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Publikationen

2004 Some aspects of word order and sentence type: from Indo-European to New High German In: Krisch Thomas, Thomas Lindner, Ulrich Müller (Hgg.) *Analecta homini universali dicata*. Festschrift für Oswald Panagl zum 65. Geburtstag. 2 Bde. Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz (= S.A.G. 421) S. 106-129.

.

Some aspects of word order and sentence type: From Indo-European to New High German¹

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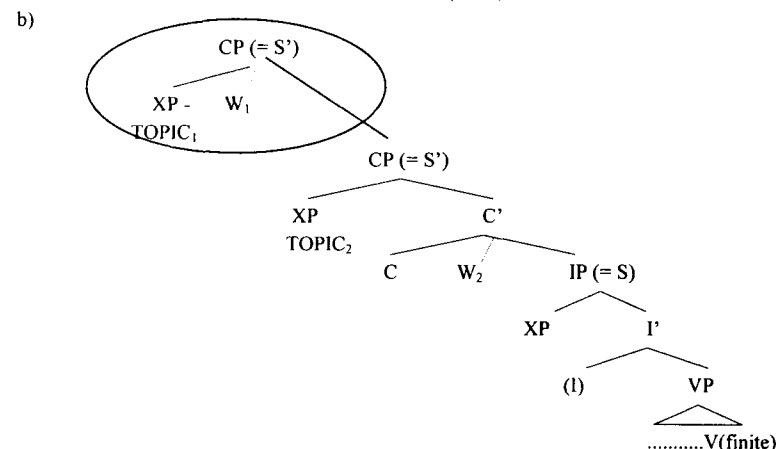
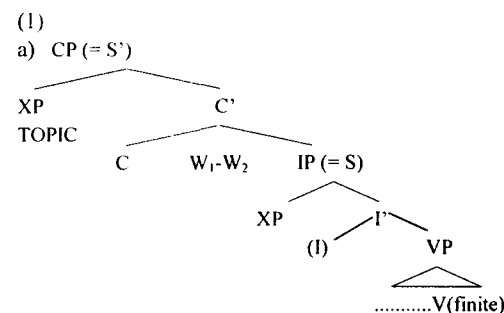
0. Oswald Panagl, to whom this paper is dedicated, is one of the major organisers of an international project² aimed at writing a new up-to-date Indo European Syntax. His field of work inside this project are the borderlines between syntax and stylistics. As a collaborator in the project, my task is to study the word order in ancient Indo-European languages and to try to reconstruct patterns of word order for Indo-European.

In this article I follow two major interests:

- 1) Elaborating a hypothesis concerning the positions of the verb in the main clause, their functions and change of functions from Indo-European times to New High German. This hypothesis will be presented within the framework of Generative Grammar (sections 1–6).
- 2) Pointing out the importance of sound philological interpretation of historical linguistic data and uttering a caveat to be very careful with philological interpretations (section 7).

Both aspects reflect fields of interest of my teacher and friend Oswald Panagl. In many of his publications he has applied prominent ideas of general linguistics to historical linguistics (e.g. Panagl 1975; 1976a; 1976b; 1977; 1981; 1996) and one of his major concerns is the correct philological interpretation of ancient texts taking into account text and context. The combination of philology with a structural, theory-oriented way of thinking is typical of Panagl's personality and appears to be especially fruitful in his academic classes and in scientific discussions.

1. The generative model I am working with (cf. also Krisch 1998, 2002) for Indo-European and ancient Indo-European languages mainly consists of two sentence structures:³



Abbreviations: CP = complementizer phrase; C = complementizer position; W = Wackemagel-particle (W₁ = clitic sentence connectors; W₂ = other clitics); IP = inflection phrase; XP = any phrase; VP = verbal phrase; TOPIC = Topic or contrasting focus; TOPIC₁ = topic; TOPIC₂ = focus.

Some comments regarding this model:

- a) The basic position of the finite verb in ancient Indo-European languages is verb-final (henceforth V-end).⁴

⁴ Verb-final appears to have been used even in very long main clauses with many appositions, cf. the Rigvedic example RV 4.2.17 (the finite verb form is given in bold letters): *sukārmāṇaḥ surūco devayāntō 'yo nā devā jānimā dhāmantaḥ / śucānto agnīm vavṛdhānta indram ūrvām gāvyaṃ pariśādanto agman* "The ones acting well (*sukārmāṇaḥ*), shining brightly (*surūco*), loving the gods (*devayāntō*) **have come** heating [him; scil. Agni, the fire(god)] by blowing [until red-hot] (*dhāmantaḥ*) like metal (*'yo nā*), [like] the gods (*devā*) [welding together] the generations of man (*jānimā*), glowing (*śucānto*), strengthening (*vavṛdhānta*) Agni (*agnīm*) [and also] Indra (*indram*) by laying siege to (*pariśādanto*) the cave of the cows (*ūrvām gāvyaṃ*)."

¹ A preliminary version of this article was presented as a talk to the "Symposium in Typology" within the Graduiertenkolleg "Satzarten: Variation und Interpretation". Frankfurt / Main, November 8–9, 2002. Most of the examples from modern Germanic languages used in this article are taken from Haider, Olsen and Vikner 1995. Many thanks to Deborah Föl-sche-Forrow for reading and criticizing the English text from the perspective of a British native speaker. Thanks also to Stefan Niederreiter for proof-reading the text. All faults which remain are, of course, my responsibility.

² At present Indo-Europeanists from the following universities are participating in this project: Salzburg, Austria; München (Munich), Köln (Cologne), Würzburg, Jena (all: Federal Republic of Germany); Madrid (Spain).

³ In fact, in generative theory, (1) b) can be derived from (1) a) by the so-called Chomsky-adjunction.

- b) When I talk about verb-second (henceforth V-2) I mean a finite verb moved to the left into position C with only one constituent (which is not restricted to the subject of the sentence) before it.
- c) One basic difference between the sentence structures of Indo-European (IE) and New High German (NHG) is that (1)b) does not appear in NHG.
- d) Another basic difference between IE and NHG is that in IE main clauses V-end is the unmarked case whereas NHG shows V-2 in main clauses.

