *residual* V2 language. His main argument is the existence of clauses in which the finite verb is placed to the right of the subject DP in topicalization constructions. These clauses show that verb movement is not triggered by topicalized constituents. OE, the

language (Rizzi, 1990). V2 in English is obtained in *wh*-clauses (16a), in certain types of negation (16b) and, optionally, in clauses with a local adverb (16c).

- (16) a. What *have* you bought?
 b. Never in my life *would* I buy this.
 c. Down the hill *rolled* the ball.

The residual V2 pattern in English shows that within the V2 languages, the configuration of the V2 patterns may differ.

2.1.1 V2: The Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Patterns

Asymmetrical V2 languages display a typical V2 pattern with the finite verb under C^0 only in main clauses. In embedded clauses, the finite verb moves no further than I^0 . In symmetrical V2 languages, the V2-configuration is found in both main as well as in embedded clauses. The finite verb moves no further than I^0 in main and embedded clauses. The asymmetrical, symmetrical and residual V2-configurations are shown in Table 3 which has been taken from Fuss (1998:27).

Continental West Germanic languages (OHG is included in this category), and Old Norse therefore show a different syntactic behaviour in this respect. The discussion about the V2 property of OE goes beyond the purpose of the present thesis. It is left for further research.

TABLE 3

The different V2 patterns in Modern Germanic languages

CP-V2 Main and embedded clause asymmetry	IP-V2 Main and embedded clause symmetry	Residual V2 V2 in restricted contexts
Afrikaans German Continental Scandinavian Dutch Flemish	Icelandic Yiddish	English

The examples in (17) and (18) illustrate the difference between the asymmetrical and symmetrical V2 pattern of the same sentence in German and in Icelandic.

(17) Asymmetrical V2 in German

Er fragte, wer das Bier verschüttet *hat*.

he asked who the beer spilt had

“He asked who had spilt the beer.”

(18) Symmetrical V2 in Icelandic

Hann spurði hver sullað *hefði* bjórnum

he asked who spilt had beer-the

“He asked who had spilt the beer.”

(Example in Icelandic taken from Hrafnbjargarson, 2004:91)

In symmetrical V2-constructions, such as in example (18), the V2 pattern is found in both the main and embedded clause. In asymmetrical V2 constructions such as in (17), the embedded clause does not show any V2 effects. But there is one exception to this pattern: bridge-type verbs, which are verbs of saying and thinking like the following verbs: *hope, think, wish, say, claim, anticipate, hint, indicate, answer, decide, learn, remember*. If bridge-type-verbs are used in the main clause, the embedded clause can display either the original SOV word order or a V2 pattern (Vikner, 1995; Adams, 1989).

(19) German: bridge-type verb and embedded V2

a. SOV

Ich hoffe, dass er die Prüfung schafft.

I hope that he the exam passes

“I hope he passes the exam.”

b. embedded V2

Ich hoffe, er schafft die Prüfung.

I hope he passes the exam

“I hope he passes the exam.”

So far, I have presented an overview of the different types of V2 constructions in Modern Germanic languages. V-to-C-movement indeed seems to be very well established in Germanic languages which is not surprising. The Germanic V2 phenomenon can be traced back to the earliest stages of written Germanic. Eythórsson

(1996) convincingly shows that Runic inscriptions, i.e. inscriptions made in one of the runic alphabets between 150-550 A.D., as well as Gothic from the 4th century A.D. display verb movement from its base position in VP to a functional head position situated higher up in the hierarchical structure.

Eythórsson (1996) argues that V-to-C movement started and spread to three different sentence types: direct questions, negative clauses and imperatives. He also shows that Old Germanic languages show V-to-C movement in many V1 declarative main clauses. Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007) observes a regular V2 pattern and general verb movement for OHG. V2 is the native word order in OHG according to Robinson (1997, 1994).

2.1.2 V2 in the Romance Languages

V2 constructions are not only found in Old and Modern Germanic languages, but also in Old Romance languages, like OF (Cardinaletti and Roberts, 2002; Vance, 1997, 1995; Roberts, 1993; Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987), Old Occitan (Vance, Donaldson and Steiner, 2009), Old Italian (Franco, 2009; Poletto, 1995), Old Spanish (Fontana, 1993), Old Portuguese (Ribeiro, 1995), the Franco-Provençal language, in some dialects of northern Italy (Vanelli, Renzi and Benincà, 1985) and in the Rhaeto-Romance languages (Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Haiman and Benincà, 1992).

(20) V2 in Old Romance

a. Old Occitan

La qual cauza plus fizelmens a far e plus veraia,

The which thing more faithfully to do and more truly

volc illi aver per lo dechat e-l conseil dell sant paire.

wanted she to-have for the words and-the counsel of-the holy father

“To do this thing more faithfully and more truthfully, she wanted to have the words and the counsel of the holy father.” (Douceline, 61)

(Example in (20a) taken from Vance et al., 2009:314)

b. Old French

Et pour ce que ce soit ferme chose et estable ai

and for this that this be firm thing and established have

je seeles ces presentes lettres de mon propre seel en tesmoingnage de veritei.

I sealed these present letters of my own seal in witness of truth

“And so that this be a firm and established thing I have sealed the present letters by my own seal in witness of the truth.” (Aube Charter 89)

(Example in (20b) taken from Vance et al., 2009:311)

c. Old Spanish

Uino & agua *deue* el clerigo mezclar en el caliz (Leyes, 13v)

wine & water must the priest mix in the chalice

“The priest must mix wine and water in the chalice.”

(Example in (20c) taken from Fontana, 1993:95)

d. Old Italian

Anche *diceva* Iscipio che... (FF, 141.10)

also said Iscipio that...

“Scipio also said that...”

(Example in (20d) taken from Franco, 2009:48)

In (20a) and (20b), the finite verb is preceded by a subordinate clause. The subject pronoun follows the finite verb. In (20c), an XP is fronted and the subject is placed directly after the finite verb. The Old Italian V2 pattern, as shown in (20d), is called “Relaxed V2” by Franco (2009), because V2 structures are clearly possible in that language, but they are not exclusive. V3 and >V3 word orders are also possible. Benincà (2006, 1995) argues that Medieval Romance languages are V2 and that >V2 word orders are a part of their V2-character. She considers that V-to-C-movement in combination with the complex left-periphery offers the possibility of >V2 word orders in V2 languages. In Chapter 3, I will come back to the complex left-periphery and the need for additional Spec- and head-positions when talking about SF. The OF clause structure for main and embedded clauses is shown in (21). The example is taken from Vance et al.

(2009:303). I adopt this clause structure throughout the present dissertation. My analysis is devoted to supporting this clause structure.

(21) OF clause structure

a. Main clause

[_{CP} XP [_{C'} V_i [+fin] [_{TP} (subject) [_{T'} t_i [_{VP} t_i]]]]]]

b. Embedded clause

[_{CP} [_{C'} que [+fin] [_{TP} subject [_{T'} V[+fin] [_{VP} t_i]]]]]]

(21a) shows that the finite verb in main clauses moves to C⁰ and is preceded by an XP in SpecCP. The V2 phenomenon is possible in root contexts because the C⁰-position is not blocked by a subordinator as it is the case for embedded clauses (see (21b)).

If the initial element is not the subject in the main clause, the subject has to follow the finite verb in TP. A characteristic of OF is that it has the possibility to have null subjects (Adams, 1987; Foulet, 1928). A pronominal subject can be null if it would be found postverbally if expressed (Foulet, 1928:313): « C'est là un point fondamental de la syntaxe du vieux français: l'inversion du sujet entraîne facilement dans le cas du pronom personnel l'omission du sujet. »²². This means that null subjects are found in the position immediately following the finite verb (22).

²² My translation: "This is a fundamental point of the Old French syntax: the inversion of the subject leads easily in the case of the personal pronoun to an omission of the subject."

(22) Null subjects in OF main clauses

puis dist au / cevalier du pont (Tr, 138-139)

then say.3SG.PAST to the knight of the bridge

“Then he said to the knight of the bridge...”

Hirschbühler (1990, 1989) and Adams (1988) argue that null subjects are also possible in embedded clauses, mainly in embedded *wh*- and adverbial clauses. The OF corpus used for the present study indeed shows that the majority of the V1 embedded clauses contain a null subject. The study of null subjects and embedded clauses is, however, out of scope of the present research and has to be discussed in a future paper.

Even though OHG and OF seem to share the V2 requirement, they differ in their base word order: OHG is an SOV language whereas OF has an SVO base word order as seen in example (9)²³ which is repeated below as (23).

(23) Underlying word order in OHG and OF

a. OHG: SOV

/thaz ih íu thaz tuon *mugi* (T, 209,13)

that I you this do can

“that I am able to do this for you”

(Example in (23a) taken from Axel, 2007: 84)

²³ If not indicated otherwise, all the English translations of the OF texts from the corpus are my own.

b. OF: SVO

Il demandent a Lancelot s' il fu onques en la maison le roi

They ask._{3PL} to Lancelot if he be._{PAST.3SG} once in the house the king

Artu.

Artu

“They ask Lancelot if he ever was in King Arthur’s house.” (Tr, 76-78)

Franco (2009) points out that the OV word order is shared by Old Romance and Old Scandinavian languages. The Mainland Scandinavian languages shifted to the VO word order between 1500 and 1600 A.D. whereas this shift took place later in Icelandic, namely, after 1800.

The present chapter’s objectives are twofold. First, I will show that OF, like the Germanic V2 language OHG, displays V-to-C movement, a movement which is considered a pre-condition for V2 to apply (Axel, 2009, 2007; Thiersch, 1978). Second, I will answer the question of whether OF V2 clauses showcase an asymmetrical or a symmetrical pattern.

2.2 Verb Movement in Old Germanic: Gothic and OHG

Historical linguists frequently return to Gothic, a now extinct East Germanic language, to examine verb movement (Ferraresi, 2005; Roberts, 1996; Eythórsson, 1996). The Gothic language offers a valuable look into the syntactic system of an early Germanic language through the existence of one of the oldest written documents of the Germanic languages: the Wulfila Bible. Although the bible is a translation from Greek, Eythórsson (1996)

notes that systematic deviations from Greek word order are found. These deviations from the original document can be attributed to the Gothic language.

2.2.1 Verb Movement in Gothic

The basic word order of the Old Germanic Gothic language is SOV (Eythórsson, 1996; Roberts, 1996). The same basic word order is found in its ancestor language: Proto-Indo-European (Roberts, 1996; Delbrück, 1900, 1878; Wackernagel, 1892). Yet, there are three contexts in which Gothic does not observe this word order pattern: in imperatives (24a), *wh*-interrogatives (24b) and negative clauses (24c).

(24) Gothic: V-to-C movement

a. Imperative clause

wairþ hrains (Matt 8:3, Mk 1:42, Lk 5:13)

become clean

“Become clean.”

b. wh-interrogative

hwa skuli þata barn wairþan? (Lk, 1:66)

what shall that child become

“What shall that child become?”

c. Negation

ni *nimiþ* arbi (Gal, 4:30)

not takes inheritance

“Shall not be heir”

(Examples taken from Eythórsson, 1996:110)

Eythórsson (1996) concludes that V-to-C-movement takes place in these three environments and that it is triggered by an empty operator in SpecCP. All Old and Modern Germanic languages have V-to-C movement in these three contexts in common according to Eythórsson (1996).

2.2.1.1 Particles and Verb Movement in Gothic

Eythórsson’s (1996) analysis explains V-to-C movement by arguing in favour of an empty operator in SpecCP. V-to-C movement is one type of verb movement found in Gothic. The other type of verb-movement in Gothic is triggered by particles. Sentence particles are already present in Proto-Indo-European²⁴ (Wackernagel, 1892; Delbrück, 1900, 1878) and later in Proto-Germanic (Hopper, 1975). These particles have the function of signaling different sentence types. Out of the Old Germanic languages, Gothic is the only one that features a system of particles that is more than residual. Later, in Section 2.2.2.1, the particle system in early OHG²⁵ will be discussed. This particle

²⁴ Proto-Indo-European is the common ancestor of the Indo-European languages. It is a reconstructed language.

²⁵ Early OHG is situated in the 9th century and earlier. Late OHG is found from the 10th century on (Axel, 2007).

system is only a residual one (Axel, 2007). As of the 10th century, the late OHG period, the residual particle system had nearly disappeared completely in OHG prose texts (Axel, 2007). Consequently, V1 word order dominates in imperatives and *yes/no*-interrogatives in late OHG (for more information on V1 word order, please see Chapter 4).

For Gothic, Ferraresi (2005) and Roberts (1996) observe that finite verb movement developed out of a system of enclitic particles that attract the finite verb to the CP-domain. The enclitic particle *-u*, for example, is a question particle that marks *yes/no*- and *wh*-questions. The particle is placed in sentence-initial position and attaches to the right of the moved finite verb (25):

(25) Interrogative enclitic particle *-u* in Gothic

magutsu driggkan? (Mar, 10:38)

can-u drink

“Can you drink?”

(Example (25) is taken from Ferraresi, 2005:148)

Roberts (1996) observes that verb movement in Gothic is triggered through the *wh*-marker *-u* and through the negation marker *n-*, but points out that, at some point, there are interrogatives which show verb movement without the presence of the enclitic particle *-u* and there are imperatives which show V-to-C movement without any particle present. According to him, the loss of some enclitic particles like the interrogative marker *-u* leads to generalized verb movement as the PF-realization requirement has to be satisfied.

As stated by Axel (2007), the two types of verb movement in Gothic, i.e. the verb movement triggered by an enclitic particle, as shown in (28), and, verb movement triggered by an empty operator in some interrogatives, imperatives and negative clauses, as shown in (27), indicate a transitional stage towards generalized verb movement.

The particle system in Gothic is very complex and an entire description of this system unfortunately goes beyond the scope of the present research. Ferraresi (2005) offers an excellent and complete picture of the Gothic particle structure. Yet, for the present research, the focus is set on the origins and the development of finite verb movement in OHG and in OF. Particles play a role in finite verb movement not only in Gothic, but also in early OHG, as will be shown in Section 2.2.2.

The next section, Section 2.2.1.2, introduces the asymmetric clause structure of Gothic.

2.2.1.2 Asymmetry between Main and Embedded Clauses in Gothic

Clitics in Gothic behave similarly to the clitics found in modern languages: They attach to a functional head position. Eythórsson (1996) states that object pronoun clitics in Gothic attach to the functional head C^0 , the position to which the finite verb moves. The examples in (26) showcase the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses regarding the placement of object pronouns (written in bold in (26)). V-to-C-movement is clearly present in Gothic main clauses.

(26) Gothic: main/embedded clause asymmetry

a. Main clause

ni *kukides* **mis** (LK, 7:45)

not you.SG.-kissed me

“You did not kiss me.”

b. Embedded clause

jabai **mik** *frijoþ* (John, 14:15)

if me you.PL.-love

“if you love me”

(Examples taken from Eythórsson, 1996:111-112)

Eythórsson (1996) points out that this contrast is not categorical in Gothic as there are many examples in translations from Greek to Gothic in which the finite verb precedes the pronominal complement in main and embedded clauses. Eythórsson does not mention if these cases may be due to an influence from Greek.

There is additional evidence for finite verb movement in Gothic. The positioning of the verb and its adverbial particles in Gothic suggests movement of the finite verb to a structurally higher functional head position in main and embedded clauses according to Eythórsson (1996). Although the original position of the verbal particles is to the left of the finite verb, still in main and embedded clauses the finite verb precedes the adverbial particles on a regular basis. There are examples in which the finite verb and its particle

are separated by several constituents. Verbal movement out of the base position in VP is the only explanation and has been also suggested for OE by Pintzuk (1991).

The next section discusses finite verb movement in another Old Germanic language: OHG.

2.2.2 Verb Movement in OHG

As seen in the previous section, the enclitic particle system and, consecutively, the finite verb movement established in Gothic (Ferraresi, 2005; Roberts, 1996; Eythórsson, 1996) fulfilled the function to signal a certain clause type. Early OHG also has a particle system in place. The particle system in early OHG differs in two respects from Gothic. First, the OHG particle system is very limited compared to Gothic and is considered to be a residual particle system (Axel, 2007). Second, there are no enclitic particles present in OHG as it is the case for Gothic.

2.2.2.1 Particles and Verb Movement in OHG

In the previous section, examples with enclitic sentence particles were shown for Gothic. But Gothic also features particles which are phrasal elements and do not trigger any verb movement (27). These particles have the function of signaling the sentence type and they do so without making any changes to the word order. Early OHG also has a particle system in place which fulfils the same function as the one in Gothic with phrasal particles, namely to signal the clause type not via word order but via a limited class of particles (28).

(27) Interrogative particle *an* in Gothic

an *hvas ist mis nehvundja?* (Lk, 10:29)

AN who is me neighbor

“Who is my neighbor?”

(28) Interrogative particle *inu* in OHG

Inu *huu{e}nan meinit ir daz ih sii* (MF XXXVIII, 1; St. Augustini sermo)

INU who-ACC think you-PL that I am

“Who do you think that I am?”

(Examples in (27) and (28) are taken from Axel, 2007:43)

The OHG interrogative particle *inu* and the Gothic interrogative particle *an* are phrasal elements and do not trigger any verb movement. These particles are a remnant of a syntactic system which did not signal sentence types via word order and that existed before verb movement started to emerge.

In Gothic, there is complementary distribution between clauses with enclitic particles featuring verb movement (see Section 2.2.1.1) and clauses with phrasal particles and no verb movement (27). For OHG, the same may also be possible, i.e. verb movement has already been generalized and the old system with phrasal particles exhibiting no verb movement is still maintained as a residual syntactic system and occurs in complementary distribution with the new system of generalized verb movement. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be the case. Axel (2007) shows that the Early OHG particle system co-exists with the syntactic system satisfying a V2 requirement and

showing XP and verb movement into the left periphery of the sentence. The two are not in complementary distribution as it is the case for Gothic. According to Axel (2007), finite verb movement is triggered even when there is a particle present. The example in (29) demonstrates that finite verb movement occurs in *yes/no*-question even with the particle *inu* present in sentence initial position.

(29) Verb movement with the interrogative particle *ino* in OHG

ino *uuellint* ouh ir sîne iungerin uerden? (N Ps, 108, 413,8)

INO want also you his disciple become

“Do you want to become his disciple?”

(Example in (29) taken from Axel, 2007:44)

In (29), finite verb movement has clearly occurred. Since Proto-Indo-European times, *yes/no*-questions trigger verb movement (Delbrück, 1900). Therefore, the presence of a phrasal particle in (29) cannot have triggered the verb movement. Axel (2007) follows the observations made by Dittmer and Dittmer (1998), Ruhfus (1897) and Gering (1876) in suggesting that finite verb movement takes place in OHG even if a sentence-typing particle is present in clause initial position. The behaviour of OHG *yes/no*-interrogative clauses exhibits very clearly the co-existence of sentence-typing particles and verb movement in the same clause.

Axel (2007) shows that the observation just made not only holds for *yes/no*-interrogatives in OHG, but for declaratives (30) as well.

(30) Affirmative particle *jā* in OHG

/... **ia** ist sín muoter/ ginemnit maria.../ (T, 243,6)

IA is his mother called Mary

“His mother is called Mary, right?”

(Example in (33) taken from Axel, 2007:47)

The examples in (29) and (30) illustrate that verb movement in OHG clearly exists even in the presence of the sentence particles *ino* and *jā*.

Negative clauses are considered to be an integral part of contexts for verb movement in Old Germanic (Axel, 2007; Eythórsson, 1996; Hopper, 1975). In negated clauses, the negative particle *ni* is a proclitic in OHG and attracts the finite verb to the sentence-initial position. Earlier, it has been shown that Gothic makes use of enclitic particles to provoke verb movement in certain sentence types, like interrogative clauses (28). OHG does the same with proclitic particles in negated clauses. In (31), the negated clause shows verb movement to the sentence initial position and the verb cliticizes to the particle *ni*.

(31) Negative particle *ni* in OHG

/**nisanta** got sínan sun/ (T 407,30)

NEG-sent God his son

“God did not send his son”

(Example in (34) taken from Axel, 2007:61)

So far, verb movement in interrogative, declarative and negative clauses has been demonstrated. However, one clause type exhibits verb movement since earliest times, namely imperative clauses. Verb movement in imperatives is present in Proto-Germanic (Hopper, 1975) and can even be retraced to Proto-Indo-European (Delbrück, 1900).

In imperative clauses, the particle *nu* frequently occurs in preverbal (for early OHG) and postverbal (for late OHG) position (Axel, 2007).

(32) Imperative particle *nu* in OHG

Nim **nu** wórt minaz in herza, mágad, thinaz (O I 15,27)

take.2SG.IMP NU word mine in heart maid yours

“Save my word in your heart, maid.”

The function of *nu* is unclear according to Axel (2007). Besides imperative clauses, it is also used in OHG as a temporal adverb and as a discourse particle in declarative clauses.

In (32), the particle *nu* follows the finite verb and consequently creates a V1 sentence structure. The V1 word order in imperatives will be the subject of Chapter 4.

In summary, particles and verb movement are very likely to be closely related to one another as the examples for Gothic and OHG demonstrate. For OHG, Axel (2007) relates the loss of the particle system to the rise of generalized verb movement that, in the end, results in the typical Germanic V2 pattern even in the presence of residual phrasal particles. Furthermore, Axel (2007) surmises that the older syntactic system involving particles disappeared in OHG when the innovative rule of SF was extended. The

innovation of SF has given rise to a further consolidation of the dominant V2 pattern. Fischer (2008: 138) observes in SF “an Indo-European feature which was available during a certain period”.

The following section, Section 2.2.2.2, introduces SF constructions. The main part of Chapter 3 is devoted to the SF constructions found in the OF corpus that was used in the present research.

2.2.2.2 Stylistic Fronting: An Introduction

The syntactic operation called Stylistic Fronting (SF) involves the movement of a constituent or part of a constituent into a preverbal position in the left periphery of the sentence in clauses with a subject gap. In Modern Germanic languages, SF is a well-known and well-studied syntactic phenomenon found in today’s Insular Scandinavian languages, i.e. Icelandic and Faroese. Modern Icelandic in particular has received a lot of attention concerning its SF constructions in numerous studies (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Vikner, 1995; Jónsson, 1991; Maling, 1990, 1980; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson, 1990; Platzack, 1987). SF in Faroese has been mentioned by Holmberg (2005, 2000), Hrafnbjargarson (2004) and Platzack (1987). Recently, syntactic accounts of SF in other Modern Germanic languages have been put forward by Fanselow (2009, 2004, 2003a,b), Fanselow and Lenertová (2001) and Frey (2005) for NHG and Cardinaletti and Roberts (2002²⁶) and Diesing (1990) for SF in Yiddish embedded clauses.

²⁶ Cardinaletti and Roberts’ paper published in 2002 dates back in its present form to 1990-1991. It contains the ideas presented in an abstract to the GLOW Colloquium held at Cambridge University in 1990. The

Diachronically, SF is found in Old Germanic languages like OHG (Axel, 2009, 2007), Old Swedish (Franco, 2009; Falk, 1993; Platzack, 1987), Old Norwegian (Franco, 2009), Old and Middle Danish (Franco, 2009; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004), Old Icelandic (Franco, 2009), Old English (Fischer, 2010) and Middle English (Trips, 2003; Roberts, 1993; Kroch and Taylor, 1997).

SF, as it is found in Modern Insular Scandinavian languages, is the leftward movement of a category, an XP or an X^0 , to a position preceding the finite verb when SpecIP is not occupied by an overt subject. This subject gap is a precondition for SF to apply (Maling, 1990, 1980; Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004).

In Icelandic, SF occurs in two contexts according to Holmberg (2000): in subject extraction sentences (33b) and in impersonal sentences in which the occurrence of SF (34b) alternates with the expletive pronoun (34a). The expletive pronoun and the SF constituent are therefore in complementary distribution.

(33) SF in subject extraction clause

a. Hver heldur þú að hafi stolið hjólinu?

who think you that has stolen the-bike

“Who do you think has stolen the bike?”

essay written in 1990-1991 was meant for publication in the conference proceedings which never materialized. Despite this fact, the paper became well-known.

b. Hver heldur þú að stolið hafi _ hjólinu?

who think you that stolen has the-bike

“Who do you think has stolen the bike?”

(Examples in (33) taken from Holmberg, 2000:446)

(34) Alternation of SF with expletive pronoun

a. Það hefur verið tekin erfið ákvörðun.

expl pron has been taken difficult decision

“A difficult decision has been taken”

b. tekin hefur verið _ erfið ákvörðun.

taken has been difficult decision

“A difficult decision has been taken”

(Examples in (34) taken from Holmberg, 2000:446)

If a subject gap is present, i.e. if the preverbal subject position is not occupied by the subject, SF can be found in main clauses (for Icelandic: Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson, 1990; for OF: Mathieu, 2006a) and embedded clauses, i.e. in subject relative clauses, embedded subject questions and complement clauses with an extracted subject. Various types of impersonal sentences like the impersonal passive in (35b) also contain SF constructions (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004).

(35) SF in Icelandic main and embedded clauses

a. SF in main clause

Keypt hafa Þessa bók margir stúdentar

bought have this book many students

“Many students have bought this book”

(Example taken from Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson, 1990:27)

b. SF in embedded clause

Allir vissu að stolið hafði verið smjóri

all knew that stolen had been butter

“Everyone knew that butter had been stolen”

(Example taken from Hrafnbjargarson, 2004:91)

So far, we have seen in the examples that for SF to apply an empty subject position in main (35a) or embedded clauses is essential (35b). I now discuss further conditions which must be met in order to realize SF contexts. These conditions are presented in (36) and will be further discussed in the present chapter.

(36) Conditions for SF

- I. Presence of a subject gap
- II. Elements that can undergo SF: negation, adverbs, past participles, infinitives, verb particles, DPs, PPs, predicative NPs and APs
- III. Locality (see the Accessibility Hierarchy)
- IV. V-to-I movement
- V. Absence of focus
- VI. Optionality

Under the condition that a subject gap must precede the finite verb, the following categories can undergo SF in Modern Icelandic, according to Maling (1990, 1980): the negation *ekki*, past participles, predicative adjectives and verbal particles. According to her findings for Modern Icelandic, Maling (1990, 1980) has established an Accessibility Hierarchy²⁷ that operates in SF contexts. This Accessibility Hierarchy determines the priority of the elements which can undergo SF (37):

(37) The Accessibility Hierarchy

Negation <i>ekki</i>		Past participle
	>	Predicative adjective
(Sentence) adverb ²⁸		>
		Verb particle

²⁷ It is important to point out that the Accessibility Hierarchy established by Maling (1990, 1980) is different from the Accessibility Hierarchy commonly used in different contexts to describe hierarchies in a clause, such as, for example, subject >object >indirect object >oblique.

²⁸ Holmberg (2005:537) points out that sentence adverbs as well as any other adverb that can precede the finite verb can block SF of lower categories. The negation *ekki* and adverbs therefore behave in a similar

As shown in (37), locality is an important factor for SF. Only the closest candidate for movement can undergo SF, i.e. the leftmost one in the hierarchy. According to the Accessibility Hierarchy, the adverb has priority over the past participle in the OF example in (38)²⁹.

(38) VdB

Qui prestemt nus *ad* tramis (VdB, 396)

who promptly us have.3SG provided

“who has promptly provided us”

If there are two elements of the same hierarchical level that are accessible for SF, either of them can undergo SF. The Accessibility Hierarchy corresponds to the minimalist view that movement is very restricted (Chomsky, 1995). The Minimal Link Condition (MLC) expresses this restriction (Chomsky, 1995):

(39) Minimal Link Condition

K attracts α only if there is no β , β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β .

After the subject gap, the Accessibility Hierarchy and the locality restriction, a fourth condition is important for SF: V-to-I-movement. The possibility of having SF

way. I included adverbs in the *Accessibility Hierarchy* for that reason. Additionally, the results of the four OF manuscripts confirm this decision.

²⁹ SF is generally known as a Germanic construction. I have found quite a few examples of SF in the four OF texts examined for the present dissertation.

operative in a language has been linked to the existence of V-to-I-movement as well as to subject-verb agreement (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Falk, 1993; Platzack, 1987). The Old Continental Scandinavian languages had V-to-I-movement and, therefore, also SF as a part of their grammar, as shown in (40a) and (40b). Modern Continental Scandinavian languages such as Danish, Swedish and Norwegian have lost the possibility of permitting SF operations (40c), because V-to-I-movement is no longer operative in these languages.

