

Information Structure and Language Change



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New Approaches to Word Order Variation
in Germanic

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Translating information structure: A study of Notker's translation of Boethius's Latin *De Consolatione Philosophiae* into Old High German

Rosemarie Lühr

Abstract

In this paper we are studying information structure on the basis of Notker's Old High German translation of Boethius's Latin *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Our questions are: How and to which extent is the information structure of Latin converted into Old High German? What insights into the information structure of Old High German do we gain from this? To answer these questions we have to describe specific semantic characteristics of the Latin and of the Old High German language and to compare Classical Latin with Late Classical Latin. Furthermore we must discuss whether there are any specific characteristics of the information structure in Notker's translation of rhetorically marked word structures which are particularly prominent in his poetic source. It will be shown that Notker did not convert the hyperbaton into Old High German, but, where appropriate, he used other figures of speech or rhetorical word order, especially in exclamative sentences and causal sentences introduced with *wanda*, which are mostly in explanatory parts of the text. Concerning focus and topic, all the linguistic means which mark these information structural entities are investigated: focus particles, emphatic pronouns, word order, contrastive structures, which resemble I-topicalisation in modern German vs. initial position, anaphoric and demonstrative pronouns, the dissolution of the relative connection of sentences, a construction which does not exist in Old High German. In sum, it will be shown that Notker's representation of the information structure of the Latin original is first of all contingent on his didactic purposes. In addition Notker's handling of the information structure demonstrates a fundamental difference between the two languages compared here with regard to the positioning of the kinds of foci: Old High German: structural focus – verb – emphatic focus vs. Latin: verb – emphatic focus – structural focus.

1. Introduction

Translations are a possible means of coping with the methodological problems arising from the study of the syntax of historical linguistic corpora. For the lack of (native) speaker competence can be compensated in parts by comparing the source language and the target language, cf. Petrova and Solf (in this volume). In the historical stages of German the relevant contrast is the one between Old High German and Latin as it is reflected in the language of the translators. One Old High German author who explicitly comments on this is Notker Labeo (Notker III of St Gall; Notker the German). In her groundbreaking study of Notker's translation of Martianus Capella Glauch therefore rightly quotes Notker's letter to the Bishop of Sitten: "Da die Klosterschüler ohne das Vorstudium gewisser Disziplinen die kirchlichen Bücher nicht vollständig verstehen könnten und er wünsche, dass sie Zugang zu diesen Büchern hätten, wage er es, lateinische Texte in unsere Sprache zu übertragen und das syllogistisch, figürlich und rhetorisch Ausgedrückte mittels Aristoteles, Cicero oder eines anderen *artes*-Schriftstellers zu erhellen." [As the pupils of the convent school could not fully understand the ecclesiastical books without having previously studied certain subjects and as he wished them to have access to these books, he was taking the liberty to transfer Latin texts into our language and to use Aristotle, Cicero or other writers of the *artes poeticae* to clarify what has been expressed by syllogisms, figures of speech and by rhetoric.] (2000: 29).

And indeed, "Notker is unique in his time with his pedagogically motivated work as a translator and with his attempt to use German prose for educational and academic purposes". Strictly speaking, Notker's individual achievement lies in the "Verbindung von Texterklärung und Text überhaupt mit Übersetzung" [in combining explanations of texts or texts in general with translation] (Schröbler 1953: 153). It is generally assumed that in his translations from the Latin, Notker "always takes the original as his starting point and (...) never really departs from its contents or structure" (Glauch 2000: 60). The question is, however, whether this holds true for all levels of language. Of particular interest in this context is the information structure as one "organizational level", because we can assume *a priori* that a good translator always tries to imitate the informational structure of the original. To answer this question, we need to contrast the focus-background and the topic-comment structure of the Latin and of the Old High German text. For although we can assume that the categories of information structure are universal concepts, this, however, does not apply to

the ways different languages realize them. Therefore the specific lexical, morphosyntactic and topological strategies for marking categories of information structure of specific languages are particularly interesting for us. This problem becomes particularly pertinent if there is no fixed syntactic position, for example for marking focus: Because if we have no focus *in situ* (Hetland and Molnár 2001: 621; cf. also Jacobs 1986: 123), focussing one of the constituents means that we have to adapt syntax structures accordingly.

Therefore the first object of our research is: How and to which extent is the information structure of Latin converted into Old High German? From this the second question arises: What insights into the information structure of Old High German do we gain from this? In order to learn more about this, we will begin with describing specific semantic characteristics of the Latin and of the Old High German language. In this context we will also compare Classical Latin with Late Classical Latin. We will also have to discuss whether there are any specific characteristics of the information structure in Notker's translation of rhetorically marked word structures which are particularly prominent in his poetic source¹. In Latin, the hyperbaton is a particularly important linguistic device expressing information structure. As the hyperbaton has a potential for distinct effects of the information structure, which may have inspired imitation even in non-classical languages, Notker may also have used these kinds of structures for representing the information structure of Latin in Old High German.

Moreover, we have to examine both languages as to whether there are syntactic differences of position with regard to realizing various kinds of focus. Linguistic research in general distinguishes between a structural focus in the innermost embedded phrase of a sentence on the one hand, and a different form of narrow or emphatic focus on the other hand (Abraham 1986 and 1992; Doherty 2002: 30–43). We have evidence that in Latin both the structural focus and the emphatic focus are usually serialized on the right hand side of the verb, whereas in Old High German one focus is placed on the left hand side and the other one on the right hand side. In special cases, in addition, focus in Latin seems to be positioned in the left periphery.

We also have to keep in mind the structuring of given and inferable information² – aspects such as continuous, shifting³, familiar⁴, aboutness⁵, discourse⁶ and contrastive topics⁷ – as Notker may have used these topics in various forms and degrees. In general, however, we can say that due to Notker's linguistic creativity each act of translation as such is a unique act. For example, for pedagogical reasons Notker frequently changed the syn-

tactic structure of his source when translating it into Old High German⁸. To make sentences more comprehensible, he often added short subordinate clauses – especially causal clauses – which can also be interpreted as part of the information structure. But we need to look at the translations in their entirety in order to get a more general picture about Notker's syntax.

We choose Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae* as our basic text, for as a platonic dialogue and a disputation, this text uses the devices of rhetoric and dialectics in almost every part of the text⁹. The text was written in Late Classical Roman Prose, but it also contains poems, so it is a *prosimetrum*. Boethius wrote the original manuscript shortly before his execution in AD 524 or 525. In the Early Middle Ages, the text was hidden for three centuries; from the second half of the 9th century onwards it was used as a textbook in schools. Today there are still 500 manuscript copies (Gruber 1978: 13 ff.). It has been shown that Notker edited the manuscripts available in the Abbey of St. Gall in connection with the commentaries prevalent at the time (Tax 1986: XIXff.) and that he used the Alemannic variety of Old High German¹⁰. As a rule, the basis for Notker's translations was the specific, slightly modified version of the Latin text which he prefixed to his translations, whereas commentary manuscripts were only used occasionally (Glauch 2000: 145). Therefore we can compare the word order of the individual Latin text with that of the immediately following Old High German translation.

2. Particularities of the Latin and the Old High German syntax pertinent to the information structure

2.1. Classical Latin vs. Late Classical Latin

2.1.1. Classical Latin

We will compare those parts of the syntax of Classical Latin which are relevant for the information structural arrangement to contemporary German in order to highlight the differences. These will be grammatical vs. rhetorical word order and the hyperbaton¹¹.

First, let us look at word order in Classical Latin. As is generally known, the usual or grammatical or traditional word order is as follows:

Das Subjekt eröffnet den Satz, das Prädikat beendet ihn, die Objekt- und Adverbialbestimmungen werden zwischen diese beiden Satzteil-

eingeschlossen, und zwar so, dass sie um so näher am Subjekt bzw. Prädikat stehen, je enger sie zu einem von beidem gehören (sog. SOP-Stellung). (...) Diese gewöhnliche Wortstellung ist nur selten streng eingehalten. Häufig richtet sich die Stellung der einzelnen Satzteile nach der Betonung, der Menge an neuer Information, der Deutlichkeit, dem Wohlklang, der Abwechslung oder nach anderen stilistischen Gesichtspunkten. So entsteht die sog. rhetorische (okkasionelle oder invertierte) Wortstellung, die von den Absichten des Sprechers bestimmt ist. Die für den Gedanken wichtigsten Satzteile nehmen häufig die am stärksten betonten Stellen im Satz ein, meistens Satzanfang und Satzende. [The sentence begins with the subject and ends with the predicate; object and adverbial clauses are inserted between these two parts in a way which moves them closer to the subject or to the predicate respectively, depending on which of these two they are more closely referring to (so-called SOP-position) (...)] This common rule for word order is rarely followed. Often the position of the individual parts of the sentence is determined by emphasis, the amount of new information, clarity, melodiousness, variation or by other stylistic aspects. Thus we arrive at the so-called rhetorical (inverted or *okkasionell* [occasional]) word order which is determined by the intentions of the reader. The parts of the sentence which are most relevant to the ideas frequently take the most emphatic positions in the sentence, which is mostly at the beginning or the end.] (Menge 2000: 575)

If you look at these word order patterns from the point of view of information structure, you have to examine whether Classical Latin can be described as "discourse configurational"¹². In this case, the word order is not determined by the grammatical relation between the respective constituents of the sentence but serves special discourse needs. The topic position, for example, can be occupied by subjects, objects, indirect objects, etc., if these constituents function as the topic on the information structural level. The syntactic structure may be the following:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---|-------|---|------|---|------------------------|
| (1) | P1 | – | P0 | – | V | – | X |
| | Topic | | Focus | | Verb | | pragmatically unmarked |

With respect to topics, modern German, for example, is said to be "discourse configurational", for it is assumed that modern German has a special topic position in the middle field (Frey 2000).