In order to illustrate the structural scheme, examples of the more “exotic” structure (1) b) are given for Vedic Sanskrit [(2) a), an interrogative sentence] and Ancient Greek [(2) b), a relative clause]

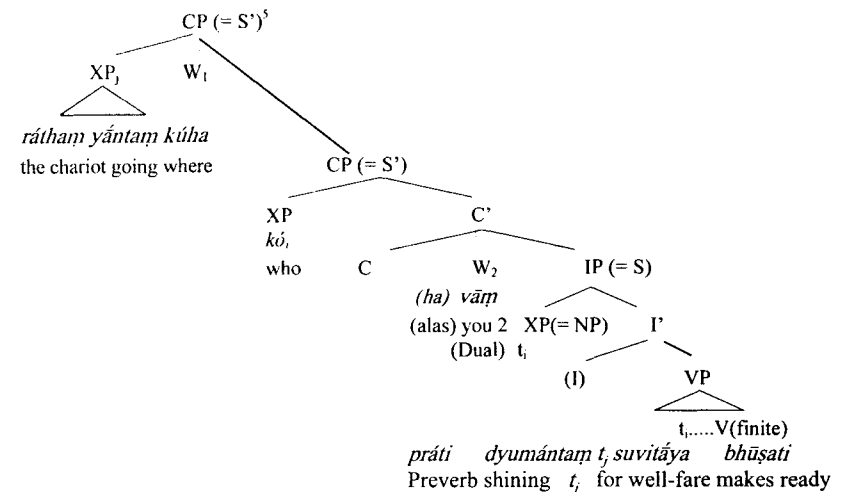
(2) a) (Vedic) RV 10,40,1:

rátham yāntam kúha kó ha vāṃ narā prāti dyumántam suvitāya bhūṣati
 “Who prepares for you the shining chariot going where, you two heroes, for a happy journey?”

<i>rátham</i>	<i>yāntam</i>	<i>kúha</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>ha</i>
acc. sg. m.	ptc. pres. act. acc. sg. m.	Wh-question	Wh-question	clitic particle
chariot	going	where	who	(alas)

<i>vāṃ</i>	<i>narā</i>	<i>prāti</i>
pers. pron. 2nd ps. dual (acc.) / dat. / (gen.) clitic	dual. voc.	adverb / preverb
for you two	two heroes	(“towards”; tmetc preverb to <i>bhūṣati</i>)

<i>dyumántam</i>	<i>suvitāya</i>	<i>bhūṣati</i>
acc. sg. m. part. pres.	dat. sg. (final)	3rd pers. sg. pres.
shining	for well-fare / a happy journey	makes ready

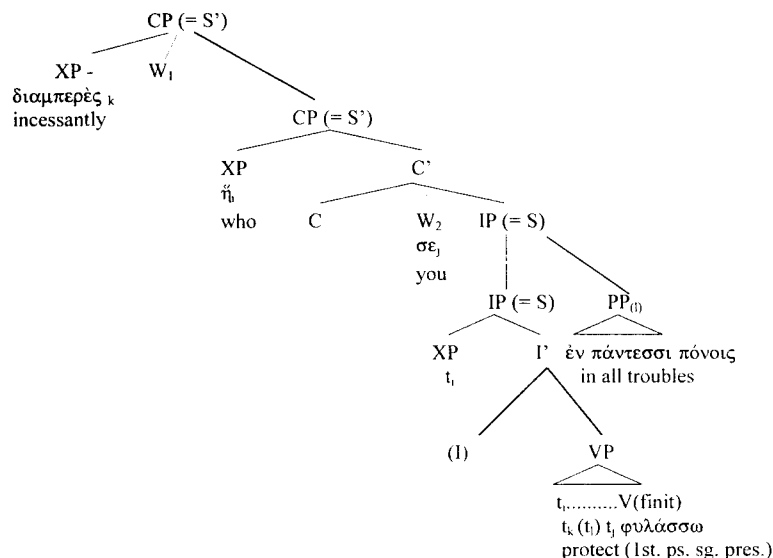


b) (Ancient Greek) Od. 20,47 (Athene is addressing Odysseus) αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι, διαμπερὲς ἥ σε φυλάσσω / ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοις “But I am a deity, who protects you incessantly in all troubles”

διαμπερὲς	ἥ	σε	φυλάσσω
adv.	rel. pron. nom. sg. fem.	clitic pers. pron., acc. sg.	1st. ps. sg. pres.
incessantly	who	you	protect

ἐν	πάντεσσι	πόνοις
prep. (+ dat.)	adj. dat. pl.	dat. pl.
in	all	troubles

⁵ In the structural description of the sentence the abbreviation *t* means “trace”. In generative theory moved material leaves a trace at the underlying position where it is moved away from. The trace is co-indexed with the constituent which has been moved.



These two examples (2a and 2b), an interrogative sentence and a relative clause with their very close similarity in structure, already show that one has to be careful in correlating word order with sentence type in ancient Indo-European languages.

2. In NHG one can observe a relatively close correlation of the type of sentence with its word order, especially with the position of the finite verb in the sentence. Subordinate clauses normally show the finite verb at the end [cf. (3) a)]⁶, yes-no questions and imperative sentences appear with the finite verb form at the begin-

⁶ V-2 in NHG subordinate clauses is very rare and only possible with certain verbs if there is no subordinating conjunction present. One can say:
Peter sagte, [nie vorher] [habe] er einen so guten Artikel gelesen. "Peter said that never before had he read such a good article."

Peter	sagte,	nie vorher	habe	er	einen	so	guten	Artikel	gelesen.
Peter	said	never before	had [3rd ps. sg. pres. subj.]	he	a	such	good	article	read

But the same word order is not possible with the conjunction *dass* "that": **Peter sagte, dass [nie vorher] [habe] er einen so guten Artikel gelesen.* In this case, verb final is obligatory: *Peter sagte, dass er nie vorher einen so guten Artikel gelesen habe.*

In Modern English (ME) and in Danish (D) exactly the opposite is the case: V-2 in subordinate clauses is only possible with a subordinating conjunction present:

ME *Peter said that [never before] [had] he read such a good article* vs. **Peter said [never before] [had] he read such a good article.*

D *Peter sagde at [aldrig før] [havde] han læst sådan en god artikel* vs. **Peter sagde [aldrig før] [havde] han læst sådan en god artikel.*

ning of the sentence [cf. (3) b)], and main (affirmative) clauses as well as questions introduced by a question word are characterized by V-2 [cf. (3) c)] where the finite verb form appears after the first constituent of the clause.

(3) (finite verb forms appear in bold script)

a) (*Ich weiß*), *dass der Mann morgen in die Ausstellungshalle **kommt**.* "(I know) that the man is coming to the exhibition hall tomorrow."

b) ***Kommt** der Mann morgen in die Ausstellungshalle?* "Is the man coming to the exhibition hall tomorrow?"

***Komm** morgen in die Ausstellungshalle!* "Come to the exhibition hall tomorrow!"

c) *Der Mann **kommt** morgen in die Ausstellungshalle.* "The man is coming to the exhibition hall tomorrow."

d) *Welcher Mann **kommt** morgen in die Ausstellungshalle?* "Which man will be coming to the exhibition hall tomorrow?"