(40) SF in Danish

a. Old Danish

vatn hvært, ær æj ær t_i mæÐ damme fæst
water every which not is.3SG with dam closed
 “every water that is not closed off with a dam”

b. Middle Danish

som sagd_i er t_i ved Propheten
as said is.3SG with prophet-the
 “as is told by the prophet”

c. Modern Danish

*Kvinden som hjem_i gik t_i var hans søster

woman-the that home went was his sister

“The woman that went home was his sister”

(Examples in (40) taken from Hrafnbjargarson, 2004:89)

As we have seen so far, SF is the movement of a constituent into the left periphery of the sentence. The SF-element precedes the finite verb. The same holds for Topicalization. Nevertheless, the two movement operations are distinct from one another with different properties and constraints as illustrated in (41).

(41) Mathieu (2006a): Topicalization vs. SF

TOPICALIZATION

- Applies to XPs
- Does require focus
- Uncommon in embedded clauses
- Not Clause bounded
- No subject gap required
- Is not constrained by the Accessibility Hierarchy

STYLISTIC FRONTING

- Applies to X⁰s and XPs
- Emphasis or focus on fronted constituents not necessarily present
- Common in embedded clauses
- Clause bounded
- Subject gap required
- Is constrained by the Accessibility Hierarchy

The position into which SF elements move is still under debate. In the literature, different options have been suggested as landing sites for SFronted elements: SpecIP (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Maling, 1990, 1980; Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson, 1990; Platzack, 1987) as well as adjunction of a category to I (Falk, 1993; Jónsson, 1991). Hrafnbjargarson (2004) suggests FocusP in CP as a landing site for SFronted constituents. Fischer (2004), adopting an approach that implicates focus, proposes a landing site situated in between the CP and the IP domain for the SF element in Old Catalan. For OF, Mathieu (2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b) argues against an analysis according to which SFronted constituents can bear focus. He suggests the position Top+P situated in the left periphery for SF elements. He states that SFronted elements have the semantics of an asserted background topic. The position Top+P differs from the position TopP which hosts topicalized constituents appearing in V2 clauses in that it is a position specific for SF elements, namely SFronted heads and SFronted maximal projections.

For OF SF constructions composed of the infinitives *dire* (“say”) and *faire* (“do”) preceding their complements, Salvesen (2009) proposes an analysis in which SF elements are moved by Remnant Movement. In fact, Salvesen states that the whole phrase DP/PP-V⁰ is moved to the FinP. Her analysis is adopted from Franco (2009) who investigates SF constructions in Old Italian.

Holmberg (2005, 2000) points out that SF in Icelandic and in Faroese applies to heads as well as to XPs. The categories which can undergo SF in Modern Icelandic and in Faroese, according to his research, are therefore: the negation, sentence adverbs, predicative adjectives, participles, infinitives, verb particles, adverbs (Holmberg, 2005), sentence adverbs (Holmberg, 2000), PPs, DPs, predicative NPs and APs.

Lastly, Optionality is another important property of SF and distinguishes this movement operation from Topicalization which is an obligatory construction in V2 contexts. SF as a frequent, but optional construction has been observed for Old Swedish by Falk (1993). In Modern Icelandic and Modern Faroese, SF is also optional according to Platzack (1987). In Icelandic subject extraction clauses, SF alternates with an empty subject position. The examples in (42) show this variability in having either the possibility of V1 constructions or SF in the same context.

(42) Optionality of SF in Icelandic

a. Participial follows the finite verb

Hver heldur þú að hafi **stolið** hjólinu?

Who think you that have.3SG stolen the-bike

“Who do you think has stolen the bike?”

b. Participial is SFronted

Hver heldur þú að **stolið** hafi hjólinu?

who think you that stolen have.3SG the-bike

“Who do you think has stolen the bike?”

(Examples in (42) taken from Holmberg, 2005: 446)

As mentioned earlier (see (34)), SF is obligatory in Icelandic impersonal main and embedded clauses when the expletive *Það* has not been realized (Holmberg, 2005, 2000). This complementary distribution in which SF and the expletive compete for the same

position in impersonal constructions may show that the two elements have the same function in the sentence (Holmberg, 2000). According to this observation, Holmberg claims that in Modern Icelandic, any category can be fronted via SF, such as the expletive pronoun in impersonal constructions. The SF element moves to SpecIP to fulfil the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) that requires an overt category in SpecIP.

An extensive account of SF in OHG and my results for the OF corpus studied for the present thesis are discussed in Chapter 3. The following section continues to discuss verb movement and clarifies the status of OHG and OF as an asymmetric or symmetric language.

2.2.2.3 OHG and NHG: Asymmetrical V2

V2 languages are generally classified as either belonging to the asymmetric or symmetric type of V2 languages. The typical asymmetric V2 language is Modern German with the finite verb moving into the C-domain in the main clause and into clause final position in the embedded clause. The moved finite verb in the main clause versus the clause-final finite verb in the embedded clause creates an asymmetry. The typical symmetric V2 language is Modern Icelandic with the finite verb in the main as well as in the embedded clause found in the I-domain.

Thiersch's dissertation (1978) about NHG word order is very well-known. His analysis is one of the first to extensively analyze the underlying German SOV pattern as well as providing three important movement rules that derive the V2 effects in German syntax. The three rules are the following (43):

(43) Movement rules for V2-effects in German

- a. The inflected verb is moved to the front of the sentence.
- b. A maximal projection XP is moved in front of the verb.
- c. It is ruled out that more than one maximal projection can move in front of the verb.

Thiersch's movement rules (43) explain the asymmetric sentence structure between NHG main and embedded clauses which is exemplified in (44):

(44) V2 in NHG

[_{CP} Ihrem Bruder₁ [_C⁰ hat₂ [_{IP} die Schwester t₁ geschrieben t₂]]]

her brother.DAT has the sister written

“The sister has written to her brother.”

The landing site of obligatory XP fronting is SpecCP and the landing site for the finite verb is C⁰. Any category of XP regardless of its syntactic category or syntactic function can precede the finite verb in the main clause. This is a typical property of V2 languages.

The asymmetric effects in German syntax can however be traced back to the earliest OHG times according to Cichosz (2010) and Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007). In the present section, I provide evidence that the finite verb already moves obligatorily to a higher structural position in the syntactic hierarchy in OHG main clauses.

Previously, in Section 2.2.2.1, it has been shown that general verb movement is already present in OHG main clauses (Axel, 2009a, 2009b, 2007). Particles and verb-movement are very likely to be closely related to one another as it has been demonstrated. For OHG, Axel (2007) relates the loss of the particle system in OHG to the rise of generalized verb movement which, in the end, results in the typical Germanic V2 pattern even in the presence of residual phrasal particles.

Eythórsson (1996) observes obligatory V-to-C movement in topicalization constructions in Continental West Germanic (OHG belongs to this category) and Old Norse. For example, he mentions the OHG manuscripts *Hildebrandslied* and *Isidor* in which the verb precedes the pronominal subject in topicalization contexts as it does in contexts that implicate an operator in SpecCP such as in *wh*-questions. OHG is already a full V2 language at this stage according to Eythórsson (1996).

Topicalization obligatorily triggers V-to-C movement in Germanic languages with the exception of Gothic and OE (Eythórsson, 1996). As stated in his research, topicalized complements which trigger V-to-C movement in all Germanic languages, but never in Gothic and in OE, started to appear in Runic inscriptions in the northern part of the Germanic territory. He proposes that “this was an innovation that started in early Northwest Germanic after the separation of the Goths, and did not occur in Continental West Germanic until after the departure of the speakers of the variety of this dialect that became Old English (Eythórsson, 1996:133).”

There are a few cases in which topicalization does not trigger any verb movement (Eythórsson, 1996; Tomaselli, 1990; Lenerz, 1985; Lippert, 1974). In these cases, the

topicalized constituent is followed immediately by the personal pronoun, for example as in (45):

(45) OHG: no verb movement with main clause topicalization

Erino portun ih firchnussu (I, 157)

Bronze door I shatter

“I shatter the bronze door.”

According to Eythórsson (1996), the example in (45) represents an earlier stage of OHG, a stage in which topicalization does not give rise to V-to-C movement. He calls this stage an archaic stage of Germanic in which V-to-C movement is limited to only operator-elements in negation, *wh*-questions and imperatives. Interestingly, this archaic stage of Germanic is found to be the regular pattern in Gothic (see example (24)) and in OE, according to Eythórsson (1996). Gothic and OE show the same syntactic mechanisms concerning the occurrence of verb movement that is restricted to contexts that implicate operators.

Axel (2007:192) states that “Operator movement is the type of XP fronting which arguably has the longest history...it can even be traced back to the archaic Indo-European languages”. For Germanic languages, sentence initial operators are seen as the first step in the development of V-to-C movement (for OHG: Axel, 2009a, 2009b, 2007; for OE: Kiparsky, 1995; for Gothic: Eythórsson, 1996; Roberts, 1996; Ferraresi, 2005).

According to Axel’s (2009, 2007) research on OHG prose, an operator movement into SpecCP existed already in OHG, namely the movement of *wh*-phrases (46a) and

focused XPs (46b). Additionally, topicalized constituents (46c) are frequently found in SpecCP. According to Axel (2007), the OHG documents show that these topicalized XPs often denote a “given” referent.

The first quote in the examples (46)-b and (46)-c gives the context and has no word-for-word gloss.

(46) Operator movement in OHG

a. wh-phrase

/...uuanne_i *quami* thú t_i héra/ (T, 257,12)

when came you here

“When did you come here?”

b. Focused XP

(/uuaz *ist mir nohnu uuan*./ “what do I still lack?”) (T, 357,12)

/ein *ist thir uuan*./ (T, 357,15)

one.NOM is you.DAT lack

“one thing you lack”

c. Topicalized constituent

/...Inti uuas thár man/ thes zesua hant thurri uuas/ “and there was a man
whose right hand was withered” (T, 227,8)

/in bihieltun thó thie scribara/

him-ACC watched PRT the scribes

“the scribes watched him”

(Examples in (46) are taken from Axel (2007:192, 194 and 195).)

In (46c), the fronted XP is the object pronoun, *in*. Its anaphoric antecedent is the DP, *man*, found in the previous sentence.

The previous examples demonstrate that OHG main clauses clearly show V-to-C movement. The finite verb movement in main clauses combined together with the fact that a variety of XPs can precede the finite verb is a typical pattern for a V2-language. The following section investigates V-to-C movement in OF.

2.3 Verb Movement in OF

Thurneysen (1892) was the first to observe finite verb movement and a regular V2 pattern for OF main clauses. Since then, it is generally assumed that OF obeys the V2 requirement and displays V-to-C movement (Ingham, 2012; Cardinaletti and Roberts, 2002; Vance, 1997, 1995; Roberts, 1993; Adams, 1989, 1988, 1987). Nevertheless, the occurrence of non-V2 configurations such as V1 and V3 clauses in OF incite some researchers to refute a Germanic-like V2 analysis for OF (Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Kaiser, 2002-2003, 1998; Elsig, 2009; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002).

The objective of this thesis is to demonstrate that OF shows a Germanic-like V2 pattern and that the presence of V1 and V3 word orders does not contradict the analysis of OF as a language displaying a V2 structure. An important characteristic of a V2 language is generalized V-to-C movement and XP fronting as has been shown for OHG by Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007) and Thiersch (1978). The OHG example demonstrates that a language can be a true V2 language displaying V-to-C movement and XP fronting and that different word orders such as V1 and V3 are part of this V2 language (Axel, 2009a, 2009b, 2007).

For the Romance varieties spoken in Italy, Benincà (2004) observes that the V2 syntax appears to be less rigid than the V2 requirement of other Romance languages. In the languages of medieval Italy, V1, V3 and V4 word orders are very common according to Benincà (2004). Franco (2009) observes the same for Old Italian: a regular V2 pattern, but also a presence of V1 and V3 structures. She therefore introduces the term *Relaxed V2* to describe this syntactic pattern in Old Italian.

2.3.1 OF Clause Initial Elements: *ainz*, *or*, *si*: particles/high frequency lexical elements

In the previous sections, it has been suggested that particles and finite verb movement are related to one another in Proto-Indo-European and Gothic. For OHG, it has been illustrated that generalized V-to-C movement has already been established and that particles is the vestiges of an older system. The present section examines the OF clause initial lexical elements *ainz*, *or*, *si*... The goal is to establish if these clause initial

elements trigger finite verb movement or if this movement is generalized in OF, as it is the case in OHG.

Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002) argue against a Germanic-like V2 analysis of OF as mentioned earlier. They agree with a V2-analysis of OF in which the V2 word order arises only superficially depending solely on the realization of the functional head Fin^0 in the C-domain. Instead of comparing OF V2 structures to German, Ferraresi and Goldbach favour a comparison of OF V2 syntax with the syntax of Celtic languages. OF as well as Celtic languages share the frequent use of V1 structures and particles in the initial position of main clauses.

For OF, Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002) observe the following sentence particles in clause initial position: *or* (= ‘now’), *ainz* (= ‘but’) and *si* (= ‘thus’). For Welsh, a Celtic language, Roberts (2000) specifies two sentence particles, namely *fe* and *mi*, which are found in clause initial position of declarative main clauses. The two particles are in complementary distribution with the focus particles *a* and *y* (Roberts, 2000). The examples in (47), taken from Roberts (2000:39), and in (48), taken from Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002:10), illustrate the use of these sentence particles in Welsh and in OF, respectively. The particles are written in bold in the examples.

(47) Sentence particles in Welsh

- a. Bore ‘ma, **mi** glywes i’ r newyddion ar y radio.
morning this PRT heard I the news on the radio
“This morning, I heard the news on the radio.”

b. Y dynion a werthodd y ci.
the men PRT sold the dog
“It’s the men who have sold the dog.”

c. Mi’ ch gwelais i.
PRT you (pl.) saw I
“You saw.”

(48) Sentence particles in OF

a. Adonc si manda li Dux tous les haus conseils de la vile.
thus PRT summoned the duke all the high council of the city
“Thus, the duke summoned all the municipal councils.”

b. Et si vous metrons *pro* cinquante galies à no coust.
and PRT you.PL assign fifty galleys at our cost
“And we will assign you fifty galleys at our cost.”

In Welsh and OF, the particles and the finite verb are always adjacent to one another. Only “infixes pronouns” can intervene (Roberts, 2000), as shown in (47c) and (48b). Adverbs always precede them (48a).

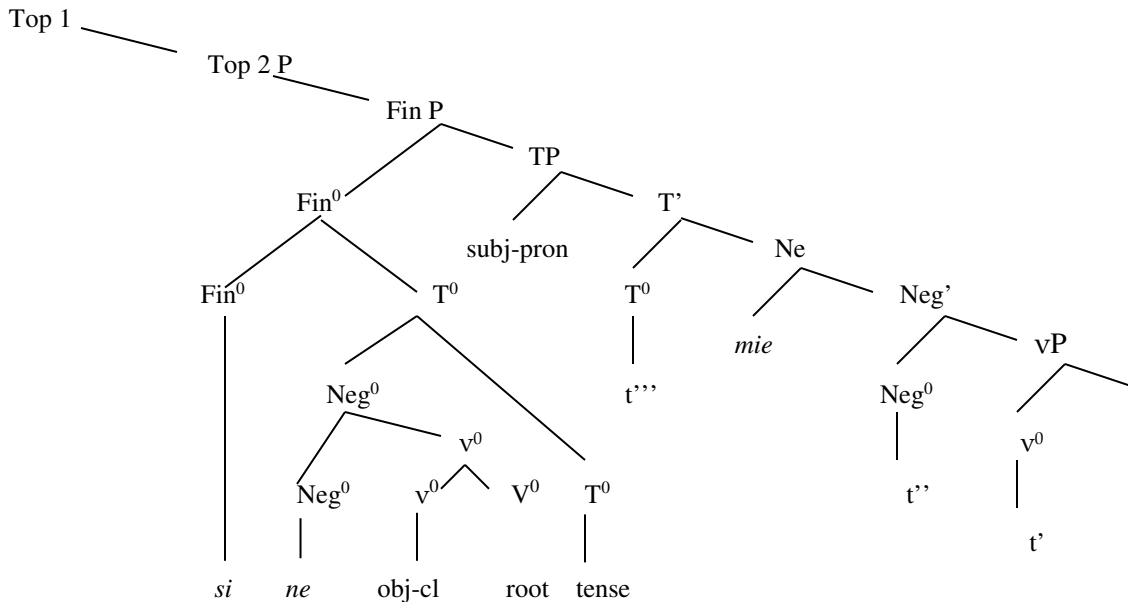
Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002:11) point out that Welsh and OF share the same word order, as shown in (49):

(49) XP – *si* – Object Clitics – Verb_{fin} – Subject Pronoun – Objet-DP

The OF sentence particles *or*, *ainz* and *si* are in complementary distribution with the full adverbs *ore* (=now) and *ensi/einsi* (=so) according to Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002). The sentence particles do not allow any preverbal subjects (the pronominal subject is either postverbal or empty), in contrast with the adverbs. Accordingly, the particles and the adverbs occupy different structural positions: the former are placed into the head of FinP and the latter are found either in SpecTop or in SpecVP.

Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002) propose the following syntactic structure for clauses containing OF particles, like *si* (50):

(50)



Based on this analysis, the OF V2 pattern depends solely on the realization of the projection FinP, according to Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002). Therefore, they claim that “V2 effects arise only as superficial ordering” in OF (Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002:3).

A different analysis is offered by Benincà (2004), Vance (1997) and Adams (1987). They do not question the V2 property of OF and the generalized V-to-C movement in this language. The clause initial lexical elements such as *si* or *ainz* are not considered to be particles. Benincà (2004:64) calls these clause initial lexical elements “high frequency lexical elements” and points out that these elements always appear adjacent to the finite verb. She places these high frequency lexical elements into SpecFoc.

According to Adams (1987), *si*, *or* and *ainsi* are adverbs and satisfy, such as in German, the V2 requirement. They appear frequently in clause initial position. Vance (1997) also analyzes *si* as an adverb which appears in SpecCP. According to Lemieux and Dupuis (1995), *si* is a sentential adverb and has to be placed into a specifier position situated higher than VP.

The results of the OF corpus show that there are not many of these high frequency words in the four texts. *VdB* (in V2 word order main clause: 1x *eissi*; 1x *eissit*; 1x *si*; 1x *or*; in V2 word order imperative clause: 1x *or*; in V3- and >V3 word order main clauses: 4x *enz*), *GeI* (in V2 word order main clause: 4x *or*, 21x *si*; in V2 word order imperative clause: 2x *or*, 1x *ci*), *Tr* (in V2 word order main clause: 4x *ains*, 6x *or*, 6x *si*; in V2 word order imperative clause: 7x *or*; in V3 word order main clauses: 1x *si*; >V3 word order main clauses: 1x *si*) and *MdSL* (in V3 word order main clauses: 2x *einsi*; >V3 word order main clauses: 1x *si*). There are a variety of adverbs found in sentence initial position with

the finite verb in the C-domain, creating a V2 pattern in the four texts. *Si*, *ains* and *or* do not appear in great number. An analysis of a V2 pattern created by the projection FinP and the particle *si* in its head-position cannot be confirmed by my data.

One very interesting observation: In *VdB* and in *GeI*, some imperative clauses are V2 with the elements *or* (=now) in *VdB* and *GeI* and *si* (=so) in *GeI* preceding the finite verb (51). This is unusual as imperative clauses are well-known for their V1-pattern with the finite verb in sentence initial position (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3 as well as Chapter 4).

(51) Imperative clauses with V2 word order

a. VdB

Dist li bailis: « Or asèez! » (VdB, 452)

say.3SG the steward now sit.2PL.IMP down

“The steward says: Now, sit down.”

b. GeI

Ber saint Denise, or m' an aidiez ! (GeI, 374)

Baron Saint Denis, now me PRN help.2PL.IMP

“Baron Saint Deni, help me now.”

OHG is well-known for frequently having the empathic particle *nu* (= now) in sentence initial position of imperative clauses (Axel, 2007). This particle is already present in Proto-Indo-European, in Hittite and also in Gothic (Hopper, 1975).

The OF imperative clauses in (53) show similar behaviour to the Germanic imperative clauses with an initial adverb. Even if imperatives are usually V1, the V2 word order is permitted in the two languages as well with the adverbs *or* (OF), *si* (OF), *nu* (OHG) and *nun* (NHG).

According to Vance et al. (2009), the resumptive adverb *si* is well-known to be a clause initial element in OF main clauses and fulfils the function of summing up the content of the fronted clause. V3 structures appear often with the adverb *si* as the initial element of the main clause (54).

(54) V3 word order with resumptive adverb *si* in OF

Si tost conme il virent le jour, si cueillirent leur voiles...

so soon as they see.3PL.PAST the day then gather.3PL.PAST their sails

“As soon as they saw daylight, they gathered their sails...”

(Villehardouin, 1623)

(Example in (54) taken from Vance et al. (2009:304))

So far, it has been shown that particles in Proto-Indo-European and in Gothic fulfil a certain function, namely to express the sentence type. OHG uses the same strategy until the emergence of V-to-C movement. The older system displaying particles coexists with the new finite verb movement until it has gradually disappeared (Axel, 2007).

Concerning OF, particles are not necessary to express a certain sentence type. We have seen that some researchers analyze sentence initial lexical elements such as *si* either as particles, or as adverbs. Both analyses are consistent with what I want to show in the

present research. An approach considering *si* as an adverb fits into the offered analysis as *si* occupies SpecCP and is moved via XP movement into this position. The finite verb follows via V-to-C movement. Analyzing *si* as a particle, and, therefore, following the idea of Ferraresi and Goldbach (2002), also fits into my analysis. It has been previously shown that particles trigger V-to-C movement in Proto-Indo-European, Gothic and OHG.

The main goal of the present thesis is to clarify if the V2 status found in OF can be considered to be Germanic-like. An ultimate answer to the question of whether OF *si* is a particle or an adverb goes beyond the aim of the present research and will be left for further research.

2.3.2 V2 in OF: Evidence from the Corpus

I included the clause initial elements *mais*, *ou*, *donc*, *or*, *ni* et *car* in the count of the elements preceding the finite verb in the main clauses. I decided to include them as these sentence initial adverbs provoke subject-verb inversion in the four OF texts in V2 environments. Additionally, there are not many occurrences of them in the four texts (see Table 4). On the contrary, the elements preceding the finite verb in the clauses introduced by *et* do exclude the count of *et*. *Et* is the only clause initial element which does not provoke subject-verb inversion in V2 contexts. Therefore, I decided not to count this element.

TABLE 4

Clause initial adverbs *mais, ou, donc* according to word order

	VdB	GeI	Tr	MdSL
V2	6 x dunc 5 x mais 1 x or	1 x men 4 x mes 2 x or	4 x dont 2 x ne 7 x or	6 x ne
V3	1 x dunc 10 x mais 1 x quer	3 x car 1 x mes 2 x ne	12 x car 1 x dont 5 x mais 5 x ne	3 x car 1 x donc 4 x mes
>V3	4 x TABLE 3 <u>VdB : Verb</u> <u>placement in</u> <u>main clauses</u> mais 2 x ne	----	2 x car 2 x ne 1 x mais	

The corpus indicates a variety of word orders in OF. Tables 5-8 show the different clause structures for main clauses in the four OF texts. Table 9 displays the variable word order found in embedded clauses.

TABLE 5

VdB: Verb placement in main clauses

	V2	V1	V3	>V3	Total
Declarative	140	50	47	16	253
% out of 253	55.34	19.76	18.58	6.32	100
Imperative	8	16	2	2	28
% out of 28	28.57	57.14	7.14	7.14	100
Negative	18	7	9	4	38
% out of 38	47.37	18.42	23.68	10.53	100
Interrogative	1	1	---	---	2
% out of 2	100	100	---	---	100
Total	167	74	58	22	321
% out of 321	52.03	23.05	18.07	6.85	100

The numbers in Table 5 need interpretation. It is evident that the V2 pattern is the most frequent word order in the poetic text *VdB*. Out of a total of 253 declarative clauses, 140 main clauses show a V2 pattern. All the V2 clauses combined (declaratives, imperatives, interrogatives and negatives) constitute 52.03% out of a total of 321 main clauses. In consequence, V2 structures can be considered the highest word order pattern in *VdB*.

But how can these results be interpreted on a deeper level? The goal is to investigate if the 12th century poem *VdB* can be considered a true Germanic-like V2 language. A comparison is needed; preferably with a Germanic SVO language. SVO

languages tend to have the finite verb in second position in main clauses such as V2 languages. The major differences between SVO and true V2 languages is found in the preceding element of the finite verb and in the finite verb movement in the main clauses. Earlier, I mentioned that, according to the V2 requirement, V-to-C movement as well as the fronting of any XP category in the preverbal position of the main clause have to take place. Both requirements are not met in an SVO language. In SVO languages, the element preceding the finite verb has to be the subject and V-to-C movement does not need to take place.

If we want to know more about the deeper meaning of the numbers obtained in the poem *VdB*, I have to compare these numbers to the total of V2 structures obtained in an SVO language. If the number of main clauses with a V2 pattern in the 12th century poem *VdB* is much higher than the number of V2 clauses in an SVO language, we can speak of a true V2 language for the 12th century Anglo-Norman OF dialect. A parsed corpus is the ideal way to get this information.

As I compare OF with OHG, a parsed corpus of a Germanic language would be ideal. According to my knowledge, there are no parsed corpora available for OHG, MHG or NHG. However, a very well-known parsed corpus exists for Modern British English: the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English. This corpus is the closest we can get to obtain information about the actual percentage of V2 word order in a Germanic SVO-language. It is clearly not the best choice, but it is all we have at the moment. The result indicates that 40% of main clauses in Modern British English have a V2 pattern. This means that 40% of V2 construction can be considered the “normal” amount of V2 in an SVO language. The percentage of 52.03% of V2-clauses in the poem *VdB* is much higher

than 40%. It indicates that this 12th century poetic text written in Anglo-Norman showcases the V2 pattern of a true V2-language.

TABLE 6

GeI: Verb placement in main clauses

	V2	V1	V3	>V3	Total
Declarative	245	32	40	2	319
% out of 319	76.80	10.03	12.54	0.63	100
Imperative	6	4	---	---	10
% out of 10	60	40	---	---	100
Negative	28	12	5	--	45
% out of 45	62.22	26.66	11.11	---	100
Interrogative	2	4	---	---	6
% out of 6	33.33	66.66	---	---	100
Total	281	52	45	2	380
% out of 380	73.95	13.68	11.84	0.53	100

In the 12th century poem *GeI* written in the dialect of the Île-de-France, the percentage of the main clauses illustrating a true V2 pattern is extremely high with 73.95%. It is very interesting to indicate that this dialect is situated closer to the Germanic language border than the Anglo-Norman poetic text. Even though both texts show a high percentage of V2-main clauses, the document *GeI* is more closely situated to the Germanic language border and shows an extremely high percentage of a regular V2 pattern. This answers two

of my hypotheses, namely that the texts geographically closer to the Germanic language border display a higher frequency of Germanic-like syntactic structures and that OF is indeed a true V2 language.

Table 7 and 8 illustrate the word order found in the prose texts.

TABLE 7

Tr: Verb placement in main clauses

	V2	V1	V3	>V3	Total
Declarative	88	60	44	9	201
% out of 201	43.78	29.85	21.89	4.48	100
Imperative	18	7	2	---	27
% out of 27	66.66	25.93	7.41	---	100
Negative	17	3	12	8	40
% out of 40	42.5	7.5	30	20	100
Interrogative	7	5	---	---	12
% out of 12	58.33	41.66	---	---	100
Total	130	75	58	17	280
% out of 280	46.43	26.79	20.71	6.07	100

With a percentage of 46.43%, the 13th century prose document *Tr* displays a slightly larger V2 frequency compared to SVO languages. This prose text is written in the dialect of the Picardie which is situated close to the Germanic language border in the north of France. In contrast to this document, the prose text *MdSL* shown in the following table is written in the dialect of the Île-de-France, which is situated further away from the Germanic language border than the text *Tr*.