Second, a hyperbaton is a figure of speech in which words that syntactically belong together, such as noun and attribute, verb and adverb, etc., are separated from each other for emphasis. This kind of unnatural or

rhetorical separation is possible to a much greater degree in highly inflected languages, where sentence meaning does not depend closely on word order. In Latin and Ancient Greek, the effect of hyperbaton is usually to emphasize the first word. It has been called “perhaps the most distinctively alien feature of Latin word order”¹³. In Classical Latin, the hyperbaton is considered as grammatical, if that kind of separation is possible in an elevated prose style: “Man kann sogar von einer Tendenz in der gehobenen Prosa (und erst recht in der Poesie) sprechen, syntaktisch zusammengehörende Wörter zu trennen, falls dies zwanglos möglich ist, ohne den Eindruck der Künstlichkeit hervorzurufen” [One can even speak of a propensity of elevated prose (and even more so of poetry) to separate words if this is informally possible without creating an impression of artificiality] (Menge 2000: 581).

The insertion of enclitics such as pronouns is considered to be a point in case, but also the use of conjunctions such as *autem*, *enim*, *igitur*, *quoque*, *-ne* in the second position in the sentence, all of which are actually instances of *Wackernagel* particles. But in principle, any kind of word can be placed between words which syntactically belong together:

- (2) Cicero, fam. 3,9,3
Tuis incredibiliter studiis delector
 your-Abl incredibly-Adv studies-Abl I’m made happy
 ‘I’m made incredibly happy by your studies’

If that construction is translated directly into English we would expect sentences such as (3a,b) which violate Ross’s Left Branch Condition. In focus constructions in English, the right branch of a noun phrase cannot remain *in situ*. Note that (3c), which is grammatical, is not a split construction in which *raw* is a modifying adjective of the noun *oysters* but a case of secondary predication:

- (3) a. *Which has he invited friend to dinner?
 b. *The RED he bought car last week, the BLUE he has had car
 for years
 c. Raw he used to eat oysters. (Devine and Stephens 2000: 4f.)

Apart from the SVO-order, (3a) and (3b) are also ungrammatical in contemporary German. It follows that the hyperbaton in form of the Latin example (2) is not a possible syntactic structure of New High German¹⁴.

2.1.2. Late Classical Latin

So far, there is no comprehensive description of Late Classical Latin which constitutes the beginning of Middle Latin (from 500). “Antike Syntax ist [in der Regel] eine moderne Ableitung aus antiken Autoren.” [So we can still say as a rule, ancient syntax is a modern derivation from ancient authors.] (Kindermann 1998: 42)¹⁵

The question now is, whether “discourse configurationality” actually applies in Late Classical Latin. If you go through what the handbooks tell us, you will find: In order to achieve a special effect, the end of the sentence is frequently – especially in the writings of poets – reserved for the main term which dissolves the tension or suspense which was built up before. *Zwischenstellung* [sandwiched position] of the verb, positioning the verb somewhere between other constituents, especially between subject and object, is said to be natural if there is a syntactic connection between the final word and the following sentence, as for example in Petronius. Apuleius is also said to frequently put the verb in the third position from the end of the sentence if it is followed by a noun with an adjective or a preposition (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 404). Therefore there seems to be no fixed position for topic and focus in Late Classical Latin.

Regarding the hyperbaton the handbooks will tell you: Rhetorical schooling, which took parts of its rules from the poetry of the classical period, and the *Klauseltechnik*, the periodic style with various forms of ending periods, resulted in a frequently rather unnatural way of handling this kind of word order in post-classical prose. Petronius, for example, frequently uses this word order in the vulgar passages of his novel *Satyrice*. This is interpreted as a sign that the use of this order had become a general tendency¹⁶.

2.2. Old High German Syntax

The position of the structural focus depends on the position of the verb. Näf (1979: 114) describes the following rule for the “personal form” of the verb, i.e. the finite verb, in declarative sentences in the translation of Boethius’s *Consolatio philosophiae*:

- (4) Rule 1: In declaratives the personal form of the verb is in second position

This rule also applies in sentences opened by a conjunction or a connective such as *unde*, *uuanda*, *noch*, *aber*, *nube*, *ioh*, *alde*, *sunder* (Näf 1979: 125)

ff). This is illustrated in (4)–(5) which display no possible pattern in modern German.

(5) I 6,18f.

Et rigant ora elegi. i. miseri. ueris
and they moisten faces-Acc mourner-Gen i.e. poor-Gen true-Abl

.i. non fictis fletibus
i.e. not false-Abl tears-Abl

Únde füllent sie mîniv óugen. mit érnestlichên drânen
and fill they my-Acc eyes-Acc with honest-Dat tears-Dat

Lat. 'And they moisten the face of the mourner, i.e. the poor, with true, i.e. not false tears'

OHG 'And they fill my eyes with honest tears.'

(6) I 9,9ff.

Et abstulerant particu-/ las quas
and they had dragged away pieces-Acc Rel-Acc

quisque poterat.
each of them could

Únde uuâren sie ána-uuert mît íro
and were they away with their-Gen

stúc- /chen. dîe îogelicher besuérben máhta.
pieces-Dat Rel-Acc each of them dragg off could

Lat. 'And they had dragged away as many pieces as each of them could.'

OHG 'And they went away with the (their) pieces which each of them could drag.'

Nonetheless, we can rightly claim for Notker's language that, apart from a few relics, we have verb-second position in declaratives¹⁷.

Näf (1979: 187f.) also puts up a rule for the verbal *Satzklammer* [sentence bracket]¹⁸: a structure where the finite and the infinite parts of a compound verb are separated from each other and placed at some distance within a sentence. Thus they form a kind of bracket for the other parts of the phrase:

(7) Rule 2: "Im Hauptsatz steht die Infinitform auf der dritten oder einer späteren Stelle, und zwar (...) vor oder nach substantivischem Subjekt und substantivischen kasuellen Ergänzungen (...) vor oder nach (pronominalen oder substantivischen) Präpositionalgruppen (...) vor oder nach Satzadjektiven und Adjektivadverbien." [In the main clause the infinite form is in the third

or in a later position, either before or after subject noun and case-determined noun complements (...) before or after a prepositional group (pronominal or nominal) (...) before or after sentence adjectives and adjective-adverbs.]

For the complete *Satzklammer*, however, we have to add examples of sentences with AcI-construction: For instance, in contrast to the unmarked word order of Classical Latin, in the following sentence from the Latin original the agent of an AcI-construction is in final position. The result is a focus on the right margin of the sentence. In (7) Notker does not adopt this word order but converts it into a different Old High German construction with unmarked word order, in this case with a verbal bracket:

(8) I 6,28f.

Et dolor iussit inesse suam aetatem¹⁹./...
and pain let approach his-Acc time/age-Acc

Únde léid hábet mîh/ álden getân.
and sorrow has me old-Acc made

Lat. 'And the pain made his (old) age approach.'

OHG 'And the sorrow has made me old.'

We also have to note that sometimes *exbraciation*, i.e. the positioning of words outside the *sentence bracket*, may also be due to rhythmical reasons:

(9) II 100,14ff.

Et relictá prestantia conscienté/ sermunculis.
and left aside-Prt.Abl preference-Abl conscience-Gen idle talk-Abl

uirtutisque. postulatis premia de alienis
virtue-Gen you demand rewards-Acc of strange-Abl

Únde nehéina/uuára tûondo déro stíuri
and no-Acc attention paying-Prt-Adv Art-Dat leading-Dat

déro geuuízzedo. álde déro túgede./
Art-Gen conscience-Gen or Art-Dat virtue-Dat

uuéllent ir déro uuórto dâng
will/want you Art/Gen words-Gen thanks-Acc

háben. tíu fóne ánderên châmen.
have-Inf Rel of other-Dat came²⁰

Lat. 'And, after the preference of conscience and of virtue has been left disregarded, you demand rewards for strange idle talk.'

OHG 'And although you did not pay attention to the precedence of conscience and of virtue, you want to be thanked for the words which came from others.'

Presumably for rhythmical reasons, the voluminous genitive object *déro stúri déro geuúzzedo. álde déro túgede* as part of the focus here is positioned after the adverb of the present participle, whereas in *nehéina uuára tûondo* [not paying attention] the other part of the focus *nehéina uuára* again is placed on the left side, before the present participle.

In contrast to the position of the one-word verb, Náf's "either ... or"-rules do not point to a distinct change of position of complex predicates in comparison to early Old High German. But the following sentences clearly demonstrate the obvious differences to New High German:

- (10) a. Er hat seinen Großvater besucht
He has his grand-father visited
b. *Er hat besucht seinen Großvater
He has visited his grand-father
c. Er hat ihn besucht
He has him visited
d. *Er hat besucht ihn
He has visited him

Whereas in present-day German only a. and c. are acceptable, for Notker a., b. and c. are possible options. Náf does not give any further rules for the word order which could be relevant for the information structural arrangement of Latin and of Old High German. Therefore further particularities can only be demonstrated by working with a text, in our case a continuous passage from the *consolatio*, mainly Book I, Chapter 1.

3. Information structure in the Latin original and in the Old High German translation

In analyzing the topic-comment and the focus-background structure we implicitly adopt the scalar representation of features attested to the informational status of discourse referents, cf. Petrova and Solf (in this volume). The following features are constitutive for topicality: givenness/accessibility, referentiality, definiteness²¹, early position in the sentence. We also agree on the differentiation of a new information focus and a contrastive focus. One kind of focus is also the I-Topicalisation (see below).

Let us say in advance that we can take it for granted that Notker did not only command the rules for word order in Old High German, but of course also those for Latin. His knowledge of Latin was brilliant, as we can see from his Latin insertions, see (10). In his amendment, Notker retains the

aboutness topic²² at the beginning of the sentence. This correlates to the linguistic usage in Latin (Menge 2000: 576).