But, as is well known, these are not the only structures occurring in the above mentioned sentence types. There are quite commonly used marked structures not corresponding to the correlations which we have just exemplified by (3). Some of these constructions are illustrated in (4). In (4), those sentences which correspond to the unmarked patterns in (3) are given in square brackets. The dollar-sign labels the marked variants. For present purposes it should be noted that (4) b) and c) with V-1 in the main clause exhibit stronger dynamics and push the action forth much stronger than the unmarked case V-2. In the light of what will be said later on in this article, this function can be interpreted as a relic. A dollar-sign in parentheses means a clear stylistic difference or a special focus. The German finite verb forms are characterised by bold letters.

(4) (cf. also Brandt, Reis, Rosengren, Zimmermann 1992, p. 4); mc = main (affirmative) clause; ips = imperative sentence; ic = interrogative clause; icw = interrogative clause with a question phrase.

[a] *Ein Mann **kam** zur Tür herein.* (mc) "A man came in through the door"]

b) \$ ***Kam** ein Mann zur Tür herein ...* (mc) "There came a man in through the door (and)..."

c) \$ ***Zahls** halt später (!)* (mc; (ips)) "Just pay later (!)" (Austrian German)

[d] ***Kam** der Mann zur Tür herein?* (ic) "Did the man come in through the door?"

[e] ***Kommt** der Mann morgen?* (ic) "Is the man coming tomorrow?"

f) (\$) *Der Mann **kommt** morgen?* (ic) "Is the man coming tomorrow?"

g) (\$) *Ob der Mann wohl morgen **kommt**?* (ic) "(I wonder), the man will come tomorrow?"

- [h] *Welchen Mann hat sie gesehen?* (icw) "Which man did she see?"
 i) (\$) *Die Frau hat welchen Mann gesehen?* (icw) "The woman saw which man?" (the focus lies on *welchen Mann* "which man")
 [j] *Der Mann zieht sich (doch) komisch an.* (mc) "The man dresses in a funny way (, after all)"
 [k] *Der zieht sich aber / vielleicht / *doch komisch an!* (mc with emphasis) "He does dress in a funny way, doesn't he?"
 l) *Zieht sich der aber komisch an!* (mc with emphasis) "Doesn't he dress in a funny way!"
 [m] *Komm her!* (ips) "Come here!"
 n) (\$) *Komm Du mal her!* (ips) "You come here!"
 o) (\$) *Dieses Buch lassen Sie / lass bitte liegen!* (ips) "Please, leave (Pl./Sg.) this book where it is!"

Thus, today's system of word order in German is rather complex. Ambiguities of word order and sentence type as presented in (4) are often resolved through differing patterns of intonation.

3. If one takes a closer look at other Germanic languages, the resulting overall picture becomes even more complex. In Modern English (ME), genuine V-2 in main clauses (scil. the appearance of a constituent other than the subject before the finite verb) is very restricted. Perhaps the only case is the topicalization of negative expressions, as in (5)

- (5) (cf. Haider, Olsen, Vikner 1995, p. 3)
[Never before] [had] Peter read such a good article.

Other elements cannot be topicalised in English but may be so in NHG and in Danish (D), cf. (6) and (7):

- (6) ME **[This article] [has] Peter already read.*
 NHG *[Diesen Artikel] [hat] Peter schon gelesen.*
 D *[Denne artikel] [har] Peter allerede læst.*
- (7) ME **[Maybe] [has] Peter already read this article.*
 NHG *[Vielleicht] [hat] Peter schon diesen Artikel gelesen.*
 D *[Måske] [har] Peter allerede læst denne artikel.*

In interrogative sentences with *wh*-question words, V-2 is possible not only in German and Danish but also in English, if the finite verb is an auxiliary:

- (8) ME *[Why] [has] Peter already read this article?*
 NHG *[Warum] [hat] Peter diesen Artikel schon gelesen?*
 D *[Hvofor] [har] Peter allerede læst denne artikel?*

If one goes farther back into language history one can observe that V-2 was a less marked structure in Old English (OE) than in Modern English. Thus, Old English is closer to the NHG state in this respect than it is to Modern English, cf. (9)–(11):

- (9) ÆC Hom I 1,20,1 (Fischer, Kemenade et al. 2000, p. 107):
 OE *[On twam þingum] hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod.*
 NHG *"[Mit zwei Dingen] hatte Gott die Seele des Menschen ausgestattet".*
 ME (?) *[With two things] had God endowed man's soul.*
"These two things God had given to man's soul".
- (10) ÆC Hom I 12,182,1 (Fischer, Kemenade et al. 2000, p. 108):
 OE *[þa] astah se Hælend up on ane dune.*⁷
 NHG *[Dann] stieg der Heiland hinauf auf einen Berg.*
 ME **[Then] went the lord up on a mountain.*
"Then the lord went up on a mountain".
- (11) ÆC Hom I 18,250,12 (Fischer, Kemenade et al. p. 50):
 OE *[Ðas ðreo ðing] forgifð God his gecorenum.*
 NHG *[Diese drei Dinge] gibt Gott seinen Auserwählten.*
 ME **[These three things] (acc.) gives God to his chosen.*
"[These three things,] [God] gives to his chosen".

In contrast to NHG, V-2 in OE is only possible if the subject of the sentence is nominal. If the subject is pronominal, the position of the verb is behind it, thus corresponding to the ME state:

- (12) CP⁸ 26, 181, 16 (Fischer, Kemenade et al. 2000, S. 107): *Be ðæm we magon suide swutule oncnawan ðæt ...* "By that, we may perceive very clearly that ..."

According to my knowledge, all living Germanic languages lack a genuine sentence final position of finite verb forms in main clauses (except in sentences

⁷ The verb seems to have been moved to second position in Old English as in NHG. In subordinate clauses the preverb appears directly in front of the verb (like in NHG), cf. the following example from the Old English Orosius: Or 5.3,117,5: *þæt hie mid þæm þæt folc ut aloccoden* "that they might entice the people with it outside".
⁸ King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care.

consisting of subject and an intransitive verb only, of course). But there are examples of this phenomenon in the older stages, cf. (13) for OE:⁹

- (13) Chron A (Plummer) 755.38 (Fischer, Kemenade et al. 2000, S. 138)
*ond he his feorh **generede**, ond þeah he wæs oft gewundad*
 “and he **saved** his life and yet (/although) he was often wounded”

The same can be said about Old High German (OHG). Example (14) shows the text of the first Merseburg Charm. The finite verb forms are given in bold characters:

- (14)
 1st Merseburg Charm (OHG):
*Eiris **sazun** idisi, **sazun** hera duoder,*
*suma hapt **heptidun**, suma heri **lezidun**,*
*suma **clubodun** umbi cuoniouuidi:*
insprinc haptbandun, inuuar uigandun!
 “Once the Idisi [went and] sat down, settled here (and) there,
 Some fastened fetters, some hindered the horde (/ army),
 Some loosened the fetters all around.
 Leap forth from the fetters! Escape from the foes!”