TABLE 8

MdSL: Verb placement in main clauses

	V2	V1	V3	>V3	Total
Declarative	56	110	78	18	262
% out of 262	21.37	41.98	29.77	6.87	100
Imperative	---	6	---	---	6
% out of 6	---	100	---	---	100
Negative	6	---	1	1	8
% out of 8	75	---	12.5	12.5	100
Interrogative	---	---	---	---	---
% out of ---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	62	116	79	19	276
% out of 276	22.46	42.03	28.62	6.88	100

The percentage of 22.46% indicates that the prose document *MdSL* showcases a clear SVO language pattern. The text type is different from the other texts as it is a clerical document. This may play a role in this outcome of syntactic word order frequencies. But

it may as well be an indication that 13th century prose texts not closely situated to the Germanic language border display an SVO-pattern.

In summary, the numbers give an idea that the geographic region, the dialect, the text type and the century play a role in the distribution of the V2 pattern. Both 12th century poetic texts (*VdB*, *GeI*) show a clear V2 property. Only one 13th century prose text (*Tr*) can be considered V2. The texts situated closer to the Germanic language border (*GeI*, *Tr*) show a higher frequency of V2 structures.

All in all, the three texts with a clear V2 sentence structure (*VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr*) show the following hierarchy in their word order: V2 > V1 > V3 > >V3.

The one text that stands out is the prose document *MdSL*. It is the text that mainly shows V1 (42.03%) and V3 word orders (28.62% for V3 and 6.88% for >V3) out of a total of 276 main clauses. The V2 requirement does not seem to be well implemented which is shown by a total percentage of 22.46% in the V2 clauses (declaratives, negatives) in the whole document. The hierarchy of the word order in *MdSL* is the following: V1 > V3 > V2 > >V3.

V3 word orders are found in a good number in all of the documents and even a few >V3-structures are present in the texts. Having several XPs preceding the finite verb, as shown in Table 5-8 for OF, is not unusual for the Old Germanic languages (Kiparsky, 1995; Tomaselli, 1995; Fuss, 1998; Axel, 2007). Fuss (1998), Kiparsky (1995) and Tomaselli (1995) argue that in OE and in OHG the position of the finite verb was more variable than it is in Modern V2 languages. Main and embedded clauses could be V1, V2, V3 and V-final. According to Axel (2007), V3 word order has been lost very late in the history of OHG.

The following table shows a variable word order also for embedded clauses in the texts *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*.

TABLE 9

Word order in embedded clauses: *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr*, *MdSL*

	V2	V1	V3	>V3	Total
<i>VdB</i>	83	69	28	1	181
% out of 181	45.86	38.12	15.47	0.55	100
<i>GeI</i>	77	31	13	1	122
% out of 122	63.11	25.41	10.66	0.82	100
<i>Tr</i>	193	13	18	2	226
% out of 226	85.4	5.8	7.9	0.9	100
<i>MdSL</i>	173	48	11	---	232
% out of 232	74.57	20.69	4.74	---	100

The result of Table 9 indicates that V2 word order is found in the majority of the sentences in the four OF texts, but that the word order is quite flexible admitting also V1, V3 and even >V3 sentence structures. As mentioned above, the Old Germanic languages OE and OHG show variability in word order in both: main and embedded clauses (Cichosz, 2010; Fuss, 1998; Kiparsky, 1995; Tomaselli, 1995). The results in Table 9 show a large variability also for OF. The results for OF show that the Old Germanic

languages and OF have a similar word order pattern concerning the flexibility of the position of the finite verb and the XPs preceding it.

The prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL* contain a higher quantity of V2-embedded clauses than the poems *VdB* and *GeI*: *Tr*: 85.4%, *MdSL*: 74.57%, *VdB*: 45.86% and *GeI*: 63.11%. *VdB*, the 12th century poem written in Anglo-Norman, contains the lowest number of V2 structures. *Tr*, a prose document written in the dialect of the Picardie and dating from the 13th century, contains the highest number of V2 embedded clauses.

Looking at the percentages for V2 structures in the embedded clauses, the 12th century poems seem to be asymmetrical and the 13th century prose texts more symmetrical. Côté's (1995) proposal to consider an earlier asymmetrical period for OF and a later symmetrical period seems to be very much plausible according to the results obtained.

Looking at the results for main clauses in the Tables 5-9, an asymmetric sentence structure emerges. The V2 requirement in main clauses seems to be well established even though other word orders are attested as well such as V1, V3 and >V3. The OHG example clearly shows that a V2 language can very well be flexible and admit different word order types in main as well as in embedded clauses.

XP fronting in OF, as in OHG, is attested with a variety of XP constituents. These fronted XPs precede the finite verb in main clauses. The results of the corpus are consistent: each of the four texts of the corpus, showing a high quantity of V2-clauses or not, contains XP fronting of a variety of elements. According to Axel (2007) and Thiersch (1978), XP fronting together with finite verb movement are the major indicators for generalized V2 in a language. Therefore, OF, as OHG, displays evidence for a

generalized V2 pattern, i.e. V-to-C movement and XP fronting. XP fronting will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Vance et al. (2009) examine fronted subordinate clauses and their influence on word order. They argue that the flexible word order in OF showing a non-V2 pattern in main clauses confirms the general V2 nature of OF and is not evidence for a non-V2-language. They argue that fronted clauses in OF of the early 13th century and the systematic use of SV-word order following these fronted clauses indicate a very strong V2 constraint at this point in the French language. In contrast, in Old Occitan, fronted subordinate clauses have only a small effect on the following word order. Vance et al. (2009) argue that the reason lies in the different syntactic position for fronted subordinate clauses, which is SpecTopP for Old Occitan. For OF, which shows a more Germanic-like V2-grammar, the syntactic position for fronted clauses is either SpecCP or SpecTopP (with a resumptive adverb in SpecCP in this case). Old Occitan does not seem to be as strictly V2 as OF. SV and verb initial word orders show a clear majority. In contrast, a change is clearly happening in OF which indicates that the generalized V2 grammar still present in the early 13th century is transforming to an SVO grammar. In the early 13th century, the subject following the fronted subordinate clause is still placed in SpecCP whereas it is placed lower than SpecCP in the later part of the 13th century. SV word order is subsequently gaining ground in OF.

CHAPTER 3

XP FRONTING IN V2 LANGUAGES: A COMPARISON BETWEEN OHG AND OF

The present chapter examines XP fronting in OHG and in OF. The main focus is set on SF.

3.1 XP fronting in OHG and OF

In Chapter 2, it was pointed out that the V2 property involves three components (Axel, 2007; Thiersch, 1978): first, the obligatory placement of some XP in front of the finite verb, second, the restriction of this XP movement to only one XP and, third, the obligatory preposing of the finite verb. Verb movement has been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter deals with XP fronting in OHG and OF.

3.1.1 XP fronting in OHG

According to Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007), the V2 property with a generalized V-to-C movement was already on its way to being established in early OHG. Generalized verb movement is considered the most important factor for the V2 phenomenon by Axel (2007). She also expresses that XP fronting, which is very much present from early OHG on, is the second essential component. Two of the three components concerning the V2 requirement are therefore fulfilled in OHG syntax. The third one which states that only one XP can be moved to front the verb is not always followed: V3 word orders are quite common in OHG syntax (Axel, 2007; Tomaselli, 1995; Lippert, 1974).

As early as the 8th and 9th century, XP fronting can be found in OHG with any maximal category being a candidate to precede the finite verb according to Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007). The examples in (55) are taken from Axel (2009a:18; 2007:4-5). Please note that the fronted XP element is underlined and the finite verb is written in italic. If no example can be found in the corpus, it is represented in the following manner: -----. All forthcoming examples will follow this pattern.

(55) XP fronting in V2-contexts in OHG

a. Lexical subject + finite verb

Druhtin *suuor* dauite in uuaarnissu (I, 610)

Lord swore David_{dat} in truth

“The Lord swore to David in truth”

b. Pronominal subject + finite verb

ih *gáb* íu bilidi/ (T, 553,9)

I gave you image

“I gave you an example”

c. Topicalized object DP + finite verb

Enti miin ur teili *chundit* deotom (MF, V,8; Mt 12:18)

and my judgment.ACC declare.3SG nations-DAT

“And he shall declare my judgement to the nations”

d. Pronoun + finite verb

/ín *bihieltun* thó thie scribara/ (T, 227, 10)

him watched PARTICLE the scribes

“And the scribes watched him”

e. Temporal adverb + finite verb

/hier *ist* ein kneht.../ (T, 251, 7)

here is one boy

“There is one little boy there”

f. Adverbials in form of PP + finite verb

Endi after dhes chifehtes ende *uuir* dhar chisetzit idalnissa (I, 473)

and after the fighting's end becomes there instituted desolation

“And after the end of the fighting desolation will be instituted there”

g. Adverbials in form of AdvP + finite verb

Chiuuisso *chioffanodom* uuir nu hear dhazs... (I, 484)

certainly revealed we now here that

“Certainly we have now revealed here that...”

h. Predicative adjective + finite verb

/toot ist her./ (T, 313, 14)

dead is he

“He is dead”

i. Nonfinite parts of the verb as the Past participle + finite verb

Araugit ist in dhes aldin uuizssodes boohhum dhazs... (I, 252)

revealed is in the old testament's books that

“It is revealed in the books of the Old Testament that”

j. Nonfinite parts of the verb as the Infinitive + finite verb

Zi uuizsanne ist nu uns chiuuisso, dhazs fater einemu ist (I, 120)

to know is now us certainly that father alone is

“We should certainly know that only the father really knows”

The sentences from (55a) to (55e) are taken from *Isidor* (I) and *Tatian* (T). The two texts are translations from Latin. Nevertheless, they show a different word order than their Latin sources which is a clear indication according to Axel (2009a) that we are dealing with a true native OHG grammar. The examples in (55) demonstrate that a wide variety of XPs can fill the position preceding the fronted finite verb in the OHG prefield of main clauses which deviate from the original Latin syntax. This holds for Early OHG prose texts as well as for later ones (Axel, 2009a; Näf, 1979). Axel (2009a) observes, however, that some categories are fronted more often than others. She points out that

subject NPs and adverbials in the form of AdvPs and PPs are fronted more often than a direct-object NP or a nonfinite verb in clauses which differ from the Latin original text. Näf (1979) states that direct-object NPs and sentential adjectives are not frequently found in the Old and Modern German prefield, i.e. the left periphery.

3.1.2 XP fronting in OF

In OF, just as in OHG, the nominal subject, the pronominal subject as well as a variety of maximal categories can precede the finite verb. The examples in (56) are taken from the four OF texts I coded, i.e. *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*.

(56) XP fronting in V2-contexts in OF

a. Lexical subject + finite verb

a. VdB

Li venz lur vient sanz defalte (VdB, 248)

the wind them come.3SG without fault

“A strong wind pushes them”

b. GeI

Li estur fut fier e pesant (GeI, 9)

the combat is.3SG.PAST savage and massive

“The combat was savage and massive”

c. Tr

Et li / preudom le *merchie* mout durement de cele proumesse.

and the wise man him thank.3SG much very of that promise

“And the wise man thanks him very much for that promise”

(Tr, 30-31)

d. MdSL

Et la dite Emmelot li *respondi* que ele avoit ...

and the said Emmelot him answer.3SG.PAST that she have.3SG.PAST

“And Emmelot answered him that she had”

(MdSL, 273)

b. Pronominal subject + finite verb

a. VdB

Vus le *verrez* murrir encui.

(VdB, 340); DS

you.2PL him see.2PL.FUT die there

“You will see him die there”

b. GeI

il *trest* le brant de Coleneis

(GeI, 96)

he draw.3SG.PAST the sword of Cologne

“He drew the sword of Cologne”

c. Tr

et il / leur *rent* leur *salu* mout *bel* et mout
and he them render.3SG their greeting much beautiful and much
cortoisement.
courteously

“And he greets them in return, very beautifully and courteously”

(Tr, 57-58)

d. MdSL

Il *a* secouru / as avugles de veue (MdSL, 28-29)
he have.3SG rescued to the blind of sight

“He has rescued the blind”

c. Topicalized object DP + finite verb

a. VdB

Terre *prennent* e sanz *peine.* (VdB, 440)
land take.3PL and without difficulty

“They land easily”

b. GeI

l' estriu li *tint* li reis le jor (GeI, 552)
the stirrup him hold.3SG.PAST the king the day

“That day, the King held his stirrup”

c. Tr

(Tr)

d. MdSL

Et ces paroles / *dist* souvent la mere (MdSL, 165-166)

and these words say.3SG.PAST often the mother

“And these words were often said by the mother”

d. Pronoun³⁰ + finite verb

a. VdB

Tuz les *signet* li *sainz* prestre (VdB, 208)

everyone them sign.3SG the holy priest

“The holy priest makes the sign of the cross on all of them”

³⁰ The preposed pronouns in the OHG examples are complements to the finite verb. However, in OF I have found only one single example of a preposed pronoun in V2 contexts. The pronoun *nos* in the following example is a weak object pronoun:

E dous Franceis des plus gentilz (GeI, 461-462)

and two Frenchmen of-the most noble

nos i a mot **le Margari**

to-us.Acc there have.3SG killed the Renegade

“And the Renegade killed two of our most noble Frenchmen there”

(Many thanks to Barbara Vance for helping me with the translation.)

It may come as a surprise to translate *le Margari* as the subject of the sentence. See footnote 32 for a further discussion of the OF case system, in particular for *GeI*.

The only other pronouns I could find are a possessive pronoun and the pronouns *tuz* (=everyone) and *tout* (=everything). I am aware that these examples are not completely symmetrical to the ones shown for OHG. Even with this difference, the principal goal is obtained, namely to show that any category can precede the finite verb in V2 contexts in OF.

b. GeI

Meie *ert* la terre e le pais (GeI, 175); DS

mine is.3SG the land and the country

“Mine are this land and this country”

c. Tr

(Tr)

d. MdSL

Et tout *fust* il ainsi que les dites /

and everything is.3SG.PAST it so that the said

femmes touchassent ses membres

women touch.3PL.PAST her body parts

“And as a consequence the said women touched her body”

(MdSL, 279-280)

e. Temporal adverb + finite verb

a. VdB

E puis *levet* sus la destre (VdB, 207)

and then lift.3SG high the right side

“And then he lifts up his right hand”

b. GeI

En prof traient arbalastiers, (GeI, 318-319)

nearby shoot.3PL arrows crossbow

e lur serganz, e lur archiers.

and their mercenaries and their archers

“Their mercenaries and their archers shoot arrows with their crossbow”

c. Tr

(Tr)

d. MdSL

(MdSL)

g. Adverbials in form of AdvP + finite verb

a. VdB

Bien creit qu' ileoc ad grant glorie, (VdB, 53)

good believe.3SG that there have.3SG great glory

“He is convinced that it is a place of great glory”

b. GeI

bien l' ai senti. (GeI, 180); DS

well it have.1SG felt

“I have felt it well”

c. Tr

vraiment le / *sachiés* vous (Tr, 270-271); DS

really it know.2PL you.2PL

“You know, honestly”

d. MdSL

Ici *commence* li prologues des miracles saint Loÿs. (MdSL, 1)

here start.3SG the prologue of the miracles saint Louis

“Here begins the prologue of the miracles of Saint Louis”

h. Predicative adjective + finite verb

a. VdB

Deus graciez: bons *est* li venz. (VdB, 186); DS

God thank.2PL good is.3SG the wind

“Thank God, the wind is favorable.”

b. GeI

Fier *fut* l' *estur* e *esbaudi*. (GeI, 164)

Savage is.3SG.PAST the combat and animated

“The combat was savage and full of action”

c. Tr

Dure et cruele est la bataille (Tr, 314)

hard and cruel is.3SG the combat

“The combat is hard and cruel”

d. MdSL

(MdSL)

i. Nonfinite parts of the verb as the Past participle + finite verb

a. VdB

E dist lur ad de seon eire (VdB, 147)

and said them have.3SG of his travel

“And he has told them about his travel”

b. GeI

Perdu avez votre moreis (GeI, 104); DS

Lost have.2PL your Arabian (horse)

“You have lost your Arabian horse”

c. Tr

(Tr)

d. MdSL

(MdSL)

j. Nonfinite parts of the verb as the Infinitive + finite verb

a. VdB

prendre l' *alat*

(VdB, 317)

to take it go.3SG.PAST

“He went to take it”

b. GeI

porter l' en *fist* as *paveilluns* (GeI, 544)

carry him Pron make.3SG.PAST to the tents

“He had him carried to the tents”

c. Tr

(Tr)

d. MdSL

(MdSL)

The goal in this section is to compare frequencies and not absolutes. I compare four OF texts to OHG to draw conclusions about what XPs can be fronted in OF.

The poems *VdB* and *GeI* show XP fronting in (56) with exactly the same constituents that can be fronted in OHG prose. Concerning XP fronting, it can therefore be concluded that the OF manuscripts of the 12th century written in verse function in the same way as the German prose texts from the 9th century.

OF prose texts, on the other hand, do not always show the same XP fronting as in OHG. In the two prose texts, *Tr* and *MdSL*, the XP fronted category does not always match the OHG one. The following constituents could not be found in fronted contexts in *Tr*: topicalized object DPs (56c), pronouns (56d), adverbials in the form of PP (56f) and the infinitive (56j). In the second prose text, *MdSL*, there is no evidence of adverbials in the form of PP (56f), predicative adjectives (56h), the past participle (56i) or infinitives (56j) fronting the finite verb.

How can these results be interpreted? Table 1, shown in Section 1.2.3 in Chapter 1 and repeated below, illustrates the total number of main and embedded clauses in the corpus:

TABLE 1

The corpus: *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*

Text	Lines coded	Main clauses	Embedded clauses	Total of V_{fin} coded
<i>VdB</i> (verse)	1-468	321	181	502
<i>GeI</i> (verse)	1-566	380	122	502
<i>Tr</i> (prose)	1-318	280	226	506
<i>MdSL</i> (prose)	1-473	276	232	508
Total	1825	1257	761	2018

Table 1 demonstrates that the two poems show more than 300 main clauses each: *VdB* contains 321 and *GeI* 380 main clauses. The prose documents contain under 300 main clauses each: *Tr* shows 280 main clauses and *MdSL* 276. Between the verse and prose documents, the amount of main and embedded clauses is relatively evenly distributed with only *GeI* showing a few more main clauses with 380 and fewer embedded clauses with 122 than the other three texts. The other poem, *VdB*, shows the same occurrences of XP fronting similarly to *GeI* even though there are 59 fewer main clauses of this text in my corpus.

Why are fewer XP categories fronted in the prose documents? One possible and “easy” answer would be that having coded “only” the clauses containing the first 500 finite verbs, the XP fronting that is missing at the beginning of the prose texts may be perhaps found later in the text. It is true that this possibility cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, I pursue the objective to find another explanation using the results I have.

To answer the question of the restricted amount of XPs being fronted in the OF prose texts of the 13th century, I return to what I have mentioned at the beginning of the present section. I indicated that Axel (2009a) and Näf (1979) observe that some categories are fronted more often than others. According to Axel's (2007) findings, subject NPs and adverbials in the form of AdvPs and PPs are fronted more often than a direct-object NP or a nonfinite verb in clauses which differ from the Latin original text. Näf (1979) states that direct-object NPs and predicative adjectives are not frequently found in the Old and Modern German prefield. In the OF prose corpus, the XPs not found in the left periphery are direct-object NPs (56c) (in *Tr*) and predicative adjectives (56h) (in *MdSL*) which are the categories that are infrequently fronted in OHG according to Axel (2007) and Näf (1979). Therefore, the absence of the two categories in my corpus may be explained by the general rare occurrence of these XPs in the position preceding the finite verb in main clauses.

Turning now to the fronted participles and infinitives such as the ones in (56i) and (56j) for *VdB* and *GeI*, I would like to adopt Mathieu's (2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b) analysis in which he analyses the fronted nonfinite parts of the verb as Stylistically Fronted (SFronted) elements as they are heads and cannot move to the SpecCP-position. He proposes a special position for these categories in the frame of an SF-analysis. I will come back to his proposal and an analysis of SFronted categories in Section 3.3.

There are two additional XPs for which I have to account for their non-occurrence in the fronted position in main clauses: pronouns (56d; in *Tr*) and adverbials in the form of a PP (56f; in *Tr* and *MdSL*). Contrary to the prose documents, both XPs are fronted in the poetic texts. However, I have to stress that I only found a very limited number of two

XPs in the two texts. *VdB* showed one example of the adverbial in the form of a PP (example showed in (56f)) and also one example of a fronted pronoun (which is an indefinite pronoun). The example is seen in (56d). *GeI* shows two examples of pronouns, one of the two is a possessive pronoun as seen in (56d) and the other is a direct object pronoun found in the verse 462. *GeI* offers only a single example of an adverbial in the form of a PP which can be seen in (56f). These results indicate an infrequent use of these XPs in the position fronting the finite verb. All four OF texts are therefore in line with each other demonstrating the rare occurrence of pronouns and adverbials in the form of a PP in the left periphery in OF.

In the present section, I have compared the pattern of XP fronting found in OHG to the one found in OF. My results suggest a very similar and even identical pattern of the two languages.

The subject of the next section is a construction which is another typical property of V2 languages: Germanic inversion.

3.2 Germanic and Romance Inversion

Subject-verb inversion is a common property of V2 languages. When the fronted non-subject XP constituent occupies the position preceding the finite verb, Germanic inversion takes place, i.e. the subject immediately follows the finite verb and the nonfinite parts of the verb follow the subject. Germanic inversion is present in Modern Germanic V2 languages. It also occurs in earlier stages of Germanic and Romance languages (57).

(57) Germanic Inversion

a. HG

Das Buch *hat* **Peter** *gelesen.*

the book have.3SG Peter read

“Peter has read the book”

b. OHG

Dhineru uuomba uuaxsmin *setzu* **ih** *ubar miin hohsetli* (I 611)

your womb's fruit put I upon my throne

“I will place the fruit of your womb upon my throne”

(Example in (61b) taken from Axel 2007:5)

c. OF

Tut *vit* **I' abes** *u reposout* (VdB, 321)

everything see.3SG.PAST the abbot where rest. 3SG.PAST

“The abbot saw everything from the place where he was resting.”

d. Old Spanish

Uino & agua *deue* **el clerigo** *mezclar en el caliz* (Leyes, 13v)

wine & water must.3SG the priest mix in the chalice

“the priest must mix wine and water in the chalice”

(Example in (61d) from Fontana 1993:95; taken from Axel 2007:6)

Germanic inversion is considered an integral part of OF syntax while a second type of inversion, namely Romance inversion³¹, is considered rare and atypical (Adams, 1987). In Romance inversion, the subject follows the nonfinite parts of the verb and is realized in clause-final position. It is usually found in Romance languages, but not in Germanic languages.

Both inversion types are present in my corpus. Overall, the numbers for Germanic and Romance inversion are extremely low. Germanic inversion is slightly more frequent than Romance inversion by only 2 occurrences. There are many sentences which appear to be ambiguous between the Germanic and the Romance type of inversion, because they contain only one verb and it is impossible to tell from the word order alone if the subject is immediately following the finite verb or if it is positioned at the end of the clause.

The examples in (58) and (59) illustrate Germanic and Romance inversion, respectively. Table 10 indicates the actual numbers obtained in the OF corpus.

³¹ Romance inversion (also called ‘free’ inversion). In this inversion type, the subject follows the nonfinite parts of the verb and is realized in clause-final position. It is usually found in Romance languages, but not in Germanic languages.

Romance Inversion in Italian

Ha telefonato Maria
have.3SG telephoned Mary
‘Mary has telephoned’
(Roberts, 1993:24)

(58) Germanic inversion in the OF texts

a. VdB

Pur ço les volt li abes guarnir (VdB, 299)

via that them want.3SG.PAST the abbot warn.INF

“Thereby, the abboth wants to warn them”

b. GeI

Quatre jorz a l' estur duré (GeI, 514)

four days have.3SG the battle lasted

“The battle has lasted four days”

c. Tr

Ceste parole ai je dite orendroit pour vous : (Tr, 219); DS

this speech have.1SG I given now for you

“I have now said the following”

d. MdSL

(MdSL)

to-US.Acc there have.3SG killed the Renegade

“And the Renegade killed two of our most noble Frenchmen there”

c. Tr

(Tr)

d. MdSL

Et donques *fist* apareillier la mere / son lit, (MdSL, 205-206)

and then do.3SG.PAST prepare.INF the mother her bed

“And then the mother prepared her bed”

Germanic inversion in V2 contexts is found in three texts of the OF corpus (58): in the two poems *VdB* and *GeI* as well as in the prose text *Tr*. Romance inversion (59) is found in both poems: *VdB* and *GeI* and also in the prose document *MdSL*. *Tr* does not show any instance of Romance inversion at all.

Table 10 illustrates the results in actual numbers. There are not many occurrences at all of both inversion types in the four texts.

states that the OF two case system is the origin of some confusion in Anglo-Norman documents and texts copied by Anglo-Norman scribes.

TABLE 10

Germanic and Romance inversion in declarative V2 clauses in *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*

OF Texts	Main clauses with V2 pattern	Germanic inversion in main clauses	Romance inversion in main clauses	Ambiguous
<i>VdB</i>	140	2	1	12
<i>GeI</i>	245	2	2	37
<i>Tr</i>	88	3	---	15
<i>MdSL</i>	56	---	2	11

The text that shows the most instances of Germanic inversion with three occurrences is the 13th century prose text *Tr*. Romance inversion is completely absent from *Tr*. The second prose text from the 13th century, *MdSL*, does not show any Germanic inversion at all, but instead two occurrences of Romance inversion.

Tr is written in the dialect of the Picardie. The region of Picardie is situated closer to the Germanic language border than the Centre of France, the region from which *MdSL* originates. This may be the reason why *Tr* exhibits some instances of Germanic inversion and no Romance inversion at all contrary to the second prose text *MdSL* which is situated further away from the Germanic language border. Nevertheless, the results are extremely low, even too low to conclude anything.

The two 12th century poems also show an extremely low frequency of Germanic and Romance inversion. *VdB* displays two instances of Germanic inversion and one of Romance inversion, whereas *GeI* shows two occurrences of each inversion types. *GeI* is

written in the literary standard language of the Île-de-France and is closer situated to the Germanic language border in contrast to the poem *VdB* written in Anglo-Norman. Nevertheless, there are no large differences to note between the instances of Germanic and Romance inversion in both texts. The numbers are too low.

In summary, Germanic and Romance inversion are very scarce in the OF corpus. It is present in only three texts: *VdB*, *GeI* and *MdSL*. These inversion types are so rare that *Tr*, the text with the most occurrences of Germanic inversion, only shows three instances of it.

3.3 Stylistic Fronting

In the previous chapter, SF has been introduced. The following sections are devoted to SF constructions in the Germanic languages and in OF. The objective is, first, to offer a syntactic analysis for the SF constructions found in the four OF texts from the 12th and 13th century, and second, to compare the SF constructions found in OHG to the ones found in OF. Furthermore, I am interested in discovering if the text type influences the quantity of SF used by the authors.

First, a review is presented of why SF can apply. This is important for understanding the functioning of the movement operation of SF as well as the proposals made for analyzing SF in OF.

3.3.1 Why can SF apply?

The possibility of having SF operative in a language has been linked to the existence of V-to-I movement and to subject-verb agreement (Holmberg, 2005, 2000;

Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Falk, 1993; Platzack, 1987). Languages that have V-to-I movement license the projection of an articulated CP-domain into which elements are SFronted (Hrafnbjargarson, 2004). Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages have lost SF constructions by the time V-to-I movement was lost, because they lost the projection to move SFronted categories (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Falk, 1993).

The subject-verb agreement in Mainland Scandinavian languages, i.e. Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, indicates that these languages are indeed non-agreeing languages and therefore lack SF. The languages which have the option of having SF constructions are agreeing languages: Modern Icelandic, Faroese, Old Swedish, OF and Yiddish, for example.

More recently, it is under debate for Modern Icelandic whether SF operates in Narrow Syntax prior to Spell-Out since it affects syntactic structure and formal features (Holmberg, 2000), or whether SF is movement of phonological features alone (Holmberg, 2005) and is therefore part of the phonological component after Spell-Out. A third claim is that SF has indeed semantic effects and, as a consequence, takes place in Narrow Syntax (Hrafnbjargarson, 2004).