- (11) I 10,15f.
Hunc uero innutritum eleaticis studiis. atque
this-Acc scilicet brought up-Acc eleatic-Abl studies-Abl and
achademicis s. non pa-tior mihi subtrahi.
academic-Abl not I tolerate me taken away-Inf.Pass

Lat. 'to wit/scilicet, I do not tolerate that he who was brought up with eleatic and academic studies will be taken away from me.'

3.1. Hyperbaton

In the hyperbaton of the Classical languages, the modifier can either be topicalized as focus and other words can be positioned between modifier and head or the topicalized head as topic is separated from the focal modifier which follows later. A further option is splitting a wide focus into a primary focus containing the head and, succeeding other words, a second focus – the modifier²³. One example of a focal modifier is:

- (12) a.
- | | | |
|---------|------------------|---------|
| <Focus> | <Presupposition> | |
| <Y1mod> | <X | Y2head> |

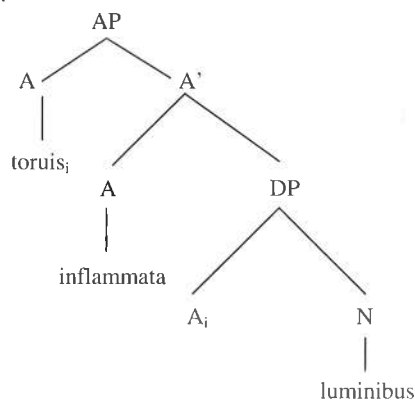
- b. I 9,22
Ac toruis inflammata luminibus.
and sinister-Abl inflamed looks-Abl
Ióh trôlichó séhendiu.
and threatening-Adv looking

Lat. 'and with sinister looks inflamed'

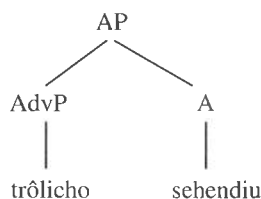
In Latin the past participle (passive) *inflammata* refers to philosophy which appears in the shape of a woman. This participle separates a preceding adjective from the word it refers to. Notker uses a syntactic structure with a familiar vernacular word order for this, an adverb preceding a present participle (active) "and threateningly looking". In this case the adverb takes the position reserved for the structural focus.

The difference between these two structures shows the map of information structure onto syntactic structure:

(12) c.



d.



Consider also the following case:

(13) I 10,4ff.

<i>Hę</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>enim</i>	<i>quę</i>	<i>necant / infructuosis</i>	<i>spinis</i>
these	are	namely	who	kill infertile-Abl	thorns-Abl
<i>affectuum</i>	<i>uberem</i>	<i>segetem</i>	<i>fructibus rationis</i>		
affections-Gen	fertile-Acc	seed-Acc	fruit-Abl reason-Gen		
<i>Tíz/</i>	<i>sínt</i>	<i>tíe</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>uuûocher</i>	<i>únde</i> <i>dén</i>
these	are	Rel	Art-Acc	harvest-Acc	and Art-Acc
<i>ézig</i>	<i>tero</i>	<i>rationis</i>	<i>ertémfent. /</i>		
seed-Acc	Art-Gen	reason-Gen	stifle		
<i>mít</i>	<i>tíen</i>	<i>dórnen</i>	<i>uullônnes</i>		
with	Art-Dat	thorn-Dat	desire-Gen		

The semantically corresponding translation of the Latin sentence is: Because it is them who stifle the fertile seed of reason with the infertile briars

and thorns of the affections²⁴. The literal translation, however, is: 'To wit, they are those who kill with infertile thorns of affections the rich seed by fruits of reason.' So "the rich seed by fruits of the reason" takes the place of "the seed of reason made fertile / rich by fruits": The modifying adjective *uberem* (fertile, rich) is separated from the word it refers to – *segetem* (seed) – by the adjective complement "by fruits of reason" and receives special emphasis by appearing in front. The regular order would have been putting the whole adjective phrase at the end (Rubenbauer, Hofmann and Heine 1977: 327): *segetem fructibus rationis uberem* (Menge 1961: 536). At this point of his rendition Notker doesn't go into such fine details and translates: "These are who stifle the harvest and the seed of reason with the thorns of desire."

Now, in Latin the phrase *uberem segetem fructibus rationis*, which contains the structural focus, stands on the right-hand side of the finite verb after the ablative phrase *infructuosis spinis affectuum*: In a broader sense, this is an adverb of manner and constitutes a set of alternatives²⁵ which is why it has special emphasis. So we can say that in Latin we have emphatic focus here. In contrast, the corresponding phrase in Old High German *mít tîen dórnen uullônnes* appears immediately right of the finite verb – also an emphatic focus – while the phrase with structural focus *uuûocher únde dén ézig tero rationis* is placed on the left. With regard to the position of foci in the languages compared here, this means that the order in Latin may be: verb – emphatic focus – structural focus whereas that in Old High German would be: structural focus – verb – emphatic focus.

This distribution of the foci also applies to the subordinate clause:

(14) I 7,20ff.

<i>... dum ...</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>signarem</i>	<i>lacrimabilem</i>	<i>querimoniam</i>	
when	and	I would chronicle	tearful-Acc	complaint-Acc	
<i>officio/</i>	<i>stili</i>				
help-Abl	pen-Gen				
<i>...Únz ...</i>	<i>Únde</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>sús</i>	<i>âmerlicha</i>	<i>chlâga</i>
...when	and	I	so	wailful-Acc	complaint-Acc
<i>screifb</i>	<i>mít</i>	<i>temo</i>	<i>grifele</i>		
wrote	with	Art-Dat	pen-Dat		

Lat. '...when I ...and the tearful complaint chronicled with the help of a pen'
OHG '...when I ... so/such wailful complaint wrote with the pen'

A further example of a hyperbaton, this time with a possessive pronoun as modifier, is the following:

(15) I 9,19ff.

<i>Et</i>	<i>dī-īctantes</i>	<i>meis</i>	<i>uerba</i>	<i>fletibus.</i>
and	dictating	my-Dat	words-Acc	weeping-Dat
<i>Únde</i>	<i>mír</i>	<i>trâne</i>	<i>récchende .</i>	<i>mít / íro uuórten.</i>
and	me	tears-Acc	producing	with her-Gen words-Dat

Lat. 'and dictating the words to my flood of tears'

First of all, we have to note again that in Latin the structural focus *uerba* again appears after the predicate while in OHG the accusative *trâne* is placed before the predicate. But as far as the hyperbaton is concerned, in Latin *meis* – the possessive pronoun in dative – which refers to the dative word *fletibus* (flood of tears) is positioned between the participle *dictantes* and its object *uerba*. Notker's translation is different: "únde mír trâne rácchende mít íro uuórten" [and me tears producing/bringing forth with her words"] with "mír" [me] as a pertinent or possessive dative before the object *trâne* [tears]. Admittedly, the separation of possessive pronoun and reference word has again been converted into a familiar vernacular structure of Old High German. However, Notker imitated the emphasis put on the Latin possessive pronoun in the hyperbaton by deciding on a pertinent dative rather than a possessive pronoun for its representation. But the "mít íro uuórten" outside the *Satzklammer* here is an emphatic focus which parallels the structural focus of the Latin *uerba*. So what we actually have here is a re-structuring of the different kinds of focus: The Latin structural focus *uerba* is turned into the emphatic focus *mít íro uuórten* which is put outside the *Satzklammer*, whereas the phrase *meis ... fletibus*, which had been emphatically focussed by the hyperbaton, now appears as structural focus *trâne* with pertinent dative.

To resume: The construction of the hyperbaton cannot be converted directly into Old High German²⁶. In Latin, it does not indicate a fixed focus position. But it shows that this language is not "discourse configurational", as the hyperbaton is not only optional but also appears in various types. With regard to Old High German, the examples discussed in (11) to (14) clearly show the extent to which and the techniques by which Notker tries to convert information structural distinctions of Latin into Old High German. The examples show that it is highly probable that there are distinct differences between Latin and Old High German with regard to the order of the various kinds of focus: in Old High German: structural focus – verb – emphatic focus; in Latin: verb – emphatic focus – structural focus.

3.2. Rhetorical word order

When converting complex sentences, participle constructions, imperative sentences and interrogative sentences in poetic texts, Notker shows no particularities of information structure in comparison to that of prose texts. (By the way, here Middle Latin doesn't show any differences to Classical Latin either). Therefore, we can disregard the difference between poetry and prose hereafter. But like causal clauses, exclamative sentences are part of the rhetorical word order patterns, which is why they are of particular interest with regard to the distribution of the information structural entities.

3.2.1. Exclamative sentences

For a start, we find exclamative sentences in which Notker uses verb-final position in Old High German instead of the Latin verb-second position. Verb-final position also occurs in that kind of exclamative sentences in New High German which are consistent with the order in subordinate clauses.

(16) Poetry I 7,6f.

<i>Eheu .</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>surda</i>	<i>aure</i>	<i>auertitur</i>	<i>miseros.</i>
oh	how	deaf-Abl	ear-Abl	he scorns	poor-Acc
<i>Áh</i>	<i>ze_</i>	<i>sêre .</i>	<i>uuîo</i>	<i>úbelo</i>	<i>ér / die</i>
oh	alas		how	bad	he Art-Acc
<i>uuênegen</i>	<i>gehôret.</i>				
poor-Acc	listens to				

Lat. 'Oh, how he with deaf ear the poor scorns'

OHG 'Oh alas, how bad(ly) he to the poor listens.'

While in Latin the structural focus, accusative *miseros*, is again placed on the right side of the verb, in Old High German *die uuênegen* is placed on the left²⁷, like in a subordinate clause. On the other hand, we can assume that like in New High German the main accent of the focus is on the adjective adverb.