<i>Eiris</i>	<i>sazun</i>	<i>idisi</i>	<i>sazun</i>	<i>hera</i>	<i>duoder</i>
once	sat down (3rd pl. pret.)	Idisi (fem. name of mythical creatures; nom. pl.)	sat down (3rd pl. pret.)	here	there (?)

<i>suma</i>	<i>hapt</i>	<i>heptidun</i>	<i>suma</i>	<i>heri</i>	<i>lezidun</i>
some (nom. pl. fem.)	fetters (acc. pl. neutr.)	fastened (3rd pl. pret.)	some (nom. pl. fem.)	horde(s) / (armie(s)) acc. sg. / pl.	hindered (3rd pl. pret.)

<i>suma</i>	<i>clubodun</i>	<i>umbi</i>	<i>cuoniouuidi</i>
some (nom. pl. fem.)	loosened (3rd pl. pret.)	all around (adv.)	fetters (acc. pl. fem.)

<i>insprinc</i>	<i>haptbandun</i>	<i>inuuar</i>	<i>uigandun</i>
leap forth (from) (2nd sg. impv.)	fetters (dat. pl.)	escape (from) (2nd sg. impv.)	enemies (dat. pl.)

⁹ The “normal” OE word order in main clauses with one finite verb form is SVO, as in ME (cf. Fischer et al. 2000, p. 49). Also in OE subordinate clauses both SVO and SOV are attested, cf. Fischer et al. 2000, p. 57.

The first and the third verse correspond to the NHG state: In the first half-verse of the first verse, the finite verb form *sazun* appears in second position (V-2) after the temporal constituent *eiris*. In the next clause (second half-verse of the first verse) starting with *sazun* one may implicitly add the same temporal constituent (as elliptical constituent) and so one may have an implicit V-2 here. Instead, one could consider an apo koinu interpretation of the subject *idisi*, which would also result in a V-2 interpretation of the second clause of the first verse. Alternatively, one also could regard *sazun* as occupying a “true” verb-first (V-1) position here. Verse three exhibits V-2: Only the subject *suma* appears in front of *clubodun*. The second verse, however, shows two main clauses with a structure which would be ungrammatical in their NHG equivalents: the finite verb is located at the end of the sentence with the object preceding it. The question arises whether this word order could be due to “metrical reasons”.¹⁰ In the first instance (*suma hapt heptidun*), the metre cannot be the cause of the poet’s choice of word order. Germanic alliterating verse would also allow *suma heptidun hapt*. The second instance is different: It is well known that the main stave rhyme (“hōfuðstafir”) lies on the first phoneme of the first accented syllable of the second half-verse thus determining the phoneme which alliterates in the verse. A sequence *suma heri lezidun* (second half-verse of the second verse) fulfils this criterion, but **suma lezidun heri* with the alliteration on *heri* would be metrically incorrect, though V-2 was grammatical in OHG, as was demonstrated above. Thus the poet has chosen the likewise grammatical structure of V-end in a main clause to satisfy metrical needs (cf. also footnote 10). This second verse shows us two real cases of final position of the finite verb in OHG main clauses.

4. Were there functional differences between V-final and V-2 in main clauses of OHG?

¹⁰ The influence of metre on word order has often been discussed, cf. also Jost Gippert “Indo-European Word order in Main and Subordinate Clauses” (this volume, e.g. p. 51). My opinion is that metrical texts (especially if not taken from experimental poetry) normally reflect grammatical structures (partly perhaps reflecting older stages of the language) insofar, as the grammatical possibilities of the respective language may be utilised extensively. In my opinion, metrical texts are especially suitable for studying word order with the aim of comparing languages and reconstructing patterns for a parent language because one gains insights into the degree of freedom of word order variation which can still be considered as grammatical and which sheds a light on a supposed freedom in the parent language. I am not particularly happy with the term “metrical reason” for a specific pattern of word order. I prefer to look at it the other way round: grammatical structures licensed by the language can be used by poets to fulfil metrical needs. Nevertheless it seems possible that for metrical reasons a poet uses a very marginal construction of the language. Insofar it is not useless to investigate “metrical reasons”. But looking at modern languages one has to bear in mind that some of the “poetic” constructions (like anacolutha, ellipses etc.) may reflect patterns also found in spoken language and thus are not marginal at all.

4.1. From the point of view of ancient Indo-European languages it would be a worthwhile approach to look for text-syntactic reasons in dealing with differences of V-end, V-1 and V-2. One of my present research interests at the moment is to test text-syntactic rules with material of ancient Indo-European languages.

My claim is that OHG still knew functional differences which continued Indo-European heritage. I mean the following (Indo-European) functions:

- (15) a) V-end: furnishing background information; no special foregrounding / perspectivisation. Non-obligatory constituents may optionally appear at the end of the sentence (on the right side of the finite verb form), cf. e.g. Krisch 2001, p. 162–164.
- b) V-1 [scil. the finite verb form in position C (as in examples (1) a) and b)) with no constituent in front of the verb]: establishing a very close connection between sentences/sequences of action (cf. Delbrück 1900, p. 81; Dressler 1969; Klein 1992; Krisch 1997, p. 292–300).
- c) V-2 [scil. verb in position C with one constituent in front of it, cf. scheme (1) a), cf. also Krisch 2001, p. 169]: establishing a connection between sentences/sequences of action but not as close as V-1. V-2 is presumably a late Indo-European phenomenon (cf. also the comments in section 6.1. of this paper).
- [d) Verb-third (V-3) [scil. finite verb in position C with two constituents in front of it, cf. scheme (1) b)]: This case needs further study in ancient languages because it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish it from V-end, especially in shorter sentences.]¹¹

¹¹ Examples for structure d) (V-3) may occasionally be found until Middle High German (MHG) times. For this construction cf. the interesting work by Harald Knaus (master thesis) of 1995. He showed that there are structures in the Prosa-Lancelot / Prose Lancelot (13th century A.D.) with a preposed adverbial clause in first position followed by another constituent (normally the subject). The finite verb appears in the third position, e.g. (cf. Lancelot 1948, p. 613, lines 17–18; Lancelot und Ginover 1995, p. 352, lines 3–5; translation p. 353, lines 3–5; Knaus 1995, p. 25, example 37): *Da er ein gute wil also gelegen hett vff der Jungfrauen, sie nam den kamm und gab yn im*