Holmberg (2000) proposes an analysis according to which Spec IP has to be overtly filled to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) which requires a lexically filled SpecIP in finite sentences. The EPP makes reference to two features, namely [D], a nominal feature, and [P], a phonological feature. The uninterpretable feature of [D] is satisfied through a nominal category in the checking domain of I either by subject movement to SpecIP or by V-to-I movement. If no subject can check the [D] feature, the

agreement features on the finite verb check this feature alone. The second feature situated on I, [P], is satisfied when SpecIP is overtly filled to check the uninterpretable [P] feature. According to this view, Holmberg (2000) claims that the Icelandic expletive merges to SpecIP to overtly check the [P]-feature. The same holds for SFronted constituents of which only the [P]-feature matrix moves to SpecIP to serve as an expletive filler of SpecIP. The two categories, i.e. either the expletive or the phonological matrix of an SF-constituent, fulfil the function to phonologically satisfy the EPP.

In summary, T needs to be related to an element with phi-features, this is the role of the [D] feature, and it needs phonological material in SpecTP, this is the role of the [P] feature. If a noun phrase is moved to SpecTP, then these two requirements are fulfilled at once. Otherwise, phi-features on V satisfy the [D] feature and something overt in SpecTP satisfies the [P] feature. This analysis is also described by the split EPP-analysis of Mathieu (2006a).

Holmberg's (2000) proposal is not without problems. The main issue is that, according to Holmberg (2000), XPs and X^0 can move to the same position, namely SpecIP. This is problematic as heads can only move from one head to another according to the Head-Movement-Constraint. Additionally, Holmberg's (2000) analysis predicts SF of only one element at a time, but there is strong evidence (for OF: Mathieu, 2006a; for Icelandic: Hrafnbjargarson, 2004) that two elements can undergo SF (with the restriction that these two elements cannot be heads or XPs at the same time). In 2005, Holmberg proposed to consider SF as an operation which is part of the phonological component and follows Spell-Out. For this phonological component, Holmberg (2005) claims a subcomponent with syntactic operations (operating on syntactic categories, depending on

syntactic hierarchic structures and accessing the presences or absence of semantic features). The difference with the syntactic operations taking place in Narrow Syntax is that there is no effect on LF as only the form, and not the content, is affected.

For OF, Mathieu (2006a) proposes the following structure for SFronted elements in main clauses (60a) and embedded clauses (60b):

(60) Mathieu's (2006a) proposal: TopP+ for SFronted elements

a. SF in main clause

[TopP[TopP+[FinP[TP]]]]

b. SF in embedded clause

[ForceP[TopP+[TP]]]

TopP+ is situated above FinP and below ForceP. It offers positions for two SFronted elements: an XP and a head. It is evident why, in the case of two SFronted categories, they have to be of the order XP X⁰: an XP is moved into the specifier SpecTopP+ and the head can only move into the head position Top+⁰. The reverse order would not be possible as the structure does not offer this possibility.

According to Mathieu (2006a), the motivation for SF to apply depends on the presence of an EPP feature on T⁰. Mathieu (2006a) follows Holmberg's (2000) analysis of a split EPP containing a [D]-feature and a [P]-feature. The uninterpretable feature of [D] is satisfied through a nominal category in the checking domain of T either by subject movement to SpecTP or by the movement of the finite verb to T. If no subject can check

the [D]-feature, the agreement features on the finite verb check this feature alone. The second feature implicated is [P]. The uninterpretable [P]-feature is satisfied when SpecTP is overtly filled.

Mathieu (2006a) argues in favour of the idea that SF depends on a split EPP, but he specifies that the EPP need not be split in a language. Furthermore, the two features, [D] and [P], may be realized on different heads. This approach differs from Holmberg's (2000) suggestion that these two features are realized on I^0 . More precisely, Mathieu (2006a) suggests that the projection of the TopP+ layer depends on the availability of the split EPP, the EPP+, in a language. In the split EPP, the [P]-feature is situated in Top^+ and is therefore higher in the hierarchy than the [D]-feature which is found in T^0 . The [D]-feature can appear on its own and is independent from the [P]-feature. Mathieu (2006a) points out that this is the case in non SF-clauses with the subject in Spec-vP.

The idea Mathieu (2006a) puts forward by suggesting a TopP+ layer is consistent with a split CP analysis as proposed by Rizzi (1997). The cartography of the CP-layer and its fine structure has been the subject of extensive research by Benincà (2006, 2004), by Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Poletto (2002). As stated in their research, more than one Topic as well as more than one Focus can appear in their respective fields. The Topic- as well as the Focus-Field are organized into several projections. Therefore, Mathieu's (2006a) suggestion of a second Topic-projection TopP+ right under the projection TopP is accounted for. Mathieu's proposal for an analysis of SF in OF includes three major ideas (61):

(61) SF in OF (Mathieu, 2006a)

- (a) SF is possible with two elements at the same time with the exception of two XPs or two X^0 which are not permitted at the same time.
- (b) SF is not movement to, but through SpecTP³³
- (c) SFronted elements move to TopicP+

The pattern of two fronted SF elements stated in (61a) has also been found in Icelandic by Hrafnbjargarson (2004). Mathieu (2006a) is the first to have discovered evidence of two SFronted elements at the same time in OF. The proposal in (61b) differs from Holmberg's (2000) proposal according to which SF-elements move no further than to SpecTP. Mathieu (2006a) suggests considering TP a strong phase in OF through which cyclic movement is required. SpecTP is therefore available as an escape hatch and SFronted constituents can move via SpecTP to reach SpecTopP+. According to Mathieu (2006a: 221): "...SFronted elements raise to a Topic position, albeit of a special kind. The SFronted constituent is a shifted defocalized element with the semantics of an asserted background topic: it cannot be contrastive or presupposed."

Even though Mathieu (2006a) suggests a different layer into which SFronted elements move, he adopts Holmberg's (2000) idea of feature fission. In languages with SF, the EPP can undergo feature fission between [D] (a categorial feature) and [P] (a

³³ A subject gap is an essential precondition for SF to apply. In the literature, the canonical subject position is considered to be in IP (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Falk, 1993; Platzack, 1987). More recently, researchers (Adger, 2003; Chomsky, 1995) have been calling IP, TP. It is important to point out that the present analysis for SF stays the same if the terms TP or IP are used. Mathieu (2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b) uses the term TP throughout his work. As I adopt his analysis in the present thesis, I will also adopt the term TP.

feature requiring visibility through a filled specifier), i.e. the EPP can be split and is situated on two different heads whereas in languages without SF the split EPP is not operative. Mathieu (2006a) makes two additions to the possibility of feature fission: first, he proposes that the EPP does not need to undergo feature fission and second, the features [D] and [P] can appear in two different layers in the syntactic structure, namely [D] on T^0 and [P] on Top+.

Mathieu (2006a) places SF operations in a phonological subcomponent (SubPF). The operations in SubPF are syntactic as they operate on syntactic categories and depend on a syntactic hierarchical structure. The operations taking place in SubPF get information about the presence or absence of semantic features. However, individual semantic features cannot be accessed at that level. The SubPF-level affects only the form and not the content which varies from operations taking place in Narrow Syntax and shows that the operations in SubPF are phonological.

By suggesting the subcomponent SubPF, Mathieu (2006a) explains the impossibility of auxiliaries to be SFronted. Although auxiliaries have [P]-features, these are invisible to SF-operations in OF. Holmberg (2000) observes the same for Icelandic where auxiliaries are never found in SFronted contexts. By placing SF into SubPF, Mathieu (2006a) finds a solution to the problem that SF-operations are syntactic, but also have access to the presence and absence of semantic features.

Hrafnbjargarson (2004) chooses a semantic approach to his account of SF in Icelandic main and embedded clauses. According to his analysis, SF is a feature-driven movement into FocusP situated in an articulated CP-domain to focus a specific

constituent in the clause, i.e. SF is motivated out of semantic effects and therefore is never an optional operation.

As stated by Hrafnbjargarson (2004), an XP with an interpretable focus feature moves to SpecFocusP and checks the uninterpretable focus feature on Focus⁰ which is deleted afterwards. A head containing an interpretable focus feature moves to Focus⁰ to check the uninterpretable focus feature of that position and, then, deletes it. The two, a head and an XP, can undergo SF, even at the same time. Yet, SF of two heads or two XPs at the same time is excluded. The semantic effect of SF places this operation into narrow syntax.

I am aware that Hrafnbjargarson's analysis of SF as movement to FocusP is in contrast to what I said earlier, namely that focus is not involved in SF-operations. At this stage, I am offering an analysis of the current theories about SF without adopting them or agreeing with them.

The analysis of Fischer (2004) is similar to the one Hrafnbjargarson (2004) offers as the two analyses involve focus as the motor for SF-movement. Fischer (2004) explains the SF movement in Old Catalan with a strong V-feature which has to be checked off in the projection expressing emphasis, namely Σ^0 [+V] which is situated between CP and IP. Σ P is a functional category hosting the three sentence operators negation, emphatic and neutral (Fischer, 2004; Laka, 1990). Each operator generates a word-order with a different semantic interpretation according to Fischer (2004). SF applies even in the presence of full subject DPs in Old Catalan, Old Spanish and OF (Fischer, 2010, 2004). Fischer (2010) states that SF in Old Catalan is found in poetic as well as prose texts.

Fischer (2010) suggests that SF has a semantic effect and takes place in Narrow Syntax. SF is not optional. The functional category into which SFronted elements move is the functional category F(oregrounding)/F(ocus)P between the CP- and the IP-level. The uninterpretable feature [F] on F⁰ is checked and deleted when an element with an interpretable feature [F] has moved to SpecFP. The SFronted XP moves to SpecFP whereas the SFronted head adjoins to F⁰ when SpecFP is filled by a full subject DP.

The most recent account of SF in OF is offered by Salvesen (2009) who has examined SF constructions with the fronted infinitives *dire* (= ‘say’) and *faire* (= ‘do’) in OF which occur in main and subordinate clauses according to her research (62).

(62) Fronted infinitives in OF main and subordinate clauses

a. Verb *faire* in main clause

Chevalier faire vous *vouldray*. (14th c., Mélusine, 2821)

knight *make*._{INF} *you* *want*._{1SG.FUT}

“I want to make you a knight”

b. Verb *dire* in subordinate clause

Il dist molt bien que dire *doit*. (12th c., Eracle, 1216)

he said very well what say._{INF} *must*._{3SG}

“He said very well that which should be said”

(Examples in (62) are taken from Salvesen (2009:2))

In (62a), the complement of the nonfinite can precede the finite verb. The complement has been pied-piped, i.e. moved along with the nonfinite verb to the clause initial position. Salvesen (2009) points out that this type of pied-piping is not allowed in Icelandic. 40% of the clauses containing the preverbal infinitives *dire* and *faire* alone or in combination with the modal verbs *pouvoir* (= ‘can’), *vouloir* (= ‘want’) and *devoir* (= ‘must’) are constructed with a complement in Salvesen’s corpus for this study.

Salvesen (2009) argues that SF constructions of the form DP/PP and the V^0 in OF are moved as a phrase and are an instance of *Remnant Movement*, an analysis which Salvesen adopts from Franco’s (2009) SF analysis for Old Italian. According to Franco (2009) and Salvesen (2009), SF can take place inside the vP (with a movement to v-FocP and v-Foc⁰) and, afterwards, at CP-level (with a movement to SpecFinP) as it is shown in (63) and (64).

(63) SF inside the vP (Salvesen, 2009)

[_{v-FocP} *une chose* [_{v-Foc0} *dire* [_{vP} *pro* [_{v0} *vueil* [_{VP} ~~*une chose*~~ [_{v0} ~~*dire*~~ [_{DP} *vous*]]]]]]]]]

(64) SF in SpecFinP (Salvesen, 2009)

[_{FinP}[_{vP} *une chose dire*] [_{Fin0} *vous vueil (...)*]]

The movement of vP to SpecFinP is optional in OF (Salvesen, 2009:24). The idea of *Remnant Movement* in relation with SF in Icelandic has already been mentioned by Holmberg (2005). He argues that SF movement of heads into SpecIP is possible. Holmberg considers that all categories which are moved by SF are phrasal, even those

consisting of only a head. He explains his view with SFronted nonfinite verbs which clearly are heads as they leave their complement behind. The complement of a participial, for example, has to be moved out of the VP before SF of the VP containing nothing but the participial is possible. This differs from the results for OF (Salvesen, 2009) and Old Italian (Franco, 2009) where the complement of the nonfinite verb is SFronted along with the nonfinite verb. For the Germanic languages, see Hinterhölzl (2006), Fanselow (2009, 2004, 2003a, 2003b) and Hróarsdóttir (2000) who have worked on *Remnant Movement* to explain Germanic word order.

We now turn to SF in OHG. Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007) focuses her research on the prefield to discuss the V2 requirement and XP movement in OHG. There are two operations which can fill the German prefield, namely Operator movement and SF (Fanselow, 2009, 2004, 2003). According to Fanselow (2004), there are two types of main clauses in NHG: main clause type A (attracting an operator) and main clause type B (displaying SF). In type A, an EPP-like feature is found on C which attracts a constituent to SpecCP that matches the features of C. The presence of any of the following three features on C give the possibility to attract an XP to SpecCP: [+wh], [+foc] and [+top]. These featural specifications of C are responsible for the movement of a wh-phrase, a focus phrase or a topic to clause initial position. Fanselow (2004) points out that there are clause initial elements in NHG which are not a wh-operator, a focus or a topic. There is the subject (65a) which “may *always* appear clause-initially without being a topic or a focus” (Fanselow, 2004:6) and there are elements which are moved to the clause-initial position without any pragmatic force: dative arguments of unaccusative and passive constructions (65b), sentential (65c) and temporal (65d) adverbs. These elements are also

neither a topic nor a focus. All elements in (65a) – (65d) are the structurally highest phrases in IP and can therefore be attracted by the EPP feature of C when C displays no semantic or pragmatic features. In the opinion of Frey (2005), sentence level adverbs and quantified XPs (65e) cannot be topics, must not receive focus and must not receive a contrastive interpretation. Frey (2005) distinguishes between elements in the left periphery of NHG which, on the one hand, can receive focus, are topics or have a contrastive interpretation and which, on the other hand, are not focused, are not a topic and do not receive a contrastive interpretation. These elements that do not receive focus or a contrastive interpretation and that are not topics correspond to the class of SFronted elements according to Fanselow’s (2004) analysis. Frey (2005) never uses the term SF, but it is clear that he recognizes that there are elements in German such as sentential adverbs and quantified phrases which are neither topics nor focused elements. He uses the term *Formal Fronting* for movement of pragmatically unmarked elements. The examples from (65a) to (65d) are taken from Fanselow (2004). The example in (65e) is from Frey (2005).

(65) SF in NHG³⁴

a. Subject

Ein Kind hat seinen Schlüssel verloren

a child has his key lost

“A child lost his key”

³⁴ SF in German takes place even in the presence of a subject. The following examples of NHG and OHG contain SF and a subject in the same clause.

b. Dative argument

Einem Studenten *ist* ein Fehler aufgefallen

a.DAT student is a.NOM mistake noticed

“A student noticed a mistake”

c. Sentential adverb

Wahrscheinlich *hat* ein Kind geweint

probably has a child wept

“Probably, a child wept”

d. Temporal adverb

Früh am Morgen *hat* ein Eisbär einen Mann gefressen

Early in the morning has a.NOM polar bear a.ACC man eaten

“Early in the morning, a polar bear has eaten a man”

e. Quantified phrase

Fast jeder Kollege *hat* den Hausmeister freundlich begrüßt

nearly every co-worker has the.ACC janitor friendly greeted

“Nearly every co-worker has greeted the janitor in a friendly way”

The Minimal Link Condition mentioned earlier in the present section comes into play as the closest element is attracted by the EPP feature situated on C. Fanselow (2004) compares German SF to Icelandic SF as an EPP feature is responsible for the attraction of

the closest element in these two languages. In Icelandic, the EPP feature is situated on I according to Holmberg (2000) whereas it is found on C in German (Fanselow, 2004). For German, Fanselow (2004:8) points out that “there is no restriction on the category and grammatical function of an element moved to SpecCP by Stylistic Fronting – it merely must happen to be the highest element in IP”.

Axel (2009a) indicates that temporal and sentence level adverbs which can be SFronted in main clauses (66) share the same position in unmarked embedded clauses, namely the structurally highest position in the middle field (67). The examples in (66) and (67) have been taken from Axel (2009a:23-24).

(66) SFronted temporal and sentence level adverbs in NHG main clauses

a. Temporal adverb

[_{CP} [_{Gestern}]_i [[_{hat}]_k [_{IP} _{t_i} ein Bär einen Mann attackiert _{t_k}]]]

yesterday has a_{nom} bear a_{acc} man attacked

“Yesterday, a bear attacked a man”

b. Sentence level adverb

[_{CP} [_{Glücklicherweise}]_i [[_{hat}]_k [_{t_i} Peter angerufen _{t_k}]]]

fortunately has Peter called

“Fortunately, Peter has called”

(67) German temporal and sentence level adverbs in NHG embedded clauses

a. Temporal adverb

dass gestern ein Bär einen Mann attackiert *hat*

that yesterday a_{nom} bear a_{acc} man attacked has

“that yesterday a bear attacked a man”

b. Sentence level adverb

dass glücklicherweise Peter angerufen *hat*

that fortunately Peter called has

“that fortunately Peter has called”

c. Dative argument

dass einem Studenten ein Fehler aufgefallen *ist*

that a.DAT student a.NOM mistake noticed is

“that a student noticed a mistake”

d. Quantified phrase

dass fast jeder Kollege den Hausmeister freundlich begrüsst *hat*

that nearly every co-worker the.ACC janitor friendly greeted has

“that nearly every co-worker has greeted the janitor in a friendly way”

The examples in (67c) and (67d) are the equivalents for the examples in (65b) and (65e) and exemplify that not only sentence level and temporal adverbs can be placed

structurally highest in the middle field in NHG embedded clauses, but also dative arguments and quantified phrases.

As we have seen so far, SF structures at the CP-level exist in NHG. These SF structures are part of German's V2 property as SFronted elements occupy SpecCP when no semantic or pragmatic trigger instigates movement to this position. Axel (2009a, 2007) denotes that OHG prose texts as early as the 8th and 9th century already show SF. The fronted elements are positioned in SpecCP and can neither be focused elements nor topics, hence they are SFronted constituents. In OHG, SF is attested with negative indefinite subjects (68a), indefinites with a non-specific interpretation (68b), correlatives of infinitival or gerundival clauses (68c), sentence adverbials (68d) (Axel, 2009) and indefinite XPs (68e).

(68) SF in OHG

a. Negative indefinite subject

/neoman nist guot nibi ein got./ (T 355, 30)

no one NEG-is good except the.one God

“no one is good except God alone”

b. Indefinites with a non-specific interpretation

/uuanta manage diuuala giengun/ in inan.../ (T 189, 31)

since many demons went in him

“since many demons had gone into him”

c. Correlatives of infinitival or gerundival clauses

l̥iz gilimpfit sus zi uuesanne/ (T 513, 5)

it behooves so to be

“it behooves to be so”

d. Sentence adverbials

endi chiiuisso *ist* christus in dheru selbun salbidhu chimeinit (I144)

and certainly is Christ in this same salve meant

“and certainly Christ is meant in this same salve”

e. Indefinite XP

Neoman *niuirdit* fona gote festi (MF XL,19; St. Augustini sermo)

nobody NEG-becomes by God strengthened

“Nobody will become strengthened by God”

For OHG, the existence of a connection between syntax and information structure is argued to exist (Westergaard, 2009; Axel, 2009, 2007; Petrova, 2006; Petrova and Solf, 2009; Hinterhölzl, 2009). Petrova (2006) has demonstrated that verb placement is used to mark rhetorical relations not only in OHG, but also in other old Germanic languages. Fanselow and Lenertová (2011) argue that accentuation is the determining factor for triggering the leftward movement of constituents into SpecCP. They argue against the view that movement into the left sentence periphery is driven by the informational status

in NHG. The domain of information structure exceeds the scope of the present thesis and I am leaving it for future research.

I stated as the initial goal of this thesis that I will conduct a synchronic analysis to compare data from the same time period. In Chapter 1, I discussed why OF syntactic data should never be compared to NHG. A major concern of mine was that the V2 pattern found in NHG is different from the one found in OHG. The analysis of SF which defines and best explains processes occurring in OF concerning SF-movement is offered by research investigating Modern Insular Scandinavian (Holmberg, 2005, 2000; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Vikner, 1995; Jónsson, 1991; Maling, 1990, 1980; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson, 1990; Platzack, 1987). This choice does not contradict the initial objective of comparing the comparable as I have mentioned that the same SF pattern found in Modern Insular Scandinavian languages is an integral part of the grammar of all of the Old Scandinavian languages (Franco, 2009; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004; Falk, 1993; Platzack, 1987).

Additionally, the SF analysis of Old Romance languages such as Old Italian by Franco (2009), OF by Salvesen (2009) and by Mathieu (2006a), and Old Catalan by Fischer (2004) has shown that all these Old Romance languages share the features and characteristics of the SF pattern found in Old and Modern Scandinavian languages, e.g. the presence of a subject gap as a precondition for SF (which is not a precondition for SF to apply in NHG and OHG). Nevertheless, it has been shown that SF can take place even with overt subjects in OF (Mathieu, 2006a), Old Catalan (Fischer, 2010) and Icelandic (Hrafnbjargarson, 2004).

3.3.2 SF in OF: The Results according to the Corpus

In this section, I discuss my findings of SF constructions in the four OF documents of the corpus. For my analysis, I adopt Mathieu's (2006a) proposal which is the most complete up to now in demonstrating the presence of SF structures as part of OF grammar as well as in proposing a syntactic structure which successfully integrates SFronted elements into V2 and V3 contexts. My goal is to investigate if Mathieu's proposal matches the results of my corpus. As mentioned already in Chapter 1, *VdB* and *GeI* are poems, written in verse and date from the 12th century whereas *Tr* and *MdSL* are prose texts from the 13th century.

In the present section, I expand the research of SF in OF from embedded to main clauses and look at whether OF main clauses show instances of SF constructions. It is well known that NHG (Axel, 2009, 2007) and the Scandinavian languages (Rögnauldsson & Thráinsson, 1990) show SFronted elements in main clauses. The study of main clauses offers a new contribution to the discussion of SF in OF considering that previous research mostly focused on SF in embedded clauses (Mathieu; 2009, 2007, 2006a, 2006b) or on SF in main clauses in limited contexts, i.e. in main clauses with an SFronted infinitival preceded by a complement (Salvesen, 2009).

3.3.2.1 SF applies to X⁰s and XPs

The difference between Topicalization and SF needs to be addressed before starting the results section. We have seen above that these two are distinct operations. But as both implicate XPs, it is not always easy to draw a clear line between these two constructions. Topicalization appears with postverbal subjects and with null subjects whereas the

presence of a subject gap is essential for SF. Holmberg (2005, 2000) and Hrafnbjargarson (2004) specify that SF in Icelandic and in Faroese applies to heads as well as to XPs. The XPs can be sentence adverbs (Holmberg, 2000), adverbs (Holmberg, 2005), negation, PPs, DPs, predicative NPs and APs. All of these constituents can be SFronted, but can be topicalized as well in main clauses. Hrafnbjargarson (2004:100) notes an additional difficulty for the SFronted negation and the SFronted sentence medial adverbs: it is impossible to know if these elements are SFronted as heads or as XPs as they can be both at the same time, namely minimal and maximal projections. In keeping with Holmberg (2005), only SFronted nonfinite verbs clearly indicate that a head has been moved via SF as these are the only elements which leave a complement of the head behind in their initial position. Franco (2009:58) states for her research on Old Italian that she excludes “cases of adverb fronting, negation, as well as DP and PP fronting, which can all occur also in V2 constructions with postverbal subjects, and, as such, are potentially ambiguous indicators”.

To avoid confusion between topicalized and SFronted elements in main clauses, I will exclude the following elements fronting the finite verb in the OF main clauses of my corpus: adverbs, adjectives, DPs and PPs. All these elements appear in main clauses with a postverbal subject as well as in main clauses containing a null subject. There are no cases of a fronted negation in the present corpus. This result is corroborated by Mathieu’s (2006a) observation that the fronting of negative elements is less frequent in OF (compared to Icelandic where the fronting of the negation is very common).

3.3.2.2 SF of X⁰ in Main and in Embedded Clauses

The results for OF main clauses found in the four coded OF texts are presented in this section. All examples in the two Sections 3.3.2.2, SF of X⁰ in main and embedded clauses, and 3.3.2.3, SF of XP in main and embedded clauses, establish instances of SFronted elements in V2 contexts with one single SFronted element. SF operations triggering V3 contexts and possibly even >V3 are discussed in Section 3.3.2.4. I present my results in three steps. First, I present examples for each of the four texts, then I propose an analysis for my findings and finally, I visualize the results in tables. The results are organized into two groups. The first group examines SFronted heads in main and embedded clauses. The second group demonstrates SFronted XPs in main and embedded clauses.

The corpus shows a total of 143 clauses with SF. Out of these 143 clauses, 19 are found in main clauses and 124 in embedded clauses. There are a total of 122 clauses in V2-contexts, i.e. a word order with only a single SFronted XP or a single SFronted X⁰ preceding the finite verb. A total of 22 clauses contain an SFronted X⁰ whereas 100 clauses have an SFronted XP. 21 clauses show SF in V3-contexts, i.e. there are two SFronted elements in the clause.

3.3.2.2.1 SF of X⁰ in Main Clauses

I start the presentation of the results with SFronted heads in main clauses (69).

(69) SF in OF: evidence of head movement in main clauses

a. Participle + Vfin

a. E dit lur ad le soen purpens; (VdB, 109)

and said them have.3SG the his idea

“And he has presented his idea to them”

b. Perdu avez votre moreis (GeI, 104); DS

lost have.2PL your Arabian (horse)

“You have lost your Arabian horse”

c. ----- (Tr)

d. ----- (MdSL)

b. Infinitive + Vfin

a. Prendre l' alat, (VdB, 317)

take.INF PRN go.3SG.PAST

“He goes to take it”

b. porter l' en fist as paveilluns (GeI, 544)

carry.INF him PRN make.3SG.PAST to-the tents

“He had him carried to the tents”

c. ----- (Tr)

d. ----- (MdSL)

c. Gerund + Vfin

a. Forment plurant *dist* as freres: (VdB, 333)

A lot crying say.3SG.PAST to the brothers

“Crying a lot, he said to the brothers:...”

b. poinant en *vint* al rei Louis (GeI, 201)

spuring PRN go.3SG.PAST to the King Louis

“He was spuring his horse to get to King Louis”

c. ----- (Tr)

d. ----- (MdSL)

I follow Mathieu (2006a) and adopt his analysis according to which SF is not movement of a category *to* SpecTP, but *through* SpecTP. Mathieu puts forward the idea that SpecTopP+ is the position to which an SFronted XP moves and that Top+⁰ is the position into which an SFronted X⁰ moves. TopP+ is a Topic-position of a special kind as

it hosts defocalized elements moved by SF. It is situated under the Topic-projection TopP.