But sometimes Notker also follows the word order of his source; in the following example this is the postposition of the subject as emphatic focus after the verb, i.e. VS-position :

(17) Poetry I 11,10f.

<i>Heu</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>hebet</i>	<i>mens .</i>	<i>mersa</i>	<i>precipiti</i>	<i>profundo.</i>
oh	how	is faint	soul	fallen	into the depth	bottomless

Áh	uuô	hárto	sîh /	mîsse-hábet	mánnes
oh	how	very	itself	lets (be)disconcert(ed)	man-Gen
mûot .	káhes	kestúr<z>tez	ín	día	grûoba.
soul	sudden	fallen-Prt	in	Art-Acc	abyss-Acc

Lat. 'Oh how faint is the soul fallen in the bottomless depth'

OHG 'Oh how much lets itself be disconcerted man's soul suddenly fallen into the abyss'

Compared to (16), Old High German in (17) uses *exbraciation*, positioning the subject after the verb group. There are cases with evidence for postposition of the subject (2.3.1.).

But sometimes Notker complete re-structures exclamations: In (18), for example in Latin the focus of the sentence consists of the exclamation "felix mors hominum" [blessed death of man], while Notker uses a categorical sentence (Steube and Späth 2002: 238). He explicitly introduces a discourse referent which functions as topic of the statement in the following sentence:

(18)	Poetry I 7,3ff.						
	<i>Felix mors hominum .</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>nec</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>inserit</i>		
	blessed death men-Gen	Rel	not	itself	inserts		
	<i>dul-/cibus annis . et saepe uocata uenit mestis</i>						
	sweet-Dat years-Dat and often called-Prt comes sad-Dat						
	<i>Táz íst sâlig tôd . tér in lútsa- / mên</i>						
	that is blessed death Rel in pleasant-Dat						
	<i>zîten nechúmet . únde in léit-sámên /</i>						
	times-Dat not comes and in painful-Dat						
	<i>geuuúnstêr netuélet.</i>						
	wished-Prt not hesitates						

Lat. 'Blessed death of men which does not push itself into the sweet years and, if he is often called, comes to the sad ones.'

OHG 'That is a blessed death which does not come in pleasant times and on painful times if you wish for it does not hesitate.'

Considering its form, the Old High German sentence could be an answer to the question "How do you define a blessed death?" In this, the copulative construction in *Táz íst sâlig tôd* displayst he information structural distribution: The finite verb marks the beginning of the focus domain in the sentence.

Exclamatory sentences are more emphatic and easier to memorize than declarative sentences and so for pedagogical reasons, Notker sometimes also converts Latin declarative sentences into Old High German exclamatory sentences: sentence (19), for example, is an exclamation with postposition of the verb which represents a Latin declarative statement with VO-position:

(19)	Poetry I 7,7f.					
	<i>Et saeva . claudere negat flentes oculos.</i>					
	and cruel close-Inf refuses crying-Prt.Acc eyes-Acc					
	<i>Únde / uuô úngerno ér chéligo betûot</i>					
	and how unwillingly he cruel closes					
	<i>íro uuéinonten óugen.</i>					
	(t)he(i)r-Gen crying-Prt.Acc eyes-Acc					

Lat. 'And cruel [death] refuses to close the crying eyes.'

OHG 'And how unwillingly he cruel(ly) closes her/their crying eyes.'²⁸

Notker's rephrasings also underline his didactically motivated endeavour to make the Latin text readily accessible and as comprehensible as a schoolbook. Due to their expressive character exclamatory sentences are particularly suited for that purpose.

3.2.2. Causal clauses

Notker often added causal clauses as explanations. So, for example, in (20) and (21) he changes a simple Latin sentence into a complex one. Here the causal clause – *wanda*-sentences in the function of subordinate clauses²⁹ – follows the matrix sentence. They substantiate statements made in the main clause, that is to say *weil* connects two propositions (Lühr 2007). From the point of view of information structure, that kind of causal clauses add focal elements to the rest of the background of the matrix sentence. They add an overall commentary to this sentence, but they have a topic-comment structure. In (20) and (21) this is a continuous-topic. In the following examples there is no correlate to *deswegen* in the matrix sentence:

(20)	I 8,4ff.				
	<i>Nam nunc quidem cohibebat sese ad</i>				
	for now certainly contracted herself to				
	<i>communem mensuram hominum /</i>				
	common-Acc measure-Acc men-Gen				

<i>Uuánda éina</i>	<i>uuîla</i>	<i>kezúhta</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sîh</i>
for Art-Acc	time-Acc	contracted	she	herself

<i>hára</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>únsermo</i>	<i>méze</i>	<i>uuánda /si</i>
hither	to	our-Dat	measurè-Dat	as she

<i>uuîlon</i>	<i>humana</i>	<i>áhtôt.</i>
sometimes	human-Acc	regards

Lat. 'For now certainly she contracted herself to the common measure of men/mankind'.

OHG 'For a short time she contracted herself hither/down to our measure as she sometimes regards human things'.

(21) I 8,6ff.

<i>Nunc</i>	<i>uero</i>	<i>uidebatur</i>	<i>pulsare</i>	<i>çelum</i>
now	but	she seems	touch-Inf	sky

<i>cacumine /</i>	<i>summi</i>	<i>uerticis.</i>
top-Abl	highest-Gen	crown (of the head)-Gen

<i>Ándera</i>	<i>uuîla</i>	<i>túohta</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>mír</i>
other-Acc	time-Acc	seemed	she	me

<i>den</i>	<i>hímel</i>	<i>rûoren.</i>	<i>mít/</i>	<i>óbenahdigemo</i>	<i>hóubete</i>
Art-Acc	sky-Acc	touch-Inf	with	highest-Dat	head-Dat

<i>uuánda si</i>	<i>astronomiam</i>	<i>uuéiz.</i>
as she	astronomy-Acc	knows

Lat. 'But now she seems the sky with the top of the crown of her head to touch'

OHG 'The other time seemed she (to) me the sky with the crown of her head to touch as she astronomy knows'.

We find evidence of a different structure in the following sentence:

(22) I 10,25ff.

<i>At</i>	<i>ego</i>	<i>cuius acies</i>	<i>caliga- / rat.</i>	<i>mersa</i>
and	I	Rel-Gen eye	was dark	immersed

<i>lacrimis.</i>	<i>nec</i>	<i>dinoscere</i>	<i>possim.</i>
tears-Abl	not	recognize	I could-Subj.Pres

<i>quenam esset</i>	<i>hec</i>	<i>muli-/er tam</i>	<i>imperiose</i>
who was/would be	this	woman so	great-Gen

<i>auctoritatis.</i>	<i>obstipui.</i>
dignity-Gen	I became silent

<i>Áber</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>erchám</i>	<i>mîh</i>	<i>tô</i>	<i>dés. /</i>	<i>uuér</i>
ut	I	feared	myself	there	of-Gen	who

<i>dáz</i>	<i>uuîb</i>	<i>uâre</i>	<i>sô</i>	<i>geuuáltîgo</i>
Art	woman	as/would be	so	powerful-Adv

<i>uárentíu.</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>nemáhta</i>	<i>sia /</i>
acting-Prt	I	not could	she/her-Acc

<i>bechénnen.</i>	<i>uuánda mír</i>	<i>daz</i>	<i>óuga</i>	<i>tímbereta.</i>
recognize-Inf	as me	Art	eye	became dim

<i>fóllez</i>	<i>trâno</i>
full	tears

Lat. 'And I, whose eyes dark of tears were dark with tears, so that I could not recognize who this woman of such great dignity was, became silent'.

OHG 'But I feared myself for the following reason: Who this woman was who acted so powerful(ly) couldn't I recognize because my eye became dim full of tears.'

In Old High German the indirect interrogative clause *uuér dáz uuîb uuâre sô geuuáltîgo uárentíu* is placed before the matrix verb, whereas in Latin it appears after the matrix verb. And in place of the Latin relative clause *cuius acies caligarat* 'whose eye was dark, immersed in tears' after the *ego* at the head of the sentence, Notker uses a causal clause *uuánda mír daz óuga tímbereta . fóllez trâno* 'because my eye became dim, full of tears' at the end of the compound sentence. But this *uuánda*-sentence states the reason why Boethius didn't recognize the woman. That is to say, the causal clause again refers to the propositional level of the matrix sentence and consists mainly of focal elements (only *mír* reverts to *ih* from the matrix sentence). The best New High German translation for the conjunction is "deswegen weil" because Notker uses the word *dés* in the cataphoric construction *Áber ih erchám mîh tô dés* 'But I became silent because of that' which precedes the compound sentence. So Notker broke down this passage into its components and represented the train of thoughts step by step. Thus he arrives at a much more precise presentation of the logical structure, but at the same time at a different distribution of information structural units concerning the contents of the *wanda*-sentence:

In Latin, the relative clause *cuius acies caligarat* 'whose eye was dark' serves to set the frame while the causal clause *uuánda mír daz óuga tímbereta . fóllez trâno* 'because my eye became dim, full of tears' in Old High German has focal function. From this pragmatic analysis it follows

that what we have here is a wide focus. This confirms data from language typology which suggest that in many languages that kind of focus is positioned on the right periphery of the sentence.