<i>Da er ein gute wil also ge- legen hett vff der Jungfrauen,</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>den kamm</i>	<i>(und gab yn im)</i>
When he had leaned against the young lady for quite a while	she	took	the comb	(and gave it to him)
temporal adjunct	subject	verb	direct object	

The exact NHG equivalent would be ungrammatical **Als er sich eine gute Weile an die junge Dame gelehnt hatte, sie nahm den Kamm und gab ihn ihm*. The ME equivalent is grammatical: *When he had leaned against the young lady for quite a while, she took the*

An illustration of these text-linguistic features (15 a–c) in Ancient Greek is given in Krisch 2001, p. 169–171 on the basis of part of a famous Homeric scene (description of the shield of Achilles).

4.2. If one applies the text-linguistic remarks in 4.1. to the OHG first Merseburg charm this leads to the following interpretations:

4.2.1. *Eiris sazun idisi, sazun hera duoder*. “Once the Idisi¹² [went and] sat down, settled here (and) there.” This introductory sentence presents a temporal background in the TOPIC-Position (*eiris*). The verb *sazun* in second position (in the first clause) and in first / second¹³ position (in the second clause) has cataphorical value, points ahead. One may compare this to the opening words in German fairy tales: *Es war einmal...* “Once upon a time...” (lit.: “It was once...”) with V-2 (or quasi-V-1 because only the semantically empty pronoun “es” precedes the verb).

4.2.2. Then a scene is given which forms the background, the framework for the charm. This background is coded with V-end: *suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun*. “Some fastened fetters, some hindered the horde (/ army).”

4.2.3. Following this is the heart of the charm, a chain of actions culminating in imperative clauses at the end. The sequence (V-2) starts with an action of the Idisi directly connected with the charm: *suma clubodun umbi cuoniouuidi* “Some loosened the fetters all around.” Immediately afterwards: the climax, scil. two imperative clauses with V-1 and without an overt subject (which is usually the case in second person imperatives): *insprinc haptbandun, inuuar uigandun!* “Leap forth from the fetters! Escape from the foes!”

Here the text ends. The strong cataphorical force of the imperatives suggests a continuation of the action in real life: the escape from the foes.

5. Also other OHG texts with word-order variation in main clauses may be interpreted in a similar way. In (16) you find a short passage from Otfrid (second half of the 9th century A.D.; the finite verb forms are given in bold letters):

comb... In ME, V-3 structures with topicalisation of two constituents occur, if the V is a modal verb: *During the holidays, on no account will I write another paper* (cf. Haegeman & Guéron 1999, p. 226–227). The correct NHG sentence has V-2: *Als er sich eine gute Weile an die junge Dame gelehnt hatte, nahm sie den Kamm und gab ihn ihm*. Superficially similar structures do exist in NHG which may be interpreted as left dislocation, though (scil. a quasi-doubling of an adverbial constituent). Thus, the following sentence from the Prose Lancelot would still be grammatical today (Lancelot 1948, p. 603, line 26; Knaus 1995, p. 26, example 41): [Da er nit me laufen mocht,] [da] must er gan... “When he could not run any more, then he had to go”. The exact NHG equivalent is a grammatically correct sentence: *Als er nicht mehr rennen konnte, da musste er gehen*.

¹² The exact meaning of *Idisi* is controversial, cf. Nedoma 2001, p. 30–31.

¹³ Cf. the argumentation above in section 3 (accompanying example (14)).

(16) Otfrid IV 16, 35–39:

Krist giang forna, sos iz zam, joh ingegin in quam;
er slumo sar tho zin sprah: “wenan suachet ir?” quad.

Sie imo sar iz zaltun joh inan selbon nantun;

nales thaz sie iz datin¹⁴, thaz sie nan thoh irknatin.

Zi in sprah er tho sar: “ih bin iz selbo, thaz ist war”

“Christ went in front, as it was proper, and came in their direction;

Then he talked to them straight away: ‘Whom are you looking for?’ he said.

They told it to him without delay and mentioned him in person:

They did it not that they recognized him [scil: they did not recognize him].

Then he told them straight away: ‘It’s me myself, that is true.’”

This text is taken from the scene which describes Christ’s imprisonment. At first, the Jews do not recognise him but his identification is necessary for the imprisonment. Finally he reveals his identity to them.

The first main clause is the initialisation of the scene with V-2 (*Krist giang forna sos iz zam* “Christ went in front, as it was proper”), the second clause (connected with *joh* as connector) does not add much new information (*joh ingegin in quam* “and came in their direction”). It has already been observed in the literature that, when there are two sentences connected by a co-ordinating conjunction, the verb is not V-2 in the second clause, cf. Behaghel’s statement in (17):

(17) Behaghel 1932, p. 13: „es zeigt sich ... dass in einem zweiten Satz, der einem ersten konjunktionell angeschlossen ist, der zweite nicht selten die Nichtzweitstellung des Verbums zeigt. Die Übereinstimmung erweist die Erscheinung als germanisch.“ (“it can be demonstrated ... that the second sentence of two sentences combined by a conjunction quite often shows non-V-2. Agreement (among the cognate languages) proves the phenomenon to be of Proto-Germanic date.”).

In keeping with my earlier remarks I interpret Behaghel’s observation as a subgroup of the case where the background is exposed within a relatively calm flow of narration and where one could expect V-end. Also the following lines offer background information with V-end in the main clauses (*er slumo sar tho zin sprah:* ‘wenan suachet ir?’ quad. *Sie imo sar iz zaltun joh inan selbon nantun* “Then he talked to them straight away: ‘Whom are you looking for?’ he said. They told it to him without delay and mentioned him in person”. The next two clauses are subordinate clauses with V-end (*nales thaz sie iz datin, thaz sie nan thoh irknatin* (the finite verb-forms are underlined)). In the last line cited in (16) the dynamics of the action increases and this is expressed by V-2 (*Zi in sprah er tho sar:* ‘ih bin iz selbo, thaz ist war’. Then he told them straight away: ‘It’s me

¹⁴ Dummy verb referring to the next verb form *irknatin*.

myself, that is true”). There is an interesting contrast in the form of a “quasi minimal pair” in this passage: compare (inside the calmer flow of action) *er slumo sar tho zin sprah* (line 36) with *Zi in sprah er tho sar* (line 39) where the action becomes more dynamic.