Mathieu (2006a) proposes the following structure for SFronted elements in main clauses (70a) and embedded clauses (70b):

(70) Mathieu's (2006a) proposal: TopP+ for SFronted elements

a. SF in main clause

[TopP[TopP+[FinP[TP]]]]

b. SF in embedded clause

[ForceP[TopP+[TP]]]

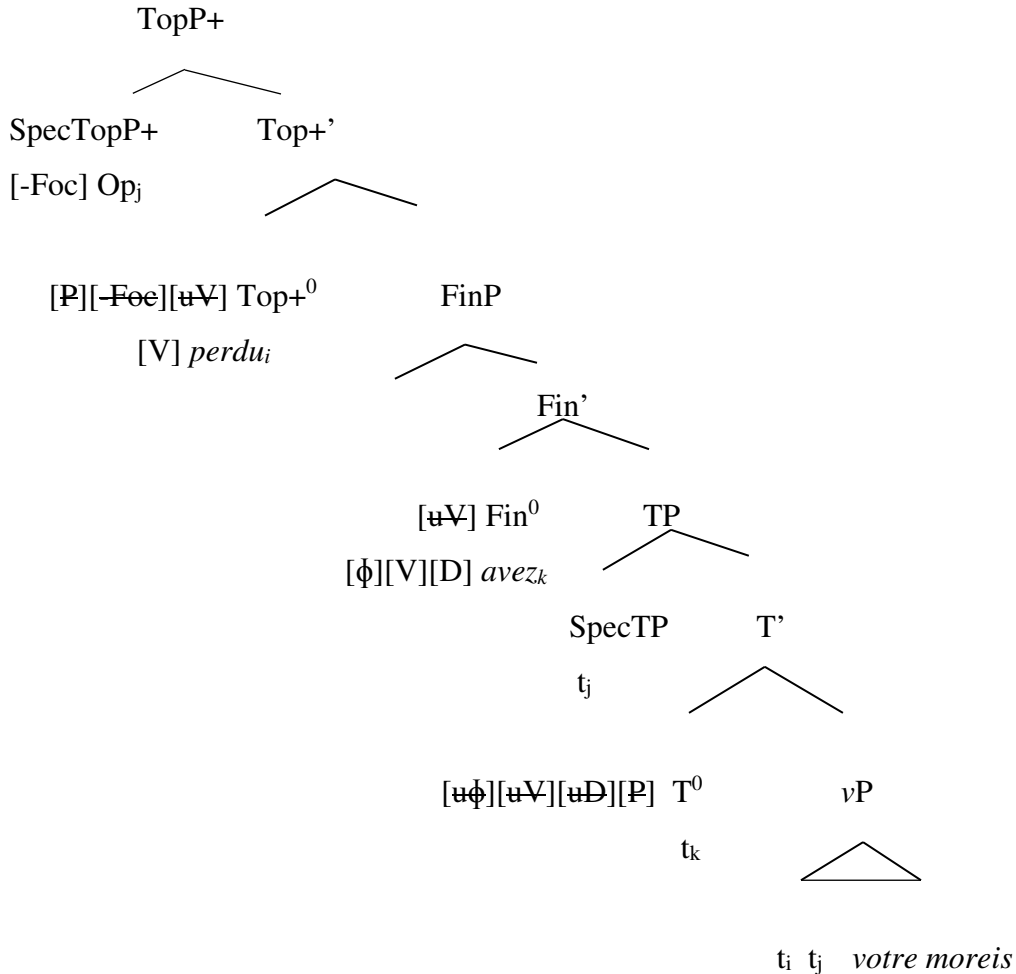
TopP+ is situated above FinP and below ForceP. It offers positions for two SFronted elements: an XP and a head. It is evident why, in the case of two SFronted categories, they have to be of the order XP X⁰: an XP is moved into the specifier SpecTopP+ and the head can only move into the head position Top+⁰. The reverse order would not be possible as the structure does not offer this possibility.

Let us consider a concrete example of an SFronted head in Top+⁰ in a main clause. (cf. (69a)-b):

(71) SF of X⁰ in the main clause:

Perdu avez votre moreis (GeI, 104)

[SpecTopP [Top0 [SpecTopP+ [Top+0 perdu_j [SpecFinP [Fin0 avez_i [SpecTP [TO t_i [vP t_j votre
 moreis]]]]]]]]]]]



In (71), the SFronted element *perdu* (= “lost”) is a head which raises directly to Top+⁰. As reported by Mathieu (2006a), SF of a nonfinite head into Top+⁰ is a case of long head movement. The Head-to-Head Movement Constraint and MLC are therefore respected. The finite verb is never moved into Top+⁰ as it is not a candidate for SF. Instead, the finite verb *avez* values the φ-features on T⁰, the [V]-feature, which requires a verbal element in T⁰, and the [D]-feature, which requires a nominal category in the

checking domain of T, in the present case through the movement of the finite verb to T as no subject is moved to SpecTP. The [V]-feature on Fin⁰ requires a further movement of the finite verb to the head of FinP.

The specifier position in SpecTopP+ is empty. Only the head *perdu* is SFronted leaving its complement behind in vP. Later, in Section 3.3.2.2.2, I will show that there are cases of SF in which the complement of the nonfinite verb moves into SpecTopP+ and the participle or the infinitive move into Top+⁰. That the specifier of TopP+ is filled in some cases by the complement of the SFronted nonfinite verb, and in some cases not, indicates an optional behaviour. Holmberg (2000) observes this kind of optionality in Icelandic subject relative clauses. In Icelandic, there are the following two strategies Holmberg (2000) describes for subject relative clauses: first, there is the option of the movement of a Null Operator which blocks the movement of any other category to the position fronting the finite verb and second, SF can apply when the Null Operator is not fronted.

For the current OF examples in (69a) – (69c), I suggest a Null Operator which contains the feature [-Foc]. This Operator is merged in SpecVP, moves to SpecTP to check the [P]-feature on T⁰ and then moves up to SpecTopP+. Here, it checks [-Foc] as well as the [P]-feature on Top+⁰. In effect, I suggest that this Operator is a category which is not phonetically realized, but treated as if a real XP was undergoing SF by checking the same features in the same positions as do the SFronted XPs (see Section 3.3.2.3.1). More precisely, this Operator is able to check the EPP when no XP is SFronted. In accordance with Mathieu (2006a), SF is always triggered when the EPP of a language is split. Hence, a language such as OF with a split EPP needs SF to check the

[P]-feature on Top^+ ⁰ which requires SpecTopP^+ to be phonetically filled. A Null Operator is not phonetically realized and is unable to check [P] according to Holmberg (2000). However, I would like to consider the fact that there is an optional SF occurring in the position of SpecTopP^+ when the head Top^+ ⁰ is lexically filled by a nonfinite verb. This means that the [P]-feature on Top^+ ⁰ must be checked by some category when there is no SFronted XP in SpecTopP^+ . Considering an Operator which checks the EPP is a solution for now, but more research in the future is needed to determine the exact nature of the null element in SpecTopP^+ that I have labeled the Null Operator.

The examples in (69) show fronted X^0 in main clauses, namely participles, infinitives and gerunds. Participles, infinitives and gerunds fronting the finite verb are present in both of the poems: *VdB* and *GeI*. On the contrary, SFronted heads are completely absent in both 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL*.

According to my results, SF of heads in main clauses shows a clear division between verse and prose texts. SF is solely present in the former text type and not at all in the latter. This result confirms Mathieu's (2006a) finding that SF is highly common in poetic texts and much rarer in prose texts. Furthermore, I have shown that the results for head movement in main clauses can be integrated into Mathieu's (2006a) analysis.

3.3.2.2.2 SF of X^0 in Embedded Clauses

Head movement in embedded clauses is very infrequent. The whole corpus only shows 6 examples with 4 of them belonging to the poetic text *VdB* and with 2 belonging to the prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL*. The examples in (72) illustrate head movement in OF embedded clauses.

(72) SF in OF: evidence of head movement in embedded clauses

a. Part + Vfin

a. Seignurs, ço que penséd avum (VdB, 127)

Lords that what think.PART have.1PL

“Lords, what we have thought about...”

b. ----- (GeI)

c. ----- (Tr)

d. ----- (MdSL)

b. Inf + Vfin

a. Dist lui cument guarder les *deit.* (VdB, 150)

tell.3SG.PAST him how watch.INF over them have.3SG to

“He told him how to watch over them”

b. ----- (GeI)

- c. Quant li cevaliers du pont voit Brandelis, ki passer
when the knight of the bridge see.3SG Brandelis who pass.INF
 “When the knight of the bridge sees Brandelis who wanted to pass...”
voloit, il li escrie tout maintenant: ...
want.3SG.PAST he him shout.3SG immediately
 “...he immediately shouts at him:...”

(Tr, 153-154)

- d. aucune / foiz a l' uis et ailleurs la ou ferre le
no time to the door and somewhere else there where make.INF it
couvenoit.
have.3SG.PAST to
 “never, to the door or anywhere else, where it had to be done”

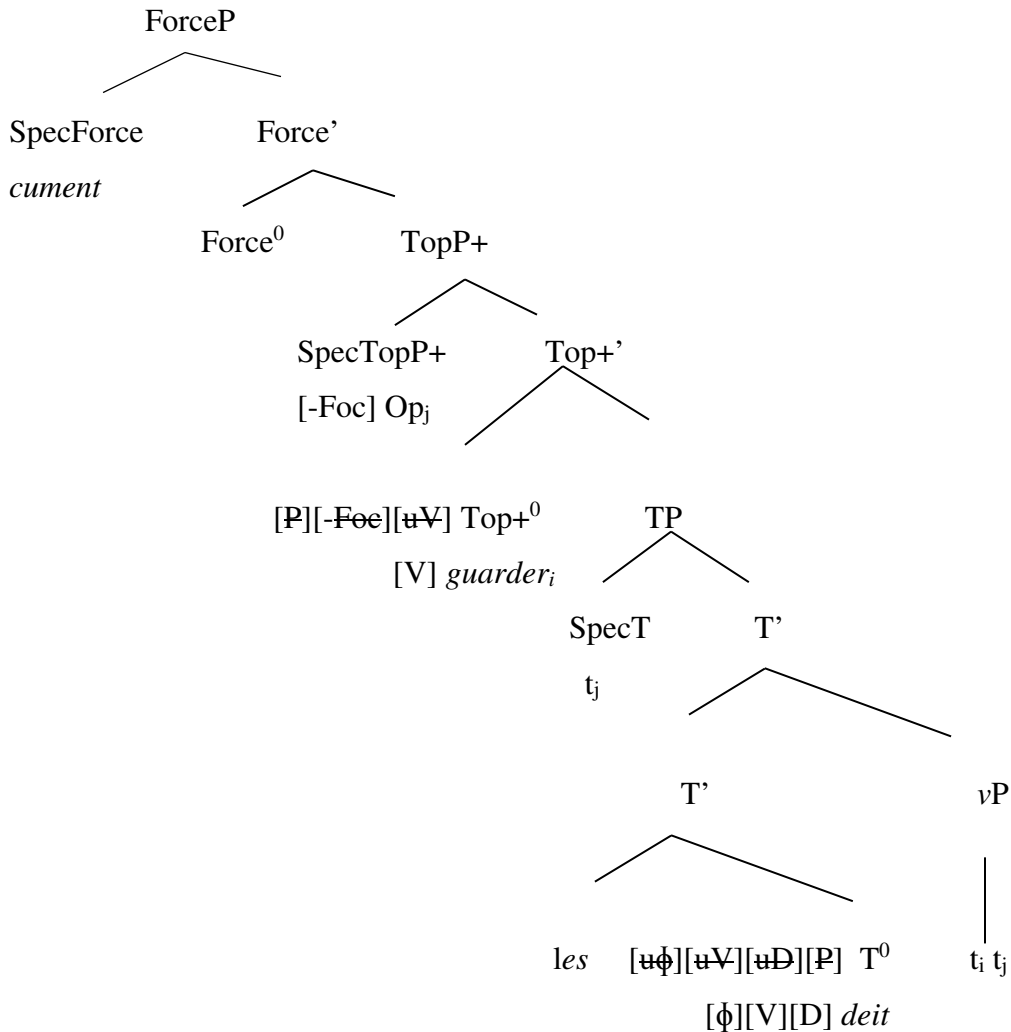
(MdSL, 436)

The following example (73) illustrates the syntactic structure for the examples in (72):

- (73) SF of X⁰ in the embedded clause:

cument garder les *deit* (VdB, 150)

[SpecForceP cument [Force0 [SpecTopP+ [Top+0 garder]_j [SpecTP [T0 les deit [vP **t_i**]]]]]]]]



A major difference to the main clauses is that FinP is not projected in embedded clauses. Thus, in embedded clauses, T⁰ is the highest head containing a [V]-feature. This results in an asymmetric pattern between the main and the embedded clauses.

The embedded clause in (73) contains the object pronoun *les* (“them”). I consider this pronoun left-adjoined to the finite verb under T'. This analysis is in line with Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005) who put forward the idea that it is the highest head containing a [V]-feature to which the object clitic left-adjoins. The highest head with a [V]-feature is Fin⁰ in main clauses and T⁰ in embedded clauses.

In (73), the SFronted element, the nonfinite verb *garder* (= “watch”), is a head which raises directly to Top+⁰. The finite verb *deit* (= “have to”) values the ϕ -features on T⁰, the [V]-feature which requires a verbal element in T⁰, as well as the [D]-feature which requires a nominal category in the checking domain of T, in the present case through the movement of the finite verb to T as no subject is moved to SpecTP.

There is one single SFronted element in the present embedded clause: the nonfinite head *garder*. The specifier position in SpecTopP+ is consequently empty. Contrary to the main clause in (71), the SFronted X⁰ does not leave a complement behind in the ν P of the present example. Therefore, there is no optionality between an SFronted XP and a Null Operator. In the case of the SFronted head *garder* which does not leave any complements behind, the Null Operator is the only choice to check the [P]- feature of the EPP.

A total of 6 embedded clauses with an SFronted X⁰ are present in my corpus. In (74), it is shown that none of the SFronted nonfinite verbs has any complements. In consequence, the X⁰ is the only element which can be SFronted.

(74) X⁰-movement in embedded clauses without a complement

a. Inf

- a. Dist lui cument garder les *deit*. (VdB, 150)
- b. Tant en face cum faire *pout*; (VdB, 245)
- c. Quant li cevaliers du pont voit Brandelis, ki passer / (Tr, 153-154)
voloit, il li escrie tout maintenant: "Sire cevaliers,
- d. foiz a l'uis et ailleurs la ou ferre le *couvenoit*. (MdSL, 436)

b. Part

a. Seignurs, ço que penséd *avum* (VdB, 127); DS

b. Pur le vent qui falit *ere*.³⁵ (VdB, 222)

Four examples in (74a) and (74b) are transitive, but do not have a phrasal object: (74a)-a is clitic climbing, (74a)-b is a kind of comparative deletion; (74a)-d is clitic-climbing such as (74a)-a and (74b)-a is a relative clause, so the object has been fronted independently. Only (74a)-c and (74b)-b are genuinely intransitive. In all of these clauses a very strict V-final word order in subordinate clauses can be observed.

The results in (74) show that the postulated Null Operator which is able to check the [P]-feature of the EPP is a very likely option. The possible variability between a fronted XP and a Null Operator as seen above for the main clauses does not exist in the embedded clauses containing an SFronted X^0 . The lack of a verbal complement which may undergo SF to check the [P]-feature and [-Foc] in SpecTopP+ confirms, on the one hand, the existence of the suggested Null Operator and, on the other hand, the necessity of the [V]-feature in Top+⁰ which prompts the SFronting of the nonfinite verb to this position.

I propose that the [V]-feature appears on Top+⁰ only in the main and embedded clauses in which a nonfinite head without any complements is available. In main clauses, the head has priority and has to move to the TopP+ layer before the complement can be SFronted into SpecTopP+ or before the Null Operator moves to SpecTopP+ if the

³⁵ Example (74b)-b contains the verbs *estre* (“to be”) and *faillir* (“to almost do sth.”). The conjugated forms in the above example are *ere*: 3SG.Imperfect and *falit*: past participle.

complement does not undergo SF. The results in my corpus for main clauses clearly indicate that the complement does not have to move via SF, but may stay in its base position. This is possible as a Null Operator which is able to check the [P]-feature and [-Foc] of Top^+ can be moved instead into SpecTopP^+ . SF of the XP is therefore optional. SF of X^0 in embedded clauses underlines my proposal: the nonfinite head moves. But: there is no complement of that verb in any of the examples. This means, first, that the nonfinite head has to have motivation to move, namely the [V]-feature, and second, that the [P]-feature and [-Foc] have to be checked by a Null Operator. There is no other option available in embedded clauses as there is no XP-complement which may undergo SF.

3.3.2.2.3 Summary: SF of X^0 in Main and in Embedded Clauses

The following tables display the number of occurrence of SF constructions in the main clauses and the embedded clauses of the corpus.

TABLE 11
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): X⁰ movement
VdB

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 166	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 83	%
Participle	2	1.2	2	2.4
Infinitival	3	1.8	2	2.4
Gerund	2	1.2	---	---
Total	7	4.22	4	4.8

TABLE 12
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): X⁰ movement
GeI

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 280	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 77	%
Participle	2	0.71	---	---
Infinitival	3	1.07	---	---
Gerund	3	1.07	---	---
Total	8	2.85	---	---

TABLE 13
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): X⁰ movement
Tr

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 130	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 193	%
Participle	---	---	---	---
Infinitival	---	---	1	0.5
Gerund	---	---	---	---
Total	---	---	1	0.5

TABLE 14
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): X⁰ movement
MdSL

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 62	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 173	%
Participle	---	---	---	---
Infinitival	---	---	1	0.58
Gerund	---	---	---	---
Total	---	---	1	0.58

In summary:

- SFronted X⁰ in main clauses:

7x in *VdB*

8x *GeI*

- SFronted X⁰ in embedded clauses:

4x in *VdB*

1x *Tr*

1x *MdSL*

In the 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL*, SF of X⁰ is extremely limited. There is only one single example of SF in embedded clauses in each of the prose texts. This is clearly not enough to speak of an SF grammar. The 12th century texts written in verse, *VdB* and *GeI*, show an SF grammar: in *VdB*, SF by X⁰ movement is equally attested in main and embedded clauses. In *GeI*, SF of X⁰ is only attested in main clauses.

The following section considers SFronted XPs in main and embedded clauses of the OF corpus.

3.3.2.3 SF of XP in Main and in Embedded Clauses

As mentioned above, confusion between topicalized and SFronted elements in main clauses is to be avoided. For that reason, I made the decision to exclude the following elements fronting the finite verb in the main clauses of the corpus used for the present research: adverbs, adjectives, DPs and PPs. They are potentially ambiguous indicators as they also occur in V2 constructions with postverbal subjects. The result is shown in (75). There are no cases of SFronted XPs in main clauses.

(75) SF in OF: no evidence of XP movement in main clauses

a. --- (VdB) ³⁶

³⁶ There is one main clause which poses a problem:

a tuz confés se rent, (VdB, 337)

to all confessor Refl go.3SG

“In front of all, he confesses his sin”

The first element is a PP and is therefore not considered to be SFronted in the present main clause (see Section 3.3.2.1 for further explanation). However, the element *confés* which follows the PP

- b. --- (GeI)
- c. --- (Tr)
- d. --- (MdSL)

Contrary to the OF main clauses of the corpus, the embedded clauses contain SFronted XPs.

3.3.2.3.1 SF of XP in Embedded Clauses

The reason for the occurrence of XP fronting in embedded clauses is that Topicalization is restricted to main clauses (Mathieu, 2006a). Thus, the embedded clauses showing XP movement can be without any doubt considered SFronted. In embedded contexts, there is no confusion possible between topicalized and SFronted XPs. The situation is very clear in embedded clauses. The OF corpus I used for the present study shows XP movement of the following categories in each of the four texts:

-*VdB*: AdjP, AdvP, DP, NP, PP

-*GeI*: AdjP, AdvP, DP, NP, PP

poses a problem. The translation according to Merrilees (1984:41) is the following: “...*il confesse son péché devant tout le monde...*” (“he confesses his sin in front of everybody”). The problem is the word *confés*. The *Larousse: Dictionnaire de l'ancien français* (2001) identifies *confés* as a noun or an adjective. According to Godefroy (1881), *confes* without the *accent aigu*, the accent above the letter “e”, is a noun and means “confessor”. The verb is *confessionner*. In the above example, I would have the tendency to consider *confés* an infinitive as this goes better with the meaning of the sentence and the storyline than the noun. But if I do consider it an infinitive, I do not have any means to show that *confés* is a true infinitive due to its orthography. Therefore, I prefer to exclude this sentence to avoid a wrong analysis.

-Tr: AdjP, AdvP, DP, NP, PP

-MdSL: AdvP, DP

The examples in (76) provide evidence for SFronted XPs in embedded clauses.

(76) SF in OF: evidence of XP movement in embedded clauses (V2)

a. AdvP + Vfin

et li demandoient cil qui ilecques estoient se ele sentoit /
and her ask.3PL.PAST the ones who there be.3PL.PAST if she feel. 3SG.PAST

“And the ones who were there asked her if she felt...”

la chaleur du feu

the heat of the fire

“...the heat of the fire”

(MdSL, 288-289)

b. AdjP + Vfin

Li cevaliers du pont, ki grans estoit et de merveilleuse / forche
the knight of the bridge who big be. 3SG.PAST and of wonderful strength

“The knight of the bridge who was big and of amazing strength”

(Tr, 129-130)

c. DP + Vfin

Cest cevalier ki chest pont garde, (Tr, 109); DS

this knight who this bridge stand.3SG guard on

“this knight who stands guard on this bridge”

d. NP + Vfin

qui esquier *fud* al barun (GeI, 549)

who squire is.3SG. PAST. to the lord

“who was the lord’s squire”

e. PP + Vfin

qu' al paveillun le *fist* porter (GeI, 535)

that to the tent him make. 3SG. PAST carry.INF

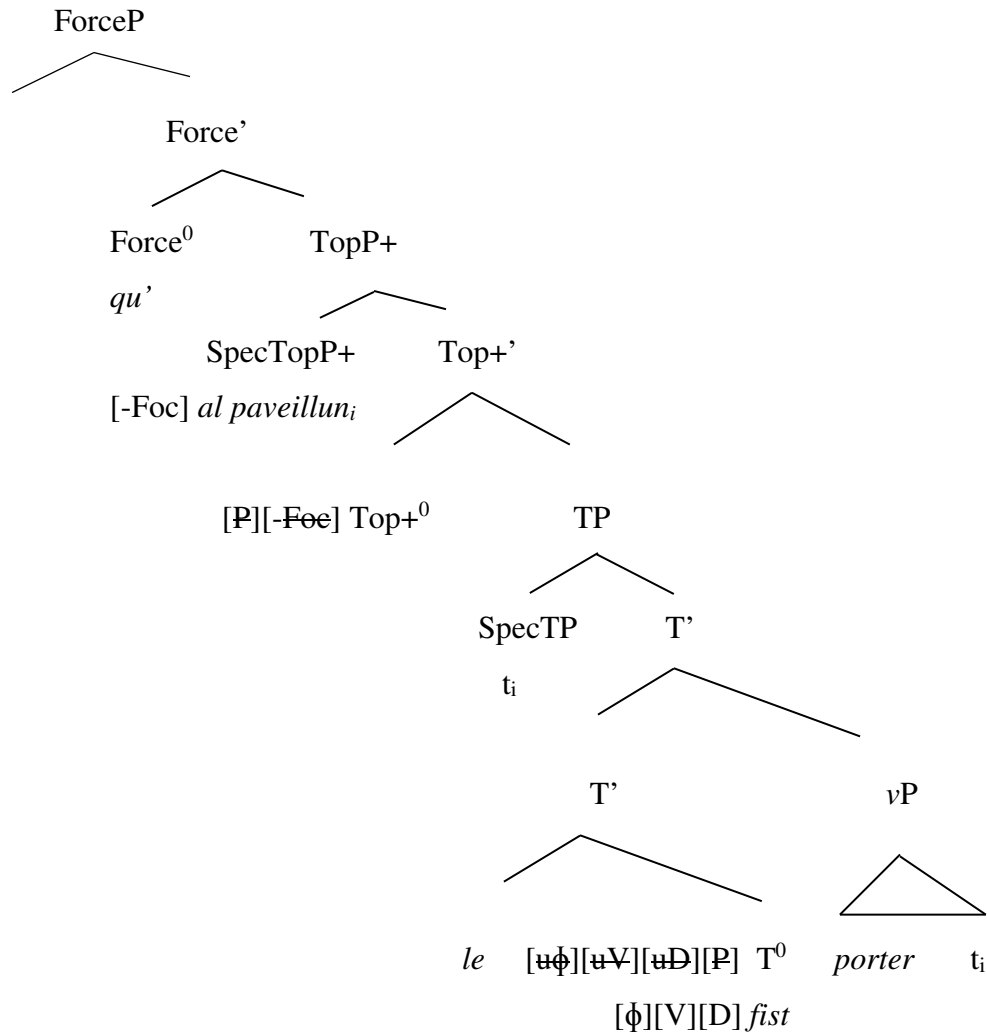
“that he made him being carried to the tent”

Let us consider the syntactic structure of embedded SFronted XPs (77):

(77) SF of XP in the embedded clause:

qu' al paveillun le *fist* porter (GeI, 535)

[SpecForceP [Force0 qu' [SpecTopP+ al paveillun_i [Top+0 [SpecTP [TO le fist [vP porter t_i
]]]]]]]]



In (77), the finite verb *fist* (= “made”) values the ϕ -features on T⁰, the [V]-feature that requires a verbal element in T⁰, as well as the [D]-feature, that requires a nominal category in the checking domain of T, in the present case through the movement of the finite verb to T as no subject is moved to SpecTP.

The SFronted element, *al paveillun* (= “to the tent”), is an XP which raises to SpecTopP+ after passing through SpecTP to check the [P]-feature on T⁰. The nonfinite X⁰ *porter* (“carry”) does not move out of the vP. This may seem astonishing. As shown in example (36) in Section 2.2.2.2, locality is an important factor for SF. Only the closest

candidate for movement can undergo SF, i.e. the leftmost one in the hierarchy. The Accessibility Hierarchy established by Maling (1990, 1980) determines the priority of the elements which can undergo SF under the condition of a subject gap preceding the finite verb. In relation to this hierarchy, the nonfinite verb should have been SFronted instead of the XP or, at least, SFronted with the XP as two SFronted elements are permitted in OF as long as they are an XP and an X^0 .

Yet, the results in (77) with only an XP as SFronted element in embedded clauses corroborate my proposed analysis. Above I proposed to consider that the [V]-feature on Top^0 is present only in main clauses and embedded clauses with a nonfinite verb without any complements. In the embedded clause in (77), the XP complement undergoes SF. The nonfinite verb stays in its base position. There is no motivation for the nonfinite verb to be SFronted. Because the XP is SFronted, there is also no need for the Null Operator to check the [P]-feature and [-Foc] as the SFronted XP is checking these features.

I may, then, conclude two things: first, the Null Operator and the [V]-feature go hand in hand together as the two are present in the same context: in main clauses with an SFronted X^0 and embedded clauses containing a nonfinite verb without a complement; second, SF is a feature-driven movement as already stated by Mathieu (2006a) and Holmberg (2000). My results suggest that the split EPP together with the [V]-feature on Top^0 provoke SF of a head in main clauses (SF of the nonfinite verb to Top^0 to check the [V]-feature and the movement of a Null Operator to SpecTopP+ to check the [P]-feature and [-Foc] on Top^0 if no XP is undergoing SF) and embedded clauses (SF of the

nonfinite verb to Top+⁰ to check the [V]- feature and the movement of a Null Operator to SpecTopP+ to check the [P]- feature and [-Foc] on Top+⁰).

3.3.2.3.2 Summary: SF of XP in Embedded Clauses

Tables 15-18 present the SFronted categories for each of the four OF texts in numbers and percentages as they occur in the embedded clauses. The dominant category that is found the most in SFronted contexts in embedded clauses is the AdvP with 41.9% in the poetic text *VdB*, 40.74% in the prose text *Tr* and 90% in *MdSL*. *GeI* is the only text which has a higher number of SFronted DPs with 28.1% occurrence and PPs with 37.5%.

TABLE 15
SF in OF embedded clauses (V2): XP movement
VdB

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 83	% of occurrence
AdjP	1	1.2
AdvP	13	15.66
DP	6	7.23
NP	1	1.2
PP	10	12.05
Total	31	37.34

TABLE 16
 SF in OF embedded clauses (V2): XP movement
GeI

SFronted element	Number V2 Embedded clauses : 77	% of occurrence
AdjP	3	3.9
AdvP	5	6.49
DP	9	11.68
NP	3	3.9
PP	12	15.58
Total	32	41.55

TABLE 17
SF in OF embedded clauses (V2): XP movement
Tr

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 193	% of occurrence
AdjP	1	0.52
AdvP	11	5.7
DP	4	2.07
NP	4	2.07
PP	6	3.11
Total	26	13.47

TABLE 18
SF in OF embedded clauses (V2): XP movement
MdSL

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 173	% of occurrence
AdjP	---	---
AdvP	9	5.2
DP	1	0.58
NP	---	---
PP	---	---
Total	10	5.78

Interestingly, the results in Tables 15-18 for OF embedded clauses correspond to what has been illustrated for OHG main clauses. In Section 3.1.1, I pointed out that Axel (2009a) and Näf (1979) observe that some categories are fronted more often than others for OHG XP fronting in V2-clauses. As stated by Axel's (2007), subject NPs and adverbials in the form of AdvPs and PPs are fronted more often than a direct-object NP or a nonfinite verb.