Yet another case is the following:

- (23) I 35, 20ff.
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Qui</i> | <i>tum</i> | <i>credidit</i> | <i>larga</i> | <i>semina / ...</i> |
| who | then | has trusted | large-Acc | seeds-Acc |
| <i>negantibus</i> | <i>sulcis .</i> | <i>cum</i> | <i>graue</i> | |
| refusing-Dat | furrows-Dat | when | heavy | |
| <i>sydus</i> | <i>cancri</i> | <i>inestuat radiis</i> | <i>phę- /bi</i> | |
| sign of the zodiac | cancer-Gen | rages | rays-Abl | Phoebus-Gen |
| <i>elusus fide</i> | <i>cereris.</i> | <i>pergat</i> | <i>ad</i> | |
| mock(s) faith-Abl | Ceres-Gen | shall proceed | to | |
| <i>quernas</i> | <i>arbores.</i> | | | |
| oak-Acc | trees-Acc | | | |
| <i>Tér sô .</i> | <i>dô /</i> | <i>diu</i> | <i>súnna</i> | <i>in cancro méistûn</i> |
| he/who so | when the | the | sun | in cancer most-Acc |
| <i>hizza</i> | <i>téta</i> | <i>fïlo</i> | <i>sâta</i> | <i>in únuuilligen</i> |
| heat-Acc | caused | much | sowed | in unwilling-Acc |
| <i>ácher .</i> | <i>uuánda</i> | <i>iz</i> | <i>únzît</i> | <i>uuás . tér gánge</i> |
| field-Acc | as | it | untime(ly) | was he may go |
| <i>bedú</i> | <i>chórmlôsêr</i> | <i>ze</i> | <i>hólz</i> | <i>éi-/chelôn .</i> |
| therefore | without corn | to the | wood | acorns collect-Inf |
| <i>únde</i> | <i>déro</i> | <i>nére</i> | <i>sîh .</i> | |
| and | of them-Gen | may nourish | himself | |

Lat. 'Who, then trusted many seed to the reluctant furrows when heavy from the rays of the sun the sign of the cancer rages (with heat), he will go disappointed in his faith to Ceres to the oak trees.'

OHG 'He who, when the sun in the sign of the cancer caused most heat, sowed much in the unwilling field. As it was untimely he may go therefore without corn to the wood to collect acorns and with these may nourish himself.'

The *wanda*-sentence here is also to be found in a commenting passage, but in this example it provides background information: *uuánda iz únzît uuás* 'as it was untimely' names the heat described before as the cause for the failure of the seed to grow. And this sentence is placed before the matrix sentence.

So, as far as information structure is concerned, Notker, on the one hand, uses newly added or rephrased causal clauses as focus material: The *wanda*-sentences connect propositions, they appear without or with a correlate and they constitute a wide focus on the right periphery. On the other hand, such *wanda*-sentences contain background information; in that case they precede the rest of the sentence.

3.3. Marked foci

In the topic-comment and in the focus-background structure, focus and topic are the central terms. Therefore we have to look for linguistic devices which distinguish these two information structural entities in the two languages we are comparing here. The pertinent elements for the marking of foci are focus particles or emphasizing pronouns, the word order and instances of contrast.

3.3.1. Focus particles, emphatic pronouns

Like the Latin *quoque*, the word *auch* [also/too] functions as a focus particle in Old High German. But while in Latin *quoque* follows the word it refers to, in Old High German *auch* precedes its word of reference³⁰:

- (24) I 40,25ff.
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Tu /</i> | <i>quoque</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>uis</i> | <i>cernere</i> | <i>uerum</i> |
| you | too | if | want | to see | truth |
| <i>claro</i> | <i>lumine.</i> | | | | |
| clear-Abl | light-Abl | | | | |
| <i>Úbe</i> | <i>óuh</i> | <i>tû</i> | <i>uuél-/lêst</i> | <i>mît</i> | <i>cláten</i> |
| if | also | you | want | with | clear |
| <i>chîesen</i> | <i>diu</i> | <i>uuârhéit</i> | | | |
| see | the-Acc | truth-Acc | | | |

Lat./OHG 'If you also want to see the truth with clear eyes'

In some instances, however, there is no equivalent of Old High German *óuh* in the Latin original. Admittedly, in the following example it is not quite clear whether we have a modal particle or a focus particle meaning "...self"³¹:

- (25) Poetry I 11,22ff.
Et ui- / ctor habebat comprehensam numeris .
 and winner had condensed numbers-Abl
quęcumque stella exercet ua- / gos cursus .
 whatever star traverses wandering-Acc course-Acc
flexa per uarios orbes .
 curved through various circles-Acc
Únde uuíssa er óuh tġe / uérte be
 and knew he too Art-Acc courses after
zálo . tġe dehġin planeta
 number-Dat Art-Acc some-Nom star
tġot . feruuállotġu in ánder- / ro planetarum uérte .
 does departing in other-Gen planets-Gen course-Acc

Lat. 'And it [the spirit] had as winner condensed into numbers which star traverses the wandering courses which is curved through various circles'

OHG 'And he knew also the courses by numbers which some star makes by departing into other planets' courses'

In contrast, examples of evidence with a preceding *sġlb* 'self' in combination with the definite article as a means of emphasis are undisputed: here, *sġlb* comes close to the meaning of the focus particle NHG *sogar* 'even'. In contrast to NHG, however, it is still flecional. So, for example, in the commentary passage below, the focussing *sġlb* is the equivalent of Latin *ipse* 'self':

- (26) II 131,17ff.
Nam quid ego disseram de familiaribus
 because what I shall speak about household-Abl
regum . cum ipsa regna /
 kings-Gen as selves-Acc kingdoms-Acc
demonstrem . plena tantę imbecillitatis?
 may show full-Acc so much-Gen weakness-Gen
Uuáz tárġ ih ságen / fone dġen gesuásôn
 what shall I say of Art-Dat relatives
dero chúningo . uuío uuġih tġe sġn . sġd íh
 Art-Gen kings-Gen how weak they are as I
sġlben die chúniga geóuget hábeo
 selves Art-Acc kings-Acc shown have

sô uuéiche?
 so weak-Acc

Lat. 'Because what shall I speak about the household of the King when I show that the kingdoms [the reign of kings] (them)selves are full of weakness?'

OHG 'What shall I say of the relatives of the kings, how weak they are, as I the kings themselves have shown so weak?! ... as I have shown even the kings so weak?'

But *sġlb* also occurs independent of an immediate Latin source. In a free translation of the Latin original, for example, we find:

- (27) III 185,17ff.
Uel re- / currat circulum astri . quocumque
 or may run back circle star-Gen wherever
micans nox pingitur.
 twinkling night is decorated
Álde óuh hóhor gestġe- / nez . sġlben dén
 or also higher climbed even Art-Acc
hġmel errġiche.
 sky-Acc reach

Lat. 'or it [the spirit] wanders through the circle of stars, wherever the twinkling night is decorated'

OHG 'and also when it has climbed higher, even reached the sky'

It is mainly its use in the exclamatory sentence, which shows that Notker employed the focussing function of *sġlb* quite deliberately – he is about to explain the usage of the Latin word *vallum* which has just been used:

- (28) I 37,26f.
Tġr zġn hġez uallum . sġlben
 Art-Nom fence was called wall/rampart even
die bóuma hġezen ualli !
 Art-Nom trees-Nom were called entrenchment piles-Nom

'The fence was called wall. Even the trees were called "ualli", i.e. entrenchment piles!'

3.3.2. Word order

A special feature of OHG syntax is that subjects are placed late, e.g. at the very end of the sentence, if they introduce a new discourse referent which is taken up as topic in the following sentence. When these new discourse referents are introduced, they are in the focus domain of the sentence in which they are established. Ex. (29)–(30) illustrate that it is not only the position of the pre-verbal accusative aboutness topic which is maintained, but also that of the subject at the end of the sentence in the Old High German translation:

- (29) I 9,7ff.
Eandem *tamen*³² *ue- / stem .* *sciderant*
 this-Acc yet garment had torn to pieces
- quorundam* *uiolentorum* *manus.*
 some-Gen violent-Gen hands
- Tîa sêlbûn* *uuât* *hâbe- / ton* *ferbrôchen*
 the same-Acc garment-Acc had torn
- sûmeliche* *nôt-nûnftara.*
 some thug

Lat. 'This garment, however, had [been] torn to pieces [by] some violent hands.'

OHG 'The self-same garment [by] some thugs had [by] torn.'

- (30) I 6,26f.
Uenit *enim* *inopina* *senectus* *properata*
 came namely unexpectedly old age hastened
- malis. /* *uuânda mîr* *îst* *ûngeuuândo .* *fône*
 misfortune-Abl for me is unexpected of
- ârbêiten /* *zûo geslûngen .* *spûotîg* *âlti.*
 trouble happened fast (old) age

Lat. 'There came namely unexpectedly old age, hastened by misfortune.'

OHG 'For to me unexpectedly because of pain came fast old age.' [Old age, which comes fast, came to me unexpectedly because of trouble.]

The same word order pattern involving postverbal subjects can be also found in interrogative sentences:

- (31) II 50,13ff.
Nos *alli- / gabit ad* *constantiam .* *nostris* *moribus*
 us binds to constancy-Acc our-Dat customs-Dat
- alienam .* *inexpleta* *cu- / piditas* *hominum?*
 foreign-Acc insatiate greed mankind-Gen
- Sól* *mîh* *uuíder* *mînemo* *síte* *stâta /*
 shall me against my-Dat customs-Dat constant
- getûon .* *tero* *ménnskôn* *úneruúlta*
 make-Inf Art-Gen mankind-Gen unfulfilled
- gîrhêit?* (Näf 1979: 197)
 greed

Lat. 'Us shall to a constancy, which is foreign to our customs/character, bind the insatiate greed of mankind?' [Shall the insatiate greed of mankind bind us to constancy which is foreign to our character?]

OHG 'Shall me against my customs constant make mankind's unfulfilled greed?' [Shall mankind's unfulfilled greed make me constant/resistant against my usual customs?]

3.3.3. Cases of contrast

Contrast is an important means of structuring information for Notker and he uses it in various forms. In Latin, it is not only focussed accusative objects which are positioned right of the verb, but also focussed dative objects. Notker adopts this information structure but not the syntax: In place of the dative object he uses a directional compound construction:

- (32) I 10,8ff.
Hominumque *mentes* *assuefaci- / unt* *morbo .* *non liberant.*
 men-Gen-and senses they accustom illness-Dat not they liberate
- Únde ménnskôn* *mûot* *stôzent* *sie* *ín_ dia /* *súht.*
 and men-Gen sense drive them in Art-Acc illness-Acc
- sîe* *nelôsênt* *sîe* *nîeht.*
 they not-release them-Acc not

Lat. 'And men's senses accustom them to the illness, not liberate (them).'