Some verses later, when the action further intensifies dramatically (when Judas kisses Jesus), V-1 is used, cf. *kusta* and *intfiang* in (18), especially *intfiang* where the personal pronoun 3rd sg. *er* follows the verb form:

(18) Otfrid IV 16, 51 f.

‘Heil’, quad er, ‘meister!’ inti kusta inan sar;

intfiang er nan mit thulti thuruh sina milti

“‘Hail’ he [scil. Judas] said, ‘master!’ and kissed him immediately;

he [scil. Christ] received him with gentleness owing to his kindness.”

6. One of the syntactic differences among ancient Indo-European languages is their diverse productivity of putting the finite verb form in second (/third) position¹⁵ in main clauses.

6.1. Ancient Greek and the Germanic languages (see above) very frequently exhibit this phenomenon, whereas it is rare in Vedic, and genuine V-2¹⁶ seems to be absent in Hittite. These statements require further investigation.¹⁷ Some of the languages developed an even more rigid V-2 in later stages: the SVO type, where the subject has to precede the verb. This reanalysis of OV to VO has been completed in languages where also subordinate clauses show (S)VO. This is the case in Yiddish, English and Icelandic. Kiparsky notes:

(19) Kiparsky 1996, S. 155: “The generalization is that the shift from a head-final [scil. OV (TK)] to a head-initial [scil. VO (TK)] base took place exactly in those languages which developed general verb-fronting in embedded clauses.”

Apart from this shift due to language internal reasons, factors of language contact were also involved. In the case of Yiddish subordinate clauses it has been

¹⁵ As far as I know, sentences with V-1 are attested in all ancient Indo-European dialects.

¹⁶ Cf. section 3 of this paper.

¹⁷ I will investigate the following corpus for the word order part of the above (section 0.) mentioned project “Indo-European Syntax”: 1) Vedic: Rigveda, 2nd book (complete); 10th book (the following selected hymns: 10,10; 10,34; 10,85; 10,86; 10,95; 10,129); 2) Hittite: the Old Hittite corpus published in transliterations (esp. the laws and Old Hittite texts from the StBoT-series); 3) Ancient Greek: Homer, Ilias, book 5; Homer, Ilias, book 18; 4) Latin: Plautus, Amphitruo. In addition to that corpus, also data from other Indo-European languages will be dealt with.

argued that there was an influence of Slavic languages.¹⁸ In (20) one can find two examples of Yiddish subordinate clauses:

(20) (cf. den Besten & Moed-van Walraven 1995, p. 112):

a) *az er gît Moišn a bux* "that he **gives** Moses a book"

b) *az er hot gegeben Moišn dos bux* "that he **has given** Moses the book"

6.2. Let us sum up: In Late Indo-European and in OHG, word order in main clauses was determined by text-syntactic parameters. The unmarked order was V-end (optionally with extraposition of constituents which were not obligatory). Putting the verb in "C" (scil. V-1, V-2, in very rare and not so clear cases V-3) had the effect of pushing ahead the action, pointing ahead cataphorically and it was used for different degrees of dramatisation. V-1 shows the strongest dramatising effect, V-2 has a weaker effect of pushing ahead the action. In the case of V-3, I am not sure about the effect.

In NHG there is a strong correlation between word order and sentence type. Normally only V-2 is possible here with rare cases of V-1, which still negotiate an intensifying effect (cf. the examples (4) b), c)). V-end is impossible in NHG main clauses.

Normally, picking up or checking morphological features are the reasons given for verb movement in generative grammar.¹⁹ If my interpretations of OHG and other ancient Indo-European data are correct there may also be other, text-syntactic reasons for verb movement.

7. We now turn to my second point: the importance of sound philological interpretation. If one is dealing with word order problems in ancient languages, it is important to sort out the philological foundations of the examples and to connect them to theoretical considerations. Otherwise one might overlook examples or else be in danger of misinterpreting them.

7.1. First we will deal with one example where philological interpretation and theoretical considerations cooperate. The OHG Hildebrandlied starts with the text: "I heard it said, that challengers met alone, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, between [the] two armies of father and son." The passage following this introduction is (21):

(21) Hild. V. 5-7: (finite verb forms in bold characters)

5 *iro saro rihtun*,

6 *garutun se iro guðhamun, gurtun sih iro suert ana*,

7 *helidos, ubar [h]ringa (.) D/do sie to dero hiltiu ritun.*

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Eggers 1998, p. 313.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Haegeman & Guéron 1999, p. 562-564.

[near to literal translation] "they got ready their armaments, **prepared** their fighting vestments, **girt** on their swords, (they), the men, over the suit of armour. Then they **rode** to the fight / [or:] when / because they **rode** to the fight."

In passage (21) the chain of action gets going. From what was previously said one expects V-2 or V-1 in the main clauses. The clause in verse 5 may be interpreted as V-2, but one has to bear in mind that it is impossible here to discern V-2 from V-end: the sentence only consists of an Object in the accusative (*iro saro*) and a finite verb form (*rihtun*).²⁰ The two main clauses in verse 6 have to be interpreted as V-1. In the first clause, the pronominal subject (the Franco-nian²¹ Nom. Pl. *se*) and the direct object (*iro guðhamun*) follow the verb form (*garutun*). The second verb-form *gurtun*²² is also clearly V-1. For our present purposes we are especially interested in the second half-line of verse 7 in example (21) (the underlined part). The traditional interpretation is that of a subordinate clause *do sie to dero hiltiu ritun*. In (22) I cite two NHG translations with this interpretation:

(22)

a) Schlosser 1989, p. 265: „... (sie) rückten da ihre Rüstung zurecht, sie strafften ihre Panzerhemden und gürten ihre Schwerter über die Eisenringe, die Männer, als sie zu diesem Kampf ritten“ (they put in place their armament, they tightened their coats of chain mail, girt their swords over the rings of metal, the men, when they rode to this fight)

b) Wipf 1992, p. 151 „... richteten ihre Rüstungen her, kleideten sich in ihre Kampfgewänder, gürten sich ihre Schwerter um, da sie zum Streite ritten.“ (they got ready their armaments, prepared their fighting vestments, girt on their swords, because²³ they rode to the fight)

(22) a) (Schlosser's translation) with the temporal interpretation of OHG *do* as "when" can be excluded on extra-linguistic reasons. It seems extremely implausible that one puts on ones fighting garments while riding to fight on top of a horse.

²⁰ OHG is a language which permits "pro-drop", which means that the subject (pronoun) need not to be present obligatorily. In line 5 there is no overt subject pronoun. For the so-called "pro-drop parameter", which can be used for a typological classification of languages, cf. e.g. Haegeman 1994, p. 454-457.