As discussed in Section 3.1.1, direct-object NPs are only found once in one of the poetic texts (*GeI*). Section 3.3.2.2 has shown that the fronting of nonfinite verbs is possible via SF, but that it is not as frequent as SFronted XPs. Only 22 out of a total of 122 SFronted elements in the main and embedded clauses with V2 word order are nonfinite verbs in the OF corpus. In addition, adverbials and DPs have clearly been

identified as the categories most likely to be SFronted in embedded clauses in OF. This result is similar to OHG.

To recapitulate: So far, the SF phenomenon seems to be divided into two groups: SF in matrix clauses which is exclusively X^0 -movement and SF in embedded clauses which is mostly XP movements. The 12th century poem *VdB* and the two 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL* show a very limited amount of X^0 in their embedded clauses. *VdB* displays four SFronted X^0 in its embedded clauses. *Tr* and *MdSL* only have one single example of SFronted X^0 in their embedded clauses. It looks as though SF in matrix clauses is almost completely disjointed from SF in embedded clauses. The objective of this dissertation is to find a unified analysis for SF structures in main as well as in embedded clauses even if they look very different on the surface. But it seems as though two different labels would be better suited to describe these two phenomena. Of course, the real problem is that Topicalization obscures SF and I am unable to verify how many matrix examples of XP-SF there really are. Future research is needed to find an answer to this problem.

3.3.2.3.3 SF in any Category of Embedded Clauses

SFronted elements occur in a total of 106 embedded clauses in V2-contexts in the corpus, namely in 100 embedded clauses with XP fronting and in 6 embedded clauses with fronted X^0 . The examples in (78) show that SF is a productive grammatical construction in OF as it is found in every type of embedded clause, namely in subject relative, relative and conjunctive clauses.

d. AdvP

qui adonc *demoroit* en la meson de la dite Emmeline,

who then remain.3SG.PAST in the house of the said Emmeline

“who therefore remained in the house of Emmeline”

(MdSL, 298)

b. Relative clauses

a. AdvP

Que forment *fud* e bone e bele. (VdB, 292)

which a lot be.3SG.PAST and good and beautiful

“which was precious and very beautiful”

b. -----

(GeI)

c. -----

(Tr)

d. InfP

aucune / foiz a l' uis et ailleurs la ou ferre le

no time to the door and somewhere else there where make.INF it

couvenoit.

have.3SG.PAST to

“never, to the door or anywhere else, where it had to be done”

(MdSL, 436)

c. Conjunctive clause

a. Fronted LocAdvP

Que tres bien veit e certainement (VdB, 143)

that very good see.3SG and certainly

“that (Brandan) had the certitude without any doubt.”

b. Fronted AdjP

que mort l' abat as piez Gorm[un]d (GeI, 284)

that dead him knock down at feet Gormond

“so that he fell dead at Gormond’s feet ”

c. Fronted Adv

car je sai bien que **ja** n' en escaperoie. (Tr, 213)

because I know.1SG well that now not PRT evade.1SG.CON

“because I know well that I could not evade now”

d. ----- (MdSL)

d. Relative without antecedent

a. ----- (VdB)

b. AdvP

Le quel de nus idune venquist (GeI, 371)

which of us then vanquish.PAST(Subjunctive).3SG

“Which one of us vanquished then”

c. ----- (Tr)

d. ----- (MdSL)

The examples in (78) illustrate that SF in embedded clauses is found in any type of embedded clause. However, the subject relative clauses are the only embedded clause type in which all of the four OF texts show SF. In the other relative clauses, only the poetic text *VdB* and the prose text *MdSL* have SFronted elements. The prose text *MdSL* does not show any SF in conjunctive clauses contrary to the other three texts *VdB*, *GeI* and *Tr*.

3.3.2.3.4 Summary: SF of XP in Main and in Embedded Clauses

The results in the present chapter indicate that SF is a grammatical operation in OF verse and prose texts. X⁰s in main and embedded clauses as well as XPs in embedded clauses can be SFronted. In embedded clauses, any clause type contains SFronted elements. Tables 19-22 sum up the observations for SF in V2 contexts in OF.

TABLE 19
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): XP and X⁰ fronting
VdB

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 166	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 83	%
X ⁰	7	4.22	4	4.8
XP	---	---	31	37.35
Total	7	4.22	35	42.15

TABLE 20
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): XP and X⁰ fronting
GeI

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 280	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clause : 77	%
X ⁰	8	2.85	---	---
XP	---	---	32	41.56
Total	8	2.85	32	41.56

TABLE 21
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): XP and X⁰ fronting
Tr

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 130	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clause : 193	%
X ⁰	---	---	1	0.51
XP	---	---	26	13.47
Total	---	---	27	13.98

TABLE 22
SF in OF main and embedded clauses (V2): XP and X⁰ fronting
MdSL

SFronted element	Total Number V2 Main clauses : 62	%	Total Number V2 Embedded clauses : 173	%
X ⁰	---	---	1	0.58
XP	---	---	10	5.78
Total	---	---	11	6.36

In summary:

- SFronted X^0 in main clauses:

7x in *VdB*

8x *GeI*

- SFronted X^0 in embedded clauses:

4x in *VdB*

1x *Tr*

1x *MdSL*

- SFronted XP in embedded clauses:

31x in *VdB*

32x *GeI*

26x *Tr*

10x *MdSL*

- The distribution of SF (SF of X^0 s and XPs combined) according to the dialect and text type:

→ *VdB* (verse, Anglo-Norman): 42x

→ *GeI* (verse, dialect of the Île-de-France, the Francien language): 40x

→ *Tr* (prose, Francien language, with dialectal elements from the Picardie region): 27x

→ *MdSL* (prose, dialect of the Île-de-France, the Francien language): 11x

3.3.2.4 SF in V3- and >V3-Contexts in Main and in Embedded Clauses

In the previous section, we have seen that SF is a common grammatical construction in OF main and embedded clauses with V2 word order. As OF has all the traits of a true V2

language, one may think that SF constructions are used to fulfil the V2 requirement. For example, Maling (1990) sees the trigger for SF in Icelandic in the requirement to satisfy the V2 pattern. For OF, such an analysis is not possible. Even though it is a V2 language, OF allows V1 and V3 word order. OHG behaves in the same way. The two V2 languages show flexibility towards their word order. In that sense, they behave just as Old Italian. Its flexibility towards word order patterns other than V2 causes Franco (2009) to call Old Italian a *relaxed V2-language*.

That SF in OF is not an operation to ensure the V2 requirement is very clear if we consider the fact that SF in OF is not only possible with one, but also with two elements. The two elements always have to be an XP and a head, never two heads or two XPs in the same clause (Mathieu, 2006a; Hrafnbjargarson, 2004).

3.3.2.4.1 SF in V3 Main Clauses

Evidence for SF in V3- main clauses is found in the following examples (79). Note that the prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL* do not show any occurrence of SFronted elements in main clauses with V3 word order.

(79) SF in OF: evidence of V3 in main clauses

a. PP, Inf

En plus cher leur aler entent (VdB, 160)

into more precious place go.INF intend

“He intends to go to a more precious place”

b. DP, Inf

Itel servant blasmer n' *esteot*. (VdB, 16)

such servant blame.INF not be.3SG.PAST

“One should not blame such servant”

c. Part, NP

vestue co *ade* mort nuvele (GeI, 46)

struck.PART him have.3SG of death quick

“he has struck him to death, a quick death”

The three examples in (79) show all an apparent V3 word order with SFronted elements. The first two clauses each show a fronted PP followed by an infinitive. The clause in (79c) illustrates a participial followed by an NP. Each of these constructions needs to be examined more closely.

Earlier, I stated that I will not consider XPs as SFronted constituents in main clauses as it is not clear if these constituents are topicalized or SFronted as they appear with and without an overt subject. Looking at the V3 structure in (79), there are two choices. On the one hand, my analysis may have to reject the possibility of having an SFronted PP in (79a) and an SFronted DP in (79b) for the sake of consistency. On the other hand, it may be claimed that XPs are clearly SFronted in V3 structures already containing an SFronted head. This explanation may be a highly likely solution to the problem of how to recognize if an XP is topicalized or SFronted. In the context of an SFronted head, the SF-structure is occupied by the head. SpecTopP+ is free and available

for an XP to move into this position. In what follows, I will therefore consider V3 clauses with a fronted XP followed by a fronted X⁰.

The first example in (79a) displays the PP *en plus cher leur*. The word *leur* is usually known as the French pronoun meaning ‘them’. In the present case, I consider this word a noun meaning *lieu* (=‘place’). There are four reasons why I think that ‘lieu’ is the correct translation. First, regarding the grammatical structure of the PP, a noun is needed after the superlative construction of *plus cher* (=‘more precious’). To think of a pronoun as the element following the adjective *cher* does not make a lot of sense concerning the grammar and the storyline.

The second point underlining my decision to code *leur* as a noun comes from the translation offered by Merrilees (1984:31) who translates (79a) as the following: “Il s’était fixé un but plus précieux.” (= ‘He has set for himself a more precious goal.’)³⁷. In this translation, Merrilees reflects the idea and the goal of Brandan which is to find a better place, the Promised Land. That is why he is speaking of a ‘precious goal’ instead of a ‘precious place’, but, still, his translation emphasizes that *leur* should be considered a noun and not the pronoun ‘them’.

³⁷ I have to point out that my translation is based on only the sentences I present as examples. The translation of the whole document as it is done by Merrilees (1984) often reflects the storyline and is not limiting itself only to a simple word by word translation. Merrilees’ translation I have given above reflects that. The story behind this sentence is that Brandan is saying his good byes before leaving on his ship with 14 monks chosen by him. He leaves on the ship without looking back to his family as he has set a more precious goal for himself which is to discover a more precious place: the Promised Land. Merrilees’ translation reflects the idea and the goal of Brandan.

Third, throughout the document of *VdB*, the pronoun *leur* is written in the following way: *lur*.

Lastly, the OF dictionaries of Greimas (2001) and Godefroy (1881) show a variety of orthographic possibilities for the noun 'place', namely *lieu, leu, liu, lue, lu, lou, luef, luec, leou* (Godefroy, 1881) and *lieu, liu, lue, leu* (Greimas, 2001). This variety of different spellings and pronunciations makes it very possible that *leur* is another variety of the noun designating 'place'. Especially if it is taken into consideration that the scribes who copied the text are responsible for orthographic changes in the document. According to Merrilees (1984: 18): « La langue de ce dernier a été certes déformée dans une certaine mesure par les scribes successifs qui nous ont transmis à leur façon le poème original, mais il s'agit là d'une altération superficielle qui se manifeste surtout au niveau de l'orthographe. »³⁸

Having clarified the status of the word *leur*, I now turn to the syntactic construction of this clause with the order PP-Inf-Vfin. Salvesen (2009) and Mathieu (2006a) have argued in favour of double SF constructions in OF and have found examples of the raising of a PP + Infinitival in their respective corpuses. The results of my corpus show the same construction in OF.

Mathieu (2006a) suggests analysing this construction with the help of the split EPP+ which assures the projection of the TopP+ layer between TopP and FinP in main clauses and between TopP and TP in embedded clauses. Mathieu's (2006a) proposal contains a position for the SFronted XP in SpecTopP+ and the SFronted X⁰ in Top+⁰.

³⁸ My translation: "The language of the latter was deformed; certainly to some extent by the successive scribes who transmitted to us in their own way the original poem. But this alteration is superficial and occurs mainly at the level of the spelling."

Salvesen (2009) opts for an explanation with Remnant Movement. As mentioned above in Section 2.2.2.2, Salvesen (2009), adopting Franco's (2009) analysis for Old Italian, argues that SF constructions of the form DP/PP and the V⁰ in OF are moved as a phrase and are an instance of Remnant Movement. According to Franco (2009) and Salvesen (2009), SF can take place inside the vP (with a movement to v-FocP and v-Foc⁰) and, afterwards, at CP-level (with a movement to SpecFinP). The clause in (79a) would therefore display the movement operations shown in (80) and (81).

(80) SF inside the vP (Salvesen, 2009)

[_{v-FocP} [_{PP} en plus cher leur] [_{v-Foc0} aller [_{vP} *pro* [_{v0} entent [_{vP} [_{v0} aller [_{PP} ~~en plus cher leur~~]]]]]]]]

(81) SF in SpecFinP (Salvesen, 2009)

[_{FinP}[_{vP} [_{PP} en plus cher leur] [_{v0} aller]] [_{Fin0} entent]]]

The problem with an analysis considering Remnant Movement for a fronted complement and its nonfinite verb is twofold. First, the results of my corpus clearly indicate several cases in which only the nonfinite head is fronted leaving its complement behind (82). Interestingly, Mathieu (2006a) has made the same observation for his corpus.

(82) OF: Raising of the verbal head while the complement is left behind

a. E dit lur *ad* le soen purpens; (VdB, 109)

and said them have.3SG the his idea

“And he has presented his idea to them”

b. Perdu *avez* votre moreis (GeI, 104); DS

lost have.2PL your Arabian (horse)

“You have lost your Arabian horse”

One major issue I see with a Remnant Movement analysis is that an explanation would be needed as to why, in some cases, only the verbal head is SFronted leaving its complement behind and, in other cases, the whole vP is fronted containing the scrambled PP/DP as well as its verbal head.

A justification would also be needed as to why Remnant Movement to FinP is preferred over the fronting into the projection TopP+ even though the PP/DP can be placed into SpecTopP+ and the nonfinite head into Top+⁰. In my opinion, there is no necessity in invoking a different syntactic mechanism for some fronted elements if there is already a structure in place to which the fronted elements can move. Furthermore, Fanselow (2009:96) indicates that “Remnant movement accounts of verb fronting need even more machinery in order to work properly.”

In addition, there is only one single text in my corpus, *VdB*, which displays only two occurrences of two SFronted elements of the order: PP/DP-Inf, illustrated in (79a) and (79b). In my view, there is no motivation to ascertain a different kind of analysis with

Remnant Movement to explain a certain sequence of SFronted elements which is completely absent from three texts and demonstrates only an extremely low frequency in one single text. The sequence PP/DP and Inf can be perfectly integrated into Mathieu's (2006a) analysis which suggests the TopP+ -projection.

The second major problem if a Remnant Movement analysis for fronted complements and their verbal heads is assumed is that the VP is not a category which can be SFronted (for OF: Mathieu, 2006a; for Icelandic: Holmberg, 2000).

Moreover, although Remnant Movement is found in Germanic languages (for NHG: Hinterhölzl, 2006; for Old Icelandic: Hróarsdóttir, 2000), Fanselow and Lenertová (2011) and Fanselow (2009, 2004, 2003a, 2003b) argue that SF is not Remnant Movement in NHG. Fanselow (2004) illustrates that the reanalysis of SF as Remnant Movement fails due to the fact that scrambling of the DP out of the VP prior to Remnant Movement is not licensed in the majority of cases. Furthermore, Fanselow (2009:96) argues that "there are no compelling examples in the V2 domain that would show that remnant vP movement can transport more than just a single head....The remnant movement analysis of V2 thus needs to invoke a miracle, viz. the miracle that all material but the finite verb leaves vP ." According to Fanselow and Lenertová (2011), there are several reasons for the ungrammaticality of remnant VP-fronting. First, German has no long-distance scrambling. This means that an XP cannot be scrambled out of an embedded finite clause or an infinitival clause (83).

(83) No Long-Distance Scrambling in German: Remnant movement of VP is ungrammatical

*[Gedrängt t_i aufzugeben] hat sie ihn seinen Job _{i}
urged give-up.INF has she him.ACC his job
“She urged him to give up his job”

(Example taken from Fanselow and Lenertová, 2011:28)

The same example is grammatical with an SFronted XP (84).

(84) SF of XP

[Seinen Job] _{i} hat sie ihn gedrängt t_i aufzugeben
his.ACC job has she him.ACC urged give-up.INF
“She urged him to give up his job”

(Example taken from Fanselow and Lenertová, 2011:28)

Second, parasitic gap data from German show that an analysis of SF implicating movement of a VP is ungrammatical. Data provided by Fanselow and Lenertová (2011) demonstrate that the element undergoing SF in parasitic gap-constructions is a DP. A VP cannot be SFronted in these clauses.

(85) SF of DP in clause with parasitic gap

Akten_i hat er [anstatt e_i zu bearbeiten] t_i in den Papierkorb geworfen.

files has he instead to process in the basket tossed

“He threw files into the basket without having processed them”

(Example taken from Fanselow and Lenertovà, 2011:15)

In example (85), the parasitic gap is bound by the SFronted DP and cannot be bound by the VP.

Finally, there is a restriction on VP-fronting. SF-structures do not show definiteness effects with subjects.

(86) SF of VP with an indefinite subject is grammatical

[Ein Orden verliehen] wurde ihr erst gestern

a.NOM medal awarded was her.DAT only yesterday

“A medal was awarded to her only yesterday”

(Example taken from Fanselow and Lenertovà, 2011:28)

(87) SF of VP with a definite subject is ungrammatical

*[Der Orden verliehen] wurde ihr erst gestern

the.NOM medal awarded was her.DAT only yesterday

“The medal was awarded to her only yesterday”

(Example taken from Fanselow and Lenertovà, 2011:28)

In my opinion, it is unlikely that we are dealing with Remnant Movement in the case of two SFronted elements of the form PP-Infinitival, DP-Infinitival, PP-Participial and DP-Participial. The fronting of non-specific indefinite DPs instead of definite DPs, as shown in Mathieu (2006a) and also present in the embedded clauses of my OF corpus (88), provides evidence for the claim that it is not the complement of the nonfinite verb that has been moved.

(88) SF of indefinite DPs

Itel servant blasmer n' *esteot*. (VdB, 15-16)

such servant blame.INF not be.3SG. PAST

“One should not blame such servant”

It is quite possible that the fronted XP, i.e. the PP or the indefinite DP, has been moved via SF and not, first, via Scrambling and, afterwards, via Remnant Movement. The same holds true for the movement of the nonfinite verb which is SFronted as well according to this view.

The next example, (79c), is the clause: *vestue co ade mort nuvele* (GeI, 46). In this main clause, a participial head precedes what seems, at first glance, to be the neutral demonstrative pronoun *co*. This means that we are dealing with a head preceding an XP. This configuration can never be SFronted according to Mathieu (2006a) and Hrafnbjargarson, (2004). Therefore, the main clause in (79c) poses a problem. This issue may be solved by taking a closer look at *co*. It may not be an NP afterall.

Sostmann (1910) is not certain himself about the nature of *co*. In his thesis, he gives a list of all the lines containing the neutral demonstrative pronoun *ceo*, *c'* and *co*. The line 46 is written after *co*, but with a question mark. In his *texte critique* of *GeI*, Bayot (1931) translates the line in the following way: *avestu l'at de mort nuvele*. The translation of *co* is the object pronoun *him* according to Bayot.

Co in line 46 of the text *GeI* does not behave like the neutral demonstrative pronoun in OF. This is evident when we compare this clause with the study of Zaring (1998) who describes the properties of the neuter pronoun *ce* (= “it”, “this”, “that”) in OF. According to her, *ce* which is frequently used in OF and MF is found in the grammatical functions of subject, direct object and object of P. Zaring also notes that the pronominal *ce* is a non-clitic element as it appears clause-initially (in 83% of the main and embedded clauses in Zaring’s (1998) corpus), *ce* triggers subject-verb inversion, it can be modified by adjectives, be conjoined and appear in isolation. In clauses in which the lexical verb is either a participle or an infinitival, the direct object *ce* always precedes it. Zaring (1998) underlines that the direct object *ce* never follows the nonfinite verb.

Looking at the example *vestue co ade mort nuvele* (*GeI*, 46), it is clear that *co* cannot be the neuter pronoun *ce* as it does not behave according to Zaring’s (1998) observation. *Co* in this example follows and does not precede the participle. It is placed between the participle and the auxiliary. I propose to analyse *co* as an object clitic. This would be in line with Labelle and Hirschbühler (2005) who analyze OF object clitics as generally proclitic and suggest to left-adjoin them to the highest head containing a V-feature, i.e. Fin^0 in main clauses. Hence, I analyse the participle *vestue* as SFroned X^0 which is moved to Top^0 and *co* as an object clitic which left-adjoins to Fin^0 . Thus, with

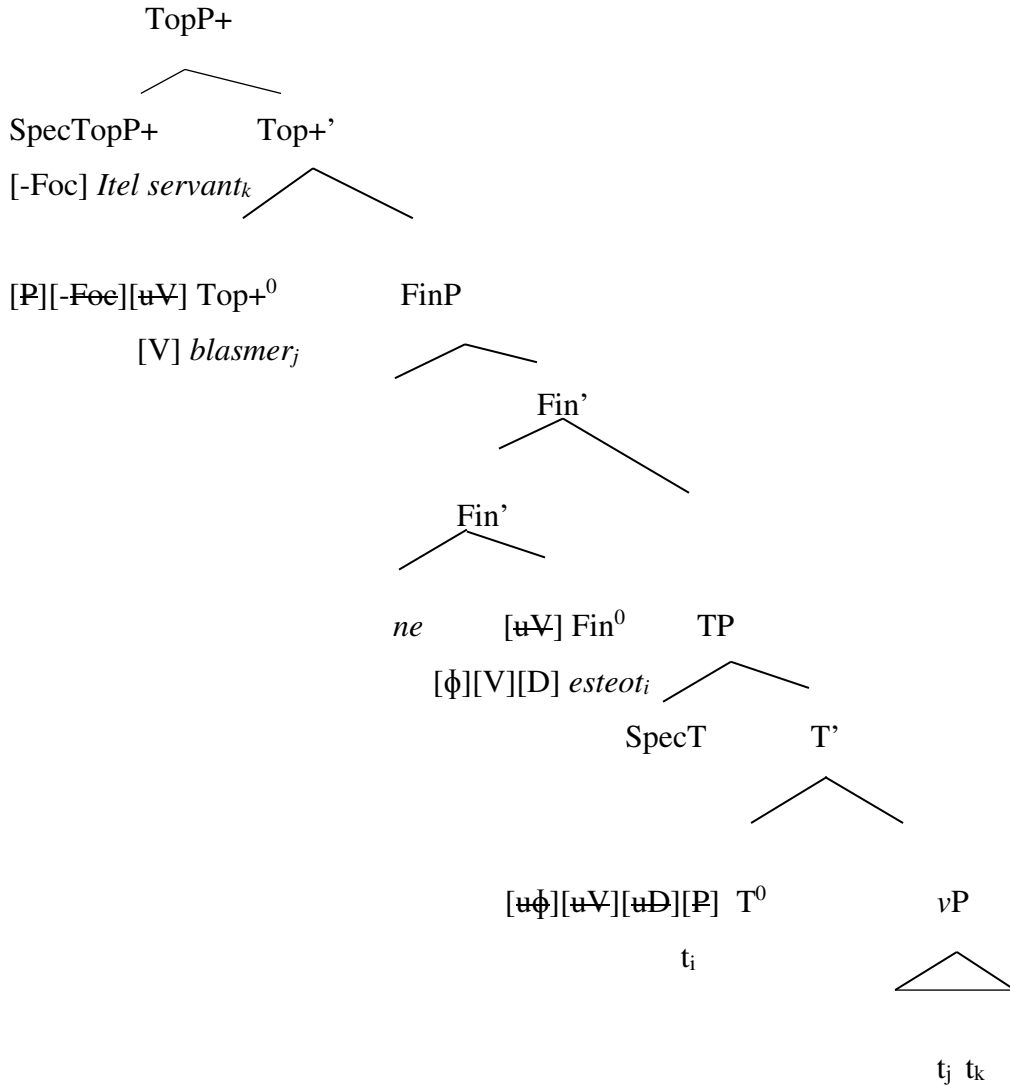
only one SFronted element, the clause (79c) has to be included in the count of clauses with SF in V2-contexts (see Table 25).

In all, there are only two true main clauses which contain V3 word order, namely (79a) and (79b). Their syntactic structure is shown in (89):

(89) SF with the order XP-X⁰ in the main clause:

Itel servant blasmer n'esteot. (VdB, 16)

[SpecTopP [Top0 [SpecTopP+ I tel servant_k [Top+0 blasmer_j [SpecFinP [Fin0 n'esteot_i [SpecTP [T0
t_i [vP **t_j** **t_k**]]]]]]]]]]



In (89), the finite verb *esteot* (“was”) values the ϕ -features on T⁰, the [V]-feature, which requires a verbal element in T⁰, and the [D]-feature, which requires a nominal category in the checking domain of T, in the present case through the movement of the finite verb to T as no subject is moved to SpecTP. The [V]-feature on Fin⁰ requires a further movement of the finite verb to the head of FinP.

The main clause in (89) has two SFronted elements which are the XP *IteI servant* (“such servant”) and the X⁰ *blasmer* (= “to blame”). The X⁰ raises directly to Top+⁰ by

the reason of the [V]-feature which requires a nonfinite verb in Top+⁰. SpecTopP+ is filled by an XP and therefore there is no need for an operator as found in (71) in which only the X⁰ is SFronted in the main clauses. The SFronted XP checks the [P]-feature and [-Foc] situated on Top+⁰.

Usually, the complements of nonfinite verbs are PPs and DPs, i.e. the categories that I excluded from SF in main clauses because of the ambiguity between Topicalization and SF (see 3.3.2.1). In (89), there is, however, an SFronted DP: *Itel servant*. This DP is the complement of the nonfinite verb *blasmer* and therefore clearly SFronted. Being a complement of a nonfinite verb is the only possibility of XPs to be SFronted in main clauses.

In total, there are only two double SF constructions in the main clauses of the whole corpus, but there is one more double SF-construction that has to be added as will be noted in the next Section 3.3.2.4.2, resulting in a total of three.

3.3.2.4.2 SF in >V3 Main Clauses

Let us turn to SF in main clauses with >V3-structures, as shown in (90). Note that the poetic text *GeI* as well as the prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL* do not show any occurrence of SFronted elements in main clauses with >V3 word order. In fact, there is only one single example of SF in a >V3 word order main clause in the whole corpus, namely in the text *VdB*.

(90) SF in OF: evidence of >V3 in main clauses

AdvP, PP, Part

Enz en la nef entré sunt tuit³⁹. (VdB, 463)

thus in the ship entered *be.3PL all*

“Thus, all have entered the ship”

Even though the example in (90) shows a main clause with a >V3 word order, I suggest analyzing this clause as a V3-clause. I propose that the first constituent, the AdvP, should not be counted as an SFronted element as indicated in Section 3.3.2.1. To avoid confusion between topicalized and SFronted elements in main clauses, I exclude adverbs, adjectives, DPs and PPs fronting the finite verb in the OF main clauses of my corpus. Therefore, with two SFronted elements, the clause (90) has to be included in the count of clauses with SF in V3-contexts (see Table 25).

To conclude, V3 word orders are attested with SFronted constituents. Still, there is no evidence of >V3 word orders in SF-contexts in my OF corpus which is in accordance with Mathieu’s (2006a) analysis which allows only an XP and a head to be SFronted in the same clause.

³⁹ *Tuit* (“all”) is the subject of the clause. Generally, a subject gap is essential for SF to apply. Mathieu (2006a) observes cases of SF in OF with the subject present.

TABLE 23
SF in OF main clauses (V3): XP and X⁰ fronting
VdB

SFronted element	Total Number V3-Main clauses : 51	%
PP-Inf	1	1.96
DP-Inf	1	1.96
PP-Part	1	1.96
Total	3	5.88

----- (GeI)

----- (Tr)

----- (MdSL)

The results for SFronted XP + X⁰ in main clauses in the OF texts *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL* in summary:

- There are 3 occurrences of SF in main clauses with V3 word order. They all are found in the same text, namely *VdB*.