OHG 'And men's senses drives them into the illness, they release them not.'

What we have here is the rhetorical figure *disiunctio*, a form of the isocolon: Coordinated sentences show a difference of meaning which is based on the negation of a positive term³³. Thus we arrive at a contrast between the wide foci *stôzent sie in_dia súht* and *nelôsent siæ nêht*.

Similarly, conjunctions can be used for describing contrasts:

- (33) II 50,10ff.
- | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>Ius</i> | <i>est</i> | <i>mari</i> | <i>nunc</i> | <i>blandiri</i> | <i>stra- /to</i> |
| right | is | ocean-Dat | now | flatter-Inf | smooth-Abl |
| <i>equore</i> | <i>nunc</i> | <i>inhorrescere</i> | <i>procellis</i> | <i>ac</i> | |
| surface-Abl | now | shudder-Inf | storms-Abl | and | |
| <i>fluctibus</i> | | | | | |
| floods-Abl | | | | | |
| <i>Ter</i> | <i>mé-/re</i> | <i>mûoz</i> | <i>óuh</i> | <i>stille</i> | <i>sîn</i> |
| Art | ocean | must | also | calm | be |
| | | | | | <i>mít</i> |
| | | | | | with |
| <i>sléhtero</i> | <i>ebene!</i> | | | | |
| smooth-Dat | surface-Dat | | | | |
| <i>uuílon</i> | <i>óuh</i> | <i>strâben sîh</i> | <i>fóne</i> | <i>uuínde</i> | <i>únde</i> |
| sometimes | also | soar-Inf itself | from | wind-Dat | and |
| <i>fóne</i> | <i>uuéllôn</i> | | | | |
| from | waves-Dat | | | | |

Lat. 'The right of the ocean is it, now to flatter with (a) smooth surface, now to shudder with storms and floods.'

OHG 'The ocean also has to be calm with smooth surface, sometime soar with the wind and the waves.'

In Old High German *óuh* – *óuh* are set parallel to each other to connect structures with antithetical meaning. Compare, for example:

- (34) I 10,2ff.
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Que</i> | <i>non</i> | <i>modo</i> | <i>nullis</i> | <i>remediis</i> | <i>fouerent</i> |
| who | not | only | no-Abl | remedy-Abl | would cure |
| <i>dolores</i> | <i>eius</i> | <i>uerum</i> | <i>insuper</i> | <i>ale- / rent</i> | |
| pains-Acc | his-Acc | but | moreover | would nourish | |
| <i>dulcibus</i> | <i>uenenis</i> | | | | |
| sweet-Abl | poison-Abl | | | | |
| <i>Tie</i> | <i>ímo</i> | <i>sîn</i> | <i>sêr</i> | <i>nêht</i> | <i>éin</i> |
| who | him | his-Acc | pain-Acc | not | only |
| | | | | | <i>nehéillent</i> |
| | | | | | not-cure |

<i>núbe /</i>	<i>íoh</i>	<i>mêront</i>	<i>mít</i>	<i>sûozemo</i>	<i>éitere</i>
but	also	increase with		sweet-Dat	poison-Dat
<i>íro</i>	<i>uuórto</i>				
their-Gen	words-Gen				

Lat. 'Who not only with no remedy his pain can cure, but moreover want to would nourish him with sweet poison.'

OHG 'Who his pain not only not cure, but even increase it with the sweet poison of their words.'

With the double conjunction *non modo (...) verum insuper*, OHG *nêht éin (...) núbe íoh* 'not only (...) but even/also' after a negative statement, another – a contrasting – statement is emphasized. Through the negation of the first phrase, the contrastive parallel structures Lat. *remediis foverent dolores (...) alerent dulcibus venenis*, OHG *sêr (...) héillent (...) mêront mít sûozemo éitere ío uuórto* gain particular weight. Notker retained this structure in OHG because the combination of negation, contrast and parallelism makes it easier for his pupils to memorize the gist of his statements.

In other cases, expressions of contrast in parallel structures in Old High German are placed in initial positions; positions, which in New High German are typical of a contrastive accent, i.e. I-topicalisation³⁴. It is possible that these expressions already had this particular prosodic quality in Old High German. So, for example, in (35) the introductory phrase *án dero zéseuuûn – án dero uuínsterûn* describes frames which function as topics of contrast; therefore their pragmatic effect could have been a contrastive accent:

- (35) I 9,13ff.
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>Et</i> | <i>gestabat</i> | <i>quidem</i> | <i>dextra</i> | <i>libellos</i> | <i>sinistra</i> |
| and | carried | now | the right | books-Acc | the left |
| <i>uero</i> | <i>sceptrum</i> | | | | |
| but | sceptre-Acc | | | | |
| <i>Án/</i> | <i>dero</i> | <i>zéseuuûn</i> | <i>trûog</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>bûoh.../ án</i> |
| in | Art-Dat | right-Dat | carried | she | book-Acc in |
| <i>dero</i> | <i>uuínsterûn</i> | <i>sceptrum!</i> | | | |
| Art-Dat | left-Dat | sceptre-Acc | | | |

Lat. 'And it carried now the right [hand] books, the left, however, a sceptre.'

OHG 'In the right [hand] she carried books ... in the left a sceptre.'

Compare also to *ze_níderost* and *ze_óberôst* as frames in (36):

(36) a. I 8,27ff.

...	<i>Harum</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>extremo /</i>	<i>marginē .</i>
	these-Gen	in	extreme-Abl	margin-Abl

<i>legebatur</i>	<i>intextvm</i>	π	<i>grecum.</i>
was read	weaved into-Prt	π	Greek

<i>Ze_ níderost</i>	<i>án</i>	<i>dero uuâte . /</i>	<i>stûont</i>
At the bottom	on	Art-Dat garment-Dat	stood

<i>kescríben</i>	<i>taz</i>	<i>chrêcheska</i>	<i>p. ... /</i>
written-Prt	Art	Greek	p

Lat. 'At its extreme margin a woven-in Greek π was [to be] read.'

OHG 'At the bottom of the garment was written the Greek π .'

b. *In superiore uero legebatur θ .*
 in upper-Abl but was read θ

<i>Ze_ óberôst stûont / theta.</i>
at the top stood theta

Lat. 'on the upper one, however, was [to be] read θ .'

OHG 'at the top stood theta.'

In a similar way, the subjects *taz chrêcheska p* und *theta* at the end of the sentences express contrasts, that is to say alternatives from a set of comparable entities. Both, in Latin and in Old High German we are dealing a focus – as can also be seen from Latin *uero* 'but'.

However, it is not only in cases as these, but also in other contexts that the end of the sentence in Old High German is a position for a focus which forms a contrast with another expression of focus. What is added in (37), for example, are the contrastive frames *êr* and *nû* which Notker uses as parallels (unlike the use of *quondam* in the Latin passage):

(37) I 6,13ff.

<i>Qui peregi</i>	<i>quondam carmina</i>	<i>florente</i>
who I completed	formerly songs-Acc	flowering-Abl

studio .
zeal-Abl

<i>...flebilis</i>	<i>cogor</i>	<i>inire</i>	<i>mestos modos.</i>
...lamentable	I am forced	begin-Inf	sad-Acc tunes-Acc

<i>Îh-tir êr</i>	<i>téta</i>	<i>frôlichiv /</i>	<i>sáng .</i>	<i>ih</i>
I-who formerly did	joyous-Acc	songs-Acc	I	

<i>máchôn nû</i>	<i>nôte</i>	<i>chára-sáng.</i>
make now	perforce-Adv	dirges-Acc

Lat. '[me] who I completed formerly songs in flowering lamentabl(y) I am forced to begin sad tunes.'

OHG 'I, who formerly made joyous songs I make now perforce dirges.'

A further example of the reinforcement of the meaning of contrastive expressions of Latin by parallel syntactic structures in Old High German is the following one:

(38) I 6,23ff.

<i>Gloria fe- / licis</i>	<i>olim</i>	<i>uiridisque</i>	<i>iuuentē .</i>
glory happy-Gen	once	blooming-Gen	youth-Gen

<i>solantur</i>	<i>nunc</i> ³⁵	<i>mea fata .</i>	<i>mesti</i>	<i>senis.</i>
they comfort	now	my-Acc fate-Acc	sad-Gen	old man-Gen

<i>Êr uuâ- / ren</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>gûollichî mînero</i>	<i>iúgende .</i>
formerly were	they	ornament my-Gen	youth-Gen

<i>nû trôstent sie</i>	<i>mîh</i>	<i>âlden .</i>	<i>mî- / nero</i>
now comfort they	me-Acc	old-Acc	my-Gen

mísseskîhte.
misfortune-Gen

Lat. 'The glory of formerly happy and blooming youth now comforts the fate of the sad old man.'

OHG 'Formerly they were the ornament of my youth. Now they comfort me old (man) in my misfortune.'

In this example, Notker uses contrasts by building two main clauses, in which now the frames *êr* and *nu* (Lat. *olim* and *nunc*) function as contrastive topics at the head of the respective sentences. A further contrast consists in the contrast foci *iúgende* and *âlden*.

So Notker employs contrastive structures, which underline and emphasize the existing contrasts of the Latin original, in order to clarify the respective passage for didactic reasons.