²¹ Cf. Lühr 1982, p. 409.

²² With *pro-drop*, cf. footnote 20.

²³ Wipf's translation of the OHG subordinating conjunction *do* with NHG *da* is ambiguous between a temporal and a causal reading, but the unmarked interpretation of NHG *da* is causal.

(22) b) (Wipf's translation) with the causal interpretation of OHG *do* as "because" is semantically better but not likely, because the NHG conjunction *da*, which continues OHG *do*, does not take on its causal meaning before the 17th century.²⁴

I think the best interpretation is Lühr's translation of the passage as a main clause:

- (23) (cf. Lühr 1982, p. 5) "Sie richteten ihre Rüstungen, sie bereiteten ihre Kampfgewänder, gürten sich ihre Schwerter um, die Männer, über die Panzer. Dann ritten sie zu dem Kampf." (they got ready their armaments, prepared their fighting vestments, girt on their swords, the men, over the suit of armour. Then they rode to the fight).

Lühr argues that there are other sentences in the Hildebrandlied which start with *do* that are clearly to be interpreted as main clauses:²⁵

- (24) a) V. 59 *Do **lētun** se ærist asckim scritan* "Then they first let run [the horses] with the spears."
 b) V. 61 *Do **stoptun** to samane*, "Then they collided"²⁶

Lühr does not mention that these sentences (24) a) and (24) b) show V-2 (cf. the verb forms in bold letters). These sentences appear in a sequence immediately introducing fighting and pushing forward the action. This whole dramatic scene exhibits main clauses with V-2 and V-1. In (25) you find this dramatic scene with the finite verb forms of the main clauses in bold letters:

- (25) Hildebrandlied V 59–61
 59 *Do **lētun** se ærist asckim scritan*
 Then they first let run [the horses] with the spears
 60 *scarpēn scur<un>, dat in den sciltim stont*
 with sharp weapons, so that [the fight on top of the horses] came to a stand in the shields
 61 *Do **stoptun** to samane, staimbord **chluun**,*
 Then they collided, split the fighting shields
heuwun harmlicco huitte scilti
 hit the shining shields in bitter fight

²⁴ Cf. Pfeifer (among others) 1993, p. 198; Lloyd/Lühr/Springer 1998, col. 707 ("in Konkurrenz zu *weil* setzt Mitte des 17. Jhs. kausaler Gebrauch ein" ("in competition with *weil*, causal usage began to be used in the middle of the 17th century").

²⁵ Lühr 1982, p. 416.

²⁶ Without overt subject-pronoun, cf. footnote 20.

In the case of verse 7 (cf. examples (21) and (23): *Do sie to dero hiltiu ritun* "Then they rode to the fight") the fighting has not yet started. The riding to fight is still a kind of "background activity", Hildebrand and Hadubrand are riding to the place between the armies where the single combat will happen later. This action is not directly continued, not cataphoric for the next verses. What follows after verse 7 is not a fight but a conversation which starts in a peaceful way, later leading to a hostile discourse. In a case like that (background activity, no special climax of the chain of actions, no direct cataphoric function), what we expect would be the finite verb form at the end, and this is exactly what we get. To illustrate the change of theme after line 7, cf. (26):

- (26) Hildebrandlied V. 4–9
 4 *iro saro rihtun,*
 They got ready their armaments,
 5 *garutun se iro guðhamun, gurtun sih iro suert ana,*
 prepared their fighting vestments, girt on their swords,
 6 *helidos, ubar [h]ringa. Do sie to dero hiltiu ritun.*
 (they), the men, over the suit of armour. Then they **rode** to the fight.
 7 *Hiltibrant gimahalta, heribrantes sunu – her uwas heroro man,*
 Hildebrand said, the son of Heribrant – he was the older person,
 8 *ferahes frotoro; her fragen gistuont*
 The one with riper age; he began to ask
 9 *fohem uuortun, [h]wer sin fater wari*
 With a few words, who his father were, ...

7.2. After this example, where philological and linguistic considerations coincide, the final point of this paper is an example from OHG which shows how careful one has to be, when one interprets written records from old times. In 1994, Achim Masser enriched research with a new edition of the only existing manuscript of the OHG Tatian (Masser 1994), the famous Latin-OHG bilingual text. He took great care to keep the make-up of the lines of the original manuscript. In his article of 1996, Masser succeeded in proving that the OHG translation of the Latin text has very little space to move: the contents of one line of the column with the OHG text must always include the translation of the text in the parallel line of the column containing the Latin text. Within the line, the translator is free to use word order patterns of OHG, as long as he translates all the words occurring in the corresponding line of the Latin text. If the OHG word order had deviated, so that a word appeared in a line different from the Latin text, the translator would have put the syntax into this "straitjacket".

One example to illustrate this fact is (27), taken from the beginning of St. John's Gospel:

(27) cf. Masser 1994, p. 65

In principio erat uerbum & uerbum erat apud deum. & deus erat uerbum, hoc erat In principio apud deum, omnia per Ipsum facta sunt. ⁴ & sine Ipso factum est nihil; quod factum est. ⁴	10	In anaginne uuas uuort Inti thaz uuort uuas mit gote. Inti got selbo uuas thaz uuort, thaz uuas In anaginne 20 mit gote, alliu thuruh thaz uuuurdun gitán. ⁴ Inti ôzzan sín ni uuas uuhiht gitanes, thaz thar gitán uuas
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In (28) the lines 19–21 of the OHG text and its Latin model are repeated:

(28)

OHG			
19	Thaz	uuas	In anaginne
	That	was	In beginning
20	mit gote,	alliu	thuruh thaz
	with god	every- thing	through that
21	uuuurdun gitán		
	was [lit. “became” 3rd pl.] done (“Vor- gangspassiv”)		

“that (word) was with god in the beginning, everything was done through that”

Latin			
19	Hoc	erat	In principio
	that	was	in beginning
20	apud deum	omnia	per Ipsum
	with god	every- thing	through the same one
21	facta sunt		
	made are (perf. pass.)		

From this example one may deduce that the genuine position of the finite verb *uuuurdun* (3rd sg. pret. “became”) in this OHG passage is in front of its infinite ‘companion’ *gitán* (part. perf. pass.), because both of them appear in the same

verse line. This position contrasts with the parallel Latin text *facta est*, where the finite verb *est* is situated after its infinite part *facta*.