-The SFronted elements in *VdB* are the following: PP-Inf, DP-Inf, PP-Part.

- The poetic text *GeI* as well as the prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL* do not demonstrate any occurrence of SFronted elements in main clauses with V3 word order.
- There is no occurrence of SF in main clauses having a >V3 word order.

3.3.2.4.3 SF in V3 Embedded Clauses

Embedded clauses offer the only context in which the fronting of AdvPs and PPs is unambiguous. Topicalization is excluded in embedded contexts which indicates that fronted XPs such as AdvPs and PPs found in embedded contexts are clearly cases of SF. As illustrated in the results of the OF corpus in (91), three out of four texts show SFronted elements in subject relative clauses having a V3 word order (91a). The only text without any SF in this embedded clause type is *Tr*.

(91) SF in OF: evidence of V3 in embedded clauses

a. Subject relative clause

a. PP, Adv

Qui a le ordre bein se tindrent. (VdB, 34)

who to the order well REFL stick.3PL.PAST

“who respected the order very well”

b. DP, Adv

Qui tuz nos homes nus ocist /

who all our men us kill.3SG

“...who is killing all our men ...”

e (qui) Damne Deu tant fort *laidist?*

and the Lord so strongly dishonor.3SG

...and (who) at the Lord directs such terrible insults.”

(GeI, 205-206); DS

c. ----- (Tr)

d. PP, PP

qui desous li en ce meesme ruissel *apareilloient* (MdSL, 123)

who under her in this same stream appear.PAST.3PL

“...who appeared at the same water stream where she was.”

In the subject relative clauses (91a)-a and (91a)-b, there is an SFronted XP followed by an SFronted X⁰, namely PP-Adv and DP-Adv. As stated by Hrafnbjargarson (2004), sentence medial adverbs can be XPs as well as heads at the same time. As indicated in 3.2.2.1., to avoid confusion between topicalized and SFronted elements in main clauses, I exclude adverbs (in addition to adjectives, DPs and PPs) fronting the finite verb in the OF main clauses of my corpus. In embedded clauses, however, there is no ambiguity and adverbs following an XP are clearly X⁰.

The example in (91a)-d is from the text *MdSL*. In this example, two XPs precede the finite verb. As reported by Mathieu (2006a) and Hrafnbjargarson (2004), this should not be a possible grammatical option for SFronted elements. The two XPs are PPs. One might think that adjunction to TopP+ in this case would be a good idea, i.e. the highest PP *desous li* is adjoined to TopP+ whereas the PP *en ce meesme ruissel* is moved to SpecTopP+. There are 6 examples of two fronted XPs in the whole corpus (*VdB*: 3; *GeI*: 1; *Tr*: 1; *MdSL*: 1). As only the second XP can be considered SFronted, I will include these 6 clauses into the category of SFronted XP in V2-contexts in the final table, Table 25, at the end of the present chapter.

We now turn to the non-subject relative clauses (91b). The results show that only the poetic text *VdB* has occurrences of SFronted elements in embedded relative clauses with a V3 word order.

b. Relative clauses

a. NP, Inf (VdB, 48)

Dunt Deu prier *prent* plus suvent
from-which God pray.INF begin.3SG more often

“because of which he begins to pray to God more often”

b. ----- (GeI)

c. ----- (Tr)

d. ----- (MdSL)

In (91b)-a, the SFronted NP *Deu* precedes the infinitival head *prier*. As already seen in Section 3.3.2.4.1 for SF in V3 main clauses, the order XP followed by an X⁰ fits perfectly into an analysis of SF implicating the projection TopP+.

c. Conjunctive clause

a. PP,NP

Que en la citét hume n' i out. (VdB, 278)

that in the city man not there is.PAST.3SG

“...that there was nobody in the city.”

b. NP, Adv

ke trente jorz puis ne *vesquié*. (GeI, 413)

that thirty days then not live.PART

“...that he has not lived for thirty days.”

c. AdvP, PP

or sachiés tout vraiment que ja a vostre fil ne *metrai* / main

or know.2PL entirely really that now at your son not put.FUT.ISG hand

“I want you to really know that I will not raise my hand against your son.”

(Tr, 28-29); DS

d. ----- (MdSL)

The examples (91c)-a from the text verse VdB and (91c)-c from the prose text Tr show two XPs preceding the finite verb. In the former, the fronted XPs are the PP *en la citét* and the NP *hume* and in the latter, the AdvP *ja* and the PP *a vostre fil*. As already proposed for the example in (91a)-d, I consider adjunction to TopP+ to explain the first XP. The second XP is SFronted to SpecTopP+.

The example in (91a)-b shows an SFronted NP followed by an Adv in the text *GeI*. The NP *trente jorz* is SFronted into SpecTopP+ whereas the Adv *puis* is SFronted into the head-position Top+⁰.

The prose text MdSL does not contain any occurrences of conjunctive clauses with V3 word order with SFronted elements.

d. Interrogative clause

NP, Part

a. Pur quei poür oüt avez? (VdB, 562)

Why fear have.PART have.2.PL

“Why have you been afraid?”

b. ----- (GeI)

c. ----- (Tr)

d. -----

(MdSL)

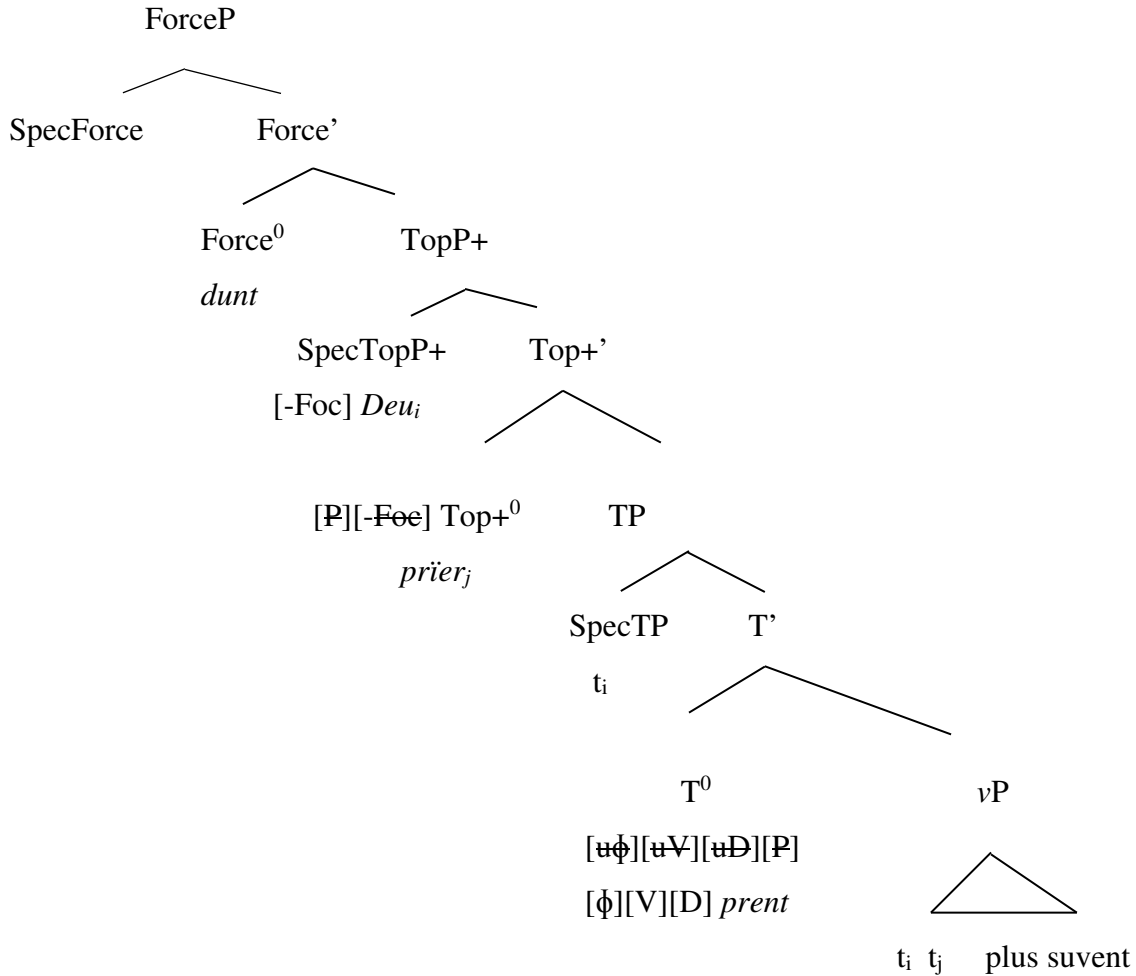
In the OF corpus, there is only a single example of an interrogative clause displaying V3 word order as well as SFronted elements. In (91d)-a, the SFronted NP *poür* precedes the infinitival head *oüt*. As already seen in Section 3.3.2.4.1 for SF in V3 main clauses, the order of XP followed by an X⁰ fits perfectly into an analysis of SF implicating the projection TopP+.

In (92), I present the syntactic structure for embedded clauses containing two SFronted elements.

(92) SF of XP-X⁰ in the embedded clause:

Dunt Deu prüer *prent* plus suvent (VdB, 48)

[_{SpecForceP} [_{Force0} dunt [_{SpecTopP+} Deu_i [_{Top+0} prüer [_{SpecTP} [_{T0} prent [_{vP} **ti** plus suvent]]]]]]]]]



In (92), the finite verb *prent* (“begins”) values the ϕ -features on T^0 , the [V]-feature, that requires a verbal element in T^0 , and the [D]-feature, that requires a nominal category in the checking domain of T, in the present case through the movement of the finite verb to T as no subject is moved to SpecTP. FinP is not projected in embedded clauses. Therefore, it is T^0 which is the highest head containing a [V]-feature.

The embedded clause in (92) has two SFronted elements which are the XP *Deu* (“God”) and the X^0 *prier* (= “to pray”). The nonfinite X^0 , contrary to the main clauses with an SFronted X^0 and also contrary to the embedded clauses with an SFronted X^0 , is not attracted by the [V]-feature in $Top+^0$. I suggest that the [V]-feature is not present in

Top+⁰ and that a verbal head cannot be attracted into the domain of TopP+ on account of this feature. I propose this because nonfinite verbal heads are attracted to Top+⁰ as well as other heads such as Adverbs, for example (see example (91a)-a or (91a)-b).

From the moment on, a [V]-feature is present in Top+⁰, and the nonfinite X⁰ has to move first. The complement XP if present in the clause follows afterwards. We know that the nonfinite head moves first in these structures as the XP may or may not follow. There exists optionality in main clauses resulting either in the order Null Operator-X⁰ or XP-X⁰. In embedded clauses, the XP is not even present and only the nonfinite X⁰ can be SFronted.

When the [V]-feature is not present in Top+⁰, the XP has to be SFronted first. In the case of SFronted V3 word order in embedded clauses, the X⁰ is SFronted after the XP. The X⁰ in these cases can be either a nonfinite verb or another category such as an adverb. That is why the [V]-feature cannot be present on Top+⁰ in the embedded clauses with an SFronted XP.

To sum up, I propose the following pattern for SF in OF:

TABLE 24
Summary of proposed analysis for SF in OF

a. SF of X⁰

Clause type	SF of X ⁰	V-feature on Top+ ⁰	Null Operator in SpecTopP+	Complements of nonfinite verb
Main clause	yes ⁴⁰	Yes	Yes	yes
Embedded clause	yes ⁴¹	Yes	Yes	no

b. SF of XP

Clause type	SF of XP	V-feature on Top+ ⁰	Null Operator in SpecTopP+	Complements of nonfinite verb
Main clause	No	No	No	yes
Embedded clause	Yes	No	No	yes

⁴⁰ Only in the 12th century poetic texts.

⁴¹ Very infrequent in the 12th century poetic texts and the 13th century prose texts.

c. SF of XP-X⁰

Clause type	SF of XP-X⁰	V-feature on Top+⁰	Null Operator in SpecTopP+	Complements of nonfinite verb
Main clause	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Embedded clause	Yes	No	No	Yes

TABLE 25
Summary of SF in the OF corpus (VdB, GeI, Tr, MdSL)

Text	Clause type	SF of X⁰	SF of XP⁴²	SF of XP-X⁰	Total
<i>VdB</i>	Main	7	---	3	10
	Embedded	4	34		38
<i>GeI</i>	Main	9 ⁴³	---	---	9
	Embedded	---	33		33
<i>Tr</i>	Main	---	---	---	---
	Embedded	1	26		27
<i>MdSL</i>	Main	---	---	---	---
	Embedded	1	11		12
Total		22	104	3	129

The results clearly indicate that SF is mainly an embedded phenomenon in OF and more frequent in poetic texts than in prose. It has to be pointed out that fronted XPs have been excluded by definition from main clause contexts to avoid a confusion with

⁴² The total of the embedded clauses with an SFronted XP contains the six clauses mentioned in Section 3.3.2.4.3. I added the clauses which show two fronted XPs. I consider the first XP an adjunction to TopP+ and the second XP SFronted into SPecTopP+. The following clauses have been added: VdB, 74; VdB, 177-178; VdB, 278; GeI, 307; Tr, 28 and MdSL, 123.

⁴³ The total of 9 main clauses with an SFronted X⁰ contains the clause *vestue co ade mort nuvele* (GeI, 46) from Section 3.3.2.4.1.

Topicalization. That explains the results indicating that SF is mainly an embedded phenomenon.

The quantity of SF constructions in the 12th century poems *VdB* and *GeI* is much higher than in the 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL*. One explanation may be that poems need SF to respect the rhythmic structure of the text. According to Trips (2003), SF is used in the Early Middle English poetic text, the *Ormulum*, for metrical reasons. An extensive research of OE and OHG prose and poetic texts by Cichosz (2010) has shown that the text type is influential on the word order of a text.

3.4 Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have examined XP fronting in OHG and OF, more precisely Germanic inversion, Romance inversion and SF.

Germanic inversion as well as Romance inversion is extremely infrequent in all the four OF texts *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*. The text which shows the most instances of Germanic inversion with three occurrences is the 13th century prose text *Tr*. Romance inversion is completely absent from *Tr*. The second prose text from the 13th century, *MdSL*, does not show any Germanic inversion at all, but instead two occurrences of Romance inversion. Interestingly, *Tr* the text which is situated closer to the Germanic language border shows Germanic inversion and no Romance inversion. In contrast, *MdSL*, the prose text situated further away from the Germanic language border shows no Germanic inversion at all, but Romance inversion. This result may indicate that the prose documents written in an OF dialect closer to the Germanic language border exhibit a

higher frequency of syntactic elements which can be considered Germanic-like syntactic structures.

The two 12th century poems also show an extremely low frequency of Germanic and Romance inversion. *VdB* displays two instances of Germanic inversion and one of Romance inversion, whereas *GeI* shows two occurrences of each inversion types. *GeI* is written in the literary standard language of the Île-de-France and is closer situated to the Germanic language border in contrast to the poem *VdB* written in Anglo-Norman. Nevertheless, there are no large differences to note between the instances of Germanic and Romance inversion in both texts. The numbers are too low.

The main focus in this chapter was set on SF. In OHG, SF is an integral part of OHG grammar. My results have demonstrated that the same holds true for OF. The results of my research indicate that SF is a grammatical operation in OF which follows a clear pattern. The Split EPP as the driving force for SF in OF as it is proposed by Mathieu (2006a) has been confirmed by the results of the OF corpus. As well, my research strongly confirms Mathieu's (2006a) claim for a TopP+ projection in languages which have SF.

In addition, I proposed the following: first, the Null Operator and the [V]-feature go hand in hand as the two are present in the same context: in main clauses with an SFfronted X⁰ and embedded clauses containing a nonfinite verb without a complement; second, SF is a feature-driven movement as already stated by Mathieu (2006a) and Holmberg (2000). My results suggest that the split EPP together with the [V]- feature on Top+⁰ provoke SF of a head in main clauses (SF of the nonfinite verb to Top+⁰ to check the [V]- feature and the movement of a Null Operator to SpecTopP+ to check the [P]-

feature and [-Foc] on Top^{+0} if no XP is undergoing SF) and embedded clauses (SF of the nonfinite verb to Top^{+0} to check the [V]- feature and the movement of a Null Operator to SpecTopP^{+} to check the [P]- feature and [-Foc] on Top^{+0}).

In embedded clauses with an SFronted XP, the nonfinite X^0 , contrary to the main clauses with an SFronted X^0 and also contrary to the embedded clauses with an SFronted X^0 , is not attracted by the [V]-feature in Top^{+0} . I propose that the [V]-feature is not present in Top^{+0} and that, therefore, a verbal head cannot be attracted into the domain of TopP^{+} . The reason why I set forth this theory is that not only nonfinite verbal heads are attracted to Top^{+0} in embedded clauses with an SFronted XP, but also other heads such as Adverbs.

From the moment on, a [V]-feature is present in Top^{+0} , the nonfinite X^0 has to move first. The complement XP, if present in the clause, follows afterwards. The nonfinite head moves first in these structures as the XP may or may not follow. There exists an optionality in main clauses resulting either in the order Null Operator- X^0 or XP- X^0 . In embedded clauses, the XP is not even present and only the nonfinite X^0 can be SFronted.

When the [V]-feature is not present in Top^{+0} , the XP has to be SFronted first. In the case of SFronted V3 word order in embedded clauses, the X^0 is SFronted after the XP. The X^0 in these cases can be either a nonfinite verb or another category such as an adverb. Consequently, the [V]-feature cannot be present on Top^{+0} in the embedded clauses with an SFronted XP.

Labelle (2007) offers a critical view regarding the existence of SF in OF. Labelle mentions several reasons for questioning SF-movement in OF. First, she indicates that

fronted X^0 such as participles or infinitives can be simply fronted to fulfil the V2 requirement and are not a sign of SF. In Section 3.3.2.2, it has been illustrated, for main as well as embedded clauses, that nonfinite heads move to a distinct position, $\text{Top}^+{}^0$ in the projection TopP^+ , in the CP-layer which is only projected in languages with a Split EPP and exclusive to SFronted elements (Mathieu, 2006a). Additionally, I have shown that the movement of X^0 is motivated by a [V]-feature which is present in $\text{Top}^+{}^0$. It is well known that SF is a feature driven movement (Mathieu, 2006a; Holmberg, 2000). The Split EPP, the projection TopP^+ as well as the [V]-feature on $\text{Top}^+{}^0$ illustrate that the fronting of a nonfinite head is not motivated by the V2 requirement, but that it is a pure SF-construction.

A second point criticized by Labelle (2007) is that the Accessibility Hierarchy, a central condition for SF to apply, is not obeyed. I made the same observation as Labelle. In the majority of cases, the clauses of the OF corpus I used for the present study follow the Accessibility Hierarchy. But there are cases in which this hierarchy is not obeyed as stated in Section 3.3.2.3.1. In the example (77), presenting the clause: *qu' al paveillun le fist porter* (GeI, 535), the SFronted element is the XP *al paveillun* which raises to SpecTopP^+ . The nonfinite X^0 *porter* (“carry”) does not move out of the νP . This may seem astonishing. Still, the result in (77) with the XP as SFronted element in the embedded clause validates my proposed analysis. Above I proposed to consider that the [V]-feature on $\text{Top}^+{}^0$ is present only in main clauses and embedded clauses with a nonfinite verb without any complements. In the embedded clause in (77), the XP-complement undergoes SF. The nonfinite verb stays in its base position. There is no motivation for the nonfinite verb to be SFronted.

The availability of a subject gap has been mentioned earlier in the present thesis as a precondition for SF to apply. Labelle (2007) states that there are plenty of examples in OF showing a fronted constituent with an overt postverbal subject. She takes this observation to argue against SF in OF. Nevertheless, it has been shown that SF can take place even with overt subjects (for OF: Labelle, 2007; Mathieu, 2006a; for Old Catalan: Fischer, 2010; for Icelandic: Hrafnbjargarson, 2004). According to the results provided by the OF corpus used for the present research, SF always takes place when a subject gap is available except in one example (see footnote 39).

Lastly, Labelle (2007) argues that generalized V2 existed in the embedded clauses of Early OF, but that V1 word order was allowed which shows that there was no strict V2 requirement in OF embedded clauses. She suggests that the fronted constituent is a scrambled element. Holmberg (2005, 2000) states that in Modern Icelandic, a V2 language that shows a stable SF pattern, SF in embedded subject relative clauses is an optional construction. It alternates with V1 clauses in Modern Icelandic subject relative clauses. Consequently, V1 clauses are not a surprising result in OF and do not go against my hypothesis of OF as a language that displays SF.

Chapter 4 examines V1 clauses in OHG and OF. It will be shown that V1 structures are grammatical constructions in a V2 language such as OHG. For this reason, I claim that V1 structures in OF main and embedded clauses do not prevent us from considering OF a V2 language. V1 word order in OF should be considered an integral part of its grammar even if OF seems to follow the V2 constraint.

CHAPTER 4

VERB-FIRST

In V1 constructions, the finite verb is placed into the initial position of the clause. V1 sentence structure is present since earliest times, namely since Proto-Indo-European according to Hopper (1975), Wackernagel (1892) and Delbrück (1900, 1878). Delbrück (1900) states for Proto-Indo-European that declarative clauses as well as imperative and interrogative clauses show V1 structures. According to him, V1 word order in declarative clauses appear normally in active narrative sequences.

Declarative clauses with V1 word order constitute a native OHG pattern as indicated by Ciochsz (2010) and Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007). The clause-initial verb, V1, is commonly found in Old Germanic languages such as OHG, especially in imperatives, yes-no questions and negative clauses (Axel, 2007; Hopper, 1975). In OHG, V1 word order is generally found in imperatives, yes-no questions, conditional clauses⁴⁴ and also in declarative clauses (Lernerz, 1984; Maurer, 1924). For Old Germanic languages such as OHG, Eythórsson (1996) observes that second conjuncts are V1. Lively narrative speech passages commonly exhibit V1 word order in combination with words of saying like *to say*, *to ask* etc (Ciochsz, 2010; Axel, 2007; Maurer, 1924). These verbs of saying are referred to as *verbum dicendi* (Axel, 2007).

⁴⁴ Hopper (1975) also mentions the V1 pattern in conditional sentences in Proto-Indo-European and Older Germanic languages such as Old Swedish.

In the OF corpus consisting of the four texts *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL*, V1 word order in main clauses is generally found in imperatives, *yes/no*-interrogatives, declaratives, second conjuncts as well as in negated clauses.

Null subjects which appear in OHG as well as in OF will be briefly mentioned in the context of V1 word order in the present chapter. I would like to point out that even though I restrict the discussion to null subjects in V1 contexts since a more detailed discussion of null subjects goes beyond the goal of the present research, they do also occur in V2 and V3 contexts (as has been briefly mentioned in Chapter 2).

4.1 V1 word order in OHG

V1 structures are present in OHG from very early stages on in OHG prose and poetry (Axel, 2007). The main clause types showing V1 in OHG are imperative and interrogative clauses (Axel, 2007; Lenerz, 1984; Robinson, 1997; Maurer, 1924) as well as declarative clauses (Axel, 2007; Lenerz, 1984; Lippert, 1974; Maurer, 1924). Maurer (1924) formulates three important observations concerning V1 in OHG (93):

(93) V1 in OHG (Maurer, 1924)

- (1) V1-structures are widely present in OHG.
- (2) V1-structures decline drastically between the 9th and the end of the 10th century.
- (3) V1-structures are not limited to one single group of verbs.

Even if V1 declarative clauses disappear completely from OHG between the 13th and mid-15th century, which corresponds to the early and classical MHG period, they

reappear in the late MHG period from the mid-15th century on. The context is restricted to translations from Latin V1-clauses containing verbs of speech into MHG. Later, V1 clauses gain broader ground in MHG through analogy spreading to other verb classes as well and not being solely limited anymore to translational contexts. Maurer (1924) points out that these “new” V1 structures are not connected to OHG V1 structures at all. He firmly denies a historic connection because of their different origins. This is a fundamental point of the highest interest for this dissertation, since it demonstrates that a comparison of OF V1 clauses with MHG or even NHG V1 clauses is out of the question if the Germanic-like syntactic features of OF are examined. This is why OF V1 clauses have to be compared to OHG V1 clauses.

Earlier, in Chapter 2, we have seen that a change can be perceived in early OHG as the clause type may be signaled in OHG not only by using the residual particle system, but also by finite verb movement (Axel, 2007). Finite verb movement is the essential innovation in the Germanic languages which leads towards the V2 requirement. The historic contexts for verb movement in the Old Germanic languages are imperative, interrogative and negative clauses (see 2.2.2). However, finite verb movement and the sentence initial particles are not in complementary distribution and can therefore appear in the same sentence (see 2.2.2.1).

In Chapter 2, sentence particles preceding the finite verb have been discussed in these contexts. The following sections deal with pure V1 structures in these environments without these sentence particles.

4.1.1 *Yes/no-Interrogatives*

Direct interrogatives in OHG are known for systematic verb movement into the left sentence periphery (Axel, 2007). The general rule for OHG *yes/no*-questions is that verb movement always takes place and that the sentence particle never causes inversion of the verb (Ruhfus, 1897; Gering, 1876).

The sentence initial particle system, having its origin in the Indo-European Proto-language, is present in early OHG (9th century and earlier) as has been discussed in Chapter 2. Even though this particle system is considered to be residual by Axel (2007), she indicates that it still seems to be predominant in *yes/no*-interrogatives in early OHG. As stated by Axel (2007), only 11 out of 57 *yes/no*-interrogative clauses in the text *Tatian* and one out of four *yes/no*-interrogative clauses in the text *Isidor* do not have a sentence initial particle. This high number of particles in the two texts may be closely related to the fact that *Tatian* and *Isidor* belong to the translational literature and that the source of translation, Latin, shows particles in the contexts in which particles are found in OHG, i.e. in *yes/no*-interrogatives.

Axel (2007) notes that throughout OHG translational literature there are cases in which the presence of Germanic sentence-typing particles as well as verb movement go against the Latin original text document. Concerning the sentence-typing particles, Axel (2007) illustrates that there are cases in which the *inu/eno* question particle is placed in the OHG translation even though the Latin original does not show any sentence particle. Also, Axel (2007) notes that the clauses without particles belonged to the original OHG grammatical inventory as OHG non-translation documents (9th to 10th century) exist

which indicate that particles may not be present. Examples are found in *Otfrid*, the Alemmanic paraphrase of *Psalm 138* or in the *Taufgelöbnisse* according to Axel (2007).

(94) Particle-less yes/no-interrogatives in OHG

sprichis súlih thu fon thír (O IV 21,7)

speak such you of you

“Do you say so of yourself?”

(Latin: a temetipso hoc *dicis*)

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:53)

The presence of sentence particles, coming from a residual Indo-European particle system and from translational influences, changes in late OHG (from the 10th century on). Interrogative particles have nearly completely disappeared in this time period (Axel, 2007).

The example in (95) illustrates finite verb movement in *yes/no*-interrogatives in the OHG translational literature which deviates from the original Latin word order.

(95) Yes/no-interrogatives: V1 word order in OHG

Muoz man in uirra ta gum heilan (MF IV, 21; Mt 12:10)

may one on sabbath days heal

“Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days?”

(Latin: Si licet sabbatis *curare*?)

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:53)

It is important to note that not only OHG *yes/no*-interrogatives show systematic finite verb movement into the left sentence periphery from an early stage on, but also OHG *wh*-interrogatives. The finite verb appears after the *wh*-phrase in *wh*-interrogatives and is therefore placed into a V2 word order (96).

(96) Wh-interrogatives: V2 word order in OHG

/meistar [uuanne] *quami* thú héra/ (T 257, 12)

master when came you here

“Master, when did you come here?”

(Latin: /Rabbi. quando huc uenisti./)

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:55)

OHG *yes/no*-interrogatives and *wh*-interrogatives demonstrate verb movement in the early and late translational literature in environments in which the original Latin text does not exhibit any verb movement.