3.3.4. Left peripheral foci in Latin

In the Latin emphasized pronoun *vos* and in the left peripheral focus *recte facere* in (39) we could have a structure comparable to I-topicalisation:

(39)	II 100,12ff.							
	<i>Uos</i>	<i>autem</i>	<i>recte</i>	<i>facere</i>	<i>nescitis</i> .		<i>nisi</i>	
	you	but	rightly	act-Inf	you don't understand		except	
	<i>ad</i>		<i>populares</i>		<i>auras</i> .	<i>/ et</i>	<i>inanes</i>	
	in front of		the people's-Acc		ears-Acc	and	inane-Acc	
	<i>rumores</i> .							
	gossip-Acc							
	<i>Ír</i>	<i>neuellent</i>	<i>áber</i>	<i>níeht</i>	<i>réhto</i>	<i>fáren</i> .	<i>áne</i>	
	you	don't want	but	not	rightly	act	except	
	<i>úmbe /</i>	<i>líuto</i>		<i>lób</i>		<i>únde</i>	<i>úmbe</i>	
	for	people's-Gen		praise-Acc		and	for	
	<i>úppigen</i>		<i>líument</i>					
	empty-Acc		fame-Acc					

Lat. 'But you don't understand (how) to act rightly, except in front of the ears of the people and inane gossip.'

OHG 'But you don't want to act rightly, except for the praise of the people and the empty fame.'

In contrast to Latin, in Old High German the finite verb appears before the infinitive (Bolli 1975: 167). But similar to Latin, the prepositional phrase *áne úmbe líuto lób . únde úmbe úppigen líument* has been extraposed.

3.4. Constructions with marked topic positions

In this context we have to look at word order and pronouns.

3.4.1. Word order

The Old High German sentence in the following example deviates from the Latin original:

(40)	I 10,22f.				
	<i>His</i>	<i>ille</i>	<i>chorus</i>	<i>inreptivs</i> . /	<i>deiecit</i>
	this-Abl	that	multitude	scolded	lowered

<i>humi</i>	<i>mestior</i>	<i>uultum</i> .		
to the ground	rather sad	look-Acc		
<i>Tô</i>	<i>snífta</i>	<i>níder</i>	<i>dáz</i>	<i>sús</i> <i>erstóuta ge- / zuâhte</i> .
there	lowered down	Art	so	scolded flock

Lat. 'That by this scolded multitude lowered rather sad the look to the ground [The multitude scolded by that, looked sadly to the ground].'

OHG 'There lowered down (the look) the thus scolded flock.'

The Old High German sentence contains a given discourse referent after the adverbial *dô* and the finite verb. The adverbial *dô* in initial position can also be found in other Old High German texts, for example in the OHG Tatian translation. This pattern typically appears in contexts in which previously mentioned material does not function as the aboutness topic of the sentence³⁶. The topic function of Latin *ille chorus increpitvs* or OHG *dáz sús erstóuta ge* is indicated by the deixis pronoun *ille* which Notker translates with a definite article.

3.4.2. Pronouns

Even apart from examples as (40) above, we generally have to consider the various forms of pronouns in Latin when looking at their translations into Old High German. As a rule, subject pronouns are dropped in Latin when they represent continuous topics. The accusative object also frequently remains unexpressed due to object drop. The oblique cases are represented by the forms of the pronouns *is*, *ea*, *id*. While these anaphorically allow the implication of nouns in sentences further away, they can also have a demonstrative function and refer back to immediately preceding contents words or facts, just as the demonstrative pronoun *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* does. This means that the Latin pronouns *is*, *ea*, *id* are ambiguous. Notker, however, can disambiguate the reference by choosing a proper equivalent in OHG. After the disastrous influence of the sirens has been described, the discourse continues with the sentences quoted in (41):

(41)	I 10,13ff.						
	<i>Nihil</i>	<i>quippe</i>	<i>lede- / rentur</i>	<i>in eo</i>	<i>operę</i>	<i>nostrę</i> .	
	not	certainly	shall be belittled	in the	troubles	ours	
	<i>Án</i>	<i>démo</i>	<i>neinfüore</i>	<i>mír</i>	<i>níeht</i>	<i>mínero</i>	
	at/of	the-Dat	not may be lost	me	nothing	(of) my-Gen	

ár- / béito.
troubles-Gen

Lat. 'Not, certainly, shall by this our troubles be belittled.'
OHG 'Of this may not be lost any of my troubles.'

In Latin, the anaphoric *in eo* is placed on the right of the verb, Notker uses *án démo* (instead of the less emphatic *dârána*) and places at the beginning of the sentence. While Notker retains the position of the focal subject at the end of the sentence, he decided on a topic marking which deviates from the Latin one. In keeping with the position of the demonstrative pronoun *dieser*, the position is at the head of sentence.

(42) Poetry I 11,19ff.

Hic quondam liber . assuetus aperto celo
this one once free used open-Abl space-Abl

ire in etherios meatus
go-Inf in ethereal-Acc paths-Acc

Tiser uuás ke- / uuón dénchen án die
this one was used think-Inf of Art-Acc

hímel-férte ...
celestial paths-Acc

Lat. 'This one was once free(ly) used to go through the open space in ethereal paths...'

OHG 'This one was used to think of the celestial paths ...'³⁷

Of particular interest, however, is how Notker translates Latin relative pronouns used in a continuative function (*relativischer Anschluss*), for this structure is unfamiliar in German. In case a subordinate and a matrix clause share a common subject, it is expressed by a relative pronoun put before the conjunction in Latin. Notker does not retain this structure but rather substitutes the relative pronoun by a personal pronoun as the referent is taken up again due to topic promotion, see (43):

(43) I 8,8ff.

Quę cum altivs / extulisset caput . etiam
she when higher had raised head-Acc even

ipsum celum . penetrabat .
(it)self sky-Acc penetrated

Sô si dáz hóubet hô / ûf erbúreta .
when she Art-Acc head-Acc high raised up high

sô úber slúog iz ten Hímel .
so surmounted it Art-Acc sky-Acc

Lat. 'When she higher had raised the head, she even penetrated the sky.'

OHG 'When she the head raised up high, it surmounted the sky.'

Sometimes he chooses a possessive pronoun for a substitute:

(44) I 8,23ff.

Quarum speciem obduxerat . quedam neglectę /
their-Gen appearance-Acc covered certain neglected-Gen

uetustatis caligo
age-Gen mist

Íro bílde uuâ- / ren fóre álti uersáleuuę ...
its-Gen appearance were of age-Dat darkened

Lat. 'Their outer appearance had covered a certain, caused by neglected age, mist [a certain mist caused by neglected age]'

OHG 'Its outer appearance by age was darkened ...'

More frequently we find a demonstrative pronoun as a substitute:

(45) I 9,1ff.

... gradus in modum / scalarum .
steps after Art-Acc ladder-Gen

... léi- / ter-sprózen ... álde stégon stúofa .
rungs of a ladder or steps of a ladder

Quibus esset ascensus . / ab inferiori ad
on these would be ascent from lower-Abl to

superius elementum .
higher-Acc part-Acc

Áfter dten man stigen máhti . fó- / ne
on these-Dat one climb-Inf could from
demo níderen púohstabe zu demo óberen .
Art-Dat lower-Dat letter-Dat to Art-Dat higher-Dat

Lat. '... steps in the manner of ladders. On these would an ascent from the lower to the higher part (be possible).'

OHG '... rungs or steps of a ladder. On these could one from the lower letter to the higher climb.'

But there are even more alternatives: In the following example, Notker seems to take the relative sentence connection with Lat. *quas* for a relative pronoun and places the noun phrase at the head of the sentence:

(46) I 8,20ff.

<i>Quas</i>	<i>ipsa</i>	<i>texuerat</i>	<i>manibus</i>	<i>suis</i> .	
which-Acc	self	she had woven	hands-Abl	her-Abl	
<i>Tia</i>	<i>uuât</i>	<i>sî</i>	<i>îro</i>	<i>sélbiu</i>	<i>uuórhta!</i>
Art-Acc	garment	she	her-Dat	self	made

Lat. 'Which (the garment) she herself with her own hand had woven.'
OHG 'The garment she herself made!'

But as we can see from the exclamation mark, Notker changes this sentence into an exclamative sentence with verb-final position. As Lat. *quas* serves both as a relative and an interrogative pronoun, the sentence could be transformed into a type of sentence which contains an interrogative pronoun.

As we expected, the translation of pronouns with topic function, especially the relative connection of sentences again demonstrates the sophistication of Notker's translations.

4. Summary

The first objective of our research was to answer the question of how Notker converted the information structure of Latin into Old High German. The result is a complex picture: Notker did not convert the hyperbaton, a typical linguistic phenomenon of Latin, into Old High German ((12) to (15)), but, where appropriate, he used other techniques to imitate the emphasis implied in the separation of elements which belong together (15). However, we do find evidence of rhetorical word order in Notker: We discussed exclamative sentences and causal sentences introduced with *wanda*. There is an increased use of exclamative sentences in the poetic parts of the Latin original. In these sentences, Notker sometimes changed the position of the verb (16), sometimes retained the word order of the original (17) and sometimes completely restructured the sentence, as in the instance of the pre-position of an all-focus sentence (18). Notker also transforms Latin declarative sentences into exclamative sentences ((19), (46)).

As far as causal sentences are concerned, he frequently added them as an explanation of the text ((20), (21), (23)) or to make a passage more stringent (22). If they appear after the matrix sentence, they contain focus material and form a wide focus ((20), (21), (22)). If they are put in front, they provide background information (23).

As topic and focus are the marked elements of the opposition in the topic-comment and the focus-background structure, all the linguistic means which mark these information structural entities are of particular interest for us. Concerning the focus, these are focus particles and emphasizing pronouns: OHG *ôuh*, Lat. *quoque* ((24), (25)) or *sélb*, which Notker uses not only as an equivalent to Lat. *ipse* (26), but also independent of any Latin source ((27)–(28)). Word order also serves as a marker of focus as long as we have a subject as a new discourse referent. In this function it appears as an emphatic focus at the end of the sentence ((17), (29), (30), (31)). A special characteristic of Notker's style as a translator is his incorporation of foci into contrastive structures³⁸. We find the imitation of the rhetorical figure of *disiunctio* (14), the use of parallel conjunctions ((33)–(34)), but also examples which resemble the New High German I-topicalisation with two contrast topics at the beginning of the sentence and two contrast foci at the end of the sentence ((35)–(38)). In contrast to this, in Latin you also find foci on the left periphery (39).