On the other hand it is not possible to say whether the “real” OHG position in this case was further in front of the sentence, e.g. V-2 (**alliu uuuurdun thuruh thaz gitán*). The reason is Masser’s above mentioned discovery that the translator avoids everything which could destroy the line-to-line correspondence. One of the consequences for students of word order in the Tatian is: If one investigates the word order in the OHG Tatian, one must use the commendable contribution by Ruhfus (Ruhfus 1897) with extreme care, because it is based on Sievers’ (1872, 1892) edition, which does not show the exact make-up of the lines in the manuscript of the Tatian.

8. I want to conclude this paper with a quotation from the Old Norse Eddic Hávamál. This passage can also be interpreted with the parameters concerning V-1, V-2 and V-end that we have just exposed. I refrain from doing so here (with the exception of one footnote). These verses are meant to honour Oswald Panagl, who could appear as the first person singular in Háv. 140 and 141, and for whom the words in Háv. 142 are meant as good wishes and prospects for his future research plans. In order to get the magical number “9”, this Hávamál text is cited in the next section (in order to get the translation on the right side I divide the Germanic long-verses into their half-verses; there is no exact 1:1 correlation of the text lines and the corresponding lines of the translation²⁷).

9. Háv. 140–142 (ed. Kuhn 1962, p. 40–41):

140.	Fimbullióð nío nam ec af inom frægja syni Bölpórs Bestlu fōður 4 oc ec drykk of gat ²⁸ ins dýra miaðar ausinn Óðrerir	I took nine mighty spells from the famous son of Bölpórr, the father of Bestla, and I got a drink of the precious mead, poured from Óðrerir.
141.	Þá nam ek frœvaz oc fróðr vera oc vaxa ok vel hafaz 4 orð mér af orði orðz leitaði verk mér af verki verks leitaði	Then I began to be productive and wise, to grow and to live well; a word discovered for me from a word a(nother) word, an action discovered for me from an action an(other) action.

²⁷ My English version partly follows and is inspired by the good translation on the internet at the following URL: <http://www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/?do=get&type=text&id=Hav> (Site “Anglo-Saxons.net” by Jean Miller).

²⁸ For the position of the verb (V-end) cf. our quotation in (17) with commentary.

142. Rúnar munt þú finna You can find runes
 ok ráðna stafi and (well) interpreted staves / runes,
 mjöc stóra stafi very mighty staves / runes,
 4 mjöc stinna stafi very tight staves /runes,
 er fáði fimbulþulr which a mighty sage [scil. God Óðinn]
 has coloured
 oc gǫrðo ginregin and mighty powers have made,
 oc reist Hroþr rǫgna and Hroþr [one of the names of God
 Óðinn] from the gods has carved.

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Oswald Panagl

STUTTGARTER ARBEITEN ZUR GERMANISTIK

herausgegeben von

Ulrich Müller, Franz Hundsnurscher und Cornelius Sommer

Nr. 421

ANALECTA HOMINI UNIVERSALI DICATA

Arbeiten zur Indogermanistik, Linguistik, Philologie,
Politik, Musik und Dichtung

Festschrift für Oswald Panagl zum 65. Geburtstag

Herausgegeben von Thomas Krisch, Thomas Lindner und Ulrich Müller
unter redaktioneller Mitwirkung von
Michael Crombach, Stefan Niederreiter, Helga Panagl und Ursula Pavičič

Band I



VERLAG HANS-DIETER HEINZ
AKADEMISCHER VERLAG STUTTGART
2004

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

Gedruckt mit freundlicher Unterstützung
der Stiftungs- und Förderungsgesellschaft der Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg

Cover:
Autographen von Peter Handke und Eric P. Hamp

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der fotomechanischen Wiedergabe und der Übersetzung.

Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, Akademischer Verlag Stuttgart
D-70469 Stuttgart, Steiermärker Straße 132
Druck: Sprint-Digital-Druck GmbH, 70195 Stuttgart
ISBN 3-88099-426-9
Printed in Germany
2004

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‘Ο τοῦ σοφοῦ σεβασμὸς ἀγαθὸν μέγα τῷ σεβομένῳ ἐστὶ
Der Respekt dem gelehrten Mann gegenüber ist von großem
Nutzen für denjenigen, der ihm seine Reverenz erweist“

Epikur (Gnomologium Vaticanum Epicureum 32.1)

Vorwort*

1. Zur Person des Jubilars und zur Konzeption der Festschrift

Diese Festschrift für Oswald Panagl ist, um seiner facettenreichen Person gebührend Rechnung zu tragen, in mehrfacher Hinsicht ungewöhnlich. Sie hat die folgenden drei wesentlichen Merkmale:

- Sie ist mit einem lateinischen Titel versehen, der auf den ersten Blick stark übertrieben zu sein scheint: *Analecta homini universali dicata*. Dieser Titel verlangt nach einigen Erläuterungen zur Person des Geehrten.
- Sie enthält Beiträge aus mehreren Fachgebieten (v.a. Indogermanistik, allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Klassische Philologie, Mykenologie; Germanistik, Musikwissenschaft; Sprache und Politik; Kunst) und ist daher auf zwei Bände aufgeteilt.
- Sie enthält sowohl Aufsätze in streng wissenschaftlichem Duktus als auch Arbeiten essayistischen Charakters.

Die drei Punkte a) bis c) hängen eng miteinander zusammen.

Ad a) Soweit dies in der heutigen Zeit mit ihrem explodierenden Wissen überhaupt noch möglich ist, verkörpert der Jubilar das humanistische Ideal eines Homo universalis tatsächlich in sehr hohem Maße.¹ Sein unglaubliches Gedäch-

* Wir bedanken uns bei der Stiftungs- und Förderungsgesellschaft der Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg für den gewährten Druckkostenzuschuss.

¹ Vgl. dazu auch die Würdigungen in den in der vorliegenden Festschrift abgedruckten Beiträgen des Juristen Wolfgang Mantl (in Kapitel I „In der Aufklärungswelt“ (v.a. S. 612) und in Kapitel V „Gelebte Inter- und Transdisziplinarität“ (S. 623 f.)), des im Musikmanagement tätigen Gottfried Franz Kasperek (v.a. S. 850 f.) und des Indogermanisten und vielseitigen Kulturkenners Martin Peters am Ende seines Aufsatzes „Auch ein Opernlibrettist ...“ (S. 926).

An unserem Salzburger Fachbereich Linguistik kursiert unter Oswald Panagls Mitarbeitern eine (wissenschaftlich nicht korrekte, also nicht ganz ernst zu nehmende, aber pseudowissenschaftlich schön begründbare, s.u.) „gelehrte“ Volksetymologie seines Namens, nämlich: „der alles Betreibende“. Zum Begriff der „Gelehrtenetymologie“ vgl. den Beitrag von Michael Crombach (v.a. S. 444 f.).