4.1.2 Imperative Clauses

V1 structures in imperatives were already present in Proto-Indo-European (Delbrück, 1900) and, later, in Proto-Germanic, the ancestor of the Old Germanic languages (Hopper, 1975). According to Cichosz (2010), the V1 pattern is a marked word order in OHG where it is used in imperatives as well as in conjoined clauses (see 4.1.4 for V1 in second conjuncts). An example for V1 in imperatives is shown in (97):

(97) Imperatives: V1 word order

Chihori dhu, israhel (I 371)

listen.2SG.IMP you Israel

“Listen, Israel...”

(Latin: Audi, Israel...)

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:57)

In the present example (97), the subject pronoun is realized in the OHG translation of *Isidor* even if the subject pronoun is not present in the Latin document. Its presence and its placement to the right of the finite verb in OHG imperatives shows that verb movement is present. This is a proof of the nativeness of V1 structures in OHG (Axel, 2007).

Imperatives in Old Germanic languages are always verb-initial with one exception: If several imperative clauses are present in a consecutive order, then, only the finite verb of the first imperative shows the clause-initial position. The finite verbs in the subsequent imperatives are placed in clause final position (Hopper, 1975). The example in (98) presents one example Hopper (1975) has found in OHG of coordinated imperative clauses with verb-final word order.

(98) Coordinated imperatives in OHG

Ni *brutti* thih muates, noh thines anluzzes

farauua ni *uuenti*: fol bistu gotes ensti! (Otfrid, I, 5, 17-18)

“Do not be startled in your mind, nor change the colour of your face: you are full of God’s grace!”

(Example and translation taken as is from Hopper (1975: 49))

Contrary to Hopper (1975), Axel (2007) does not find any examples of coordinated imperatives with the imperative verb in final position in the second conjunct. The example in (98) cannot be taken into consideration according to her as sentences introduced by the conjunction *noh* often exhibit the finite verb in clause final position. Additionally, Axel (2007) mentions that the rhyme may have played a role in the final verb placement of *uuenti*. In contrast to OHG, the Old Germanic languages Old Saxon (Hopper, 1975) and Old English (Kiparsky, 1995) show clear evidence of verb-final placement in the second conjunct of coordinated imperative clauses. The examples in (99) show the contrast between OHG and Old Saxon coordinated imperative clauses concerning the verb placement.

(99) Coordinated imperative clauses in Old Germanic

a. OHG

Duo dhina hant undar miin dheoh

put.2SG.IMP your hand under my thigh

endi *suueri* bi himilischin gote (I 558)

and swear.2SG.IMP by heavenly God

“Put your hand under my thigh and swear by Heavenly God!”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007:57)

b. Old Saxon

than *nim* thu ina sundar te thi,

then take.*2SG.IMP* you him secretly to you

... endi imu is rad *saga* (Heliand, 3225-26)

and him it advice give.*2SG.IMP*

“Then take him aside and secretly give him this advice.”

(Example taken from Hopper, 1975: 49)

The difference in the verb placement in the second conjunct may suggest a preference for verb movement in OHG. As indicated by Axel (2007), OHG, contrary to the other Old Germanic languages, exhibits a more strongly generalized verb movement.

4.1.3 Declarative Clauses

According to Lippert (1974), V1 structures in declarative clauses are of Germanic origin and are not the result of loan syntax from Latin. V1 word order in declarative clauses is a native pattern according to him.

Contrary to Lippert (1974), Robinson (1994) states that V1 word order is a foreign pattern in OHG declaratives that has been borrowed by the OHG translator from Latin. Robinson (1997, 1994) observes that the OHG *Isidor* translation from Latin uses V1 word order to mark Biblical quotation. According to him, V1 should be considered a distinctively foreign pattern in OHG documents. He hypothesizes that the translator of the *Isidor* document considered the Latin V1 word order as distinctive enough to use it in the OHG *Isidor* as a flag to mark Biblical quotations. Robinson (1994) observes that V1 structures are even found in Biblical contexts in the OHG *Isidor* when the native Latin word order is different from V1. It is important to mention that Robinson (1997, 1994) does consider imperatives and yes/no-questions having a native V1 pattern in OHG.

Even though Robinson (1994) is sceptical about native V1 word order in OHG declaratives, there is strong evidence that the V1 word order is a native pattern as it is not only observed for OHG, it is also very common in the Old Germanic languages (Hopper, 1975) and can even be retraced to its very early roots in Proto-Indo-European according to Delbrück (1900).

Axel (2007) indicates that there are translational strategies in the literature translated from Latin to OHG which clearly indicate native OHG V1 word order, e.g. presence of finite verb movement in the OHG translation whereas the Latin original does

not show any verb movement (see (95)). Axel (2009b: 129-130) illustrates four contexts in which V1 word order occurs in OHG (100).

(100) Contexts for V1 in OHG

a. existential/presentational constructions

uuarun thô hirta In thero lantskeffi (T 85, 29)

is.3SG.PAST PARTICLE shepherds in that countryside

“There were shepherds in that country.”

b. unaccusative predicates

arougta sih tho in moises inti helias mit imo

appear.3SG.PAST REFL PARTICLE them Moses and Elijah with him

“Moses appeared to them along with Elijah.” (T 305, 21f.)

c. passivized predicates

uuard tho giheilith ther kneht in thero ziti (T 183, 7)

become.3SG.PAST PARTICLE healed the servant in that time

“The servant was healed at that very hour.”

d. impersonal predicates

uuas tho zit nah sehsta (T 275, 29f.)

be.3SG.PAST PARTICLE hour near sixth

“It was about the sixth hour.”

Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007) argues that the frequent occurrence of V1 clauses in OHG could be connected to the fact the XP movement to the left periphery was not generalized to the same extent in OHG as it is in Modern German. As stated by Axel (2009a, 2009b, 2007), even though V1 word order in declarative clauses is attested in earlier OHG, V1-structures in declaratives are rarely attested in late OHG. Näf (1979:114) has found only 19 attestations of V1 out of 800 declarative clauses in the *Consolatio*. This is in line with Maurer (1924) who observes the decline of V1-structures between the 9th and the end of the 10th century.

4.1.4 Second Conjuncts

Besides direct interrogatives, imperative clauses and declarative clauses, second conjuncts can be V1 as well. It is in fact very common in the Old Germanic languages that the finite verb in the second conjunct is fronted (Behagel, 1928). Eythórsson (1996) observes V1 word order for second conjuncts in the Old Germanic languages.

Regarding OHG, the V1 pattern is considered a marked word order in imperatives as well as in conjoined clauses according to Cichosz (2010). Cichosz points out that V1 word order is the prominent pattern in conjoined clauses in all OHG translations as well as in OHG original prose in which it reaches the percentage of 80% according to Cichosz (2010).

(101) V1 in second conjuncts in OHG

Ein tier heizzit pantera / un is miteuuare / un is manegero bilido

an animal be called panther and is meek and is of big size

“An animal is called a panther and it is meek and it is of big size....”

(AHD Physiologus)

(Example taken as is from Cichosz, 2010:117)

Cichosz (2010) observes that the great majority of OHG second conjuncts display null subjects. Eythórsson (1996) suggests that in second conjuncts a null subject may be topicalized. This triggers verb movement to C so that the verb can license the trace of the null subject. The null subject is co-referential with the subject in the preceding clause.

4.1.5 Negative Clauses

OHG negative clauses have been mentioned regarding verb movement in Section 2.3.2.1. It has been noted that, in OHG negation, the negative particle *ni* is a proclitic particle and attracts the finite verb to the sentence-initial position in negated main declarative clauses (102).

(102) Negative particle *ni* in OHG

/niɡibit Imo zi mezze got geist/ (T 129,27)

NEG-give him to measure God spirit-ACC

“God does not give the Spirit by measure”

(Example in (...) taken from Axel, 2007:61)

In (102), the negated clause shows verb movement of the verb *gibit* to the sentence initial position to cliticize to the particle *ni*.

4.1.6 Verbs of Saying

The OHG V1 pattern is generally associated with a vivid and dynamic narration. Cichosz (2010), Axel (2007), Lenerz (1985) and Maurer (1924) argue that the OHG V1 pattern is typically used with the verbs of saying. Lenerz (1985:103) states: “Verb-initial sentences in OHG for instance were primarily used in lively narration.” Axel (2007) mentions that the text type may play a role in the frequency of use of V1 declaratives. She observes that narrative texts such as *Tatian* and *Otfrid* show a much higher amount of V1 declaratives than argumentative texts such as *Isidor*, for example. Verbs of saying play an important role in OHG V1 declaratives according to Axel (2007).

(103) Narrative inversion in OHG

/quad tho maria zi themo engile./ (T 71, 24)

said THO Maria to the angel

“Mary said to the angel”

(Example taken from Axel, 2007: 150)

Hopper (1975), for his part, indicates that empathic and dramatic contexts favoured V1-structures in declarative clauses in the Old Germanic languages. For Gothic, Eythórssón (1996) observes verb movement to C in lively narration contexts and presumes that an abstract discourse operator in SpecCP triggers the movement of the

finite verb in these structures. All the other Old Germanic languages exhibit V1 word order in narrative inversion contexts as well according to Eythórsson (1996).

4.1.7 Null Subjects

OHG is a partial null subject language (Axel, 2009, 2007). According to Axel (2007), the early OHG text *Tatian* exhibits 40% of covert referential subject pronouns in its main clauses, the *Isidor* main clauses show 44% of null referential subject pronouns and 63% of the main clauses in the Monsee Fragments contain null referential subject pronouns.

(104) Null referential subject pronoun in OHG

/quidis zi uns thesa parabola/ (T 529,2)

say.2SG to us this parable

“Are you telling this parable to us?”

Hopper (1975) states that in Proto-Germanic and Proto-Indo-European subject pronouns remained null. According to Axel (2007:294), OHG “...has inherited the archaic null-subject property and nevertheless it has already acquired two essential components of verb second, i.e. obligatory verb movement and generalized XP preposing.” This is a major point as it is important to note that the V1 declaratives found in OHG are real V1-structures as finite verb movement has occurred which places the finite verb under C. These V1 constructions are not the result of simply dropping the subject, but of verb movement to the left sentence periphery.

4.2 V1 word order in OF: Results of the OF Corpus

The previous section on OHG has shown that V1 word order clearly is a part of the OHG V2 grammar. For OF, this word order is considered to be grammatically as well as stylistically marked (Vance, 1997). Völcker (1882) points out that V1 declarative clauses in OF are very often found in contexts in which the finite verb is highlighted rhetorically, an observation shared by Adams (1987). According to Vance et al. (2009), V1 clauses are grammatical under special discourse conditions.

The examples in (105) exemplify that V1 word order in the OF of the 12th and the 13th century is found in declaratives, imperatives, *yes/no*-interrogatives and negative clauses. This is true in prose documents as well as in poems.

(105) V1 word order in VdB, GeI, Tr and MdSL

a. Declarative

a. VdB

Vait s' en Brandan vers le grant mer (VdB, 157)

go.3SG self PRN Brandan towards the great ocean

“Brandan takes the direction towards the ocean.”

b. GeI

Point le cheval par les costez (GeI, 119)

spur.3SG the horse on the ribs

“He spurs the horse on the ribs.”

c. Tr

ains vole des arçons a tere, *voelle* u non (Tr, 258)

thus fly.3SG the bow on ground want.3SG.subjunctive or not

“Thus, the bow falls on the ground, in spite of himself.”

d. MdSL

Et *fu* commenciee ceste enquete en l’ an de l’ incarnation

and be.3SG.PAST started this survey in the year of the incarnation

“And the survey was started in the year of the incarnation”

(MdSL, 41)

b. Imperative

a. VdB

Entre en ta nef, Brandan, e va. (VdB, 424)

entre.IMP into your ship Brandan and go

“Enter your ship Brandan and leave.”

b. GeI

Pernez les resnes del destrier, (GeI, 382)

Take.IMP the reins of the war horse.

“Take the reins of the war horse.”

c. Tr

Or *saciés* tout vraiment, sire cevaliers, (Tr, 279-280)

though know.IMP all really Sir knight...

“I really want you to know, Sir knight...”

d. MdSL

Saint Loÿs! rent moi / ma fille (MdSL, 164-165)

Saint Louis give.IMP me my daughter

“Saint Louis, give me my daughter back.”

c. Yes/no-interrogatives

a. VdB

Brandan lur dist : ‘Freres, *savez* / Pur quei poür oüt avez?’

Brandan them say.3SG.PAST Brothers know.2PL why fear had have.2PL

“Brandan asked them: Brothers, do you know why you have been afraid?”

(VdB, 467-468)

b. GeI

Quidez vous donc k’ il surrexist (GeI, 191) DS

believe.2PL you.2PL so that he resurrect.3SG.subjunctif imperfect

” So, do you believe he resurrects?”

c. Tr

Et connessiés vous aucun des cevaliers de celui ostel? (Tr, 79) DS

and know.2PL you.2PL none of the knights of this house

“And do you know any of the knights of this house?”

d. MdSL

----- (MdSL)

d. negation

a. VdB

N' est merveille (VdB, 419)

not be.3SG surprise

“It is not surprising.”

b. GeI

n' avrez garant pur vostre Dé. (GeI, 133)

not have.2PL guaranty for your God

“You do not have a guaranty for your God.”

c. Tr

Ce / ne sai je mie tres bien, fait Lancelos." (T, 89-90)

this not know.1SG I PRT very good, do.3SG Lancelos

“I do not know this very well, says Lancelos.”

d. MdSL

si ne porroit nul homme passer par (MdSL, 87)

such as not can.3SG.COND no man pass.INF through...

“...such as that no one could pass through...”

The examples in (105) clearly indicate that V1 word order is found in OF in exactly the same contexts as it is the case for OHG, namely in declaratives (105a), imperatives (105b), *yes/no*-interrogatives (105c) and negative clauses (105d).

V1 structures commonly appear in OF in imperatives, *yes/no*-interrogatives and negative clauses. The V1 pattern in these contexts is shared by Old Germanic languages such as OHG (Axel, 2007; Hopper, 1975) and Gothic (Eythórsson, 1996). Verb movement into the left sentence periphery has been observed in these contexts since Proto-Indo-European times (Delbrück, 1900, 1878; Wackernagel, 1892).

The only text which does not illustrate any *yes/no*-questions is the prose text *MdSL*. As mentioned earlier, this text is a clerical document. It is a transcript of interviews conducted by the Catholic Church. This kind of document does not contain any lively narration and the absence of any direct speech and of *yes/no*-questions is of no surprise.

With regards to declarative clauses, the results of the corpus show that OF exhibits a large amount of V1 word order in combination with the words of saying (106).

(106) Verbs of saying

a. VdB

Dist lur abes: « Priez pur lui;.. » (VdB, 339)

say.3SG their abbot pray.IMP for him

“Their abbot said: Pray for him”

b. GeI

Dist Huelin: « Ne pot pas estre! » (GeI, 217)

say.3SG Huelin not can.3SG not be.INF

Huelin says: “It cannot be!”

c. Tr

Ha! sire, merci! *font* li esquier. (Tr, 198) DS

Ha Sir thanks do.3PL the esquires

“Ha, thanks, Sir! say the esquires.”

d. MdSL

Mes Nostre Sire Diex, *dist* / ele... (MdSL, 348-349)

but our Sir God say.3SG.PAST she

“But our dear God, she said...”

According to Völcker (1882), who analyzed seven early OF texts written between the 9th and 11th century, V1 word order is obligatory in clauses which are inserted into

direct speech to indicate who is pronouncing the sentence. This observation with regards to V1 declarative sentences with the words of saying has also been made by Cichosz (2010), Axel (2007), Lenerz (1985) and Maurer (1924) for OHG.

V1 word order in declarative clauses in OF appears mainly in active narrative sequences in the two prose texts *MdSL* and *Tr* as well as in the poetic texts *GeI* and *VdB*. All four texts show a very large number of V1 word order in declarative clauses with verbs of movement, verbs expressing an action or a dynamic sequence of actions and verbs of saying. An explanation may be found in the nature of the four texts. Three texts speak of adventure, discovery, knights, fights and combat, namely *VdB*, *GeI* and *Tr*. The writing style is very dynamic and actions are taking place in a fast paced manner. The only text which stands out is *MdSL*. As mentioned before, this text is a clerical document that describes actions and phenomena observed by the population and written down by the Catholic Church. Even if there are no action scenes as in the other three texts, this text still expresses dynamic actions as it deals with phenomena observed by the population. The narration of *MdSL* is active and dynamic despite its subject.

Axel (2007) observes V1 structures in OHG also in dynamic narrative text documents. V1 word order in active narrative sequences has been observed already for Proto-Indo-European and Old Germanic Languages by Delbrück (1900).

In the following examples taken from the OF corpus, second conjuncts (107) are illustrated.

(107) Second conjuncts

a. VdB

Puis les baiset Brandan **e** *vait*. (VdB, 153)

then them kiss.3SG Brandan and go.3SG

“Then, Brandan kisses them and leaves.”

b. GeI

E Hue point **e** *broche e fiert*, (GeI, 320)

and Hugo spear.3SG and hit.3SG and strike.3SG

“And Hugo strikes his spurs, and hits, and strikes..”

c. Tr

il s' arestent **et** *atendent* (Tr, 56)

they REFL stop.3PL and wait.3PL

“they stop and wait”

d. MdSL

icele Aveline s' abessa **et** *estendi* sa main (MdSL, 111)

this Aveline REFL bend.3SG.PAST and extend.3SG.PAST her hand

“Aveline bent down and extended her hand”

For Old Germanic languages, Eythórsson (1996) observes that second conjuncts are V1, because in second conjuncts a null subject may be topicalized. This triggers verb

movement to C so that the verb can license the trace of the null subject. The null subject is co-referential with the subject in the preceding clause. In Old Germanic languages it is very frequent that the finite verb in the second conjunct is fronted (Behagel, 1928).

As the examples in (107) illustrate, OF also exhibits V1 word order with null subjects in second conjuncts. The only text which stands out is *MdSL*. It is the only text which shows an extremely high frequency of second conjuncts (Table 26). In fact, V1 word order in declaratives is only found in second conjuncts in this text. As mentioned previously, *MdSL* is a type of document which transcribes actions and phenomena observed by the population and captured in writing by the Catholic Church. As interviews have been the base for this document, it may explain the frequent use of the conjunction *e* (=and) as actions are described by enumerating the facts.

Table 26 summarizes the results for second conjuncts in the OF corpus.

TABLE 26
V1 word order in second conjuncts in OF main clauses

	<i>VdB</i>	<i>GeI</i>	<i>Tr</i>	<i>MdSL</i>
	Total	Total	Total	Total
	V1-	V1-	V1-	V1-
	Main	Main	Main	Main
	clauses :	clauses:	clauses :	clauses :
	74	52	57	116
Declarative	7	16	18	101
%	9.46	30.77	31.58	87.07
Imperative	4	---	3	---
%	5.41	---	5.26	---
Negative	2	---	---	---
%	2.70	---	---	---
Yes/no- interrogative	---	---	2	---
%	---	---	3.51	---
Total	13	16	23	101
%	17.57	30.77	40.35	87.07

Table 26 indicates that declaratives are the preferred environment for V1 word order in second conjuncts. *MdSL* is the document which clearly stands out. Nearly the entirety of the V1 main clauses have the initial coordinating particle *et*, namely 87.07%. These clauses are all declaratives. The prose text *Tr* and the poem *GeI* display nearly the same number of V1 in declaratives introduced by *et*: 31.58% and 30.77%, respectively. *VdB* does not have a significant number of V1 declaratives with initial *et*: 9.46%. Imperative, interrogative and negative clauses do display extremely low percentages if present. There are some imperative clauses (*VdB*, *Tr*) and negative clauses (*VdB*) found with a V1 pattern following a conjunction. This is less surprising as these are the type of environments that exhibit a V1 pattern in general.

In the previous section we have seen that OHG exhibits null subjects in V1 clauses (Axel, 2009, 2007). Null subjects are also very common in OF (Sitaridou, 2004; Hirschbühler, 1989; Hirschbühler and Junker, 1988; Adams, 1987). The OF corpus indicates the same for the four OF texts (108).

(108) Null subjects

a. VdB

Brandans lur dist : « Seignurs, vus pri,... (VdB, 329)

Brandan them say.3SG my Lords you request

“Brandan says to them: My Lords, please....”

b. GeI

seissist le as resnes d' or mer, (GeI, 316)

seize.3SG.PAST it at the reins of gold pure

“seized it at the reins made of pure gold”

c. Tr

ains vole des arçons a tere, voelle u non (Tr, 258)

thus fly.3SG the bow on ground want.3SG.subjunctive or not

“Thus, the bow falls on the ground, in spite of himself.”

d. MdSL

et se leva par soi sanz aide (MdSL, 467)

and REFL get.3SG.PAST up by herself without help

“and she got up all by herself without any help”

Each OF text displays null subjects in clauses with a V1 pattern. It is important to point out that only one single example of a real null subject in a V1 declarative is found in the prose text *Tr* (108c). In the second prose text *MdSL*, null subjects are only found in combination with second conjuncts (108d).

Table 27 summarizes the results for the present chapter.

TABLE 27
V1 verb placement in main clauses

	<i>VdB</i>	<i>GeI</i>	<i>Tr</i>	<i>MdSL</i>	Total
	Total V1	Total V1	Total V1	Total V1	
	Main	Main	Main	Main	
	clauses :	clauses :	clauses :	clauses :	
	74	52	57	116	299
Declarative	50	32	42	110	234
%	67.57	61.54	73.68	94.83	78.26
Imperative	16	4	7	6	33
%	21.62	7.69	12.28	5.17	11.04
Negative	7	12	3	---	22
%	9.46	23.08	5.26	---	7.36
Yes/no- interrogative	1	4	5	---	10
%	1.35	7.69	8.77	---	3.34
Total	74	52	57	116	299
%	100	100	100	100	100

In summary, the results for OF show that V1 word order is mainly found in declarative clauses. *MdSL* is the document which displays the most V1 structures in declarative clauses out of the four texts with 94.83%. The number of imperatives with V1 word order is not very high: 5.17%. The second prose text, *Tr*, follows *MdSL* regarding the number of V1 declaratives with 73.68%. Even if the two poems *VdB* and *GeI* show

less V1 word order in declarative clauses than the prose texts, they still display a large number of declarative clauses with a V1 pattern which is demonstrated by the percentages of, respectively, 67.57% and 61.54%. *VdB* is the text illustrating the most imperative clauses with V1 structures out of the four texts with 21.62%. The results for the negative and the interrogative clauses are very small except for the negative clauses in *GeI* which display 23.08%.

Overall, it is not surprising to find V1 declarative clauses in a vast majority in both of the 12th century poems and both of the 13th century prose texts. In Chapter 2, Tables 5-8 indicate that, in all of the four OF texts, declarative clauses are in a clear majority for every word order (V1, V2, V3 and >V3). Imperative and negative clauses appear in a very low frequency. Interrogative clauses do occur in an extremely low number and are even absent in the prose text *MdSL*.

The results indicate that the 12th century poems *VdB* and *GeI* as well as the 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL* show a Germanic-like distribution of clauses with a V1 word order. Declarative clauses are the preferred clause type for V1 structures in OF such as in OHG. V1 word order also occurs in both languages in imperatives, interrogatives and negative clauses.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present dissertation was to show that OF, despite being a Romance language, is a language demonstrating a regular V2 pattern that is very similar to the one displayed in the Old Germanic languages, especially to the V2 pattern found in OHG.

I proposed the hypothesis that, if we want to get information about the V2-properties found in OF, OF syntax has to be compared to OHG syntax. I proposed that a synchronic analysis of OF offers a new and more successful direction to historical linguistics as to explaining why OF word order is the way it is. In the past, OF word-order has frequently been compared to Modern Germanic languages, especially to NHG (Kaiser and Scholze, 2009; Kaiser, 2002-2003, 1998; Ferraresi and Goldbach, 2002). This comparison is problematic, especially as the V2 pattern found in NHG is very different from the OHG V2 pattern. In consequence, any other later state of the German language than OHG cannot serve as a true and loyal base of comparison for OF V2 structures. The reason is simple: considering a language-internal syntactic development, V1, V2 and V3 structures in MHG are not the same as the ones in OHG (Axel, 2007; Maurer, 1924). NHG V2 is also very different from and more restricted than OHG and MHG V2 (Axel, 2007). Additionally, the V1 word order found in NHG is different and has a different linguistic source than the V1 word order in OHG (Maurer, 1924).

The study of the four OF texts *VdB*, *GeI*, *Tr* and *MdSL* provides strong evidence for the presence of a Germanic-like V2 requirement in OF. The V2 pattern in main clauses is the favoured word order, but other word orders such as V1, V3 and >V3 are also attested. The presence of a variety of word orders combined with generalized V2 is

shared with OHG. I have shown that V-to-C-movement is implemented in OF just as it is in OHG. XP fronting of a variety of constituents, which is the second requirement for generalized V2 after V-to-C movement (Axel, 2007), is also found in the two languages: OF and OHG.

The results for main clauses in the Tables 5-9 in Chapter 2 indicate an asymmetric sentence structure. The V2 requirement in main clauses seems to be well established even though other word orders are possible as well, such as V1, V3 and >V3. The example of OHG clearly shows that a V2 language can very well be flexible and admit different word order types in main as well as in embedded clauses.

Looking at the percentages for V2 structures in the embedded clauses, the 12th century poems seem to be asymmetrical and the 13th century prose texts more symmetrical. Côté's (1995) proposal to consider an earlier asymmetrical period for OF and a later symmetrical period seems to be very much plausible according to the results obtained.

In summary, the numbers presented in Tables 5-9 give an idea that the geographic region, the dialect, the text type and the century play a role in the distribution of the V2 pattern. Both 12th century poetic texts (*VdB*, *GeI*) show a clear V2 property. Only one 13th century prose text (*Tr*) can be considered V2. The texts situated closer to the Germanic language border (*GeI*, *Tr*) show a higher frequency of V2 structures. Only the prose document *MdSL* showcases a clear SVO-language pattern. The text type is different from the other texts as it is a clerical document. This may play a role in this outcome of syntactic word order frequencies. But it may as well be an indication that 13th century prose texts not closely situated to the Germanic language border display an SVO-pattern.

My results confirm the presence of SF in the embedded as well as in the main clauses of OF. The objective of this dissertation was to find a unified analysis for SF-structures in main as well as in embedded clauses even if they look very different on the surface. Yet, it looks as if two different labels would be nearly better suited to describe these two phenomena. Of course, the real problem is that Topicalization obscures SF and it is impossible to know how many matrix examples of XP-SF there really are. This may be something to pursue in future research.

The results for fronted X^0 in main clauses, namely participles, infinitives and gerunds show that they are present in both of the 12th century poems: *VdB* and *GeI*. In the 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL*, SF of X^0 is extremely limited. There is only one single example of SF in embedded clauses in each of the prose texts. This is clearly not enough to speak of an SF grammar. The 12th century poetic texts *VdB* and *GeI* show an SF-grammar: in *VdB*, SF by X^0 movement is equally possible in main and embedded clauses. In *GeI*, SF of X^0 is only attested in main clauses.

It has to be pointed out that fronted XPs have been excluded by definition from main clause contexts to avoid a confusion with Topicalization. That explains the results indicating that SF is mainly an embedded phenomenon. Every OF text shows instances of SF in embedded clauses. One text, the 13th century prose text *MdSL*, stands out. It shows the fewest number of SF out of all of the OF texts. It is the prose text which is situated further away from the Germanic language border.

Overall, the quantity of SF constructions in the 12th century poems *VdB* and *GeI* is much higher than in the 13th century prose texts *Tr* and *MdSL*. This result confirms

Mathieu's (2006a) finding that SF is highly common in poetic texts and much rarer in prose texts.

The goal of this thesis was to compare OF to OHG concerning the V2 requirement, V-to-C movement, XP fronting, SF and V1 word order. By comparing the two languages, I successfully demonstrated that OHG is the Germanic variant to compare OF clause structure to if we wish to know more about the very apparent Germanic-like syntactic sentence structure OF displays.

The research started with this thesis has to be pursued. Only a very detailed study of much more OF verse and prose texts that originate in the OF time period, i.e. between the 9th and 13th century, and that have been composed in different dialects situated close to the Germanic language border as well as further away can supply us with more detailed answers about the evolution of OF word order and, more specifically, about the contrast between the OF spoken close to the Germanic language border, the southern OF variant, Occitan, spoken in the south of France and the Franco-Provençal language.

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