For marked topic constructions (*ausgezeichnete Topik-Konstruktionen*), word order is also relevant, as is suggested by sentences with covert initial position with adverbial *dô* (40). We also have to take into account the use of pronouns in the languages we are comparing here: the representation of Lat. *ille* by the definite article (40), the clarification of the ambiguous Lat. *is* by a demonstrative *der* at the head of the sentence (41), a position which is occupied by demonstrative pronouns in general (42), and the dissolution of the relative connection of sentences. For this construction, which does not exist in Old High German, Notker chooses various forms of translation, the personal pronoun (43), the possessive pronoun (44), and, most frequently, the demonstrative pronoun (45). Finally, since in Latin the relative pronoun and the interrogative pronoun can be identical, there is the option to transform a Latin declarative sentence with relative connection into an exclamative sentence (46).

All in all, what we can definitely say about Notker's representation of the information structure of the Latin original is, that he certainly had a firm grasp of its structures. First and foremost, this becomes obvious in cases where the allocation of the informational entity focus coincides in the two languages, but where Notker structures the foci independent of the

Latin source. If he doesn't imitate the information structure, he has good reasons for doing so: it is either because of the basic differences between the two languages or because of his didactic purposes. For Notker's primary aim always was to make the text comprehensible to his pupils.

The second objective of the research points beyond Notker; for from Notker's handling of the information structure we can draw a conclusion for Old High German; i.e. that it is more than likely that there is a fundamental difference between the two languages compared here with regard to the positioning of the kinds of foci: Old High German: structural focus – verb – emphatic focus vs. Latin: verb – emphatic focus – structural focus ((13), (15)). In addition, our discussion shows that neither Latin nor Old High German is a 'discourse configurational' language.

Notes

1. So far there is no general agreement as to whether Notker actually translated the metrical passages in a metrical form. In some passages, however, one can certainly detect a particular rhythm (Glauch 2000: 170).
2. Prince (1981); Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007).
3. In the case of a "continuous topic" the topic of the preceding sentence is retained, whereas in the case of a "shifting topic" there is a change of topic (Speyer 2007).
4. Gundel (1988). The dialogue partners are already familiar with these topics.
5. Cf. Frey (2000: 138) following Reinhart (1981): "Topiks sind die Ausdrücke, über deren Referenten durch die Sätze Aussagen gemacht werden – Topik ist eine Kategorie des pragmatischen 'Worüber'" [Topics are expressions about whose referents the sentences make statements – topic is a category of pragmatic 'aboutness'].
6. The discourse topic is about a new topic (Frey 2000; Späth 2005).
7. Contrastive topics can be found, for example, in the so-called I-topicalization. Cf. Lang and Umbach (2002).
8. There is verifiable evidence that Notker based this on a tract on grammatical and syntactical problems (in four parts) from St. Gall (Tax 1986: XXII).
9. Glauch (2000: 172). For Christian influences cf. Mohrmann ([1976] 1984: 302ff.).
10. The Old High German text was written around 1025; even though most of it was written by a scribe he was probably working under the aegis of Notker (Tax 1986: XXVI; XLIII).
11. A further particularity occurs in the compound or periphrastic tenses, the so-called *conjugatio periphrastica* of the type *scripturus fui, eram*, etc., and passive verbal paraphrases of the type *amatus fui* [I have been loved], *amatus fueram* [I had been loved] (as opposed to the synthetically constructed active *amavi, amaveram*). These forms increase in the course of the development of Middle Latin and of Romance languages: From Vitruvius onwards, the *est factus*-type more and more prevails until in Vulgar Latin and in the Romance languages it completely replaces its rival *factus est* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 405). Moreover, the *victurus sum* - and *tradendus sum*-types begin to rival the simple future; in addition, paraphrases with auxiliaries, modal verbs and aspect verbs with infinitive begin to spread; e.g. *habeo, possum, volo, debeo, incipio* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 313ff.; Stotz 2004: 323ff.; 445f.). Furthermore, in Middle Latin the infinitive is also used after *censere, putare, credere, iudicare, consentire, petere, rogare, permittere, timere*, as well as in a final function in *abiit manducare*, or after *facere, curare* in the sense of "have something done; make someone do something" (Kindermann 1998: 42. For the use in Boethius cf. Dienelt 1942: 114ff. and 132). This construction is also known in German. For the following discussion of the information structure, however, the compound tenses are irrelevant.
12. Dik 1995; for Ancient Greek see Matić (2003: 578ff.) following Kiss (1995: 2001).
13. Devine and Stephens (2006: 524).
14. For potentially comparable structures in German cf. Krisch (1998: 373ff.).
15. For particular aspects of syntax cf. now Stotz (2004).
16. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 690). But as Krisch (1998: 353ff.) shows, the hyperbaton is a vernacular phenomenon even in Old Latin.
17. While we find verb second, verb first and verb third position of the finite verb in the Old High German Isidor and in the Old High German Tatian, "scheinen ca. 200 Jahre nach der Isidor-Übersetzung und ca. 170 Jahre nach der Tatian-Übersetzung alle Stellungsmöglichkeiten außer der Zweitstellung verloren gegangen zu sein" [except for verb second position, all the other potential positions seem to have been lost about 200 years after the Isidore translation and about 170 years after the Tatian translation] (Näf 1979: 146).
18. Cf. also Bortler (1982: 51ff.).
19. Ms. *etatem*.
20. Näf (1979: 137 and 196).
21. Cf. Umbach (2001).
22. Cf. also Büring (1997); Chierchia (1995); Asher and Lascarides (1998) on the concept of aboutness.
23. Cf. Devine and Stephens (2000) for the Greek language.
24. "Sind sie es doch, die mit dem unfruchtbaren Dornestrüpp der Leidenschaften die fruchtreiche Saat der Vernunft ersticken" (Goethein 1932: 9).
25. Speyer (2003: 15).

26. The reproduction of the position of Wackernagel-particles would result in other “non-German” structures. So Notker places the “light” pronoun *tíz* after the conjunction and the subject pronoun *ih* (Näf 1979:338ff.):

I 7,20f.

Haec dum mecum tacitus reputarem ipse.
this-Acc when with me silent-Prt I would think self

Únz ih tíz suigendo in mîne- / mo mûote áhtota.
when I this-Acc silently in my-Dat mind-Dat thought over

OHG “Als ich dies schweigend in meiner Vorstellung überdachte” [When I this silently in my mind thought over]

A word order such as: “Dies als ich schweigend in meiner Vorstellung überdachte” [This when I silently in my mind thought over] would certainly have been ungrammatical in Old High German.

27. But in Latin you can have pronouns between the verb and the structural focus: I 6,15f.

Ecce lacerê camenê dictant / mihi scribenda.
see sad muses dictate me (what) to write

Sih no . léidege musê . lêrent mih scríben.
see now sad muses teach me write-Inf

Lat. ‘See, sad muses dictate me what to write’

OHG ‘See now, sad muses teach me to write’

Notker in contrast, chooses an AcI in unmarked word position.

28. Cf. also:

Poetry I 11,11ff.

Et / relicta propria luce ... tendit ire in
and left behind-Prt.Abl own-Abl light-Abl strives go-Inf in

externas / tenebras
external-Acc darkness-Acc

Únde uuô gnôto / iz tánne ílet . úzer
and how urgent-Adv it then hurries out

demo liehte in dia uínstri.
Art-Dat light-Dat in Art-Acc darkness-Acc

Lat. ,and (after) the own light been left behind, strives [the mind] to go out into the darkness’

OHG ‘And how urgently it then from the light into the darkness hurries.’

29. Because of the verb final or verb late position, we can be certain here that we have a subordinate clause; cf. Löttscher (in this volume).

30. Cf. also I 14,15f.

An ut tu quoque mecum rea . agiteris
part that you also with me accusation-Acc may be moved

falsis criminationibus?
false-Abl accusations-Abl

Ínno . dáz óuh tú gescúldigotív . fône lúkkên
part that too you accusations-Acc from false-Dat

léidúngôn . kemûot / uuérdêst .
accusations-Dat tortured may be

Lat., OHG ‘Or that you, too, from false accusations may be tortured’.

31. For the difference between *óuh/auch* ‘also’ as a focus particle and as a modal particle in declarative sentences cf. Thurmair (1989: 155).
32. Here a pronoun has been separated from its word of reference by the interposition of *tamen* [however] in the Wackernagel position (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 398). Strictly speaking, we therefore do not really have a hyperbaton here.
33. Lausberg (1990: 114).
34. For the intonation pattern cf. √Otto ist ins \Kino gegangen (und √MarIA in die \Oper [√Otto went to the \cinema (and √MarIA to the \opera)] (Frey 2000: 149 with further reading).
35. In Latin, an adverb can be placed between the verb and the structural focus on the right hand side. Cf. the position of the adverb *nunc* [now] before *mea fata*.
36. Hinterhölzl and Petrova (2005); Donhauser, Solf and Zeige (2006: 9f.).
37. Cf. also: I 6,30f.
Funduntur uertice intempestiui cani.
pour crown of the head-Abl untimely hairs
Fône diên / díngeu grâuuên ih
from these-Dat things-Dat turn grey I
ze_ únzite.
at “untime“-Dat
Lat. ‘There pour from the crown of my head the untimely hairs.’
OHG ‘From these things I turn grey before time.’
For word order in Latin cf. Menge (2000: 577).
38. For contrast in general cf. Molnár (2002).

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